AN

Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

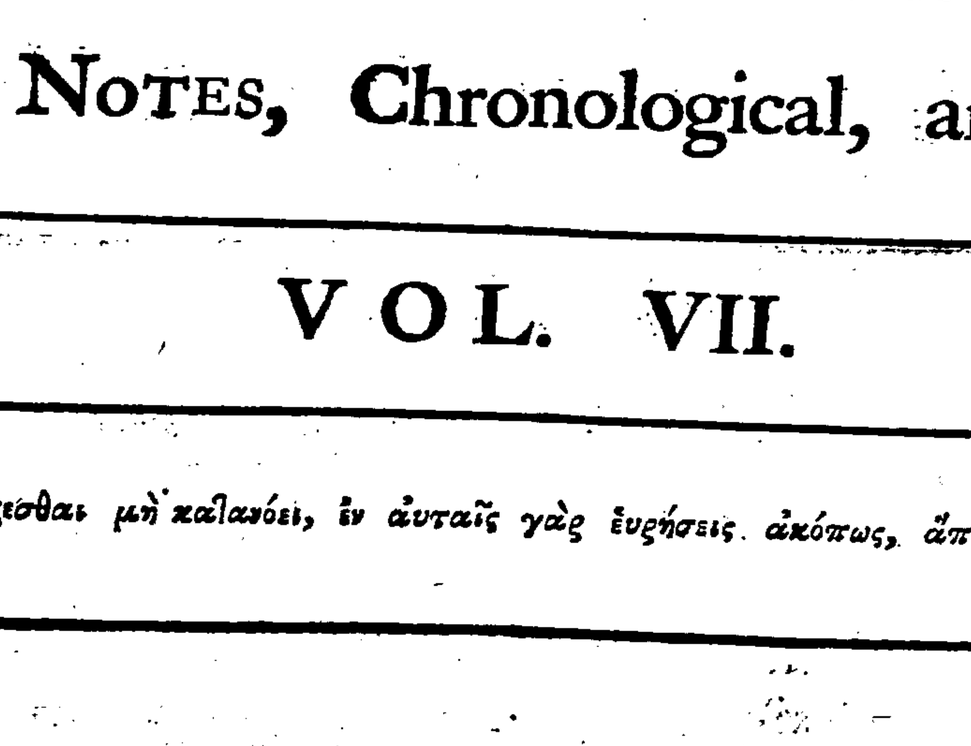
And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

VOL. VII.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλαιόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰς ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:

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M.DCC.XLIV.

TO THE

LEARNED MEMBERS

Of the Two CELEBRATED

UNIVERSITIES

OF

ENGLAND.

Reverend and Learned Gentlemen,

THE great helps and encouragement, which the authors of this work have received from your Two Learned Bodies, not only exact this public teſtimony of our gratitude, but have made us long ſince look upon ourſelves as accountable, in no ſmall meaſure, to You, for every deviation we have found reaſon to make from our original plan; eſpecially as the greater part of our number have had, and ſome of us do ſtill enjoy, the happineſs of being members of one or other of your colleges.

The late learned Mr. Sale, *the firſt compiler of this grand work, was ſo fully ſatisfied, that it was capable of conſiderable improvements, that he offered the firſt plan, rather as a ſketch or ſpecimen, than a complete ſyſtem of what was intended; and accordingly cloſes it with a hint, that* the undertakers were, even then, ſenſible they ſhould find cauſe both to make additions to, and to vary from, the method of it, in the courſe of this hiſtory: *And that ſuch addition and variation might the more effectually conduce towards the perfecting of the whole, as far as a work of this nature, and hitherto unattempted by any nation, could be brought to ſuch perfection, care was taken, in the propoſals prefixed to every number of the firſt and ſubſequent volumes, to invite ſuch of the Learned, both at home and abroad, who wiſhed to ſee ſo conſiderable and extenſive a work well executed, and could either furniſh us with any uſeful hints, towards the improvement of the plan or hiſtory, or could furniſh us with any obſervations, which might explain a doubt, clear up a difficulty, diſcover an error, or give a new light to any point of hiſtory, chronology, geography, &c. that they would be pleaſed to communicate them to us, with a promiſe, that they ſhould be thankfully acknowledged, and either complied with, or reaſons aſſigned, why they were not.*

This we quickly found to have the deſired effect, and many learned men, not only from your Two Illuſtrious Univerſities, and other parts of South *and* North-Britain, *but likewiſe from other parts of* Europe, *even ſo far as from* Sweden *and* Norway, *favoured us with their correſpondence, and furniſhed us with many uſeful hints and remarks, and even curious materials, which have been inſerted in this work, and well approved by the Learned of our acquaintance, to ſay nothing of ſome others, which will more properly belong to the Modern Part of this hiſtory. We were more particularly obliged, for ſeveral very curious remarks, to thoſe Gentlemen, who undertook the tranſlation of this work into foreign languages, eſpecially the learned tranſlator of it into* Dutch, *who was pleaſed not only to ſend us over his verſion, as it came out in* Holland, *but likewiſe to communicate to us his reaſons, whenever he found any, to differ from us in any of thoſe remote and abſtruſe points, concerning which nothing can be offered, at beſt, but probable conjectures, and wherein, conſequently, every author has an undoubted right to declare, and defend, his own. And as it plainly appears to us, that theſe gentlemen had not been behind-hand with us in calling in the beſt helps, and conſulting the ableſt judges of their nation and acquaintance; ſo not to have paid a due regard to their judgment, in points of that arduous and intricate nature, would have been doing a manifeſt injury to them, and a much greater to the public.*

But, notwithſtanding all this, our eyes have chiefly been fixed on your Two Illuſtrious Bodies. It is to ſome of your learned Members that we have had conſtant recourſe, in all doubtful points; and it has been their deciſion that has finally determined us in every deviation from, or, rather, as we have good ground to hope, in every improvement we have made, to our original plan; for, whether they occurred to ourſelves, in the courſe of this work, or were communicated

to

to us by our correſpondents, they never received our approbation, till they had previouſly obtained the ſanction of ſome of the moſt learned amongſt You: And that we might the more effectually come at your real ſentiments, we did not content ourſelves with a bare epiſtolary intercourſe, but deputed, upon all ſuch material emergencies, ſome of our number to your Univerſities, to conſult with ſuch members of Both, as were known to be beſt verſed in thoſe points, in which we wanted advice, or could direct us to the moſt likely means to improve both the deſign and the work itſelf: And this was done ſometimes by perſonal application to ſuch of our learned friends and acquaintance, who, we were ſure, would give us their opinion, without any reſerve; but, in other caſes, much oftner, by a third hand; that is, by the aſſiſtance of ſome perſons of their acquaintance, who could more freely introduce the point in queſtion occaſionally, as it were, and without any ſeeming view, than to know their private ſentiments on the ſubject. And by this means it was, that many of them have been prevailed upon to open their minds more freely, eſpecially where they differed from us; which their extreme modeſty, the inſeparable companion of true learning, might, in all probability, have induced them to conceal, had they been applied to in any other way. Hence it will be allowed, that we took the moſt effectual ſteps to enable ourſelves to carry on this arduous and uſeful work in ſuch a manner, as to intitle *it, as we may preſume to ſay, to the kind acceptance it hath met with from your Two Illuſtrious and Venerable Bodies: and as a natural conſequence of* that, *from the public. And the obligations we are under on this head to ſeveral of the Learned Members of thoſe Bodies, will, we hope, be deemed a ſufficient apology for addreſſing this* concluding Volume *of the* Antient Hiſtory *to both your Univerſities, as well as for every thing that, in the execution of the work, ſhall be found to deviate from our original plan.*

However, for our further juſtification to the reſt of our readers and encouragers, who are unappriſed of our frequent applications to You, as well as to remove even the ſhadow of a ſuſpicion, that this addreſs was calculated to inſnare them into an implicit belief of, and acquieſcence to, what we have ventured to affirm in it, we ſhall, for their fuller ſatisfaction, acquaint them, in the Preface *here ſubjoined, not only with the moſt material alterations we have made to our plan, but with our reaſons for them, and the viſible advantages the public will receive from them; and we doubt not but they will convince every unprejudiced reader, that we have, in every ſuch deviation, ſtudied the eaſe and benefit of the ſtudent and purchaſer, much more than our own intereſt.*

But, not to anticipate what more properly belongs to the pages following, we beg leave to inſtance to You, our Reverend and Learned Patrons, only one of thoſe altcrations, indeed a very conſiderable and advantagious one to the Purchaſers, which was firſt thought of and agreed upon at Oxford, *and has been ſince honoured with an univerſal approbation; we mean, the dividing the whole work into two diſtinct claſſes or bodies; the one, to contain all that is properly called* Antient Hiſtory, *and which is now happily concluded in this* Seventh Volume; *the other, all that belongs to the* Modern *part, which is now to follow; that ſo each part might be had ſeparately, or, when completed, together, as the genius and inclination, the courſe of ſtudy, or circumſtances of every purchaſer, ſhould determine him.*

All that we ſhall preſume further to add to this our thankful acknowledgment for all Your paſt favours, ſhall be only our conſtant and hearty prayers for increaſe of the honour, welfare, and proſperity, of your Two Illuſtrious Bodies, and to declare our ſenſe of the ſingular happineſs which this addreſs affords us, of ſubſcribing ourſelves,

Reverend and Learned Sirs,

Your moſt Obliged, moſt Dutiful,

and Humble Servants,

The AUTHORS.

Library of Ireland.

THE

PREFACE.

HAVING been induced to deviate, in ſeveral particulars, from our Original Plan, we think ourſelves obliged, in the Preface to a Volume which concludes one great period of our labours, to lay before the public our reaſons for ſo doing.

Theſe deviations, then, may be reduced to the three following heads.

The *Firſt*, That we have ſwelled the book to a greater bulk than we had promiſed in our Propoſals.

The *Second*, That we have taken a much longer time to finiſh it than we had engaged for.

The *Third*, relates to that diviſion of the work into two diſtinct bodies; the one, of the Ancient Hiſtory, the other of the Modern; which is mentioned in the preceding Dedication.

As to the *Firſt* article, relating to the increaſed bulk of the work, it is neceſſary to obſerve, That the fourth number of our Firſt Volume was ſcarce publiſhed, when we received complaints from ſeveral of our correſpondents, that we had handled the hiſtories of the Egyptians, Syrians, Canaanites, and other ancient nations, in ſo conciſe a manner, as could by no means anſwer the principal end of the work, which, according to our propoſals, was, to ſave our readers all that vaſt expence of time and books, which they muſt otherwiſe be at, to obtain a competent knowledge of the hiſtories of the reſpective nations, by furniſhing them with a Complete Body of Hiſtory, ready compiled to their hands; and at the ſame time, to let in upon the abſtruſer parts, all the light that could be gained from ancient and modern authors; as well as from our own ſtudy, and, even, conjectures, where the matter to be treated of, admitted not of abſolute certainty.

Theſe conſiderations, and others of equal force, determined us to be more full and explicate for the future, upon every curious and material point; and even where requiſite, to write ſhort diſſertations upon them; and ſince our purchaſers would be gainers by theſe additions, if they were pertinent and inſtructive, to be leſs ſollicitous, than we had been, about the bulk of the work; which muſt, of neceſſity, by this means, be greatly increaſed.

Accordingly, we found ourſelves obliged to enter upon a more diffuſe and copious diſplay of hiſtorical facts, extracted from a much larger number of authors, than we had before ſelected, and, as our ſubjects called for it, to take into our ſcheme the principal matters of Chronology, Geography, Natural Hiſtory, Politicks, Philology, &c. And by theſe means we preſume to ſay, we have given our readers a clearer and more extenſive view, not only of paſt ages, and antient nations; but of their various religions, laws, trade, navigation, climates, genius, learning, manufactures and produce; of their wars and conqueſts, riſes and falls; and, in a word, of every thing that is diverting, uſeful, and inſtructive in the hiſtory of each country; intermingling occaſionally, beſides, proper explanations of every dark and intricate point: reconciling original authors, and removing every difficulty, as far as the nature of the ſubject, and our own abilities would admit.

Nor may it be amiſs, in this place, to obſerve, that if we had principally conſulted our own intereſt, as Authors, or that of the Proprietors, we muſt have been naturally led to adhere to our original deſign. For as, on the one hand, the more expenſive a work of ſo large a nature, is made, the fewer purchaſers it will have; ſo on the other, the ſuccinctneſs we had propoſed to obſerve, would have afforded us a very plauſible excuſe (had we been inclined to make uſe of it) for paſſing over ſlightly, or in ſilence, many things which were difficult to come at; whereas a more enlarged and capacious plan neceſſarily obliged us to take notice of every thing, that we imagined our readers had reaſon to expect, either from our care or induſtry.

Theſe conſiderations will, we preſume, ſufficiently apologize for the length we have been obliged to run into: and, at the ſame time, neceſſarily account for the *Second* deviation from our Propoſals; which is, The delay of the work: For the reader cannot but ſuppoſe, that the abovementioned alteration in our ſcheme, muſt have laid us under a neceſſity of entering upon new ſtudies and reſearches, and of procuring

procuring great numbers of the ſcarceſt books; ſome of which were not to be had in England; ſo that no ſmall time was required after we had, with the greateſt difficulty, obtained them, to digeſt them; and when we had done this, we were obliged to new-model the copy we had before in a manner ready for the preſs.

But hence, that is to ſay, from this enlargement of our plan, reſulted a ſtill greater cauſe of delay than the former; for, hereupon ſeveral of our ſociety declined the work; ſome plainly acknowledging, that it was become too difficult a taſk for them to perform, while others, as freely, declared, that it would be too laborious an undertaking; and that it was unlikely to ſucceed in ſuch a manner as to afford them a ſuitable encouragement for the time and pains, which this new method made abſolutely neceſſary to be taken. This extremely ſurprized, and even diſconcerted the remaining few, who began then to apprehend, that the deſign muſt be wholly laid aſide. But the proprietors having found the work, ſo far as it was publiſhed, received with an uncommon approbation, and their learned encouragers, as well abroad as in Britain, extremely deſirous to have it proſecuted, reſolved, as they had been already at a very great charge in providing books and entering into Correſpondencies, &c. to ſpare no expence to obviate this new and very diſcouraging difficulty; by engaging, as opportunity ſhould offer, new aſſiſtances; in which they happily ſucceeded. But nevertheleſs, like mariners in a ſtorm, who are obliged to part with ſome valuables, in order to ſave the reſt of the cargo, they found themſelves under a neceſſity to give up that part of our Propoſals, which engaged us to publiſh twenty ſheets monthly: For, after proper hands were procured, which was not eaſily or ſoon effected, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that it took up ſome conſiderable time, notwithſtanding the extraordinary qualifications of the new-engaged gentlemen, to acquaint themſelves with what had been already done; with the method to be proceeded in; with the authors we had ſelected for our purpoſe; and with the ſyſtem of hiſtory, chronology, &c. which, upon the matureſt deliberation, and with advice of our learned friends, we had reſolved to follow throughout the work.

To theſe difficulties, (to which may be added, the much-to-be-regretted death of a valuable aſſiſtant) which would have been unſurmountable to authors and proprietors leſs determined to proſecute ſo uſeful, and we will venture to ſay, ſo publick-ſpirited an Undertaking, was it owing, that the publication of the Firſt Volume, more particularly, was ſo long delayed, that we began ourſelves to apprehend, that the work would not meet with an encouragement anſwerable to our aſſiduity and pains. But when our readers and correſpondents came to ſee what they were likely to gain by this delay, it procured from them ſuch a kind and generous reception to our labours, that it inſpired the proprietors with hopes, that altho' the *firſt edition* might not compenſate them, nor even repay them the intereſt of the money they ſhould be obliged to expend in the proſecution of a Work, that muſt neceſſarily take up ſome years to complete; yet that the probability of its becoming a *Standard Work to Poſterity*, and of a *future impreſſion*, (the preſent not being a large one) and that their *families*, if not *themſelves*, might reap the benefit of their riſques and expence: This therefore induced them to ſpare no pains nor charge to perfect it; and this ardor being ſeconded by all the gentlemen employed, we have been enabled, notwithſtanding ſuch unavoidable and unforeſeen hindrances, as have been occaſioned by the ſickneſs, the death, and ſometimes the neceſſary abſence of ſome of our ſociety, to publiſh every volume more regularly ſince; and at length to complete this of Ancient Univerſal Hiſtory, in ſuch a full and extenſive manner, that the like never had been attempted in our nation, or any other.

But before we obtained this deſirable end, and even at the time we determined upon the alteration we have mentioned; to wit, the enlargement of our plan; another difficulty, and that no ſmall one, occurred, which concerned principally the intereſt and advantage of our kind Encouragers: For we could not but foreſee, that by this more diffuſe manner of treating our ſubjects, we muſt neceſſarily ſwell the Work to a price as well as to a bulk, that might not be ſuitable to the convenience of every one, that might be deſirous of being poſſeſſed of ſo valuable a repoſitory of ancient and modern learning. And this brings us to account for

The *Third* material deviation from our original plan.

To be the better enabled to obviate this difficulty, ſome of our ſociety undertook perſonally to conſult ſuch of their learned friends at Oxford, on whoſe judgment they had the greateſt reaſon to rely. The reſult, after the matureſt deliberation, was, as we hinted in the Dedication, to divide the Work into two diſtinct bodies; the one, to contain the Ancient, the other, the Modern Hiſtory; ſo that each might be purchaſed ſeparately, as the genius or circumſtances of our encouragers ſhould determine them. And as the preparations neceſſary for the Modern Part would take

up

up ſome time, that intervenient ſpace, it was obſerved to us, might poſſibly make the purchaſe of the Modern Part, when it came to be publiſhed, more convenient to ſuch as choſe to have both:---While the Ancient Hiſtory would deſerve, nevertheleſs, to be conſidered as a perfect Work of itſelf.

To what we have mentioned on this head, we ſhall obſerve, that this deviation from our original plan, will render the ſtudy, as well as the purchaſe, eaſier to many gentlemen, who are deſirous to acquire knowledge in the hiſtory of the Univerſe, than if we had adhered to our propoſed method; as it will enable them to diſtinguiſh with greater certainty and judgment between what properly belongs to the Ancient, and what to the Modern. For ſuch a diſtinction is manifeſtly neceſſary to be made between thoſe ancient kingdoms and nations, that have long ſince ceaſed to be ſuch; for inſtance, the ancient Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Perſians, Grecians, *&c.* and thoſe that continue ſtill in being, under the ſame or other denominations; as alſo, from thoſe that remain nearly in the ſame condition which they have been in from the remoteſt times; ſuch as the Moſcovites, the Tatars, vulgarly called Tartars, the Chineſe, and many other eaſtern and northern nations,

And here it is proper to obſerve, that upon the proſecution of this part of our new plan, another diſtinction appeared to us abſolutely neceſſary to be made; and that was, between the ancient ſtate of theſe kingdoms and nations that ſtill ſubſiſt, and that period of time in which they were brought to the form of government they now enjoy, or live under; as it is proper, for the better elucidation of the hiſtory of thoſe nations, to begin their Modern at that epocha. Thus, for inſtance, the ancient nation of the Arabs, with reſpect to its religious concerns, differs as much from itſelf before and ſince the time of Mohammed, as any two nations can well do from one another. Their Ancient Hiſtory, therefore, could not reach lower than that epoch; and it is our deſign, for the ſame reaſon, to begin our Modern, at the birth of that noted Legiſlator. The like may be ſaid with reſpect to the hiſtory of Spain, Gaul, Germany, Italy, and ſeveral other countries; in which, had we followed our firſt Plan, the Ancient and Modern Hiſtory would have been ſo blended and confounded, as to have rendered both much more unintelligible to our readers, than now they will be found to be.

But we ought not to omit mentioning, that while we were endeavouring to pleaſe ſuch of our judicious readers, as admoniſhed us againſt being too ſuccinct and conciſe, we had the misfortune to be blamed by ſome few others, for having been too copious and diffuſe in ſome parts of the Work, particularly in the Roman Hiſtory. But here, not to remind thoſe gentlemen, that the Hiſtory of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire is properly includable, and therefore included, in that of the Roman; we deſire it may be conſidered, that the Roman Hiſtory is by far the moſt conſiderable of any, both as to the extent and copiouſneſs, as well as the uſefulneſs of its matter; and that by reaſon of its unbounded conqueſts, the affairs of almoſt every nation in the known world, muſt be, more or leſs, included in it; and the more, becauſe in duration of time it exceeded any of the other three Univerſal Monarchies, as they were called. And as there was a neceſſity, that the moſt material tranſactions between the Romans, and the nations they ſubjugated, ſhould be inſerted either in the hiſtory of the one or the other, we judged it more eligible, to give the preference to the conquering nation; and in our account of the others, to refer for the principal tranſactions between both, to that of the Romans; than to take the contrary method: And by this means the hiſtories of the other nations are treated with a brevity which that of the Romans would leſs allow of; references being conſtantly made in them to the Roman Hiſtory; as will be found in our accounts of the ancient Spaniards, Gauls, Germans, *&c.* By this method, prolix as the one part muſt neceſſarily ſeem, compared with ſome of the others, the bulk of the Work in general is very little augmented.

But we had ſtill a more cogent motive to treat the Roman Hiſtory thus extenſively: The reader may remember, that it had been written very lately abroad in other languages, and by ſeveral hands; but tho' by far more diffuſive than ours, yet in ſo partial and unſatisfactory a manner, that it would have been next to impoſſible to have ſet the moſt important and inſtructive facts related in it in their true light, without deſcending into all thoſe particulars, which ſerve as a clue to unravel the truth and ſprings of the principal ones. And this we have frequently hinted at in ſeveral parts of that hiſtory, by way of apology, and to prevent our readers being miſled into a notion, that we were ſwelling the Work to an unneceſſary bulk, for ſelfiſh conſiderations.

When we firſt entered upon this great Work, we reſolved to make it a rule with us, to avoid as much as poſſible, all Religious diſputes, and to leave all controverted points of that nature to Eccleſiaſtical writers: But we had ſcarcely paſſed over the threſhold;

threſhold; (that is to ſay the Coſmogony) before we found reaſon to diſpenſe, occaſionally, with this our Reſolution.

The account which Moſes gives us of the Creation, the Flood, the Diſperſion of nations, the Foundation of ancient kingdoms, &c. is ſo ſuccinct, and, in many caſes, ſo dark, intricate, and controverted, that our readers would have reaped but little benefit from the beſt light we could have given them, unleſs we had deſcended to particulars, by explaining ſome, proving others, and obviating or anſwering ſuch objections, as had been, or might be made to that and the reſt of the ſacred hiſtorians; as well as inſerting the various notions and ſyſtems which the learned, whether Chriſtians, Jews, or Gentiles, had built either upon, or againſt them. And we were ſoon convinced, by the univerſal approbation that firſt Volume met with, as well as by the letters which we received from our correſpondents, that this method, tho' difficult, and likely to ſwell the firſt Volume beyond our intention, ought to be ſtrictly followed, where-ever our materials were taken from the inſpired Penmen.

By this means, we may ſafely affirm, that we have rendered much eaſier than ever, the ſtudy of thoſe remote hiſtories; and, at the ſame time, by the explication we have given to obſcure and difficult places, in the Sacred Books, have cleared up many abſtruſe Points that have been the ſubject of Controverſy, occaſionally anſwering the Objections of our modern, as well as the ancient Sceptics; and, we hope, have ſet many important Facts, and intricate Subjects, in ſuch an impartial light, as may both convince and inſtruct; and upon the whole, ſave our readers the trouble of conſulting an endleſs number of Commentators, which would be more likely to confound than ſatisfy, the minds of the younger ſtudents eſpecially.

Whatever, therefore, may be objected to this new method, by perſons who had much rather be left at liberty to cavil at their pleaſure with the ſacred writers, the more ſerious and unprejudiced part have been very well pleaſed to ſee thoſe important points ſo fairly ſtated and cleared.

This likewiſe has neceſſarily increaſed the bulk of our Work; particularly in our Jewiſh Hiſtory: But nevertheleſs, inſtead of blaming us, ſeveral eminent writers have done us the honour of a public approbation, by quoting us, in ſome of their learned works ſince publiſhed, and many more have favoured us with theirs in their epiſtolary correſpondence.

We muſt beg leave to add, that we ſhould have been juſtly charged with the moſt flagrant, not to ſay unpardonable, neglect, if, whilſt we endeavoured, as becomes all impartial hiſtorians, to vindicate the character of a ZOROASTER, a CONFUCIUS, a SOLON, a LYCURGUS, or any other heathen philoſopher or lawgiver; we had left thoſe of our truly INSPIRED WRITERS, and more eſpecially that of our DIVINE MASTER, unreſcued from the miſrepreſentation and obloquies of an unbelieving age. Such an omiſſion muſt have been interpreted either as a total giving up of the cauſe of Revelation, or, at leaſt, of all hopes of convincing our modern unbelievers of the truth of it, by any arguments. Whereas we ought, in candor and charity, to believe, that the moſt ſober and thinking part of them are willing and ready to peruſe and weigh every thing that can be ſaid againſt, as well as for, their unbelief. However that be, the ſucceſs which this work has met with, hath happily convinced us, that our theological, critical, and even philoſophical excurſions, have been diſreliſhed but by very few, in compariſon of thoſe who have given them their approbation and encouragement.

The Chineſe, the Eaſtern Tartars, the Japaneſe, the Siameſe, and other potent nations of the Eaſt-Indies, were, ſome of them, ſo wholly unknown, and the reſt ſo imperfectly known to ancient authors, that we have thought proper to refer our accounts of thoſe people (as well as, ſtill more properly, of the kingdoms of America, or the New World) intirely to the intended Modern Part of our Work. But nevertheleſs, that we may not be thought to omit any thing material to our deſign, we propoſed to begin our Modern Hiſtory of thoſe Eaſt-Indian empires, kingdoms and ſtates, with a brief recapitulation of all that is to be met with in ancient writers concerning them.

Upon the whole, we preſume to congratulate our kind encouragers, as well as ourſelves, that we have ſo happily gone through and completed the moſt abſtruſe and laborious part of our undertaking: An undertaking, the difficulties whereof the reader will be able to form ſome idea of, when he caſts his eye on the ſubſequent liſt of authors which we have conſulted, for the firſt Volume only, (for it would have been too tedious and painful a taſk to have gone through the whole Seven Volumes in the ſame manner) and upon the enſuing collection of texts of ſcripture, which we have either new tranſlated, or explained and defended, or both. We repeat our thankful acknowledgments to them, and to all our correſpondents, for their patience with us, and favour to us; and hope, all the difficulties of a taſk ſo arduous conſidered, that our Work will appear worthy of both.

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The

The conſtant Recourſe we have had to the Sacred Books, in every Part of this WORK, would make it an endleſs Taſk to give here (as is uſual in Works of this Kind) a full Liſt of the Texts quoted out of them; that which is here annexed, is only deſigned to direct our Readers to the principal Paſſages that have been either explained, defended, commented upon, or differently tranſlated by us, and to the Volumes and Paſſages they are to be found in.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, *from the beginning of the ſecond* Punic *war, to the deſtruction of* Carthage *by* Æmilianus.

THE conſul *Lutatius*, at the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war, had behaved with ſuch inſolence to *Hamilcar Barcas*, when, for ſome time, he inſiſted, that the *Carthaginian* troops, under his command, ſhould deliver up their arms to the *Romans*, and even paſs under the *jugum*, that the *Carthaginian* general, from that moment probably, conceived an averſion to him and his whole nation. Nothing could have been more inconſiſtent with true magnanimity and greatneſs of ſoul, than ſuch a conduct, and conſequently more diſagreeable to a perſon of heroic and generous ſentiments. *Hamilcar* therefore could not but deeply reſent an action ſo infamous in its nature, and look upon the people countenancing it as void of honour, as ſtrangers to all thoſe amiable qualities, from which military virtue is inſeparable. That this notion is founded upon truth ſufficiently appears from *Cornelius Nepos*, who tells us, that *Hamilcar* profeſſed he would rather die, than return home loaded with the ignominy a compliance with ſuch a propoſal muſt fix upon him. We may therefore conclude this to have been a remote cauſe of the ſecond *Punic* war [a].

The remote cauſes of the ſecond Punic *war.*

Hamilcar likewiſe condemned himſelf for having ſo tamely given up *Sicily* to the *Romans*. Being endued with that greatneſs of ſoul ſo natural to a true lover of his country, he reflected, with the utmoſt regret, upon that action, which, in every light, he conſidered as diſhonourable and too precipitate. This undoubtedly excited him to meditate revenge upon that nation, which occaſioned ſo falſe a ſtep, and conſequently determined him to embrace the firſt opportunity that offered of attacking the *Romans* [b].

BUT what the moſt effectually contributed to the war, we are going to enter upon, was the injuſtice of the *Romans*, who, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the *Carthaginians*, after the *Libyan* war was terminated, diſpoſſeſſed that nation of *Sardinia*, and extorted a vaſt ſum of money from them. The great ſucceſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* likewiſe heightened the animoſity betwixt the two ſtates, and conſequently diſpoſed both of them to a rupture. The train therefore for a bloody conteſt betwixt them was laid before the ſiege of *Saguntum* [c].

THE

[a] CORN. NEP. in Hamilc. init. [b] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi. ſub. init. [c] Idem ibid. ZONAR. in annal. l. viii. c. 17.

The ceſſion of *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, and the payment of vaſt ſums to that rapacious nation, in compliance with their unjuſt demands, after *Carthage* had been ſo drained by the *Libyan* war, incenſed *Hamilcar Barcas*, or, as ſome call him, *Boccor*, to the laſt degree. He ſaw that there was no end of ſuch extortions, and therefore came to a full reſolution, not only to endeavour at ſecuring his country from ſuch depredations for the future, but even to take ample vengeance of the *Romans* for their perfidious conduct in this particular. He therefore inſpired his four ſons, *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*, *Hamilcar*, and *Mago*, with an implacable hatred to that proud republic, which was the object of his averſion, declaring publicly, that he looked upon them as four lions whelps brought up for the deſtruction of the *Romans*. *Hannibal* only ſurvived nearly to execute the vaſt project his father had formed, and probably was the only one of them endued with a genius fit for the execution of it. From hence it appears, that the grand ſpring, which ſet *Carthage* in motion againſt *Rome* at this juncture, was the diſpoſition *Hamilcar* had transfuſed into his family, as well as the majority of the citizens of *Carthage* [d].

Hamilcar's reſentment therefore may be looked upon as the chief impulſive cauſe of the ſecond *Punic* war. That great general was of too heroic a ſpirit, and too ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of his country, not to make uſe of all proper means to reſtore it to its former grandeur. As this could not be done without humbling the *Romans*, it is no wonder, eſpecially conſidering the affronts he had in perſon received from them, that he ſhould bend all his thoughts that way. In fine, after his great atchievements had raiſed his reputation to ſo high a pitch at *Carthage*, that he was looked upon there as a ſecond *Mars*, it is no wonder he ſhould have intereſt enough to lay the foundations of a ſecond war with the *Romans* [e].

The great ſucceſs the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain*, we may, with *Polybius*, likewiſe look upon as a concurring impulſive cauſe of the ſecond *Punic* war; for this did not only increaſe the jealouſy of the *Romans*, and ſtrongly excite them to a rupture, but alſo diſpoſe the *Carthaginians* thereto, as it furniſhed them with ſuch copious ſupplies both of men and money, which enabled them to put their favourite ſcheme in execution. The *Greek* writers frequently call this the *Hannibalic* war. The interval betwixt it and the firſt *Punic* war conſiſted of twenty-three years. [d]

The Carthaginians *repulſed by the* Saguntines.

But to return to our hiſtory: The *Saguntines* were a colony, partly of the *Zacynthians*, and partly of the *Rutuli* from the city of *Ardea*. According to *Livy*, they were not of long ſtanding in *Spain*, though they ſoon grew immenſely rich there, the province in which they were ſeated being extremely fertile. Their city was ſituated on the *Carthaginian* ſide of the *Iberus*, about a mile from the ſea, near a ridge of mountains, that ſeparated *Spain* from *Celtiberia*, and in a country where, by the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were permitted to make war, though this city was expreſly excepted from all hoſtilities by that treaty. As ſoon as *Hannibal* approached their frontiers, he detached a party to lay waſte the territory adjacent to the city, and then made a diſpoſition to attack it in three places at once. With his battering-engines he made the utmoſt efforts to beat down the wall, whilſt his troops were in readineſs to ſtorm the city upon the firſt breach made. The *Saguntines* defended themſelves with inexpreſſible bravery, making frequent ſallies upon the beſiegers, and deſtroying many of their men, though they were ſcarce ſenſible of this loſs, ſince *Hannibal*'s army conſiſted of a hundred and fifty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. The beſieged, however, ſuffered extremely in theſe actions, loſing as many men as the *Carthaginians*; which rendered their condition almoſt deſperate. However, their fate was for ſome time reſpited, by a wound *Hannibal* received in his thigh from a javelin, as he was viewing ſome of the works; which occaſioned ſuch a conſternation amongſt his troops, that the enemy were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of all his works and military machines. Till the wound was cured, a ſort of ceſſation of arms enſued, tho' the beſiegers ſtill maintained their poſts, carried on their approaches, and perfected their works. After *Hannibal*'s recovery, hoſtilities recommenced with double fury, the *Saguntines* oppoſing the enemy with undaunted reſolution, and *Hannibal* puſhing on his attacks with the utmoſt vigour. At laſt the beſiegers, after having laid a great part of the wall level with the ground, and demoliſhed three towers, by which the body of the place lay entirely expoſed, made an aſſault with unparallelled bravery, thinking, that now a fair opportunity offered of taking the town

[d] Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 3. Lucius Ampelius in lib. memorial. c. 36. [e] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup.

town ſword in hand. The beſieged, on the other hand, conſidering, that every thing valuable to them lay at ſtake, exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner. They drew up their forces in order of battle in the ſpace betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and diſputed every inch of ground with ſuch incredible valour, that the place where the engagement happened was covered with dead bodies. In ſhort, hope and deſpair ſo animated both parties, that the greateſt efforts were made on each ſide. However, at laſt deſpair prevailed, the *Saguntines* forcing the *Carthaginians* not only to abandon the breach, but to flee to their camp with prodigious ſlaughter. *Livy* tells us, that a kind of dart or miſſive weapon, called *falarica* (A), was of ſingular ſervice to the *Saguntines* on this occaſion [f].

b It appears from *Zonaras* and others, that, in purſuance of the reſolution above-mentioned, the *Romans* ſent deputies to *Hannibal* at his camp before *Saguntum* (B), who arrived there about the time we are now upon. According to theſe authors, *Hannibal* avoided giving them an audience, and that in a refined politic manner. He employed certain *Spaniards*, whom he could confide in, to meet the *Roman* miniſters

The Romans *expoſtulate with* Hannibal *and the* Carthaginians *upon their proceedings.*

[f] Idem ibid. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 7. SIL. ITAL. l. i. PLUT. & AUR. VICT. in Hannib.

(A) The deſcription of the *falarica*, as it may be collected from *Livy* and other authors, is as follows:

e The *falarica* was a kind of large dart, or miſſive weapon, diſcharged by the parties poſted in wooden towers, upon the enemy. Theſe wooden towers were called *falæ*, as we learn from *Juvenal*, *Servius*, and others; ſo that the weapon undoubtedly derived its name from thoſe machines. It had an oblong ſhaft, round and even every-where, but towards the end, where it had a ſquare piece of iron, bound about with tow, beſmeared with pitch. The iron head, reſembling that of the *Roman pilum* or javelin, was three foot long, that it might be capable of penetrating the ſtrongeſt armour, and, through it, of doing execution: which it frequently did. As the

d combuſtible part of it was ſet on fire before it was thrown upon the enemy, and this fire muſt have been greatly increaſed by the air fanning it in its motion, in caſe it killed not the perſon it fixed upon, but only ſtuck in his armour, it could not fail of throwing him into the greateſt conſternation; ſince, in order to preſerve himſelf from the flames, he muſt have lain under the neceſſity of diſarming himſelf, and conſequently of leaving himſelf intirely expoſed to the future efforts of the enemy. To render this weapon the more terrible, by making the fire inextinguiſhable, the tow, according to *Pomponius*, *Sabinus* and *Vegetius*, was anointed or be-

e ſmeared likewiſe with ſulphur, reſin, bitumen, and burning oil. This dart was ſometimes diſcharged out of the *balliſta* with an inconceivable force, and did not only deſtroy men in the manner juſt mentioned, but likewiſe frequently conſumed the enemies wooden towers, againſt which it was levelled. The *falarica* was either *magna* or *parva*, as we have before obſerved of the *balliſta*. From the particulars already laid down, it cannot but appear probable, that this weapon was of oriental extraction; and therefore it can by no means be deemed abſurd to deduce the name itſelf from the eaſt. *Feſtus*, as

f hinted above, intimates, that the dart here deſcribed derives its name from the towers called *falæ*, from whence it was diſcharged; and that *falæ*, in the *Etruſcan* language, ſignified *high*. We may therefore either deduce it from the verb פלא *phala*, *mirabilis*, *excelſus*, *arduus*, *excellens fuit*; or from עלה *alah*, *aſcendit*, *altus*, *elevatus fuit*, with a completive *vau* prefixed, which will make it ועלה *vealah* or *phalah*. That the eaſtern nations, particularly the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*, uſed *vau* and *fe*, or *phe*, ſometimes in ſuch a manner, without any ſignification annexed to it, may be proved by many inſtances; ſo that there is nothing forced or unnatural in the latter etymon, if the firſt ſhould not ſatisfy our readers. From one or both of theſe words, for it is very poſſible, that the former may have been originally formed from the latter) the *Greek* φάλος, *criſta*, *eminens in mari petra*, *ornamentum in ſummitate galeæ*, &c. is to be drawn. *Feſtus* and others farther countenance this notion, by calling the wooden towers we are now upon *loci extructi*. By adding to either of the verbs above-mentioned any of the following radixes, *viz.* הרג *harag*, *interfecit*, חרג *hharag*, *motus fuit*, חרך *hharac*, *uſſit*, ארך *arac*, *longus fuit*, from whence אריכא *arica*, *longa*, may be formed the word *falarica*; in which caſe the name will aptly enough anſwer to the nature and office of the weapon here deſcribed. It is probable, that the *Saguntines* either learned the uſe of the *falarica* from their neighbours the *Carthaginians*, or the *Phœnician* colonies ſettled antiently in *Spain*. We ſhall only further obſerve upon this head, that the *falarica* is called εἶδος λόγχης, a kind or ſpecies of lance, by *Heſychius* (1).

(B) *Saguntum* being firſt built and peopled by a colony of *Zacynthians*, it is no difficult matter to account for its name. It was probably called by the citizens ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΣ or ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΝ, *Zacynthus*, or *Zacynthons*, which in old *Latin* was, *Sacuntus*, *Sacuntum*, or *Saguntus*, *Saguntum*, the antient *Latins* uſing C in the ſame manner as thoſe of the claſſic period of time did G, as we learn from *Terentianus*, the *columna roſtrata* of *Duilius*, *Quintilian*, &c. In confirmation of this notion, it may be further obſerved, that ſome of the oldeſt editions of *Aurelius Victor*, for *Saguntum*, have *Zagunthus*; which reading receives ſome ſtrength from *Priſcian*. *Silius Italicus* likewiſe calls it *Sagunthos*; which word approaches very near what we would have the original name. According to *Appian*, after *Hannibal* had taken it, he brought thither a colony from *Carthage*, and called it *Spartagene*. There ſeem to have been, in antient times, two cities of this name in *Spain*, on the ruins of one of which at preſent ſtands *Siguenza*, a city of *New Caſtille*, ſituate upon the river *Henares*. The inhabitants of *Saguntum* are greatly celebrated, for their conſtancy and fidelity to the *Romans*, by moſt of the *Roman* hiſtorians (2).

(1) *Liv. l.* xxi. *Ennius apud Feſt. in voc.* falarica. *Non. Marcel. in voc. Virg. Æn.* ix. *& Serv. in loc. & in Æn.* v. *Pomp. Sabin. annotat. in Virg. Æn.* v. *Juvenal. apud Serv. ubi ſup. Ammian. Marcellin. apud Pomp. Sabin. ubi ſup. Veget. de re milit. l.* iv. *c.* 18. *Iſidor. l.* xviii. *c.* 7. *Heſych. in voc.* φαλάρικα. *Joan. Britan. in Juvenal. ſat.* vi. *Suid. in voc.* φάλος. *Mat. Martin. in voc.* falæ. *Schind. pent. p.* 454, 1317, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323——1443, 1444. *Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l.* iii. *c.* 88. (2) *Quintil. Terentian. Priſcian. &c. Vide etiam Joſ. Scalig. animadverſ. in Euſeb. Jul. Cæſ. Scalig. de ling. Lat. alioſq; mult. Strab. l.* iii. *Lucan. l.* iii. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. *&* ii. *Appian. in Iberic. Flor. Eutrop. Oroſ. &c.*

miniſters at ſome diſtance from the camp, and, accoſting them as friends, to aſſure them, that it would on no account be ſafe to approach nearer the camp, ſince the general himſelf was abſent, and the barbarous nations, which formed the *Carthaginian* army, had ſuch an antipathy to the *Romans*, that they would undoubtedly maſſacre them, if an opportunity offered. *Livy* intimates, that *Hannibal* diſpatched meſſengers to the ſea-ſide to meet the deputies above-mentioned, and acquaint them in his name, that it was by no means proper for them to truſt their perſons with thoſe fierce nations, of which his army was compoſed; and that the multiplicity of his affairs would not permit him then to hear their propoſals. *Polybius*, on the other hand, aſſerts, that the *Roman* deputation found *Hannibal* in his winter-quarters at *New Carthage*, a little before he had formed the ſiege of *Saguntum*; and that, being admitted to an audience, they adviſed him not to attack the *Saguntines*, whom the *Romans* had taken under their protection; nor infringe the late treaty concluded with *Aſdrubal*, by paſſing the *Iberus*. *Hannibal*, according to the ſame hiſtorian, being then ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, fired with ambition, and mortally hating the *Romans*, with ſome emotion, replied, that the *Romans* themſelves had already given juſt grounds for a rupture, by oppreſſing ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of *Saguntum*, after the citizens had applied to them, upon the breaking out of a ſedition in the city, to make up all differences between the contending parties by a juſt and impartial arbitration; and that as the *Carthaginians*, in imitation of their anceſtors, always thought it incumbent upon them to ſuccour the oppreſſed, he would revenge ſo perfidious an action, unleſs the *Romans* gave immediate ſatisfaction to the perſons injured. At the ſame time, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Carthage*, informing the ſenate, that the *Saguntines*, grown inſolent by their alliance with *Rome*, and ſpirited up by their allies, made irruptions into the *Carthaginian* territories, deſiring inſtructions how to act in ſo critical a ſituation. *Livy* ſays, that the *Roman* deputies, being denied acceſs to *Hannibal*, ſailed directly to *Carthage*, to demand ſatisfaction there; but that *Hannibal* took care to ſend advice to the leaders of the *Barchine* faction of what had happened, and to prepare their minds for giving the *Romans* ſuch a reception as he deſired; in conſequence of which, they were diſmiſſed from *Carthage*, without any ſatisfactory anſwer. Whether any of theſe jarring relations be true, or which of them is ſo, we ſhall not take upon us at preſent to determine. However, we cannot avoid obſerving, that *Polybius* has probability on his ſide; for it is much more likely, that a general, ſo famed for politeneſs and addreſs as *Hannibal* was, ſhould confer with the *Roman* deputation, in his turn expoſtulate with them, and impute the approaching rupture to their principals, as is, generally ſpeaking, the practice of civilized ſtates at this day, than to behave in ſo rude and ſavage a manner towards them, as the *Roman* hiſtorians, and their adherents, ſuggeſt. Certain it is, that theſe laſt authors deſerve very little credit, when they deliver any thing, that affects the character either of *Hannibal*, or his enemy *Hanno*, ſince it is their conſtant endeavour to paint the former in the blackeſt colours, and to repreſent the latter, with his partizans, as the only virtuous members of the ſtate of *Carthage*. They were ſo greatly obliged to *Hanno* for his kind diſpoſition towards them, or at leaſt his averſion to their enemies, and received ſo much of the treatment they deſerved from *Hannibal*, that it is no wonder they ſhould labour ſo heartily to depreciate the one, and extol the other, though this was done at the expence of truth, as well as of their own reputation, ſince many of their inſinuations relating to the characters of both theſe *Carthaginians* are abſolutely inconſiſtent with the accounts of their actions, which they themſelves have handed down to us. As we cannot therefore but look upon *Polybius* as the moſt impartial and unprejudiced, as well as the moſt rational and probable, hiſtorian, we ſhall ſuperſede that tedious declamatory harangue of *Hanno* to the ſenate of *Carthage*, in order to prejudice them againſt *Hannibal*, and the *Barchine* family, given us by *Livy*; notwithſtanding which, in order to preſerve conſiſtency, and render our hiſtory uniform throughout, we muſt follow this laſt hiſtorian with reſpect to order of time, and ſuppoſe the *Roman* deputies to have found *Hannibal* employed in the ſiege at preſent under conſideration. The majority of the ſenate and people being cloſely attached to *Hannibal*, neither the *Roman* faction in *Carthage*, nor the deputies ſent from *Rome* to put them in motion, could prevent the deſtruction of *Saguntum* [g].

a b c d e f

[g] Idem ibid. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchel. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 21. Paul. Oros. l. iv. c. 14. Eutrop. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 692.

a

But to return to the military operations: After the late repulse, *Hannibal*, finding his troops greatly fatigued, remained for some days in a state of inaction, but disposed guards in proper places to defend his works and machines from all attempts of the enemy. In the mean time, in a speech he made to his soldiers, he endeavoured to raise their courage, by inspiring them with a detestation of the enemy, by promising them great rewards, if they did their duty, and lastly, by assuring them of the plunder of the place, in case it was taken by storm. The garison likewise kept quiet within the town, and took the opportunity of this cessation of arms to build a counter-wall opposite to the breach the *Carthaginians* had made. *Hannibal*'s troops greatly animated by the hopes of sharing the plunder of the town, made a vigorous attack, b being encouraged by their general, who had placed himself on the top of a moveable tower, overlooking all the works of the besieged, and the whole city. In fine, *Hannibal*, having cleared the breach of the soldiers posted there for its defence, and demolished the new wall, by the assistance of five hundred *Africans* appointed to undermine it, entered the town without opposition; and possessing himself of an eminence near the citadel, drew a line of circumvallation round it, and planted his artillery against it. The *Saguntines* however did all that could be expected from men animated by despair; they erected a new wall to support that part of the city, which the enemy had not yet made themselves masters of; they disputed every inch of ground with the utmost bravery; and repulsed the besiegers in many attacks. How- c ever, being not a little streightened for want of provisions, they found themselves reduced to great extremities, especially as they had no prospect of foreign aid, the *Romans* seeming to have intirely deserted them. But they were, for the present, relieved by an expedition *Hannibal* undertook against the *Carpetani* and *Oretani*, who shewed a disposition to shake off the *Carthaginian* yoke. The besieged however did not reap any great advantages from this expedition, since *Maherbal*, the son of *Himilco*, whom *Hannibal* left to command the forces before *Saguntum* in his absence, pushed on the siege with as much vigour as *Hannibal* himself could have done. Battering the new wall incessantly with his rams, he made such a breach in it, that *Hannibal*, returning sooner than was expected, having quashed the conspiracy of the d aforesaid nations in embryo, immediately stormed the citadel. After a warm dispute, *Hannibal*, making a lodgment, possessed himself of part of it, the *Saguntines*, with no small difficulty, maintaining themselves in the other [b].

Hannibal *carries on briskly the siege of* Saguntum.

Whilst affairs were in this melancholy situation, one *Alcon* a *Saguntine* went privately by night, unknown to his countrymen, to the *Carthaginian* camp, where, by his tears and supplications, he endeavoured to move *Hannibal*'s compassion towards the unhappy citizens of *Saguntum*. He could however make no impression upon that general. The conditions he insisted upon were; that they should give ample satisfaction to the *Turdetani*; that they should deliver up all their treasure to the *Carthaginians*; and that they should retire, with only their cloaths upon their e backs, to the place the *Carthaginians* should assign them for their habitation. These conditions appeared so intolerable to *Alcon*, that he durst not propose them to the garison of *Saguntum*; and therefore remained in *Hannibal*'s camp. But one *Alorcus*, a *Spaniard*, then in the *Carthaginian* service, though expressing a great regard and esteem for the miserable inhabitants of that unfortunate city, undertook to convey the *Carthaginian* general's proposals to them. This he did, endeavouring at the same time to prevail upon that unhappy people to embrace them; but they were so harsh, that the *Saguntines* could not so much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that pur- f pose, and afterwards themselves. At the same time a tower, which had been battered by *Hannibal*'s rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the *Carthaginians* entered the town by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it and the citadel, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants, who were of age to bear arms. *Livy* relates, that vast numbers of the *Saguntines*, without distinction of sex or age, were massacred; and that many, taken prisoners, became the property of the soldiery. According to *Frontinus*, *Hannibal*, by a stratagem, drew the garison out of the town, and put them all to the sword. *Zonaras* tell us, that *Hannibal* took the city in the following manner: He applied a machine to the wall, which overtopped it, and was filled with armed men, some of whom

And takes it.

[b] Polyb. & Liv. ubi supra.

whom were in ſight, and others concealed. Whilſt the *Saguntines* warmly engaged a
thoſe in ſight, the others concealed undermined the wall; which falling, gave the
Carthaginians an opportunity of advancing into the town, and threw the *Saguntines*
into ſuch a conſternation, that they immediately retired into the citadel. Upon their
application to *Hannibal*, finding him averſe to moderation, and themſelves deſtitute
of any proſpect of aſſiſtance from the *Romans*; they deſired ſome days to deliberate
upon the meaſures they were to take; which being granted, in that interval they
committed every thing valuable to the flames; perſuaded the poor helpleſs people
to lay violent hands on themſelves; and then, making a ſally on the beſiegers, were
all put to the ſword [i].

He finds great ſpoils there.

Notwithstanding the fire above-mentioned, the *Carthaginians* got a very b
rich booty. *Hannibal* did not reſerve to himſelf any part of this; but applied it ſolely
to the carrying on of his enterprizes. *Polybius* remarks, that the taking of *Saguntum* was of ſignal ſervice to him in the execution of the ſcheme he had formed, as it
ſtimulated his ſoldiers to further conqueſts by the ſight of ſo much booty, and a proſpect of more; as likewiſe by engaging the principal perſons of *Carthage* to ſecond
his views; which the large preſents he was enabled to make them from ſuch rich
ſpoils could not fail of doing. He alſo from hence laid the foundations of a future
fund to ſupply all his exigencies in the accompliſhment of the vaſt project he had ſo
long been intent upon.

The Romans *ſend freſh ambaſſadors to* Carthage.

The news of the taking of *Saguntum* had ſcarce reached *Carthage*, when embaſſa- c
dors arrived there from *Rome*, demanding of the ſenate and people, whether the *Spaniſh*
expedition had been undertaken by their order, or *Hannibal*, contrary to their approbation, had been the ſole author of it. One of the *Carthaginian* ſenators, the beſt
qualified for this purpoſe, by order of the ſenate, endeavoured to vindicate *Hannibal*'s
conduct, or rather that of the republic, on this occaſion. He made very ſlight
mention of the laſt treaty *Aſdrubal* had concluded with the *Romans*, only endeavouring to draw a parallel betwixt it and the peace granted the *Carthaginians*, by the
conſul *Lutatius*, after the battle off of the iſlands *Ægates*. He inſiſted, that as the
ſenate and people of *Rome* had taken the liberty to inſert ſome additional articles
in that treaty, ſo the *Carthaginian* ſenate and people had an equal right to make what d
alterations they thought proper in that *Aſdrubal* had concluded with the *Romans*. He
further acquainted them, that the *Carthaginians* were not ſtrangers to the ambitious
deſigns of their republic; and that they might enter upon the execution of them as
ſoon as they pleaſed, without giving any concern or uneaſineſs to his ſtate. In ſhort,
he gave them to underſtand, that the ſenate and people, notwithſtanding the efforts
of *Hanno* and his faction, were of the ſame ſentiments with *Hannibal*, in relation to
the affair of *Saguntum*, and intirely approved of what he had done. Upon which
Q. Fabius, the ſenior of the embaſſy, declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*, in the
manner already related by us in a former part of this hiſtory [k].

An inquiry into the juſtice of this war.

In order to give our readers an adequate idea of the juſtice with which this war e
was entered upon, we muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the *Carthaginians* had, in reality,
a right to call the *Romans* to an account for their former inſtances of oppreſſion; but
made uſe of a pretended motive, not ſo conſiſtent with the dictates of equity, to
vindicate, or at leaſt to palliate, their conduct on the preſent occaſion. The iniquitous conqueſt of *Sardinia*, and perfidious exaction of the immenſe ſum above-mentioned from the *Carthaginians*, undoubtedly authorized that nation to make repriſals
upon the *Romans*, whenever they found themſelves in a capacity of ſo doing; and
the *Romans*, by intermeddling with the affairs of *Spain*, without any other cauſe,
than to give a check to the *Carthaginian* conqueſts there, did, with reaſon, highly
irritate the ſtate of *Carthage*. But then, on the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that f
no juſt parallel could be drawn betwixt the treaty of peace concluded by the *Romans*
with *Aſdrubal*, and that granted the *Carthaginians* by *Lutatius*. In the former, no
mention was made of the ſenate and people of *Carthage*; but *Aſdrubal* acted, as tho'
he had been inveſted with full powers to ſign whatever articles he ſhould judge proper for the good of the republic; which afterwards gave a ſort of ſanction to what he
had done, by an acquieſcence in it; whereas to the latter, *Lutatius* expreſly added a
clauſe, importing, that the treaty ſhould be valid, provided the ſenate and people of
Rome

[i] Idem ibid. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 4. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Vide etiam Sigon annot. in Liv. l. xxi. [k] Liv. Polyb. Zonar. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 692.

a *Rome* thought proper to ratify it. Here therefore, with *Polybius*, we cannot but acknowledge, that the *Carthaginian* pretext was mere chicane, void of the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon or juſtice to ſupport it. But, with regard to one of the articles of the treaty of *Lutatius*, which the *Romans* urged as a condemnation of the deſtruction of *Saguntum*, we own ourſelves not ſo intirely of that author's ſentiments. The article was to this effect; *That neither party ſhould injure or moleſt the allies of the other*; which he extends to all thoſe with whom an alliance might be contracted in any future times, though, in our opinion, no neceſſity appears for admitting ſuch a ſuppoſition, at leaſt except ſuch an alliance had been contracted by the mutual conſent of both parties; for otherwiſe, each nation might have entered into a confederacy with the declared enemies of
b the other, and then, by virtue of this article, have forced their old friends to make peace with their new confederates; which would undoubtedly have been contrary to the true intent and meaning of it, as well as the general tenor of the treaty; ſince it would have given the more formidable power an opportunity of extorting a compliance with the moſt ruinous conditions from the other. It is probable, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the *Roman* hiſtorians on this head, that the article we are now upon furniſhed the *Romans* with a pretext to countenance the *Sardinian* rebels above-mentioned, and eſpouſe their intereſt, in order to make themſelves maſters of *Sardinia*; ſince it appears from *Livy*, that they underſtood it in the ſenſe of *Polybius*, which ſeems to authorize ſuch an action. It is certain, the perfidious conduct they were guilty of towards the *Car-*
c *thaginians* at that time, gives ground to ſuſpect them capable of wreſting the treaty of *Lutatius* in ſuch a manner, to ſerve ſo villainous a purpoſe; and therefore juſtifies our not intirely agreeing with *Polybius* in the above-mentioned particular. Be that as it will, as the treaty of *Lutatius* was infringed by the reduction of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had no reaſon to condemn any ſubſequent conduct of the *Carthaginians* for its not ſquaring with the articles of that treaty. Beſides, as the *Sicilian* peace bore no relation to the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Spain*, which were made long afterwards, they had no right to preſcribe limits to thoſe conqueſts, which they did, by obliging *Aſdrubal* not to paſs the *Iberus*. Add to this, that it does not appear from hiſtory, that the *Carthaginians* ever ratified, with an oath, the articles *Aſdrubal* ſigned by his own
d authority, but only concealed their diſapprobation of that action, till a proper opportunity of diſcovering it offered; and therefore the *Carthaginians* could not, with ſo much juſtice, be charged with perjury, by concurring with *Hannibal* in the deſtruction of *Saguntum*, as the *Romans* with a ſecond violation of the treaty of *Lutatius*, by extorting a compliance with ſuch hard terms from *Aſdrubal*, when the neceſſity of his affairs would not permit him to refuſe it. In confirmation of what has been advanced, it may be farther obſerved, that the *Romans* had not obliged themſelves, by any implicit covenant prior to the pretended treaty with *Aſdrubal*, to fix the *Iberus* as a boundary to any future acquiſitions or diſcoveries they might make in *Spain*; beſides which, nothing could have the leaſt tendency to palliate their treatment of the
e *Carthaginians* on that occaſion. However, it muſt be owned, that the *Carthaginians* would have acted more generouſly, by aſſigning the unjuſt ceſſion they found themſelves forced to make of *Sardinia*, and the immenſe ſum of money at the ſame time iniquitouſly exacted from them, as the chief motives that prompted them to deſire a rupture with the *Romans*. But they were doubtleſs hindered from this by ſome political views, which, they thought, it might be for their intereſt to keep concealed; than which ſcarce any practice has been more common in all ages; and we have had recent inſtances of princes publiſhing a manifeſto, immediately before a declaration of war, filled with frivolous pretexts, rather than the real cauſes, of their hoſtile intentions [1].

Appian ſeems to intimate, that *Hannibal*, in order to provide for his own ſafety,
f was obliged to attack the *Saguntines*, and come to blows with the *Romans*. Notwithſtanding he was elected general by the army after the death of *Aſdrubal*, and had his election confirmed by the ſenate and people of *Carthage*, yet, according to this author, *Hanno*'s faction, taking advantage of his youth, endeavoured to inſpire the giddy populace with ſentiments to his prejudice. His friends, perceiving the wicked ſuggeſtions of that faction beginning in a ſhort time to take ſome effect, appriſed him of it, deſiring him by no means to forget them, but to exert himſelf in order to promote their intereſt, and conſequently his own. This, adds the ſame author, *Hannibal* had foreſeen; and being ſenſible, that whatever attacks ſeemed levelled at his friends, were principally intended againſt him, notwithſtanding the great ſervices

Hannibal *undertakes this war to prevent civil diſſentions at home, according to* Appian.

[1] Vide Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſupra.

his

his family had done the ſtate of *Carthage*, he thought, that the only expedient to a
prevent civil diſſenſions, and hinder *Hanno*'s inſinuations from making any impreſſion
upon the minds of the populace to his diſadvantage, would be to enter upon a war
with *Rome*. An enterprize of ſuch importance as this, he very well knew, would
engage all the public attention, and of courſe greatly contribute towards ſtifling the
cabals and ſchemes, that might have been formed againſt him, eſpecially as the ge-
nerality, both of the ſenate and people, were eagerly bent upon ſuch a war. Beſides,
the fears and anxieties ariſing in their minds for the ſucceſs of an *Italian* expedition,
would naturally render them cautious of changing hands at home. *Appian*, we ſay,
mentions this as one of the motives that induced *Hannibal* to lay ſiege to *Saguntum*;
which may poſſibly be true. But we muſt own, that neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* takes b
any notice of it. That another motive, as the firſt author relates, was a deſire to
immortalize his name, will be granted by all, who conſider the genius of that gene-
ral, as deſcribed to us by the beſt writers. But whatever might prompt him to the
ſiege above-mentioned, he met with a courage and reſolution in the *Saguntines* worthy
of himſelf. After a moſt gallant defence, they fell in the manner already related,
the very women from the ramparts, with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, beholding the
ſlaughter of their huſbands and relations, and maſſacring all the children, that had
eſcaped the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some writers
inſinuate, that, before the laſt ſally, the *Saguntines* melted lead with their gold and
ſilver, imagining, that ſuch a mixed maſs could not be of any great ſervice to the c
Carthaginians; and that *Hannibal* would have found it more difficult ſtill to have car-
ried the place, had not the citizens been reduced to the laſt extremity by famine.
The *Carthaginian* general did not think proper to raze the city, but tranſplanted
thither a colony from *Carthage*. Thus the *Saguntines*, after a ſiege of eight months,
fell a ſacrifice to *Hannibal*'s reſentment, being marked out for deſtruction, on account
of their ſingular fidelity and attachment to the *Romans* [m].

The Romans *attempt to draw the* Spaniards *off from the* Carthaginian *intereſt, but in vain.*

THE *Carthaginians*, or at leaſt the *Barchine* faction, received the *Roman* declara-
tion of war from *Fabius* with great joy and acclamations, aſſuring him they would
carry it on with the utmoſt vigour and alacrity, and make all poſſible efforts to
revenge the repeated extortions, the ſiniſter deſigns, the unjuſt invaſions, and the d
haughty behaviour of his republic. In conſequence of this ſtep, *Fabius*, and his com-
panions, returned home, taking *Spain* in their way, as they had been ordered by the
ſenate. Upon their arrival there, they endeavoured to draw the *Spaniards* ſubject to
Carthage from their allegiance, to detach the allies of that ſtate there from its intereſt,
and to enter into an alliance with as many of the *Spaniſh* nations, as were diſpoſed to
accept either the friendſhip or protection of the *Roman* republic, purſuant to the
inſtructions they had received before their departure from *Rome*. The *Barguſii*, being
deſirous of ſhaking off the *Carthaginian* yoke, gave the *Roman* embaſſadors a kind
reception; which not a little influenced many other neighbouring cantons. But this
ſucceſs was not laſting; for the *Volſciani*, upon *Fabius*'s application to them, made e
him this ſmart reply: *With what face can you*, Romans, *offer to ſolicit us to prefer your
friendſhip to that of the* Carthaginians, *ſince your treachery to the brave* Saguntines, *who
did ſo, exceeded even the cruelty of that barbarous enemy, who deſtroyed them? Seek for
allies, where the fate of* Saguntum *is not known. The deſtruction of that city will ſerve
for a lively leſſon to the people of* Spain, *to take care how they ever repoſe any confidence in
the* Romans. After which, the embaſſadors, being commanded to leave the terri-
tories of the *Volſciani*, found themſelves obliged to retire out of *Spain*, without accom-
pliſhing their deſign. Neither did they meet with any better ſucceſs in *Gaul*; for
when they deſired the *Gauls* to refuſe the *Carthaginians* a paſſage through their country
into *Italy*, they could by no means prevail upon them to grant their requeſt. *Han-* f
nibal had before prepoſſeſſed them in favour of the *Carthaginians*; which he found it
no difficult matter to do, they having, on various accounts, conceived an averſion to
the *Romans* [n].

Hannibal *puts both* Spain *and* Africa *into a poſture of defence.*

AFTER the reduction of *Saguntum*, *Hannibal* put his *African* troops into winter-
quarters at *New Carthage*; but permitted the *Spaniards*, in order to gain their
affection, to retire to their reſpective habitations. During the winter, he remained
in a ſtate of inaction, but made ſeveral very wiſe regulations for the ſecurity of the
Car-

[m] DIOD SIC. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman, & Hœſchel. APPIAN. in Iberic. Vide & POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. ubi ſup. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 7. PLUT. in Hannib. PETRON. ARBIT. in ſatyric. [n] LIV. POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi ſup.

a *Carthaginian* dominions both in *Spain* and *Africa*. He tranſported into *Africa*, for the defence of that country, a body of *Spaniards*, conſiſting of *Therſitæ*, *Maſtiani*, and *Olcades*, amounting to twelve hundred horſe, and thirteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty foot, to which were added ſome companies raiſed in the *Balearic* iſlands. Theſe it was thought proper to place, for the moſt part, in the provinces of *Metagonum*, and city of *Carthage*. He poſted four thouſand *Metagonitæ* likewiſe in *Carthage*, not only to defend that metropolis, in caſe of need, but likewiſe to ſerve as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. *Hannibal* appointed his brother *Aſdrubal* to command in *Spain*, leaving him, beſides a ſufficient naval force, a powerful army, to preſerve the *Carthaginian* acquiſitions there.

b The *African* corps, deſtined to act in *Spain* under the command of *Aſdrubal*, was compoſed of four hundred and fifty *African* and *Libyphœnician* cavalry, eleven thouſand eight hundred and fifty *Maſſylian*, *Maſſæſylian*, *Macian*, and *Mauritanian* foot, beſides three hundred (C) *Lorgitæ*, eighteen hundred *Numidians*, three hundred *Ligurians*, five hundred *Balearic* ſlingers, and above twenty elephants. Theſe particulars, *Polybius* tells us, he extracted from ſome tables or records of copper, engraved by *Hannibal* himſelf when in *Italy*, and left by him at *Laciniium* (D). After ſuch a prudent diſpoſition, which had a natural tendency to render both *Spain* and *Africa* intirely dependent on *Carthage*, as well as more cloſely to cement the people of thoſe countries by mutual bonds of friendſhip, he made the neceſſary preparations to paſs the *Iberus*.

c But before he attempted this, he judged it expedient to win the *Ciſalpine Gauls* over to his intereſt, that he might not only have a free paſſage through their country, but likewiſe receive a reinforcement from them when there. This he effected, partly by diſtributing ſome gold amongſt their chiefs, and partly by heightening their averſion to the *Romans*. Having received intelligence, that the *Gauls* were ready to join him, and before diſcharged his vows made to *Hercules* at *Gades*, as well as engaged himſelf by new ones, provided ſucceſs attended his arms in the enſuing expedition, he immediately put himſelf in motion. As his emiſſaries, arrived from *Gaul*, informed him, that though

(C) It is evident from *Livy*, that *Polybius*'s text here ſtands in need of an emendation. We find in no author the word *Lorgitæ*, [ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ] as the name of a people; but the *Ilergetes*, whom *Livy* takes notice of here, and whom *Polybius* had mentioned juſt before, were a people of *Spain*, frequently deſcribed by antient writers. In the room therefore of ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ, we ought to ſubſtitute ΙΛΟΥΡΓΗΤΟΙ, nothing being more eaſy, than for ſome letters, and parts of letters, to be defaced by time, or a variety of contingencies. As *Livy* cloſely followed *Polybius*, we doubt not but ΙΛΟΥΡΓΗΤΟΙ is the true reading (3).

(D) The *Lacinium*, here mentioned by *Polybius*, muſt, we apprehend, have been the name of a town near the *Lacinian* promontory in *Calabria*, taken notice of by ſeveral authors. From this curious paſſage of *Polybius*, as well as from *Livy*, it ſeems to appear, that *Hannibal* left behind him an account of the principal, if not all, the tranſactions he was concerned in there. But here a queſtion may ariſe, In what language was this account left written or engraved? To which we muſt beg leave to anſwer, that our readers may determine for themſelves, when they have conſidered the principal arguments that may be offered in favour both of the *Greek* and *Carthaginian* languages, which we ſhall here lay down for their peruſal. In behalf of the *Greek* it may be urged, firſt, that *Hannibal* intended his tables ſhould be underſtood by the natives of the country wherein they were left. Now the *Greek* was the tongue of *Magna Græcia*, and conſequently of the *Brutii*, in whoſe territory *Lacinium* was ſituated. Secondly, *Hannibal* underſtood *Greek*, having been taught it by *Soſilus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and compoſed ſome pieces himſelf in that language. Thirdly, *Soſilus* attended *Hannibal* in his expeditions, and wrote a hiſtory of them in *Greek*, from whence, it is probable, the inſcriptions on theſe tables of copper, mentioned by *Polybius*, were taken. Fourthly, as *Polybius* underſtood theſe inſcriptions, and made extracts from them, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that they muſt have been in *Greek*. On the other hand, it may be ſaid, firſt, that the *Greek* language had been expelled *Carthage* before *Hannibal*'s time; and that the *Carthaginians* ever retained ſuch an averſion to the *Greeks*, that it cannot be ſuppoſed the language of that nation ſhould afterwards have been introduced amongſt them. Secondly, that though *Hannibal*, for his own private amuſement, ſtudied the *Greek* tongue, he was too wiſe ſo far to thwart the genius of his countrymen, as to leave a journal or hiſtory of his *Italian* wars in it, eſpecially as he had a faction againſt him at *Carthage*. Thirdly, that the *Carthaginian* and *Etruſcan* languages muſt have been related, the *Etruſcans* being deſcended from the *Pelaſgi* and *Phœnicians*; and it is well known, that the *Etruſcan* was the antient language of *Magna Græcia*, that country having been antiently a part of *Etruria*. Fourthly, the *Carthaginians* had, for many generations, an intercourſe with the people of *Magna Græcia*; and ſeveral coins of that country, particularly of the *Thurians*, have characters upon them reſembling the *Etruſcan*, and even the *Carthaginian*. From hence it is probable, the inhabitants of *Magna Græcia* underſtood ſomething of the *Carthaginian* tongue; which renders it likely, that the language of *Hannibal*'s tables muſt have been the *Carthaginian*. But this we leave our readers to decide (4).

(3) *Liv. & Polyb. in loc. citat.*

(4) *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 56. *Liv. l.* xxviii. *ſub fin. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Juſtin. l.* xx. *c.* 5. *Diod. Sic. paſſ. Stillingfl. in orig. Scip. Maff. in ant. Etruſc. & Latin. Diod. Sic. l.* v. *Liv. l.* i. & v. *Jul. Philargyr. ad Virg. georg. l.* ii. *ver.* 534. *Varro apud Jul. Philargyr. ubi ſup. Serv. in Virg. loc. jam laudat. Vide & Dempſt. de Etr. regal. l.* i. *c.* 1. *p.* 3, 4.

though the paſſage of the *Alps* was difficult, it was far from being impracticable, he a
began to look upon the *Carthaginians* as already maſters of *Italy* °.

His remarkable dream.

Having therefore completed his military preparations, and got every thing
in readineſs for the intended expedition, early in the ſpring he moved out of his
winter-quarters, advancing at the head of all his forces to *Etouiſſa*, and from thence
to the *Iberus*. Here, we are told, *Hannibal* had a remarkable dream, which gave
him great hopes of ſucceſs in the enterprize he was going to enter upon. That gene-
ral, according to the authors referred to, imagined himſelf, in his ſleep, ſum-
moned to a council of the gods, who commanded him to begin his march for *Italy*
without delay. At the ſame time, there appeared to him a youth incircled with glory,
who ſaid, that *Jupiter* had appointed him his guide, with orders to conduct him and b
his troops to *Italy*, ſtrictly injoining him never to draw his eyes from off him; which
injunction he, for ſome time, obeyed: but at laſt, having the curioſity to look behind
him, he ſaw a ſerpent of a monſtrous ſize moving with great celerity, overthrowing all
the trees, ſhrubs, *&c.* in its way, and attended by a dreadful tempeſt, with violent claps
of thunder. He then aſked his guide, What ſuch a prodigy could portend? who
told him, it preſaged the dreadful devaſtations, that ſhould be committed in *Italy* by
his troops, deſiring him to purſue his journey, and not to be too inquiſitive, nor pry
too deeply into what the fates had decreed. Upon his paſſing the *Iberus*, ſeveral
beaſts, of a ſpecies utterly unknown, likewiſe appeared to him, ſeeming to ſhew the
way to his troops. The *Romans*, about the ſame time, were as greatly diſpirited by c
bad omens, as *Hannibal* found himſelf animated by good ones. An ox ſpoke audibly
with a human voice at *Rome*, juſt before the commencement of this war; another
threw itſelf from the top of a houſe into the *Tiber*, and was drowned, during the
public diverſions; many places were ſtruck with lightning; blood flowed from many
ſtatues, and from the ſhield of one of the legionaries; and laſtly, a wolf carried off
a ſword out of the camp. Whether theſe occurrences are to be eſteemed as ſo many
fictions, intirely owing to that credulity and ſuperſtition, to which both the *Romans*
and *Carthaginians* were ſo much addicted, or as real events, intended by Providence
as preſages of thoſe dreadful convulſions, which afterwards happended in the *Roman*
and *Carthaginian* ſtates, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only obſerve, d
that many arguments may be offered in ſupport of each opinion. However, as the
hiſtories of almoſt all nations are interſperſed with ſuch relations, as Scripture itſelf
gives countenance to ſome of them, and as the authors cited here are of no mean
authority, we doubt not, but our curious readers will at leaſt excuſe what has been
inſerted in this place [p].

He paſſes the Iberus.

Before *Hannibal* began the operations of the campaign, he thought it incumbent
on him to inſpire life and vigour into the ſoldiery, nothing but that being now want-
ing, ſince the ſenate and people of *Carthage*, at the inſtigation of *Aſdrubal*, had given
him an unlimited commiſſion, which left him in full power to act as he ſhould think
fit for the good of the republic. In an harangue therefore he acquainted the army, e
that ſuch was the inſolence of the *Romans*, that they inſiſted upon having him,
and all the general officers, delivered up to them; that *Italy* was one of the moſt
fertile and delicious countries in the world; that he had juſt concluded a treaty with
the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, through whoſe countries they muſt paſs, who would not only
ſupply them with all neceſſaries, but join them with a good body of troops, bearing
a mortal hatred to the *Romans*; ſo that they ought to look upon themſelves as mo-
rally certain of ſucceſs. The ſoldiers, animated by this ſpeech, loudly proclaimed
their confidence in his conduct, at the ſame time declaring themſelves ready to follow
him whitherſoever he ſhould think proper to lead them, and to ſpend the laſt drop of
their blood in executing the project he had formed. Finding it therefore time to f
enter upon action, he took a review of his army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand foot,
and twelve thouſand horſe, of various nations, beſides a good number of elephants;
and then, without the leaſt obſtruction, paſſed the *Iberus* [q].

And ſubdues all the nations betwixt that river and the Pyrenees.

The *Ilergetes* and *Barguſii* were the firſt cantons he obliged to ſubmit to the *Car-
thaginians*, and ſoon after the *Ærenoſii* and *Auſetani*, people whoſe territories extended
as far as the *Pyrenees*. Nevertheleſs, as he reduced ſeveral towns by force, theſe
conqueſts coſt him abundance of men. Before he proceeded farther on his march,
he conſtituted *Hanno* governor of the country betwixt the *Pyrenees* and the *Iberus*,
which

° Iidem, ibid. [p] Liv. ubi ſupra. Zonar. l. viii. c. 22. p. 407, 408, 409. Val. Max. l. i. c. 7.
Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 5, 6, 7. Dan. c. ii. ver. 29, &c. [q] Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup.

a which included the territory of the *Barguſii*, injoining him to have a watchful eye over that people, whoſe former conduct gave him reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſtill they were ſecretly well-wiſhers to the *Romans*. To ſupport *Hanno* in his new poſt, he left him a body of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe; and in order to ingratiate himſelf with the *Spaniards*, that he might be the more readily ſupplied with what recruits he ſhould want in *Italy*, he diſmiſſed about the like number of them to their reſpective habitations, and gave the greateſt encouragement to thoſe that continued in the *Carthaginian* ſervice. Upon a muſter of his forces, after they were weakened by ſieges, deſertion, mortality, and the aforeſaid diſmiſſion and detachment, he found them to amount to fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe, all veteran troops,
b and the beſt in the world. As they had left all their heavy baggage with *Hanno*, and were light-armed, *Hannibal* eaſily croſſed the *Pyrenees*, paſſed by *Ruſcino*, the *Rouſſillon* of the moderns, a frontier town of the *Gauls*, and arrived on the banks of the *Rhone* without oppoſition [r].

He advances to the Rhone, *and paſſes it.*

FOR ſome time, however, he was retarded in his march by the jealouſy of the *Gauls*; for that nation, hearing that the *Carthaginian* army, then encamped at *Illiberis*, a city of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, had reduced the country immediately beyond the *Pyrenees* and left ſtrong gariſons there to keep the natives in awe, entertained vehement ſuſpicions, that *Hannibal* had a deſign upon them, notwithſtanding his pretext of invading *Italy*. But upon his decamping ſpeedily from *Illiberis*, giving them the ſtrongeſt
c aſſurances of his amicable intentions towards them, and making a few preſents to their *reguli*, they permitted him to continue his route without the leaſt moleſtation. Upon his approaching the banks of the *Rhone*, the greateſt part of the *Volcæ* (E), a nation inhabiting the tract contiguous to that river, withdrew, with all their effects, to the oppoſite bank, the other neighbouring *Gauls* being his friends, and giving him all the aſſiſtance they were able. The *Gauls* on the other ſide, taking umbrage at the approach of ſo formidable a power, had aſſembled all their forces, with an intent to diſpute the paſſage of the river; which *Hannibal* perceiving, and finding it no-where fordable in ſight of the enemy, he began to be in pain for the ſucceſs of the expedition; but his good fortune ſtill attending him, he at laſt carried his point by a ſtra-
d tagem, and diſperſed the *Gallic* forces in the manner by us already related. But, after all, the greateſt difficulty was how to waft over the elephants. Some affirm this to have been done in the following manner: a float of timber, two hundred foot long and fifty broad, was thrown from the bank of the river, being fixed thereto, by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; ſo that the elephants, deceived with this appearance, thought themſelves upon firm ground. From the firſt float they proceeded to a ſecond, which was built in the ſame form, but only an hundred foot long, and faſtened to the former by chains, that were eaſily looſened. The female elephants were put upon the firſt float, and the males followed. As ſoon as they got upon the ſecond float, it was looſened from the firſt, and, by the help of ſmall
e boats, towed to the oppoſite ſhore. After this, it was ſent back to fetch thoſe which were left behind. Some threw their guides, and fell into the water, but they at laſt got ſafe to ſhore; ſo that out of forty-eight, not a ſingle elephant was drowned. Others ſay, that *Hannibal* ordered them all to be drawn together on the bank of the river, when one of the guides, by his direction, having irritated the fierceſt of them, leaped into the river, and ſwam to the oppoſite ſide, being hotly purſued by the enraged beaſt, that immediately ruſhed into the (F) water after him with the utmoſt fury;

[r] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſupra.

(E) The *Volcæ*, or *Volcæ Aricomici*, according to *Strabo*, were a nation, that inhabited the country contiguous to one ſide of the *Rhodanus* or the *Rhone*; but had nothing to do on the other, as *Livy* here aſſerts. *Nemauſus*, the *Niſmes* of the moderns, was their capital. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, take particular notice of them (5).

(F) But this, with *Livy*, we cannot help thinking improbable; eſpecially ſince it is remarked by *Polybius*, that elephants were exceedingly afraid of the water; inſomuch, that though they were taught an exact obedience to their guides, yet theſe could never prevail upon them to go into the water without the utmoſt difficulty. That excellent author adds, that, on the preſent occaſion, theſe beaſts were at firſt ſo terrified, that they ran from one ſide of the float to the other; but ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded with water, the fear of that element kept them in order. However, ſome of them, he tells us, were ſo extremely ſcared, that, being in the middle of the ſtream, they leaped into it, tho' breathing freely, and diſcharging their ſtomachs of the water taken in, by the aſſiſtance of their trunks, which they held above water, they were thereby preſerved.

Though, according to *Polybius* here, the elephant is

(5) *Strab. l.* iii. *p.* 129. *Mel. Plin. & Ptol. in Gal.*

fury; upon which all the reſt followed. *Hannibal* ſpent five days in paſſing the a river, though vaſt numbers of the *Gauls*, by their aſſiſtance, facilitated the execution of the plan he had formed. The elephants were not wafted over, till the day after the

is afraid of paſſing deep and rapid waters, yet, if *Ælian* may be credited, that animal takes delight in the marſhes, being, for the moſt part, in moiſt places. The *Indians* therefore, employed in taking their whelps, (for vaſt numbers of theſe they train up for uſe) generally go to ſuch places, where they ſeldom fail of finding them. In ſummer-time the elephant covers himſelf with mud, to avoid the heat, receiving more refreſhment from hence, than from being in the ſhade (5).

In confirmation of what *Polybius* aſſerts, it may be obſerved, that, according to naturaliſts, the elephant is a vaſt animal, of a make intirely unfit for ſwimming. He drinks much, *Ariſtotle* aſſuring us, that there have been ſome elephants, that have been ſeen to drink fourteen *amphoras* of the *Macedonian* meaſure, that is, if we will believe *Budæus*, about one eighth part of a *Paris* hogſhead. It is remarkable, that this animal always diſturbs the water before he drinks, as if this was a way to make it more nouriſhing, or to add a certain taſte to it, and take away the ſweetneſs of it, which is not ſufficiently pungent to his tongue. *Ælian* intimates, that the ſight of the ſea terrifies the elephant; and that, in order to get him on ſhip-board, recourſe is ſometimes had to ſuch an artifice as that here mentioned; which notion he undoubtedly received from the very paſſage of *Polybius* we are now upon (6).

The wild elephant chiefly feeds upon ruſhes, ivy, the tender tops of palms, the young ſhoots of other trees, plants, *&c.* We are told, that when wild elephants find themſelves neceſſitated to paſs a river, that is not extremely deep, the younger ſwim over firſt, after which the others ford it, the females carrying their young on their trunks. Theſe animals herd together in great numbers in *India*, and are hunted by the *Indians*, partly on account of the ivory they produce, and partly for other reaſons. We find a full and particular deſcription of the *Indian* manner of hunting them in *Agatharchides Cnidius* and *Ælian* (7).

Of all quadrupeds the elephant is the largeſt; the male is much higher and ſtronger than the female, being ſometimes in *India* nine cubits high, and capable of carrying a tower on his back with thirty-two warriors in it. With one ſtroke of his trunk he kills a camel or a horſe, and has been known to draw two caſt cannons faſtened together with cables, and weighing each three thouſand pounds, five hundred paces, with his teeth. The *Indian* elephants are either black, or of a mouſe-colour; but ſome white ones are found in *Ethiopia*. According to *Ptolemy*, all the *Ethiopian* elephants were formerly of that colour. Some few were likewiſe produced in *India*, and looked upon as great curioſities by the princes of that country. It is remarkable, that this animal has a particular averſion to a ſow. The grunting of that creature, as well as the ſqueaking of a young pig, ſtrikes him with terror. A ram likewiſe he has an antipathy to. But his two worſt enemies are the dragon and the rhinoceros; the latter frequently worſting him in combat, and the former as often deſtroying him by ſucking all the blood out of his veins. *Ælian* tells us, that theſe dragons ſtrangle the elephant firſt. However, the blood, that they imbibe, kills them. Some authors affirm, that the female elephant goes two years with her young, and that the elephant is reckoned in his prime at ſixty years of age. Some elephants have been known to live above two hundred, three hundred and fifty, and even four hundred years; for which reaſon that animal was a ſymbol of eternity amongſt the antients, and, as ſuch, may be ſeen on the reverſes of ſeveral antique coins (8).

Though the elephant is naturally a quiet and inoffenſive animal, yet he is terrible when provoked: nothing can ſtand before him; he overſets trees, houſes, and walls; he tramples under foot every thing that comes in his way; he overthrows whole ſquadrons. His arms are his trunk, and his teeth his horns, for ſo ſome of the antients call them. His trunk is a long, hollow cartilage, like a large trumpet, hanging between his teeth, and frequently ſerves him for hands. His teeth are the ivory ſo well known to us, being of the nature of horn, and may be ſoftened. There have been elephants teeth ſeen as large as a man's thigh, and a fathom in length. When they quarrel amongſt themſelves, they ſtrike one another with their teeth, as bulls do with their horns. However, the elephant never uſes his ſtrength, but when compelled to it. He creates no terror in other creatures. If he is obliged to paſs through a herd of other beaſts, he puts them gently out of his way with his trunk, to make way for him. He feeds in the fields and meadows; and the weakeſt and tameſt animals, with impunity, play before him. If *Ælian* may be credited, the elephant is quite raviſhed and tranſported at the ſight of a beautiful woman. He takes great delight likewiſe, according to the ſame author, in beautiful flowers, particularly thoſe that emit fragrant odours, which are exceeding grateful to him (9).

Of all animals the elephant comes neareſt to man in ſagacity, docility, addreſs, clemency, prudence, equity, and, according to ſome authors, even religion. His modeſty, fidelity, chaſtity, *&c.* are likewiſe greatly celebrated by the antients. He underſtands the language of his guide and of the country where he is produced. *Pliny* mentions one that underſtood *Greek*, and could write that language. *Ælian* tells us he ſaw another that wrote *Latin*, and, whilſt writing, behaved with great attention. In *Hadrian*'s time, *Arrian* ſaw an elephant playing on a cymbal, and others dancing about him. That they worſhip the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and even are not void of ſome ſenſe of moral duties, is atteſted by ſeveral good authors. In ſhort, ſo many things of this kind are related of them, as would ſeem fabulous, were they not delivered by grave writers. The antients gave them both names and ſurnames. The names were generally ſuch as great warriors had gone by, *viz. Patroclus*, *Ajax*, &c. They frequently bore a ſingular affection to their guides, of which we are ſupplied

(5) *Polyb. in loc. citat. Ælian. de animal. l.* iv. *c.* 24. *& l.* xiii. *c.* 8. *& l.* ix. *c.* 56. (6) *Ælian. l.* x. *Plin. l.* viii. *Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. c.* 9. (7) *Ælian. l.* vii. *c.* 6. *& l.* x. *c.* 17. *& l.* vii. *c.* 15. *Agatharchides Cnidius apud Phot. in biblioth. p.* 1354. (8) *Ariſtot. hiſt animal. l.* ix. *c.* 46. *Plin. nat. hiſt. l.* viii. *c.* 1. *Auctor incert. apud Pithœum. Lotichius ad Petron. Arb Ptol. in Afric. c.* 9. *Ælian. de animal. l.* i *c.* 38. *& alib. paſſ. Polyæn. in ſtrat. l.* iv. *c.* 6. *ex.* 3. *Plin. ubi ſup. & c.* 11. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Agatharchides Cnidius ubi ſup. p.* 1362. *Solin. c.* 30. *Philoſtrat. apud Phot. in biblioth. p.* 1019. *& in vit. Apollon. l.* xi. *c.* 6. *Spanhem. de uſ. & præſt. num. ant. diſſ.* iv. *p.* 169, 170. *Conr. Geſn. de elephant. & Giſb. Cuper. de elephant. in num. invent. exercitat. in nov. theſaur. Rom ant. congeſt. ab Alb. Hen. de Sallengre, tom.* iii. *edit. Hagæ-Com.* 1719. (9) *Ariſtot. Ælian. Plin. ubi ſup. & alib.*

a the defeat of the *Gauls*, who attempted to diſpute his paſſage. The particulars here laid down, added to thoſe already related in a former part of our hiſtory, make up a full and ample deſcription of this remarkable atchievement [s].

WHILST the elephants were croſſing over, *Hannibal* detached five hundred *Numidian* horſe to get intelligence of the enemy, who, he was informed, approached the banks of the *Rhone* with a powerful army, in order to give him battle. Theſe, falling in with a party of three hundred *Roman* and *Gallic* horſe, ſent out by *Scipio* upon the ſame deſign, a rencounter immediately enſued, which, after a briſk diſpute, ended in favour of the *Romans*, though the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides. As *Hannibal* had drawn up his troops in order of battle, and the *Roman* detachment

b purſued his cavalry to the camp, *Scipio* was ſoon acquainted with the diſpoſition of the *Carthaginian* army; which encouraged him to move with all poſſible expedition towards *Hannibal*, in order to attack him. That general was, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould engage the *Romans*, or continue his march for *Italy*; but

Hannibal *continues his march.*

[s] POLYB. l. iii. c. 46, 47. LIV. l. xxi. c. 31, 32. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 695. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 23. p. 409, 410.

ſupplied with ſome ſurpriſing inſtances by antiquity (10).

The natural parts of the elephant are under his belly, like thoſe of a horſe; but his teſticles lie concealed in his loins. The female elephant receives the male lying upon her back, contrary to the nature of other beaſts; and he never courts her as long as any one appears in ſight. When he is heated with luſt, he beats down trees, walls, and every thing that approaches him, butting with his forehead like a ram. We are told he copulates but once in his whole life, and that about the twentieth year of his age. Others ſay, that the male is capable of propagating his ſpecies at ten years old, and the female at five; and that the male covers the female once every three years. The females bring forth only one at a time, which immediately ſucks the dam with its mouth, and not the trunk. The elephant ſleeps in an erect poſture, and, when he is tired, leans againſt a tree, which being cut in two, he falls to the ground, and cannot riſe, and by this means is ſometimes taken by the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. Wild elephants are likewiſe caught ſometimes by the help of a female elephant, which is ready for the male, and put into ſome narrow place between barricades, where the elephant engages himſelf, and is taken. They are alſo taken in deep ditches, dug particularly for that purpoſe, and covered with a little earth ſcattered over hurdles, which cloſe the open part of them. A nation inhabiting that part of *Ethiopia* to the weſt of the *Nile*, and not far from the line, uſed formerly to eat great numbers of thoſe they took; for which reaſon they were called *Elephantophagi* by *Agatharchides Cnidius* and others. To what has been beforementioned, with regard to the elephant's food, we may add, that ſome of them could eat at once nine *Macedonian medimni* of barley, beſides a great quantity of leaves and young branches of trees. They feed likewiſe upon legumes, hay, herbs, &c. as the tameſt animals. They drink a vaſt quantity of liquor at once, as has been obſerved; but, to make amends for this, they can go eight days, without taking any liquid whatſoever. Though the wild elephants drank only water, thoſe that were trained up for war had either wine mixed with their water, or a liquor compoſed of water, rice, ſugar, &c. which infuſed new life and vigour into them, and made them exert themſelves in ſuch a manner, that nothing could ſtand before them. We read in the *Maccabees*, that the elephants of *Antiochus Eupator*'s army had the blood of grapes and mulberries ſhewn them, that thereby they might be animated to the combat, to accuſtom them, as it were, to the ſight of blood; as likewiſe that it was uſual to intoxicate them, by giving them wine mixed with incenſe, or with parcels of incenſe; which parcels were dipped in the wine, in order to make the fumes of it the ſtronger, and conſequently more proper to intoxicate the elephants. *Ælian* ſays, that the only parts of the elephant uſed for food by the *Elephantophagi*, were his proboſcis, his lips, and the marrow of his horns. The ſame author affirms the fat of the elephant to be a preſervative againſt all venomous animals, which will not approach any thing anointed with it. We read in *Philoſtratus* of bulls and oxen, reſembling the elephant in ſize, ſkin, and colour, common in *Ethiopia* (11).

Hiſtory affords us ſurpriſing inſtances of the dexterity of the elephant: in the public theatres at *Rome*, elephants danced upon ropes. They ſat down in a formal manner to a feaſt, helping themſelves, in a decent manner, to what they wanted, with their trunks. Forty of them carried lamps or torches before *Julius Cæſar* to the capitol, and from thence home, a repreſentation of which we have upon an antient coin taken notice of by *Spanheim*. Some authors tell us, that, notwithſtanding the antipathy betwixt ſwine and the elephant, pork cures that animal of ulcers and other diſorders; and that the tiger, a potent enemy, is frequently too hard for him. Thus we have enumerated the principal qualities and properties of the elephant; which is ſufficient to give our readers a general idea of that creature, and conſequently anſwers our purpoſe; tho' we might fill a volume by repeating what has been laid down by various authors on this ſubject. We ſhall conclude the whole by obſerving, that an elephant is called *ſyll* in the *Iſlandic* tongue, and *phill* in the *Turkiſh*; and that *Reland* ſeems to derive the word *baro* or *barro* above-mentioned from the *Perſic barou*, which ſignifies a caſtle, tower, bulwark, &c. (12).

(10) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 1, 3, 4, 5. *&c. Ælian. de anim. l.* vii. *c.* 44. *& l.* iv. *c.* 10. *Plut. de ſolert. anim. Apollon. apud Philoſtr. l.* i. *c.* 7. *Dio Caſſ. l.* xxxix. *Arrian. in Ind. Conr. Geſn. ubi ſup. Pierius in hieroglyph. l.* ii. *c.* 18. *& Hier. Oſor. l.* ix. *de geſt. Eman. reg.* (11) *Ariſtot. Plin. Ælian. Agatharchid. Cnid. Philoſt. ubi ſup.* 1 *Maccab. c.* vi. *ver.* 34. *&* 3 *Maccab. c.* 5. *Auct. chron. Alexand. p.* 412. *edit. Rader. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* ii. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Philoſtrat. ubi ſup. l.* iii. *c.* 11. (12) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 4. *Senec. epiſt.* lxxxv. *Sueton. in Ner. c.* 11. *& in Galb. c.* 6. *Dio Caſſ. l.* lvi. *p.* 697. *Ælian. l.* ii. *c.* 11. *Vide & Ezech. Spanheim. ubi ſup. Arrian. hiſt. Ind. p.* 328. *Ælian. l.* xv. *c.* 7. *Reland. in diſſert. miſcel. p.* 3. *Nicol. Smith in itinerar. Conſtantinopol. tom.* xxii. *collect. Petr. Vander Aa.*

but was ſoon determined to the latter, by the arrival of *Magilus*, a prince of the a
Boii, who brought rich preſents with him, and offered to conduct the *Carthagi-*
nians over the *Alps*. In conſequence of the reſolution he had taken, the next day he
decamped, commanding his horſe to move towards the ſea-coaſt, in order to prevent
any ſudden irruption from thence; the foot followed at ſome diſtance, whilſt he
himſelf waited for the coming up of the elephants, and the guides that conducted
them. That his troops might bear the fatigues of ſo long and painful a march with
the greater alacrity, *Hannibal*, the day before he began it, in the preſence of them
all, gave an audience to *Magilus*, who aſſured him by an interpreter, that his ſub-
jects ardently deſired to ſee him; that both they and the neighbouring *Gauls* were
ready to join him upon his firſt arrival amongſt them; that he himſelf would take b
care to conduct his army through places where they ſhould meet with a plentiful
ſupply of proviſions; and that he would ſoon bring them ſafe to *Italy*, which was
one of the fineſt countries in the world. And then, after the prince was withdrawn,
Hannibal, in a ſpeech to them, magnified extremely this deputation from the *Boii*;
extolled, with juſt praiſes, the bravery which his forces had hitherto ſhewn; and
exhorted them to ſuſtain, to the laſt, their reputation and glory. The ſoldiers,
greatly animated hereby, proteſted they were ready to execute all his meaſures.
Nothing could have happened more favourable to *Hannibal*'s affairs, than the arrival
of *Magilus*, ſince there was no room to doubt the ſincerity of his intentions, the
Boii bearing an implacable hatred to the *Romans*, and having even come to an open c
rupture with them, upon the firſt news, that *Italy* was threatened with an invaſion
from the *Carthaginians* [t].

And arrives at the foot of the Alps.

FOR four days *Hannibal* continued his march, croſſing through the midſt of *Gaul*,
and moving northwards, with his horſe and elephants poſted in the rear; not becauſe
this was the ſhorteſt way to the *Alps*, but becauſe it kept him at a conſiderable diſtance
from the ſea, and conſequently enabled him to avoid *Scipio*, with whom he choſe to de-
cline an engagement, in purſuance of the advice given him by *Magilus*, that he might
march his army, without any diminution, into *Italy*. Advancing towards the country
of the *Allobroges*, he found two brothers diſputing about the ſovereingty of a territory
where he encamped. *Brancus*, the elder brother, was driven from his throne by the d
younger part of his ſubjects, who eſpouſed his younger brother's intereſt. *Hannibal*,
being made arbiter of this diſpute, reinſtated *Brancus* in the poſſeſſion of his domi-
nions; who thereupon, out of a ſenſe of gratitude, ſupplied his troops with every
thing they wanted, particularly arms, of which they then ſtood in great need, their
old ones being, in a manner, worn out by long ſervice; which was, as *Polybius*
obſerves, the ſame thing as furniſhing him with a proper number of recruits. He
likewiſe eſcorted him through the countries of the *Tricaſtini*, *Vocontii*, and *Tricorii*,
as far as the river *Druentia*, now the *Durance*; from whence he reached the foot of
the *Alps* without oppoſition [u].

As, in a former part of this work, we have given a large account of *Hannibal*'s e
paſſing the *Alps*, we ſhall have no occaſion to expatiate upon that head here. No-
thing further is requiſite to be done, than to inſert all the moſt material circum-
ſtances and occurrences, relative to ſo famous a tranſaction, that have been hitherto
omitted. This we ſhall do from thoſe writers, whoſe authority is the moſt eſteemed,
and who have been the moſt particular in their deſcriptions of it; which, we hope,
will not be unacceptable to our readers [w].

He comes to the ſummit of thoſe mountains.

NOTWITHSTANDING moſt, if not all, of the barbarous nations, through whom
Hannibal was to paſs, had a mortal averſion to the *Romans*, yet, as they were inca-
pable of friendſhip or fidelity, he frequently found both himſelf and his army in the
moſt imminent danger of being cut off, and particularly at his beginning to aſcend f
the *Alps*, ſoon after his eſcorte had left him. Being, however, informed, that the enemy
only kept guard in the day-time, he found means to encamp not far from them;
and, about the firſt watch of the night, ordering a great number of fires to be made
in his camp, as though all his troops remained there, he moved, at the head of a
choice detachment, to ſome paſſes in the neighbourhood, which the enemy had
abandoned, their main body always retiring at night to a town at ſome diſtance.
Theſe he immediately ſeized upon, and ſoon after gave them a defeat, killing vaſt
numbers of them upon the ſpot; upon which, advancing to the town, he found it
deſerted

[t] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi. hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 696, 697.

[u] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. ubi ſupra.

[w] Univerſ.

a deſerted by the inhabitants. Here he met with plenty of cattle and other proviſions, with which, for three days together, he refreſhed his forces. Continuing his march to the ſummit of the *Alps*, he encountered with many other difficulties. The ſight of theſe mountains, which ſeemed to touch the ſkies, that were all covered with ſnow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few tottering cottages, ſcattered here and there on the ſharp tops of inacceſſible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks almoſt periſhed with cold, and hairy men of a ſavage and fiery aſpect; this diſmal ſpectacle, we ſay, renewed the terror, which the diſtant proſpect of this ridge of mountains had raiſed, and ſtruck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the ſoldiery. Beſides which, the whole army was brought upon the verge of deſtruction by the per-

b fidy of a *Gallic* nation, who, under the ſpecious appearance of friends, perſuaded *Hannibal* to commit himſelf to their conduct, promiſing to ſhew him the beſt and moſt expeditious way to the ſummit of the *Alps*. But theſe faithleſs guides, having led him into a ſteep paſs, out of which they thought it would be impoſſible for him to make his eſcape, facing about on a ſudden, charged him with great fury, being ſupported by vaſt numbers of their countrymen, who, till that time, had kept themſelves concealed, but now ruſhed out from an eminence, that commanded this paſs, where they had placed an ambuſcade. However, *Hannibal*, by the wiſe diſpoſition of his forces, as well as the aſſiſtance of his elephants, and bravery of his infantry, who greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, at laſt diſperſed them; and, having ſurmounted all other difficulties, the ninth day from his begin-

c ning the aſcent, arrived at the top of the mountains. It muſt be obſerved, that *Hannibal* was, in a great meaſure, obliged to the elephants for his eſcaping all the diſaſters the enemy threatened him with, ſince, where-ever theſe huge animals appeared, the *Gauls* were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they immediately took to their heels; by which means the *Carthaginian* general gained the ſummit of the *Alps* with the leſs moleſtation [x].

HERE *Hannibal* halted for two days, to refreſh his wearied troops, which were greatly diſheartened by the ſnow that had lately fallen. In order to animate them to make another effort with alacrity, from one of the higheſt hills he gave them a pro- *Animates the troops.*

d ſpect of the fruitful plains watered by the *Po*, the day before he decamped. He likewiſe pointed towards the place where *Rome* ſtood, which, he aſſured them, a battle or two would make them maſters of, and conſequently put a glorious period to all their toils. This inſpired them with ſuch vigour, that they ſeemed to have forgot all the fatigues they had undergone, and to think of nothing but taking poſſeſſion of that haughty city, whoſe conduct towards their ſtate had been nothing but one continued ſeries of inſults ſince the concluſion of the *Sicilian* war [y].

THEY therefore purſued their march; but the difficulty and danger increaſed, in proportion as they approached nearer the end of the deſcent. We are told, that, about this time, *Hannibal* meditated a return home; but, from the main conduct *Deſcends the Alps.*

e and genius of that general, this ſeems highly improbable. To omit many particulars, they came at laſt to a path naturally very ſteep and craggy, which being made more ſo by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thouſand foot deep. In fine, *Hannibal* found it would be impoſſible for him to accompliſh his deſign, without cutting a way into the rock itſelf, through which his men, horſes, and elephants, might paſs; which, with immenſe labour, he effected. Approaching therefore gradually the *Inſubrian* foot of the *Alps*, he detached ſome parties of his horſe to forage, there appearing now ſome ſpots of paſture, where the ground was not covered with ſnow. *Livy* informs us, that, in order to open and inlarge the path above-mentioned, all the trees thereabouts were cut down, and piled round the rock, after which fire was ſet to them. The wind, by good fortune, blow-

f ing hard, a fierce flame ſoon broke out; ſo that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was ſurrounded. Then *Hannibal*, according to the ſame author, cauſed a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock; which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intenſe heat of the fire, calcined and ſoftened it. In this manner, taking a large compaſs about, in order that the deſcent might be eaſier, he cut a way along the rock, which opened a free paſſage to the forces, baggage, and elephants, as above obſerved. As *Polybius* has paſſed over in ſilence the uſe *Hannibal* made of vinegar on this occaſion, many reject that incident as fictitious.

[x] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. ZONAR. ubi ſup. [y] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup.

tious. However, *Pliny* mentions one extraordinary quality of vinegar, *viz.* its being able to break rocks and ſtones, after fire had been applied to them, and found ineffectual. And that the walls, or at leaſt a ſtrong tower, of the city *Eleuthera* in *Crete*, after a continued operation for ſeveral nights, were thrown down by the force of vinegar, is aſſerted by *Dio*. *Appian* likewiſe and *Ammianus Marcellinus* atteſt the fact we have, from *Livy*, here taken notice of. But, admitting this acid to be endued with ſuch a quality, it ſeems difficult to conceive how *Hannibal* could procure a quantity of it ſufficient for his purpoſe in ſo mountainous and barren a country [z].

He arrives in Inſubria.

THREE days after this, *Hannibal* gained the fruitful plains of *Inſubria*, where, taking a review of his army, he found, that, in five months and a half's march, (for ſo long was it ſince he had ſet out from *New Carthage*) he had loſt, by ſickneſs, deſertion, fatigue, and various engagements, thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; ſo that it amounted at preſent to no (G) more than twenty-ſix thouſand effective men. Of the ſoldiers miſſing, above twenty thouſand had periſhed ſince his departure from the *Rhodanus*. And here, that we may have a clearer idea of *Hannibal*'s march, it will be proper to give the names and diſtances of ſome of the principal places, through which that general paſſed in his way to *Italy*; which we ſhall beg leave to tranſcribe from *Polybius*. From *New Carthage* to the *Iberus* were computed two thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia; from the *Iberus* to *Emporium*, a ſmall maritime town, which ſeparated *Spain* from the *Gauls*, according to *Strabo*, ſixteen hundred ſtadia; from *Emporium* to the banks of the *Rhodanus*, ſixteen hundred ſtadia; from the *Rhodanus* to the *Alps*, fourteen hundred ſtadia; from the *Alps* to the plains of *Inſubria*, twelve hundred ſtadia. In all eight thouſand four hundred ſtadia, making much about a thouſand *Engliſh* miles [a].

Takes Taurinum.

UPON *Hannibal*'s arrival in *Italy*, he, for ſome time, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in order to give his troops ſome reſt, they having ſuffered extremely in their paſſage over the *Alps*. He firſt took care to refreſh them, and afterwards to recruit his cavalry, that he might be ready to enter upon action. He then ſolicited the *Taurini*, who were at war with the *Inſubres*, to enter into an alliance with him. Upon their refuſal to conclude a treaty with him, he entered their territories in a hoſtile manner; and ſitting down before *Taurinum*, their capital city, after a ſiege of three days, took it by ſtorm, putting all, that made any reſiſtance, to the ſword. This ſtruck all the neighbouring *Gauls* with ſuch terror, that, coming in to him as one man, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. By this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, he had not only his army plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions, but likewiſe ſtrongly reinforced by great numbers of theſe *Gauls*, who took on in the *Carthaginian* ſervice. The reſt of the *Gauls* would, in all probability, have done the ſame thing, had they not been awed by the terror of the *Roman* arms, which were now approaching. *Hannibal* therefore thought his wiſeſt courſe would be to march up directly into their country without loſs of time, and make ſome important attempt; ſuch as might encourage thoſe, who ſhewed a diſpoſition to join him, to put themſelves under his protection [b].

And advances towards the Romans.

IN the mean time, *Hannibal* received intelligence, that *Scipio* had paſſed the *Po* with his legions, and was advancing, with all poſſible celerity, to give him battle. This, at firſt, he could ſcarcely believe, thinking it impoſſible, that he ſhould return from *Gaul* to *Italy*, croſs *Etruria*, paſs the *Po*, and be ready to receive him, in ſo ſhort a time. What gave him this notion was, an information from thoſe he could confide in, that the paſſage from *Maſſilia*, now *Marſeilles*, to *Etruria*, by ſea, was extremely

[z] LIV. ubi ſup. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxiii. c. 1. ſub fin. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xv. p. 427. edit. Genev. DIO CASS. l. xxxvi. ſub init. JUV. ſat. 10. CORN. NEP. ubi ſup. [a] POLYB. ubi ſup. p. 159. STRAB. l. ii. [b] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup.

(G) We have followed *Polybius* in this particular, ſince he tells us, he extracted this account from the column at *Lacinium*, which ſpecified the number of forces here mentioned. It is highly probable, as *Livy* followed *Polybius* in moſt points, that this column is the altar, that author tells us, *Hannibal* erected in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, whereon he engraved the general account of his great atchievements in *Greek* and *Punic* letters. We do not learn from this teſtimony of *Livy*, in what language theſe memoirs were written; but as either the *Greek* or *Punic*, or rather both, bids the faireſt for it, *Livy*'s authority confirms what we have lately ſuggeſted on that head *Polybius*, it is certain, has been intirely ſilent as to this particular; and therefore *Livy*'s authority is not deciſive. However, with what we have lately advanced, it is nearly, if not abſolutely, ſo (13).

(13) *Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l.* xxviii. *ſub fin. Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* vii. *p.* 9. *not.* (D).

a extremely difficult and tedious; and the way to the laſt place from the *Alps*, by land, almoſt impracticable. *Scipio*, on his ſide, was as much ſurpriſed at *Hannibal*'s expeditious march and rapid progreſs. The news of his arrival in *Italy*, and the conqueſts he had already made there, ſo alarmed the people at *Rome*, that they diſpatched an expreſs to *Sempronius* at *Lilybæum*, to repair, with the utmoſt expedition, to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. Having received an account of the poſture of affairs, he imbarqued immediately for *Rome* with the naval forces, leaving orders with the reſpective tribunes to draw together what troops they could out of their ſeveral gariſons, fixing a day for them to rendezvous at *Ariminum*, now *Rimini*, a town ſituated near the coaſt of the *Adriatic*, on the edge of the plains watered by
b the *Po* on the ſouth. *Hannibal*, beſides the method made uſe of to animate his ſoldiers formerly mentioned, in a ſet ſpeech, put them in mind of their glorious atchievements, and of the great difficulties they had ſurmounted. He told them, the *Romans* had never yet engaged men acted by deſpair, nor ſuch warriors as themſelves, who had marched from the pillars of *Hercules*, through the fierceſt nations, into the very heart of *Italy*. His own ſuperiority to *Scipio* in military experience and exploits, he inſinuated, they were not ſtrangers to. They could not but be ſenſible, he went on, that he was almoſt born, at leaſt educated, in his father *Hamilcar*'s tent; that he was the conqueror of *Spain*, of *Gaul*, of the inhabitants of the *Alps*, and, what is ſtill more, of the *Alps* themſelves; that, by a little bravery, they would make
c themſelves maſters of *Rome*, and conſequently of all the *Roman* acquiſitions in *Sicily*, of which that ambitious republic had deprived their anceſtors. Laſtly, he rouſed their indignation againſt the inſolence of the *Romans*, who had had the aſſurance to demand, that both he, and the other officers employed in the reduction of *Saguntum*, ſhould be delivered into their hands, in order to be put to the moſt exquiſite torture; endeavouring to inſpire them with a juſt abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch a proud and imperious people, who imagined, that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world [c].

He defeats the Romans near the Ticinus.

In the mean time, *Scipio*, advancing to the *Ticinus*, threw a bridge over that river, and immediately erected a fort to defend it againſt all attempts of the enemy. It is
d not improbable, that he called it *Ticinum*, after the name of the river, and that this was the original of the city of *Pavia*, which, in the moſt antient authors, is called *Ticinum*. Whilſt the *Romans* were employed in raiſing this fort, *Hannibal* detached *Maherbal*, with a body of five hundred *Numidian* horſe, to lay waſte the territories of thoſe nations, that were in alliance with *Rome*; but gave him orders to ſpare the *Gauls*, and excite the various princes of that people, if poſſible, to a revolt. The *Roman* army, having paſſed the *Ticinus*, advanced to a village of *Inſubria*, five miles from the fort they had built, and there encamped upon ſome heights, in ſight of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, upon this motion, called in the *Numidian* detachment under *Maherbal*, and made the proper diſpoſitions to attack the enemy. Before the
e ſignal was given, he thought it requiſite to animate his troops with freſh promiſes; which having done, cleaving with a ſtone the ſkull of the lamb he was ſacrificing, he prayed *Jupiter* to daſh to pieces his head in like manner, in caſe he did not give his ſoldiers the rewards he had promiſed them. This rendered his troops impatient to come to blows with the enemy, eſpecially as two ill omens had juſt filled their army with terror and conſternation. In the firſt place, a wolf had ſtolen into the *Roman* camp, and cruelly mangled ſome of the ſoldiers, without receiving the leaſt harm from thoſe who endeavoured to kill it; and ſecondly, a ſwarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the *prætorium*, or general's tent. However, *Scipio* moved at the head of his forces into the plain, where *Hannibal* had drawn up his troops in
f order of battle; and, advancing with his dartmen and cavalry to take a view of the number and poſture of the enemy, fell in with the whole body of the *Carthaginian* horſe, commanded by *Hannibal* himſelf; upon which the fight immediately began. As we have already given a full account of this battle, it will be unneceſſary to be prolix here in our deſcription of it. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that *Hannibal* poſted in the centre of his cavalry the troopers who rode with bridles, and the *Numidian* horſe on the wings, in order to ſurround the enemy; that the action was very hot and bloody, victory continuing, for a long time, in ſuſpenſe; that many troopers on both ſides, in the heat of the action, diſmounted, and fought on foot; but

[c] Idem ibid.

but that at last the *Numidians* charged the *Romans* in flank with such fury, that they broke them, put their centre into disorder, and wounded the consul himself; which obliged the *Romans*, after having lost the greatest part of their army, to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. The immediate consequence of which victory was, that *Scipio* repassed the *Ticinus* in great confusion, broke down the bridge he had lately thrown cross that river, and left six hundred men in the fort to the mercy of the enemy, who surrendered at discretion to *Hannibal* upon his approach. It is agreed, that *Hannibal* owed this first victory to his superiority in cavalry, and the disposition of the ground where the engagement happened, no place being more proper for such troops to act in, than those large open plains lying between the *Po* and the *Alps*[a]. a

And pursues them as far as the Trebia.

Hannibal, having thus driven the enemy out of the field, pursued them as far as b the bridge above-mentioned; but finding it broke down, he marched up the river for two days, till he came to the banks of the *Po*. Here he dispatched *Mago*, with the light *Spanish* horse, to move after the *Romans*; who, having rallied their shattered forces, and repassed the *Po*, were encamped at *Placentia*. *Asdrubal* immediately crossed that river on a bridge of boats, and was followed by *Hannibal* with the gross of the army, after he had given an audience to the deputies that came to him from several *Gallic* nations. These nations, immediately upon *Scipio*'s defeat, entering into an alliance with *Hannibal*, not only reinforced the *Carthaginians* by inlisting in their army, but supplied them plentifully with all sorts of necessaries. Having given a most kind reception to the deputies above-mentioned, and concluded a treaty c with them, he pursued his march with great expedition, soon joining *Mago*, who had advanced a day's march, beyond the *Po*, towards *Placentia*, where he halted, till *Hannibal* came up. Upon the junction of their forces, the two *Carthaginian* generals advanced to *Placentia*, and offered the *Romans* battle. But they judging it proper to decline accepting the challenge, the *Carthaginians* encamped ten miles from them, where a body of *Gallic* deserters from the consul's army came over to them, after they had cut to pieces a good number of the *Romans*. As the *Boii* likewise, about the same time, were guilty of an action equally black and perfidious, *Scipio* feared a general insurrection of the *Gauls*; and therefore, removing from the neighbourhood d of their country, he passed the *Trebia*, a small river which falls into the *Po*, taking post on an eminence near that river, on the frontiers of his allies. Here he encamped, being determined to remain in a state of inaction, till the arrival of his collegue *Sempronius* with the forces from *Sicily*[e].

Hannibal, being apprised of the consul's departure from *Placentia*, sent the *Numidian* horse to harass him in his march, himself moving, with the main body of the army, to support them, in case of need. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp deserted, set fire to it; which gave the consul an opportunity of making his retreat without any loss: whereas, had not the *Numidians* spent their time in so trifling an action, they might have cut off a great part of the *Roman* army. However, they made such speed, that they arrived upon the banks of the *Trebia*, before the rear of e the *Romans* had intirely passed that river, and put to the sword, or made prisoners, all the stragglers they found upon their arrival there. Soon after, *Hannibal* coming up, encamped in sight of the *Roman* army, on the opposite bank; and having, by his spies, soon learned the character of *Sempronius*, who had joined *Scipio*, and, during the disorder that general laboured under by reason of his wound, had the sole command of the *Roman* forces, formed a scheme to intrap him. In fine, *Sempronius*, being of a rash, though ambitious, disposition, contrary to the sentiments of *Scipio*, was resolved, at all events, to venture an engagement with *Hannibal*. To this he was farther excited by the scarcity of provisions prevailing in the *Roman* camp; whilst the *Carthaginians* enjoyed the greatest plenty and affluence, *Hannibal* having F lately seized the principal *Roman* magazine at *Clastidium*, a city betrayed to him by *Publius* a *Brundusian*. As a body of *Numidians*, by *Hannibal*'s orders, were ravageing the country of the *Gauls* in alliance with the *Romans*, he detached his cavalry in quest of them, who, coming up with them, gained an inconsiderable advantage over them; which so puffed up the consul, that, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, it being now about the winter solstice, he commanded his troops to be ready at an hour's warning to pass the river, and attack the *Carthaginian* camp. *Hannibal*, in the mean time, posted *Mago*, with a detachment of two thousand horse and foot, in ambuscade,

[a] Iidem ibid. Corn. Nep. Flor. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 699, 700. [e] Iidem ibid.

a ambuſcade, on the ſteep banks of a rivulet running between the two camps; and then detached a body of *Numidian* cavalry to paſs the *Trebia*, and inſult the enemy, with orders to repaſs it upon the firſt motion of their army, and, if poſſible, to draw the *Romans* after them. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for *Sempronius*, not being able to bear ſeeing himſelf braved in this manner, diſpatched all his horſe, ſupported by his dart-men, after the *Numidians*, himſelf following with the reſt of the army. Upon this motion, a battle enſued, wherein, partly by the wiſe diſpoſition of the *Carthaginian* forces *Hannibal* had made, partly through the great imprudence of *Sempronius*, and partly by the bravery of his troops (H), *Hannibal* intirely defeated the *Romans*, in the manner by us already related. Almoſt the whole *Roman*
b army, beſides a body of ten thouſand men, who made their retreat to *Placentia*, were either ſlain, or taken priſoners. The *Gauls*, in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, ſuffered pretty much in the action; but the *Carthaginians* ſuſtained no conſiderable loſs, except that of their horſes and elephants, all of which laſt, but one, periſhed by the cold and in the battle. The *Roman* army conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand legionaries, twenty thouſand auxiliary forces, ſome companies of the *Cænomani*, and four thouſand *Roman* horſe; *Hannibal's* of twenty thouſand *Gallic*, *Spaniſh* and *African* infantry, eight thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Balearic* ſlingers, and ten thouſand *Gallic* and *Numidian* cavalry. The *Carthaginians* purſued the routed enemy, with great ardour, as far as the *Trebia*; but did not think proper to paſs that river immediately, on account of
c the exceſſive cold. The next night *Scipio* decamped, and retired likewiſe with great precipitation to *Placentia* [f].

One cauſe of the defeat of Sempronius *was his weakneſs in horſe.*

It is evident, that what principally contributed to the defeat of the *Roman* army, was their inferiority in horſe; for the *Carthaginian* cavalry amounted to ten thouſand, whereas that of the *Romans* did not exceed four thouſand; and this body, ſmall as it was, could not act with vigour, being ſoon thrown into confuſion by the enemy's elephants. The horſes could neither bear the ſight nor ſmell of thoſe monſtrous animals, and therefore were, in the higheſt degree, terrified upon their approach. *Scipio* undoubtedly had acquainted *Sempronius* with the danger he was in from the enemy's ſuperiority in horſe, ſince he had loſt the battle of *Ticinus* juſt before by the
d weakneſs of his cavalry, and urged this among other topics, as a reaſon for him to decline an engagement. But *Sempronius*, being infatuated by his raſhneſs, as well as ambition, was deaf to all ſalutary admonitions, and, in conſequence of this infatuation, brought upon the *Romans* the ſignal loſs and diſgrace above-mentioned [g].

The Carthaginian *operations by ſea.*

The *Carthaginians*, upon *Fabius's* declaration of war, propoſed to act by ſea as well as land, againſt the *Romans* and their allies; and therefore, beſides all their military preparations above-mentioned, fitted out twenty galleys, with a thouſand ſoldiers on board, to ravage the coaſt of *Italy*. Nine of theſe ſeized upon the iſlands of *Lipari*, and eight upon the iſland of *Vulcania*, the other three not being able to approach the ſhore, by reaſon of the tide's being againſt them. They likewiſe equip-
e ped a fleet of thirty-five quinqueremes, with a ſufficient land-force on board, to poſ-

ſeſs

[f] Polyb. ubi ſupra, c. 72. Liv. l. xxi. c. 55. Appian. de bell. Hannib. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 23. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 9. Oros. l. iv. c. 14. Zonar. l. viii. c. 24. Corn. Nep. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 700, 701, &c. [g] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup.

(H) We are told by the *Roman* authors, that the *Carthaginians*, at *Hannibal's* command, anointed their bodies with oil before the engagement began, making uſe of this expedient as a preſervative againſt the cold, a vaſt quantity of ſnow having fallen the day before. In like manner *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus's* troops anointed themſelves with oil before large fires, when ſnow two cubits deep had fallen in *Armenia*. *Frontinus* inſinuates, that, on ſuch occaſions, the antients ſometimes uſed oil and wine mixed. It appears from *Virgil*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, &c. that wreſtlers increaſed their ſtrength and vigour, by applying oil to their bodies in the manner above-mentioned. In alluſion to which cuſtom, the antient chriſtian writers ſometimes called the Holy Spirit ΑΛΕΙΠΤΗΣ, or *The Anointer*; becauſe he ſupplies good chriſtians with an ample degree of courage and power in their ſpiritual warfare. The paſtors of the chriſtian church have likewiſe that name given them by ſome of the *Greek* fathers, on account of the aſſiſtance they afford the flocks committed to their care, in their ſtruggle with their ſpiritual enemies. That the antient *Romans*, as well as the *Carthaginians*, uſed oil for the ends juſt hinted at, is evident from many authors. *Pliny* relates, that when a perſon aſked *Auguſtus* in his extreme old age, how he came to preſerve ſuch vigour of body and mind ſo long? he anſwered, *Intus mulſo, foris oleo*, i. e. *By refreſhing myſelf inwardly with wine, and outwardly with oil* (14).

(14) *Liv. l.* xxi. *c.* 53, 54. *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 71. *Flor. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *Frontin. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *ex.* 23. & *l.* i. *c.* 4. *ex.* 7. *Xenoph. in exped. Cyr. minor. l.* iv. *p.* 224. *Virg. Æn.* v. *ver.* 135. *Dion. Halicar. dict. eccleſiaſt. Nazianz. orat.* xviii. *de Cyprian. exul. Cic.* xii. *Attic. ep.* 6. *Plut. in Alex. Senec. ep.* 80. *Plin. l.* xxiii. *c.* 24.

ſeſs themſelves of *Lilybæum*. This laſt attempt, however, miſcarried; the *Carthagi-* a
nians being defeated by the *Romans*, and loſing ſeven of their veſſels, together with
ſeventeen hundred of their men taken priſoners, amongſt whom were three *Cartha-*
ginian noblemen. From the coaſt of *Sicily*, *Sempronius*, with the *Roman* and *Syra-*
cuſan ſquadrons, ſailed to *Melita*, now *Malta*, and had the iſland, together with
the *Carthaginian* forces in it, ſurrendered to him by *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco*, the
governor. From *Melita* the conſul ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Vulcania*, think-
ing to meet with the *Carthaginian* fleet; but he was diſappointed in his expectation,
the *Carthaginians* having before ſailed to the coaſts of *Italy*, and plundered the terri-
tory of the city of *Vibo*, threatening at the ſame time to attack that city itſelf; which
the conſul being appriſed of when he returned to *Sicily*, and likewiſe receiving letters b
from *Rome* by an expreſs, notifying to him *Hannibal's* arrival in *Italy*, with orders
to return home with all poſſible expedition, he found himſelf obliged to alter his
meaſures. He immediately therefore diſpatched *Sextus Pomponius*, with twenty-five
long ſhips, to protect the maritime coaſts of *Italy* from the inſults of the *Carthagi-*
nian ſquadron; and haſtened himſelf to *Ariminum*, from whence he proceeded to
the *Trebia*, where he met with the misfortune above related [h].

The tranſac-
tions in Spain
this campaign.

WHILST *Hannibal* was puſhing on his conqueſts in *Italy*, *Hanno*, who commanded
in *Spain*, received intelligence, that the *Romans*, under the command of *Cneius Scipio*,
had advanced as far as the *Iberus*, and reduced all the country betwixt that river and
the *Pyrenees*. Upon this advice, *Hanno* aſſembled his forces, and marched to the c
city of *Ciſſa*, where he encamped in ſight of the *Romans*. The vicinity of the two
armies ſoon brought on a general action, wherein the *Carthaginians* were totally
routed. *Hanno* himſelf was taken priſoner, together with *Indibilis*, a *Spaniſh* prince,
intirely devoted to the *Carthaginians*. Their camp was forced, ſix thouſand of them
ſlain, and two thouſand taken priſoners. All the heavy baggage, *Hannibal* left with
Hanno before his departure for *Italy*, fell a prey to the *Romans*; and many of the
Spaniſh nations concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Scipio* upon this
defeat. However, this did not diſcourage the *Carthaginians*; for *Aſdrubal*, another
Carthaginian commander, hearing that the *Roman* ſeamen and marines had diſperſed
themſelves about the country, without any order or diſcipline, immediately paſſed d
the *Iberus* with a body of eight thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, fell upon them
unexpectedly, and put the greateſt part of them to the ſword, purſuing the reſt to
their fleet. Nothing of moment happened afterwards this campaign in *Spain*, *Aſ-*
drubal taking up his winter-quarters at *New Carthage*, as ſoon as he had ended this
expedition; and the *Romans* theirs at *Tarraco*, after *Scipio* had divided the booty
got from the *Carthaginians* by the late victory amongſt his troops [i].

Hannibal's
policy to win
over to his in-
tereſt the al-
lies of the
Romans.

THE *Romans*, having received an account of the two terrible blows given them by
Hannibal upon the *Ticinus* and the *Trebia*, were ſtruck with the utmoſt terror and
conſternation. However, they made vigorous preparations to continue the war. In
the mean time, *Scipio* removed from *Placentia* to *Cremona*, where he put his troops e
into winter-quarters. *Hannibal*, after the action upon the *Trebia*, ordered the *Numi-*
dians, *Celtiberians*, and *Luſitanians*, to make incurſions into the *Roman* territories,
where they committed great depredations: and not contented with this, he formed
a deſign to make himſelf maſter of a *Roman* fortreſs in the neighbourhood of *Pla-*
centia; but miſcarried in the attempt. He likewiſe reduced *Victumviæ*, making the
gariſon priſoners of war, which concluded the operations of this campaign. But,
during his ſtate of inaction, he took care to refreſh his troops, and win the affections
of the *Gauls*, as well as the allies of the *Romans*. He therefore declared to the *Gallic*
and *Italian* priſoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their
nations, being determined to reſtore them to their liberty, and protect them againſt f
the *Romans*. To confirm them in the idea he was deſirous they ſhould entertain of
him, he diſmiſſed them, without demanding the leaſt ranſom [k].

He marches
into Etruria.

DURING the winter, *Hannibal*'s troops were reinforced by a conſiderable body of
Gauls, *Ligurians*, and *Etruſcans*, who, for various reaſons, thought proper to aban-
don the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, however, repoſed no great truſt in his auxiliaries, but
rather entertained a ſuſpicion of them; on which account he diſguiſed himſelf this
winter in the manner already related. He was the better enabled to do this by the
variety of languages he underſtood, amongſt which *Zonaras* mentions the *Latin*. By
this

[h] LIV. l. xxi. c. 17. APPIAN. in Libyc. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 22. [i] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi. ſub fin. APPIAN. in Iberic. [k] POLYB. ibid. c. 72. LIV. ibid. c. 57.

a this conduct he found, that the moſt effectual way for him to ſecure himſelf, was to change the theatre of the war, and march into *Etruria*. This he did, after a briſk rencounter with *Sempronius*, wherein many fell on both ſides, as we have already obſerved in a former part of this hiſtory [l].

And advances to Arretum.

Hannibal having, to the great ſurprize of all, croſſed the *Apennines*, and penetrated into *Etruria*, received intelligence, that the new conſul *Flaminius* lay encamped, with the *Roman* army, under the walls of *Arretium*. Purſuant to the plan of operations laid down, he moved directly that way, in order to inform himſelf of the *Roman* general's capacity and deſigns, as well as the courſe and ſituation of the country. As his troops had been greatly haraſſed by the late fatiguing march, he halted
b ſome time in the neighbourhood of *Fæſulæ* to refreſh them. Here he learned the true character of *Flaminius*, that he was a good orator, but intirely ignorant of the military art: in fine, that he was raſh, proud, and of a fierce diſpoſition. This gave *Hannibal* no ſmall encouragement, not doubting, but he ſhould ſoon be able to bring him to a battle. *Hannibal*, in the firſt ſtep he took, ſays *Polybius*, acted like a wiſe commander, ſince it ought to be the chief ſtudy of a general to diſcover the genius of his antagoniſt, in order to take advantage of his foible. To inflame the impetuous ſpirit of *Flaminius*, the *Carthaginian* general advanced towards *Arretium*, taking the way to *Rome*, and leaving the *Roman* army behind him, deſtroying all the country, through which he moved, with fire and ſword. As that part of *Etruria* abounded
c with corn, cattle, all ſorts of proviſions, in fine, with all the elegancies, as well as neceſſaries, of life, being one of the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpots of ground in *Italy*, the *Romans* and their allies ſuſtained an incredible loſs on this occaſion.

Flaminius *purſues* Hannibal.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, though *Hannibal* ſhould have lain ſtill, and given him no provocation; but when he beheld the territories of the allies of *Rome* ravaged in ſo dreadful a manner, he loſt all patience, thinking it would reflect the greateſt diſhonour upon him, ſhould he permit *Hannibal* to continue his devaſtations with impunity, and even advance to the very walls of *Rome* without oppoſition. He reſolved therefore immediately to attack the *Carthaginians*; and ſo furiouſly was he bent upon this, that when the officers of the army,
d in a council of war, endeavoured to prevail upon him to wait the arrival of his colbegue, he ruſhed out of the council in a rage, giving orders to the army inſtantly to begin their march. *Yes truly*, ſaid he, *we ought to ſit ſtill before the walls of* Arretium, *ſince this is our native country, and here are our habitations! We ought to let* Hannibal *eſcape out of our hands, and deſtroy all the country, to the very walls of* Rome, *with fire and ſword! We ought, by no means, to move from hence, till the conſcript fathers ſend for* C. Flaminius *from* Arretium, *as they formerly did for* Camillus *from* Veii! He mounted his horſe in ſuch a hurry, that he fell from him; which was conſidered as a bad omen. This, however, made no impreſſion upon him. Immediately after this, a meſſenger came to acquaint him, that the enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, that the ſoldiers could not pull them out. Upon which, turning towards him,
e *Doſt thou bring me a letter likewiſe*, ſaid he, *from the ſenate, prohibiting me to act againſt the* Carthaginians? *Go tell them, they may dig the enſigns up, if their hands are ſo benumbed with fear, that they cannot pull them out*. As though therefore he had been certain of victory, he immediately decamped, approaching *Hannibal* with the utmoſt temerity, in order to attack him [m].

Hannibal *defeates the* Romans *at the lake* Thraſymenus.

In the mean time, *Hannibal* kept on ſtill advancing towards *Rome*, having *Cortona* on the left-hand, and the lake *Thraſymenus* on the right. At laſt, obſerving the diſpoſition of the ground to be very commodious for his purpoſe, he put himſelf into a poſture to receive *Flaminius*, who was upon the point of coming up with him. The lake *Thraſymenus* and the mountains of *Cortona* form a very narrow defile, which
f leads into a large valley, lined on both ſides with hills of a conſiderable height, and cloſed at the outlet by a ſteep hill of difficult acceſs. Upon this hill *Hannibal* encamped with his *Spaniſh* and *African* troops, poſting the *Baleares* and light-armed infantry, which were drawn up in one long line, in ambuſcade, at the foot of the hills on the right ſide of the valley, and lining with the *Gallic* cavalry the left-ſide of it, in ſuch manner, that they extended as far as the entrance of the defile. *Hannibal*, having thus in the night ſurrounded the valley with his forces, lay ſtill, as though he had

[l] Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup. S. Jul. Frontin. l. i. c. 5. ex. 28. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 5. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. &c. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 702, 703, &.
[m] Polyb. l. iii. c. 75—78—85. Liv. l. xxii. c. 7. Appian. de bell. Hannib. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 25.

had no intention to engage. This farther excited the conſul to fall upon the *Carthaginians* as ſoon as poſſible; for which end he ſo eagerly purſued them, that the following night he advanced to the valley, and entered it the next morning, moving with his vanguard at a ſmall diſtance from the lake *Thraſymenus* above-mentioned. *Hannibal*, now obſerving, that the greateſt part of *Flaminius*'s troops marched in diſorder, and were ſo near him, that his men could not fail of doing great execution amongſt them, provided they inſtantly charged them with vigour, ordered them to be attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, at the ſame time. As the *Roman* officers could not ſee which way to lead their men, nor diſcover the enemy that charged them, by reaſon of a thick fog from the lake, the conſular army was, in a moment, thrown into confuſion. *Flaminius*, however, did his utmoſt to animate his men, exhorting them to cut themſelves a paſſage with their ſwords through the midſt of the enemy; but the tumult, which reigned every-where, the dreadful ſhouts of the enemy and the fog that was riſen prevented his being ſeen or heard. However, the *Romans*, ſeeing the impoſſibility of ſaving themſelves by flight, and a little recovering themſelves upon the diſſipation of the fog, for ſome time fought with unparallelled bravery; but *Flaminius* himſelf being ſlain by an *Inſubrian*, they began to give ground, and at laſt betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. The *Roman* army, according to *Appian*, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; of which fifteen thouſand (twenty thouſand, ſays *Appian)* fell upon the field of battle, and ſix thouſand, that retreated to a town in *Etruria*, ſurrendered the next day at diſcretion to *Maherbal*. According to *Valerius Maximus*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius*, five-and-twenty thouſand *Romans* periſhed in this action. *Hannibal* loſt only fifteen hundred men on this occaſion, moſt of whom were *Gauls*, though great numbers, both of his ſoldiers and the *Romans*, died afterwards of their wounds. He commanded the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for the body of *Flaminius*, in order to give it a decent interment; but it could not be found. He likewiſe ſolemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who had been ſlain in the action; but was at a loſs how to diſpatch a courier to *Carthage*, with an account of the glorious victory he had gained. All the other principal particulars relating to the defeat of the *Romans* at the lake *Thraſymenus*, our readers will find in a proper place.

Maherbal *routs* Centenius.

Hannibal, being informed that the conſul *Servilius* had detached a body of four, or, according to *Appian*, eight thouſand, horſe from *Ariminum*, to reinforce his colleague in *Etruria*, ſent out *Maherbal*, with all the cavalry and ſome of the infantry, to attack him. The *Roman* detachment conſiſted of choſen men, and was commanded by (I) *Centenius* a patrician. *Maherbal* had the good fortune to meet with him, and, after a ſhort diſpute, intirely defeated him. Two thouſand of the *Romans* were laid dead upon the ſpot, the reſt retiring to a neighbouring eminence, where being ſurrounded by *Maherbal*, they were obliged the next day to ſurrender at diſcretion. This blow, happening within a few days after the defeat at the lake *Thraſymenus*, almoſt gave a finiſhing ſtroke to the *Roman* affairs. *Appian* tells us, that the people in *Rome* were ſo alarmed on this occaſion, that they expected an immediate viſit from *Hannibal*; and therefore not only poſted great numbers of dartmen on the ramparts to defend them, but likewiſe armed even the old men with the arms taken from their enemies in former wars, and hung up as trophies in their temples. *Hannibal*, however, now thinking himſelf ſo much ſuperior to the *Romans*, that they would not be able hereafter to make head againſt him, did not advance to *Rome*, but moved towards the territory of *Adria*, taking his route through *Umbria* and *Picenum*. As he plundered all the country through which he marched, upon his arrival in the territory of *Adria*, he was loaded with booty. *Spoletum* he attacked in his march; but was repulſed with great loſs. From thence approaching the frontiers of *Apulia*, he ravaged the adjacent territories, *viz.* the country of the *Marſi*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, together with the diſtricts of *Arpi* and *Luceria*. The conſul *Cn. Servilius*

(I) We cannot forbear expreſſing our ſurprize, that *Iſaac Caſaubon*, in his *Latin* verſion of *Polybius*, ſhould prefer the name *Centronius* to *Centenius*, ſince, in the original, it is *Centenius*. That very learned man might have been convinced by *Sigonius*, in his excellent *ſcholia* upon *Livy*, that, tho' ſome antient copies of this laſt author have in one place *Centronius*, *Centenius* was the name of the general here mentioned. To what *Sigonius* has ſaid, we ſhall only beg leave to add, that *Appian* and *Zonaras* both call this proprætor *Centenius*; which is a confirmation of that great man's opinion (15).

(15) *Car. Sigon. ſchol. in Liv. l.* xxii. *c.* 8. *Appian. in bell. Hannib. p.* 553. *edit. Tollii, Amſt.* 1670. *Zonar. l.* viii. *c.* 25.

a *Servilius* did nothing memorable this campaign. He had only a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the *Gauls*, and made himſelf maſter of an inconſiderable town. However, he thought proper to move towards *Rome*, to cover that capital from any attempts of the *Carthaginians*. *Polybius* tells us, that *Hannibal* treated the allies of the *Romans* with the utmoſt cruelty in this expedition, which that author attributes to the invincible averſion he had been inſpired with by his father *Hamilcar* to the *Romans*.

THE *Carthaginian* army at this time was very ſickly, being troubled with a ſcorbutic diſorder, called by the *Greeks Lemopſoros*. This ſeemed owing to the unwholſome encampments they had been obliged to make, and their march through ſo many moraſſes. As both the horſes and men were infected with it, *Hannibal* found it abſo- *Hannibal arms his ſoldiers after the* Roman *manner.*
b lutely neceſſary to repoſe his troops for ſome time in the territory of *Adria*, which was a moſt pleaſant and fruitful country. In his various engagements with the *Romans*, he had taken a great number of their arms, with which he now armed his men after the *Roman* manner. Being now likewiſe maſter of that part of the country bordering on the ſea, he found means to ſend an expreſs to *Carthage*, with the news of the glorious progreſs of his arms. The *Carthaginians* received this news with the moſt joyful acclamations, at the ſame time coming to a reſolution to reinforce, with a proper number of troops, their armies both in *Italy* and *Spain*. They alſo had frequent conſultations how they might ſend them a plentiful ſupply of all neceſ-
c ſaries with the utmoſt expedition, being determined to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour [n].

Hannibal, having refreſhed his army, and over-run the territory of the *Prætutii*, *Ferentani*, *Daunii*, *Meſſapii*, and, in fine, the whole province of *Apulia*, encamped near *Ibonium*. In the mean time, *Fabius*, for his ſingular virtue and abili- *And marches into* Campania.
ties ſurnamed *Maximus*, was elected dictator at *Rome*, and had the abſolute command of the *Roman* army given him. *Fabius* ordered the conſul *Servilius* to watch the motions of the *Carthaginians* by ſea, whilſt he, with the legions and his general of the horſe, advanced to *Ægæ*, to have an eye upon *Hannibal*. The cunning *Carthaginian* made a great variety of movements, and had recourſe to an infinity of ſtratagems, in order to draw the *Roman* general to a battle, which it was his higheſt intereſt
d to do; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. *Hannibal*, therefore, having before ravaged all the country bordering on the *Adriatic*, croſſed the *Apennines*, and entered into *Samnium*, where he likewiſe committed great devaſtations. He plundered the territory of *Beneventum*, took the ſtrong city of *Venuſia*, and laid ſiege to *Teleſia*, a town at the foot of the *Apennines*. *Fabius* ſtill kept pace with him, though he did not think proper to approach the *Carthaginians* nearer than a day's march, being determined to decline an engagement. *Hannibal*, being convinced, that a ſtate of inaction muſt prove fatal to him, in order to draw *Fabius* to a battle, marched his army into *Campania*, by the advice of ſome of the *Italian* priſoners, he had diſmiſſed after the late battle, and who now had joined him. Accordingly he ordered his guides to
e conduct him to the territory of *Caſinum*, being informed, that, if he could make himſelf maſter of this, he ſhould cut off all communication betwixt the *Romans* and their allies on that ſide. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, not having the true pronunciation of the *Latin*, named *Caſilinum*, inſtead of *Caſinum*, to his guides; who thereupon purſued a different route, leading him through the diſtricts of *Alliſæ*, *Calatia*, and *Cales*, into that of *Stella*, where finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains and rivers, he inquired in what part of the world he was; and received for anſwer from his guides, that he ſhould lodge that night at *Caſilinum*; when diſcovering the miſtake, he put to death the principal of them, and detached *Maherbal*, with a body of horſe, to plunder the territory of *Falernum*. That general, pene-
f trating as far as the waters of *Sinueſſa*, deſtroyed all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword, the *Numidians* making a terrible ſlaughter of the poor country people. However, the *Campanians* continued firm in their obedience to the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, afterwards encamping on the *Vulturnus*, ravaged the whole province in a moſt dreadful manner, *Fabius* not offering to ſtir, though he beheld theſe devaſtations from the top of mount *Maſſicus*, where he had poſted himſelf to obſerve the motions of the *Carthaginian* army. This greatly incenſed both the *Roman* troops, and his general of the horſe, againſt him [o].

ALL

[n] Iidem ibid. Vide & FLOR. CORN. NEP. AUREL. VICT. EUTROP. OROS. &c. ubi ſupr. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 24. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 703, 704, 705, &c. [o] LIV. POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi ſupr. PLUT. in Fab. ENN. in annal. xii, apud Var. de poet.

He cannot bring Fabius *to a battle.*

All methods had been now tried in vain by *Hannibal* to bring *Fabius* to a battle. a
He had at first advanced to his very intrenchments at *Ægæ*, and braved him; he had upbraided him and his troops with having lost the valour of their ancestors, though at the same time he inwardly fretted to find himself engaged with a general of so different a genius from *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; he had endeavoured to rouze him by frequent removals from place to place, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would decamp with the utmost precipitation, and at another quite stop short in some remote valley, to see whether he could not rush out and surprise him in the plain; but, notwithstanding all his artifices, all his marches, countermarches, and finesses, the dictator inflexibly adhered to his first resolution, and thereby gave the crafty *Carthaginian* to b
understand, that the *Romans*, instructed by their defeats, had at last made choice of a general capable of opposing *Hannibal* [p].

He retires from Campania.

As *Campania* was a country more agreeable to the eye, than proper for the subsistence of an army, and the *Carthaginians* would have been forced to have taken up their winter-quarters amongst morasses, rocks, and sands, had they remained any considerable time longer there, *Hannibal* began to think of decamping. To this he was farther excited by an apprehension, that the *Romans* would receive plentiful supplies from *Capua* and the richest countries in *Italy*. That he might not therefore consume idly the provisions he had amassed for the winter season, nor lose the immensely rich spoils gotten in the provinces he had ravaged, he began his march out c
of *Campania* towards the decline of summer, and pursued it for some time with great expedition [q].

And with great difficulty arrives on the confines of Samnium.

It being natural to suppose, that *Hannibal* would return the same way he came, and *Fabius* being apprised of this by his spies, the *Roman* general ordered a detachment of four thousand men to advance, and possess themselves of the pass on mount *Eribanus*, exhorting them to behave with bravery, when an opportunity of engaging the *Carthaginians* offered. After this, *Fabius*, that he might the more easily annoy *Hannibal* in his march, threw another body of troops into *Casilinum*, a small town situated on the *Vulturnus*, which separated the territories of *Falernum* from those of *Capua*, and at the same time took post with the main body of his army on mount d
Callicula. From hence he sent a party of four hundred horse, under the command of *L. Hostilius Mancinus*, to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to retire upon the first news of their approach. *Mancinus*, paying no regard to his orders, skirmished with several straggling parties of *Numidians*, who, retiring before him, drew him on by degrees nearer the *Carthaginian* camp; which *Cartalo*, general of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, observing, pursued him, at the head of a good body of horse, five miles, and at last coming up with him, cut him off, with the greatest part of his men. The rest fled to *Cales*, from whence, through several by-paths, they made their escape to *Fabius*, bringing him the melancholy news of the disaster that had befallen them [r].

His stratagem to effect this.

Hannibal, with his forces, soon arrived at the foot of the mountains, where he e
encamped. Soon after, an action happened between him and *Fabius*, wherein he lost eight hundred men, and the *Romans* two hundred. But here he found himself involved in great difficulties, being pent up in such a manner, by reason of the *Romans* having seized upon *Casilinum* and *Callicula*, that it seemed impossible for him to make his escape. Now he found, that his own arts were put in practice against him, and that he had fallen into much the same snare he had laid for *Flaminius* at the lake *Thrasymenus*. *Fabius*, in the mean time, thinking he had his enemy in his power, was making the proper dispositions for an attack the next morning. At this critical conjuncture, *Hannibal*, by the assistance of two thousand wild and tame oxen, with torches, faggots, and dry vine-branches, tied to their horns, and driven with f
great violence, in the dead of the night, to the top of the hills where the *Romans* lay encamped, found means to gain the pass abovementioned, which opened a way for him to *Allifæ*. We are told, that, before he communicated this stratagem to his general officers, he massacred five thousand *Italian* prisoners, to prevent its taking air by their means, as well as to hinder their joining the enemy, if his design should miscarry. By this single contrivance, *Hannibal* eluded all the efforts of *Fabius*, and preserved both himself and his army, when they were upon the very brink of destruction. It is certainly glorious for a general to turn his very errors to his advantage, and

[p] Iidem ibid. [q] Iidem ibid. [r] Polyb. Liv. Appian. ubi supra.

a and make them ſubſervient to his fame. For the particulars of this ſtratagem we muſt refer our readers to the *Roman* hiſtory [s].

As ſoon as day-light appeared, *Hannibal* obſerved, that his light-armed troops were advanced to the ſummit of the mountain, on which was the defile he had forced the *Romans* to abandon by the ſtratagem above-mentioned. Here they met with a ſtrong body of the *Romans*, who had aſcended the hill in the night; ſo that they were in danger of being all cut to pieces, eſpecially as the enemy had found means to ſurround them. Upon this, *Hannibal* detached a party of *Spaniards* to bring them off, which he imagined them capable of doing, as they were more uſed to craggy rocks and precipices, as well as more active and nimble, than the *Romans*. Accord- b ingly, the *Spaniards* charged the *Romans* with ſo much bravery, that they put them to flight, killed a thouſand of them upon the ſpot, and covered the retreat of their companions in ſuch a manner, that ſcarce a man was loſt on this occaſion [t]. *His motions afterwards.*

Hannibal, upon his arrival near the confines of *Samnium*, made a motion, as tho' his intention had been to paſs through that province towards *Rome*; but, wheeling about on a ſudden, he fell into the country of the *Peligni*, which he ravaged a ſecond time. From thence he retired into *Apulia*, and took poſſeſſion of a defenceleſs town called *Gerion*; which the inhabitants abandoned upon his approach. This is *Livy*'s account. But, according to *Polybius*, who calls the place (K) *Gerunium*, making it about twenty-five miles diſtant from *Luceria*, it ſtood a ſiege, and was at laſt taken c by ſtorm. *Hannibal*, if we chuſe to follow the ſame author, put all the inhabitants to the ſword; but made granaries of the houſes, lodged his troops under the walls, and fortified his camp with a retrenchment. From hence he ſent two thirds of his army to gather in the corn of the province, which was extremely fertile, ordering them by turns to relieve daily the other third part that remained with him. This he had always drawn up in battalia, not only to protect the others, but likewiſe to prevent the enemy from making any attempt upon his camp. In the mean time, *Fabius*, being ſent for to *Rome*, left the command of the army to *Minucius*, his general of the horſe, with orders to obſerve the motions of *Hannibal* at a proper diſtance; but by no means to engage him [u]. Hannibal *encamps at* Gerunium.

d *Minucius*, being of a contrary diſpoſition to *Fabius*, reſolved not to keep in the path, which that general had chalked out for him. Being therefore informed, that the greateſt part of the *Carthaginian* army was diſperſed over the territory of *Gerunium*, in order to forage, and that *Hannibal* himſelf lay encamped with the other part under the walls of that place, he took poſt on an eminence called *Calela*, in the neighbourhood of *Larinum*, not far from *Hannibal*'s camp. *Hannibal*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach, recalled part of his foragers, and poſſeſſed himſelf of an aſcent about two miles from *Gerunium*, imagining, that this poſt would enable him to ſecure his other foragers from all inſults. The night after his arrival here, he ſent two thouſand of his light-armed troops to ſeize upon a riſing ground e cloſe by the *Roman* camp; which they effected without oppoſition. But, the next morning, *Minucius* detached a body of his light-armed forces to diſloge them from thence; which, after a briſk action, they did, putting many of them to the ſword, and diſperſing the reſt. Animated by this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, *Minucius* attacked the *Carthaginian* foragers, cut many of them to pieces, and, in a rencounter, had the advantage over *Hannibal*. Theſe things being known at *Rome* greatly ſunk the credit of *Fabius*, and occaſioned there a general condemnation of his conduct; nay, as *Hannibal* had artfully ſpared his lands in the general devaſtation, ſome began to entertain a ſuſpicion of his having kept a ſecret correſpondence with the *Carthaginians*. The people and ſenate of *Rome*, however, did not take the command of the f army abſolutely from him; but gave *Minucius* an equal authority with the dictator. Minucius *gains ſome ſlight advantages over* Hannibal.

After

[s] Idem ibid. Plut. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 26. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 5. ex. 28. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 706, 707. [t] Polyb. l. iii. c. 92. Liv. l. xxii. c. 15. [u] Polyb. l. iii. c. 101, 102, &c. Liv. l. xxii. c. 28, 29, 30, &c. Plut. in Fab. Oros. l. iv. c. 15. ſub. fin. Cic. de offic. & in Caton.

(K) We believe, with *Gronovius*, that the true name of this town was *Gerunium*, and conſequently that *Livy*'s text ought to be amended. This ſeems to appear, not only from the ſuperior authority of *Polybius*, but likewiſe from *Peutinger*'s table, in which the place under conſideration is called *Geronium*. Other reaſons might be offered, were there any occaſion for them (16).

(26) *Vide Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 101. *& l.* v. *c.* 108.

After *Fabius*'s return to the army, the two generals agreed to divide the forces, that each of them might have his ſeparate corps, *Fabius*, on account of his ſuperior ſkill in the military art, and that he might be able to preſerve at leaſt one part of the army, not being diſpoſed to give his conſent to an alternate command [w]. a

Fabius *prevents* Hannibal *from cutting off his collegue.*

Nothing could be more agreeable to *Hannibal*, than to hear of the diſgrace of *Fabius*, whoſe meaſures he ſo much dreaded. He flattered himſelf that the diſſenſion between the two commanders, and the raſhneſs of *Minucius*, would throw an opportunity into his hands of embaraſſing the *Roman* affairs more than ever. He reſolved therefore to lay a ſnare for *Minucius*; which fortune ſoon pointed out to him a method of doing. *Fabius* encamped on the hills, after his uſual manner; and *Minucius* in the plain, near the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* in the mean time obſerving a ſmall riſing ground between him and *Minucius*, by which either might incommode the other, formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of it, not doubting but this would bring on an action between them. In order to which, he laid an ambuſcade of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, divided into parties of two and three hundred men each, poſted in different places near this eminence. He then commanded a body of his light-armed men to advance, and take poſſeſſion of that poſt; which *Minucius* endeavouring to prevent, fell into the ambuſcade, and had been cut off with all his men, if *Fabius* had not ruſhed from the hills, like a torrent, to his aſſiſtance in the critical moment, and forced *Hannibal* to retire. *Hannibal* is reported to have ſaid on this occaſion, *That he had overcome* Minucius, *and* Fabius *him*. *Hannibal*, after this action, fortified his camp, ſeized upon the eminence above-mentioned, drew a line round it, and then continued in a ſtate of inaction till the following campaign [x]. b c

The Romans *defeat the* Carthaginians *in* Spain.

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, *Cneius Scipio*, having, as we obſerved, conquered all the *Spaniſh* cantons from the *Pyrenees* to the *Iberus*, put his troops into winter-quarters at *Tarraco*. *Aſdrubal*, however, as we at the ſame time informed our readers, gave the *Romans* a conſiderable blow towards the cloſe of the campaign; the conſequence of which, according to *Livy*, was, that the *Ilergetes*, who had left in *Scipio*'s hands hoſtages for their fidelity, declared for the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio*, being appriſed of this, aſſembled a body of forces, and immediately inveſted their capital city *Athanagia*. He puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, though in the midſt of winter, that the *Ilergetes*, found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to his clemency, *Aſdrubal* being then at too great a diſtance to afford them ſpeedy ſuccours. As the principal author of the revolt was fled, *Scipio* was the more readily induced to pardon them. Having therefore exacted a good ſum of money from them for their perfidy, and compelled them to give him new hoſtages for their future good behaviour, he took them again into favour. From hence he marched againſt the *Auſetani*, allies of the *Carthaginians*, ſeated near the *Iberus*, and ſat down before their metropolis. During this ſiege, he drew a great body of the neighbouring *Spaniards*, particularly of the *Lacetani*, who came to the aſſiſtance of the *Auſetani*, into an ambuſcade he laid for them, putting twelve thouſand of them to the ſword, and diſperſeing the reſt. However, he could not reduce the city for the ſpace of thirty days, on account of the rigour of the ſeaſon, which was ſuch, that the *Roman* engines of battery could not play upon it. At laſt, *Amuſitus*, their prince, having found means to retire to *Aſdrubal*, the gariſon delivered up the place to *Scipio* for twenty talents of ſilver; after which that general moved again into his winter-quarters. In the mean time, *Aſdrubal* reinforced the ſquadron, his brother had left him, with ten galleys, ſo that it now conſiſted of forty-five ſhips of the line; and gave the command of it to one *Hamilcar*, an officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on various occaſions, *Hamilcar*, purſuant to his orders, put to ſea, with an intention to coaſt along, till he came to the mouth of the *Iberus*, where *Aſdrubal* was to meet him at the head of the land-forces, that they might, in concert, begin the operations of the campaign. *Scipio*, receiving intelligence of their deſign, and at the ſame time hearing, that *Aſdrubal* was already in motion, immediately fitted out a fleet of five-and-thirty ſail, putting the flower of his land-forces on board. Upon his arrival near the mouth of the *Iberus*, he diſpatched two *Maſſilian* veſſels to reconnoitre the enemy, who brought d e f

[w] Iidem ibid. Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 8. Enn. ubi ſup. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. viii. [x] Iidem ibid. Frontin. ſtrat. l ii. c. 5. ex. 22. Vide etiam Sil Ital. l. vi. Virg. Æn. vi. Diod. Sic. in excerptis Vales. l. xxvi. Ovid. l. ii. faſt. Manil. l. i. Flor. l. ii. Corn. Nep. Aur. Vict. Eutrop. ubi ſup. Claud. de bell. Get. Macrob. in Saturn. Posidon. alioſq. plurim.

a brought him advice, that their ſquadron of galleys actually rode at anchor in the mouth of the river; upon which he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to attack it. *Aſdrubal*, receiving timely notice of this, drew up his army in order of battle on the ſhore, to aſſiſt, or at leaſt to animate, his naval forces; but they were not able to withſtand the efforts of the *Romans*, who, after a warm diſpute, intirely defeated them, forced all the veſſels on ſhore, killed great numbers of the ſeamen and marines, and carried off thirty-five galleys. From this time the *Carthaginian* affairs began to wear a bad aſpect in *Spain*[y].

THE *Carthaginians*, receiving intelligence of this blow, equipped another fleet of ſeventy ſail with the utmoſt expedition, knowing of what vaſt conſequence it was b to them to be maſters of the ſea. With this, according to *Polybius*, they put in at one of the ports of *Sardinia*, and proceeded from thence to *Piſa*; where the admiral propoſed to have a conference with *Hannibal*. But *Servilius*, who commanded a *Roman* ſquadron of an hundred and twenty galleys, prevented that intercourſe, the *Carthaginians* thinking proper to ſheer off upon his approach, and return to *Carthage*. *Servilius*, for ſome time, gave them chace; but finding himſelf not able to come up with them, he left off the purſuit, and ſteered his courſe for *Cercina*, a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of the *Regio Syrtica*; which he laid under contribution. From thence he ſailed to *Coſſyrus*, another little iſland, not far from *Carthage*; which he eaſily made himſelf maſter of, and left a gariſon in the town. After this he ſet ſail c for *Sicily*, and arrived ſafe with his ſquadron in the harbour of *Lilybæum*[z].

And gain ſeveral other advantages over them in Spain *and* Africa.

IN the mean time, *Scipio* made a good uſe of his late naval victory. He firſt advanced to *Honoſca*, which he cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land, took it by ſtorm, and levelled it with the ground. Then he made a deſcent in *Africa*, ravaged all the country about *Carthage*, and burnt ſeveral houſes adjoining to the haven and the wall. Loaded with ſpoil, he departed from thence to *Longuntica*, where he found a vaſt quantity of *ſpartum*, a ſhrub much uſed in the navigating of ſhips, amaſſed by *Aſdrubal*, which he either carried off for his own uſe, or burnt. Afterwards he landed a body of forces in the iſland *Ebuſus*, now *Yvica*, plundered it, and burnt ſome ſtreets of its capital city; but bould not reduce the town. However, he d concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of this, and the other *Balearic* iſlands. Upon the fame of theſe exploits, *Livy* tells us, an hundred and twenty different cantons of *Spaniards* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who penetrated as far as the *Saltus Caſtulonenſis*, *Aſdrubal* retiring before them into *Luſitania*, and thoſe parts of *Spain* bordering upon the ocean[a].

The conſequences of the defeat in Spain.

WHILST the *Carthaginian* affairs were in ſuch a melancholy ſituation in *Spain*, *Mandonius*, a perſon of diſtinction amongſt the *Ilergetes*, advanced to the frontiers of ſome of the allies of *Rome*, with a deſign to plunder them. *Scipio*, being appriſed of this, detached a body of three thouſand *Romans*, with ſome *Spaniſh* auxiliaries, to attack him; which they did ſo effectually, that they overthrew him, and drove e him from thoſe frontiers with great loſs. Upon this, he applied to *Aſdrubal* for aſſiſtance, who preſently marched with all his forces to ſupport him. *Scipio*, being acquainted with this motion, ordered all the *Celtiberian* princes in the *Roman* intereſt to aſſemble their forces, and fall upon the *Carthaginians*. In compliance with this order, they made an irruption into the *Carthaginian* territories with a powerful army, took three fortreſſes there by aſſault, and gave *Aſdrubal* two notable overthrows, killing him above fifteen thouſand men, and taking four thouſand priſoners. Nothing further material happened in *Spain* this campaign, except that the two *Scipios* paſſed the *Iberus*, and penetrated into the *Carthaginian* dominions as far as the gates of f *Saguntum*, a particular account of which has been already given[b].

Aſdrubal *reduced to great difficulties.*

BUT to return to the armies in *Italy*: *Hannibal* remained quiet in his winter-quarters, till the following ſpring, and, before the ſeaſon for action came on, had the pleaſure to hear of *Fabius*'s being recalled to *Rome*, upon the expiration of his office, which was limited to ſix months. The conſuls, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* and *M. Attilius Regulus*, who ſucceeded him, in all things regulated their conduct according to the model *Fabius* had laid down. Upon their arrival in the army, they cut off ſeveral parties of *Hannibal*'s foragers; but declined a general action, though he made uſe of all the art and cunning he was maſter of to draw them to one. *Hannibal* therefore found himſelf ſo ſtreightened for want of proviſions, that he had once thoughts

Hannibal *in great diſtreſs.*

y POLYB. l. iii. c. 95. LIV. l. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22, ZONAR. l. ix. c. 1. z POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſup.
a Iidem ibid. b Iidem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 708, 709.

thoughts of retiring into *Gaul*; but was diverted from this design by a suspicion, a
that such a retreat would look so much like a flight, that it might be an inducement
to his allies to desert him. His safety now seemed intirely to depend upon the mea-
sures the two new consuls, *C. Terentius Varro* and *L. Æmilius Paulus*, should pursue.
If they steadily adhered to *Fabius*'s plan of operations, he must be irrecoverably lost;
whereas by a departure from it they might throw the game once more into his
hands. His hopes were not a little raised, when he received intelligence from his
spies, that *Varro*, in disposition and genius, nearly resembled *Sempronius*, *Flaminius*,
and *Minucius*; that there was a perfect want of harmony betwixt him and his col-
legue *Paulus*; and that he was obtruded by the plebeians upon the senate, who had
a very indifferent opinion of him. Notwithstanding therefore the *Roman* army this b
year consisted of eight legions, besides the troops of their allies, in all making about
eighty-six thousand effective men, he was far from desponding, especially as he
believed, that however numerous it might be, two thirds of the troops composing
it, being new levies, would not be capable of coping with his veterans. The event
justified the sentiments he entertained, as we shall see immediately.

The Romans *defeat a body of* Carthaginians.

Hannibal had not only learned the true character of *Varro*, but likewise discovered
his grand design. He had received advice, that this consul, before he left *Rome*,
declared in public, that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity,
and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, so long as
men of *Fabius*'s complexion should be at the head of the *Roman* armies. He had not c
been long in the *Roman* camp, before one of his detachments routed a body of *Car-
thaginians*, killing seventeen hundred of them upon the spot; which greatly increased
his boldness and arrogance. *Hannibal* considered this loss as a real advantage, not
doubting but it would spur him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely; for he
was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions at *Geruniun*, that he found it impossible
to subsist there ten days longer; and the *Spaniards* already meditated a desertion,
which could not but prove fatal to him. But his good fortune at this crisis inter-
posed, and threw in his way an antagonist, that extricated him out of all the diffi-
culties in which he was involved [d].

The Roman *and* Carthaginian *armies meet near* Cannæ *in* Apulia.

AFTER several movements, the two armies came in sight of each other near d
Cannæ, a village and castle of *Apulia*, situated on the river *Aufidus*. *Hannibal* had
taken the castle, which commanded all that part of *Apulia*, and seized therein one of
the enemy's principal magazines, before the approach of the *Roman* army. He had
likewise taken care to encamp in a smooth and open plain, proper for his cavalry,
in which the main strength of his forces consisted, to act in. *Paulus*, considering
Hannibal's great superiority in horse, was for drawing the *Carthaginians* to an irre-
gular spot of ground, where the infantry might have the principal share in the
action; but *Varro* being of another opinion, that salutary design was dropped;
which proved the total ruin of the *Romans*. As soon as the consuls appeared, *Han-
nibal* moved towards them at the head of his horse, and began an attack with great e
bravery; but the *Romans*, intermixing some of the legionaries with their light-armed
troops, sustained the first shock of the enemy with much fierceness, and, being duly
supported by their cavalry, repulsed them with considerable loss. This a little dis-
couraged *Hannibal*, especially as the night rendered him incapable of renewing the
charge. However, to remove all impressions of terror, that might have seized upon
his soldiers minds upon that event, he judged it expedient to re-animate them the
next day by an harangue, which was to the following effect: "Return thanks to
"the gods, said he, for having brought the enemy hither, that we may triumph
"over them; and, in the next place, make proper acknowledgments to me, for
"having forced them to come to a battle with us upon the most disadvantagious f
"terms. After three glorious victories already won, is not the remembrance of your
"own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By your former renowned
"atchievements, you have made yourselves masters of the open country; but
"another victory will put all the cities, as well as all the riches and power, of the
"*Romans* into your hands. It is not words that we stand in need of, but action;
"and I doubt not but, by the favour of the gods, you will soon find my promises
"fulfilled, and your most sanguine expectations answered." The army, receiving
fresh life and vigour from this speech of their general, both by their voice and gesture,
declared

[c] POLYB. l. iii. c. 115, 116. LIV. l. xxii. c. 48, 49. APPIAN. in Hannib. [d] LIV. ubi sup.

a declared themſelves to be intirely at his devotion. After which, remanding them all to their reſpective poſts, he commanded them to be ready the next morning to enter upon action [e].

HAVING already given a full and particular account of the battle of *Cannæ*, as well as of the diſpoſitions of both armies at that battle, we ſhall here only endeavour to revive in our readers minds a general idea of that moſt memorable event, by reciting ſome of the moſt remarkable circumſtances of it, and pointing at ſome of the principal cauſes, that determined victory to declare in favour of the *Carthaginians* [f].

The battle of Cannæ.

WE have before obſerved, that *Paulus* was for declining an engagement, being well aſſured, that a ſtate of inaction muſt ruin *Hannibal*; but not being able to pre-
b vail upon his collegue to fall in with his ſentiments, he then propoſed fighting the enemy on ſuch a ſpot of ground, as would enable the infantry, in which the *Romans* were much ſuperior to *Hannibal*, to have the principal ſhare in the action; but *Varro*, hurried away by his raſhneſs and impetuoſity of mind, was deaf to both theſe ſalutary propoſals; and, being greatly exaſperated, that a party of *Numidians* ſhould dare to inſult his camp, the next day of his command, he advanced into the plains of the *Aufidus*, to attack the *Carthaginian* army. This was the very thing that *Hannibal* wiſhed for, who therefore moved towards him with great alacrity. He had before paſſed the river, and drawn up his army in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance from the *Romans*, having poſted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the (L) wind *Vul-*
c *turnus*, which riſes at certain ſtated times, ſhould blow directly in the faces of the *Romans* during the fight, and cover them with duſt. On his left he had the river *Aufidus*,

[e] POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſup. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 709, 710, 711.

(L) The wind *Vulturnus* blew ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, or ſouth-eaſt, and was the moſt common of all other winds at *Capua*. The old *Etruſcan* name of that city, as we learn from *Livy* and others, was *Vulturnus*, or *Vulturnum*, being, in all probability, ſo called from its founder. This founder was undoubtedly deified by the inhabitants of his city after his death, and looked upon there, and perhaps through all *Campania*, as a tutelar deity. That the *Etruſcan* inhabitants of *Campania* worſhipped the god *Vulturnus*, or *Volturnus*, is paſt all doubt, as likewiſe that he was a deity peculiar to them. As *Capua* or *Vulturnum* lay ſouth-eaſt of *Etruria*, it is no wonder the *Etruſcans* ſhould call the ſouth-eaſt wind, eſpecially ſince it blew ſo frequently there, *Vulturnus*; and from them that name paſſed to the *Romans*. That it was an *Etruſcan* proper name, appears both from what we have juſt obſerved, and from its beginning with the word *Vul* or *Vol*, in common with many other *Etruſcan* proper names, *viz. Volumnus*, *Voltumna*, *Volta*, &c. The *Etruſcans* wrote it, in all likelihood, *Ful-Turne*, or, *Fal-Turne*; ſince, inſtead of the V conſonant, they uſed the *Æolic digamma*, as appears from the *Eugubian* tables; and terminated thoſe words in E, that the *Romans* did in US. Let this be admitted, and it muſt be allowed probable, that *Ful*, or *Fal*, was a term of honour, ſignifying *high*, *ſublime*, &c. eſpecially as we have evinced in a former note, that this word, in the *Etruſcan* language, had that ſignification. Our notion, in this particular, will appear ſtill more agreeable to truth, if we farther conſider, that all the proper names, of which this word makes one part of the compoſition, were either applied to deities, great men, or ſomething which apparently bore an analogy to the aforeſaid ſignification. And as for the word *Turne*, or *Turnus*, that was a proper name of *Latium* in the ages preceding the *Trojan* war, when the language of that country agreed in many, if not moſt, points with the *Etruſcan*; and conſequently it might have been a proper name in uſe likewiſe amongſt the *Etruſcans*. Be that as it will, it is certain *Turan*, which comes extremely near it, as conſiſting of the ſame radicals, was an *Etruſcan* proper name, as we learn from an inſcription upon an antique *Etruſcan patera*. We own indeed, that *Raphael Maffæus Volatteranus* aſſerts the word *Vola* to have ſignified *a city* in the old *Etruſcan* tongue, which runs counter to what we have offered; but as this aſſertion has nothing to ſupport it but that writer's bare authority, which, in the point before us, is of no weight, we cannot adviſe our readers to pay any regard to it. That the word *Fal* or *Ful* ſignified *high*, as likewiſe that the old *Etruſcan* language was at firſt oriental, is confirmed by the proper name *Volatteræ*, or, as the *Etruſcans* probably wrote it, *Ful-tur*, *Ful-tir*, *Fultera*, i. e. *a height* or *eminence*, or *a height* or *eminence ſtrong by its ſituation*; which exactly anſwers to the ſituation of that place, as deſcribed by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* and *Strabo* (17).

Zonaras obſerves, that the wind *Vulturnus* greatly contributed to the defeat of the *Romans*; ſince, till that began to blow, which, he ſays, was about noon, the *Carthaginians* had no proſpect of victory. *Hannibal*, according to the ſame author, ſoon after he arrived upon the banks of the *Aufidus*, ploughed up all the ſandy ſoil there, that, by having it more immediately expoſed to the heat of the ſun, clouds of duſt and ſand from thence might the more eaſily be blown into the faces of the *Romans* (18).

The *Sirocco*, anſwering to the *Vulturnus*, at preſent blows in ſeveral parts of *Italy* for many days together; and when this happens, the atmoſphere is extremely heated, which renders the place moſt diſagreeable, and ſometimes almoſt intolerable. A *Tramontana*, or cold north-eaſt wind, frequently ſucceeds the *Sirocco*; which occaſions a great mortality amongſt the *Italians* from the *mal di petto*, &c.

(17) *Liv. l.* iv. *& l.* xxxiv. *Dion. Halicarn. l.* i. *Serv ad Æn.* x. *ver.* 145. *Vel. Paterc. l. i. Ant. Fran. Gor. Muſ. Etruſc. claſ. prim. p* 53, 54, 55. *& p.* 204. *edit. Florent.* 1737. *Tab. Eugubin.* 3, 4, 5, *paſſ. Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* vii. *p.* 3. *not.* (A). *Virg. Æn.* xii. *& alib. Schind. pent. p.* 1988. *Ant. Fran. Gor. ubi ſup. p.* 113. *Raph. Maff. Volaterran. l.* v. *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. l.* iii. *Strab. l.* v. *Tab.* 4. *apud Dempſt. de Etruſc. reg. tom.* i. *p.* 78. (18) *Zonar. l.* ix. *c.* 2.

Aufidus, and placing his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* infantry, which he poſted in the centre, with half the *African* heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the ſame line with the cavalry. Having made this diſpoſition, he cauſed the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* infantry to move towards the enemy in ſuch a manner, as to form a large creſcent, that there might be no interval between them and the *African* foot, that were to ſupport them. *Aſdrubal* was poſted on the right, *Hanno* on the left, and *Hannibal*, with his brother *Mago*, commanded the main body. The *Africans*, ſays *Livy*, ſeemed to be a body of *Romans*, *Hannibal* having been enabled to arm them after the *Roman* manner by the ſpoils taken from the enemy in the battles of *Trebia* and the lake *Thraſymenus*. The *Gauls* and *Spaniards* uſed the ſame ſort of ſhields; but their ſwords were different, thoſe of the *Spaniards* being ſhort and well-pointed, fit either to cut or thruſt; whereas thoſe of the *Gauls* were long and broad, deſigned for a downright cutting blow. The *Gauls* were naked from their waiſt upwards, and thereby rendered capable of giving a blow with the greater force. The *Spaniards* were clad in white linen-caſſocks, bordered with purple, after the manner of their country; which ſtrange habits, together with the vaſt ſize of body theſe nations were eminent for, exhibited an appearance, that not a little intimidated the *Romans*. Five hundred *Numidians* came over in a body to the *Romans*, with their ſhields thrown behind their backs, in the form of deſerters, before the beginning of the action. Upon their arrival at the *Roman* camp, they diſmounted, and laid down all their arms, except the ſwords they had concealed under their coats of mail. The conſuls had not then time to examine them; and therefore *Varro* ordered them to be placed behind the army, till the concluſion of the engagement. Here they remained quiet, till the diſpute grew very warm, when the *Romans* were ſo preſſed on all ſides, that they could not obſerve them; but then, ſupplying themſelves with the bucklers, that lay ſcattered on the field of battle amongſt the heaps of the ſlain, and making uſe of their own ſwords, they attacked the enemy's rear, killing many, and ſtriking the reſt of the *Romans* poſted there with the greateſt terror. Thus *Hannibal*, by this refined artifice, found means to lay an ambuſcade for the enemy in a plain, and behind their backs, when ſuch a ſtratagem ſeemed abſolutely impracticable. The conſular army was diſpoſed much in the ſame manner as in other engagements: *Paulus* commanded the right wing, *Varro* the left, and the proconſuls, *Marcus Attilius* and *Cneius Servilius*, the main body. The ſignal of battle being given, both armies moved with great ardour to the attack; but the wind *Vulturnus* blew ſo ſtrongly in the faces of the *Romans*, that they had their eyes filled with duſt, and could ſcarce ſee the enemy. After the light-armed troops had engaged, *Aſdrubal*, at the head of the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* horſe in the left wing, charged the *Roman* in the right wing, commanded by *Paulus*, with ſuch fury, that, after a warm diſpute, he broke and diſperſed them; and having left, to purſue the ſcattered ſquadrons, only ſuch forces as were neceſſary to prevent them from rallying, he advanced to the relief of the main body. *Paulus*, being wounded, at the firſt onſet, by a *Balearic* ſlinger, found himſelf obliged to diſmount; which induced the cavalry under his conduct to do the ſame. *Hannibal*, obſerving this motion, is reported to have ſaid, *I would much rather the conſul had delivered his men to me bound*, intimating thereby, that he looked upon them now as in his power, and himſelf as ſure of victory. Nor can it be doubted, but that this accident was of fatal conſequence to the *Roman* cavalry poſted in the right wing. In the mean time, the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* infantry, forming the large creſcent above-mentioned, being hotly charged by the *Roman* legions, after a brave reſiſtance, by *Hannibal*'s direction, gave ground, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The *Romans* purſued them with the utmoſt eagerneſs and confuſion, as *Hannibal* had foreſeen; whereupon the *African* infantry, which was freſh, well-armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a ſudden towards that void ſpace, in which the *Romans*, who were already fatigued, had thrown themſelves in diſorder, and attacked them vigorouſly on both ſides, without allowing them either ſpace or time to form themſelves. Whilſt matters were in this ſituation, *Aſdrubal*, with his victorious horſe, coming up, charged the rear of the *Roman* infantry, which, being puſhed on all ſides by the enemy's horſe and foot, was at laſt almoſt intirely cut to pieces, after having fought with unparallelled bravery. Two quæſtors, twenty-one military tribunes, many who had either been conſuls or prætors, *Minucius*, late general of the horſe to *Fabius*, *Servilius*, one of the proconſuls that commanded

a b c d e f

manded the main body, and the conſul *Æmilius Paulus*, all fell in the action, covered with wounds and glory. Neither did the left wing of the *Roman* army meet with a much better fate; for *Aſdrubal*, according to ſome authors hinted at by *Polybius*, before he advanced to the relief of the main body, by reinforcing the right wing under *Hanno*, enabled the *Numidian* cavalry poſted there intirely to defeat it. *Varro*, the author of this terrible deſtruction, eſcaped to *Venuſia*, with only ſeventy horſe, being ſoon after joined by three hundred of the allies. Of the ten thouſand men left by *Paulus* to guard the camp, immediately after the battle, two thouſand were put to the ſword, and the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion. In fine, very few of the *Romans* eſcaped either the carnage or captivity. *Hannibal*, upon a review of his forces after
b the battle, found, that he had loſt only four thouſand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and about two hundred horſe. Such was the defeat at *Cannæ*, the greateſt the *Romans* had hitherto ever received [g].

Cauſes of the defeat the Romans *received there.*

The ſuperiority of the *Carthaginians* in horſe muſt be allowed to have been the principal cauſe of this terrible overthrow. *Hannibal*'s army conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot; whereas the *Roman* cavalry did not exceed ſix thouſand, though, in the conſular army, the infantry amounted to eighty thouſand men. The ſtrange and aſtoniſhing figure made by the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, together with the activity of the former, and fierceneſs of the latter, did not a little contribute towards throwing the enemy into confuſion, as is even allowed by *Livy* himſelf.
c The body of *Numidians*, that attacked the *Roman* rear, and the accident, which attended *Paulus*'s wound above-mentioned, were alſo of ſingular ſervice to *Hannibal* on that auſpicious day the battle of *Cannæ* was fought. The confidence the *Carthaginian* troops repoſed in *Hannibal*, looking upon him as a general abſolutely invincible, likewiſe animated them to a prodigious degree, and conſequently enabled them to exert themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner. *Hannibal* did his utmoſt to inſpire them with a contempt of the *Romans* on all occaſions; which had the deſired effect. We are told, that when *Mago*, whom he had ſent to view the enemy, aſſured him, that the *Romans* were extremely numerous, he replied, "As numerous
" as they are, I give thee my word, brother, thou canſt not find one amongſt them,
d " whoſe name is *Mago*." And having thus ſaid, he burſt out into a great laughter, as did all the general officers that attended him; which induced the ſoldiers to believe, that he thought himſelf ſure of victory, and, of courſe, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that nothing could ſtand before them. The arming his *Africans* in the *Roman* manner was alſo a wiſe expedient made uſe of by *Hannibal*, as it enabled thoſe troops to attack and reſiſt the *Romans* in their own way, and, of courſe, not a little conduced to the victory. Theſe, we ſay, and many more concurring cauſes of the defeat at *Cannæ*, might be produced, and expatiated upon; but we think it ſufficient barely to have touched upon the circumſtances here mentioned, not at the ſame time forgetting to obſerve, that *Hannibal* himſelf, by the wiſe diſpoſition of his forces, by his ſingu-
e lar addreſs, preſence of mind, vigilance, and perſonal bravery, during the heat of the action, contributed more towards this unparallelled overthrow, than all the other concurring cauſes that can be aſſigned [h].

Hannibal's *motions after his victory at* Cannæ.

The immediate conſequence of this victory, as *Hannibal* had foreſeen, was a diſpoſition of that part of *Italy*, called *The old province*, *Magna Græcia*, *Tarentum*, *Arpi*, and part of the territory of *Capua*, to ſubmit to him. The neighbouring provinces likewiſe diſcovered an inclination to throw off the *Roman* yoke; but had a mind to ſee, whether *Hannibal* was abſolutely in a condition to protect them, before they declared themſelves. All the *Carthaginian* officers, except *Maherbal*, adviſed *Hannibal* to give his troops ſome repoſe after the great fatigues and hard ſervice they had lately gone
f through; but *Maherbal*, on the contrary, preſſed him to take directly the route to *Rome* at the head of his horſe, promiſing him, that, within five days, they ſhould ſup in the capitol. *Hannibal* anſwered, That he deſerved commendation for the ardour he ſhewed; but that an affair of ſuch importance required mature deliberation. To whom *Maherbal* replied, "I perceive the gods have not endued the ſame perſon
" with all ſhining talents. You know, *Hannibal*, how to conquer; but not how
" to

[g] Polyb, Liv. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 10. Oros. l. iv. c. 16. Appian. in Hannib. Frontin. l. ii. c. 2. ex 7. & alib. paſſ. Sil. Ital. paſſ. Plut. in Hannib. aliiq; quamplurim. Lucius Ampel. in lib. mem. c. 46.
[h] Iidem ibid.

"to make the beſt uſe of a victory." *Livy* (M) ſeems to fall in with *Maherbal*'s a
notion, and looks upon *Hannibal* as guilty of a capital error on this occaſion; but others,
as we have elſewhere taken notice, entertained different ſentiments of this point of that
renowned general's conduct; for which, beſides thoſe already mentioned, they aſſign
the following reaſons: 1. *Hannibal* was one of the moſt conſummate generals anti-
quity ever produced; a vaſt military genius; a perſon of the greateſt prudence,
forecaſt and penetration, as the whole ſeries of his actions, as well as the character of
him, that may be gathered from the *Roman* writers themſelves, prejudiced as they
were, clearly demonſtrates. It is therefore highly improbable, that, in this ſingle
inſtance, he ſhould either have failed to make choice of the beſt expedients, or been b
wanting in readineſs to put his deſigns in execution. 2. They are diſpoſed to judge
favourably of him from the authority, or, at leaſt, the ſilence, of *Polybius*, who,
ſpeaking of the memorable conſequences of this famous battle, ſays, that the *Cartha-*
ginians believed they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of *Rome* at the firſt aſſault; but he
gives us no room to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a project was feaſible, nor that *Hannibal* did
wrong in not attempting to put it in execution. 3. That, as his infantry, before the
battle of *Cannæ*, did not amount to above forty thouſand men, he had not ſtrength ſuf-
ficient to undertake the ſiege of *Rome*, eſpecially as that city was very populous, ſtrongly
fortified, and defended by a gariſon of two legions. This will appear in a ſtronger
light, if we conſider, that his infantry muſt have been conſiderably weakened by
the loſs he ſuſtained in the action at *Cannæ*, which amounted, on their part only, to c
five thouſand five hundred men. 4. *Hannibal* was deſtitute of battering-engines,
ammunition, and all things neceſſary for the carrying on of a ſiege; and conſequently,
on this account, as well as the paucity of his troops, he muſt have been incapable of
attacking in form ſo large a city as *Rome*. In proof of what is here advanced, it may
be obſerved, that, for want of the neceſſaries above-mentioned, even after his victory
at the lake *Thraſymenus*, he miſcarried in his attempt upon *Spoletum*, a town of no
great ſtrength; and after this at *Cannæ* was forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, a
little inconſiderable city. 5. Not any of the *Italian* nations had yet declared for
him; ſo that, had he miſcarried in the attempt, he muſt have been utterly ruined.
Theſe reaſons, with others that might be offered, ſeem to render dubious the opinion d
of thoſe, who have eſpouſed *Maherbal*'s ſide of the queſtion[i].

He advances to Capua.

WHEN *Hannibal* had thoroughly pillaged the *Roman* camp, he thought proper to
march into *Samnium*, being informed, that the *Hirpini*, and other neighbouring
nations, were diſpoſed to enter into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*. He firſt
advanced to *Compſa*, which opened its gates to him, and admitted a *Carthaginian*
gariſon. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immenſe plunder he
had amaſſed. After which, ordering his brother *Mago*, with a body of troops deſtined
for that purpoſe, to poſſeſs himſelf of all the fortreſſes of that country, he moved into
Campania, the moſt delicious province of *Italy*. The humanity *Hannibal* had all
along ſhewn the *Italian* priſoners, as well as the fame of the complete victory lately e
obtained, wrought ſo powerfully upon the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Apulians*, that they
expreſſed an eager deſire of being taken under his protection; nay, even the *Cam-*
panians themſelves, a nation more obliged to *Rome* than any in *Italy*, except the
Latins, being ſtrangely affected with the gallant behaviour and good fortune of
Hannibal, diſcovered an inclination to abandon their natural friends; of which the
Carthaginian general receiving intelligence, he bent his march towards *Capua*, not
doubting but that, by means of the popular faction which then prevailed there, he
ſhould eaſily make himſelf maſter of that important place[k].

And has that city ſurrendered to him.

SOME of the leading men in *Capua* had offered to deliver the city into *Hannibal*'s
hands immediately after the battle of the lake *Thraſymenus*; which induced that f
general to march his army to their frontiers, inſtead of advancing to *Rome*, as ſome
think

i Idem ibid. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 711, 712. Vide & AUL. GEL. in noct. Attic. l. x. c. 24. CAT. in origin. CÆL. hiſt. l. ii. PLUT. in Fab. MACROB. ſaturn. l. i. c. 4. k LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 2.

(M) Moſt of the *Roman* hiſtorians follow *Livy* in this particular, though this adds no weight to that author's notion. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Hannibal* himſelf was ſo chagrined afterwards at his conduct on this occaſion, that he fell into a deep melancholy, often crying out in a doleful tone, *O Cannæ! Cannæ!* However, *Zonaras*'s authority is not capable of overthrowing the reaſons offered to prove this improbable (19).

(19) *Zonar. l.* ix. *c.* 2.

a think he might have done; tho', at that time, he was ſo narrowly watched by *Fabius*, that his partizans in *Capua* could not find an opportunity of executing the deſign they had formed. But, at the preſent juncture, the popular faction bearing an abſolute ſway in the city, and being intirely at the devotion of one *Pacuvius Calavius*, an ambitious nobleman, on account of his known attachment to *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* party put themſelves again in motion. *Calavius* having, by artful management, brought the ſenate under the power of the populace, and prevented the latter from maſſacring the former, as they intended to do, by this means united the whole city in favour of the *Carthaginians*; and the battle of *Cannæ* happening ſoon after this union was effected, *Calavius* thought he might, without any obſtruction, intro-
b duce them into the city. However, three hundred *Capuan* youths being at that time ſerving the *Romans* in *Sicily*, it was agreed to ſend a deputation to *Varro*, to learn the ſituation of the *Roman* affairs, that they might not only go upon ſure grounds, but likewiſe have an opportunity of obliging the parents of the above-mentioned youths, by getting them out of the hands of the *Romans*. *Varro* continued ſtill to act in character, that is, with the utmoſt imprudence; for he repreſented the *Roman* ſtate as unable to ſupport itſelf, much leſs to furniſh them with the neceſſary ſuccours; and therefore adviſed them to make war upon the *Carthaginians* with their own forces, that, by ſuch a ſeaſonable diverſion, they might adminiſter ſome relief to their old and faithful friends. This ill-judged repreſentation and advice made
c ſuch an impreſſion upon the deputies, that, when they returned home, they adviſed their fellow-citizens immediately to conclude a treaty with *Hannibal*. They therefore entered into an alliance with him upon the following conditions: That the *Campanians* ſhould be governed by their own laws; that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not arrogate to themſelves the leaſt dominion in *Capua*, but live there upon the foot of friends; and laſtly, that *Hannibal* ſhould give them three hundred *Roman* priſoners, ſuch as they ſhould chuſe, to be exchanged with the ſame number of *Capuan* youths in the ſervice of *Rome*. One *Decius Magius*, however, a perſon of diſtinction in the city, did his utmoſt to obſtruct the negotiation, by reminding his countrymen of the
, fatal conſequences of changing old friends with new ones, from the example of *Pyrrhus*
d and the *Tarentines*; nay, when the *Carthaginian* troops were about to enter the town, he would fain have prevailed upon his countrymen to ſally out upon them, and cut them to pieces, that they might thereby have made ſome ſort of reparation to the *Romans* for the great injury offered them. *Hannibal* was ſo incenſed at this conduct of *Magius*, that he inſiſted upon having him delivered into his hands; which being granted, he put him on board a ſhip, in order to ſend him to *Carthage*; but being driven by ſtreſs of weather into the port of *Cyrene*, *Ptolemy Philopater* took him under his protection. *Perolla*, the ſon of *Calavius*, likewiſe for ſome time expreſſed a great averſion to *Hannibal*, and was even upon the point of aſſaſſinating him. However, *Hannibal* at laſt took peaceable poſſeſſion of *Capua*, and fixed there his winter-quar-
e ters. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, in his march to *Capua*, paſſed by *Neapolis*, now *Naples*; and that a body of horſe ſallying out of the town upon one of the *Carthaginian* parties, that advanced to the walls, was drawn into an ambuſcade, and almoſt intirely cut off, with one *Hegeas*, who commanded it; but that *Hannibal* could not form the ſiege of the place; which ſufficiently juſtifies what has been hinted above. The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that *Virius Sabius*, one of the *Campanian* deputies ſent to *Varro*, endeavoured to perſuade the *Capuans* to a rupture with the *Romans*, by urging, that they had now not only a fine opportunity of ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, but likewiſe of making themſelves maſters of all *Italy*; ſince *Hannibal* would undoubtedly return to *Africa*, when he had demoliſhed that proud republic he had
f ſo juſtly contracted ſuch an averſion to, and conclude a treaty with them upon their own terms. It was, however, agreed, our author goes on, that the ſame deputies ſhould be diſpatched to *Rome*, and propoſe this condition as the baſis of a future friendſhip between the two cities, *viz.* that from thenceforth one of the conſuls ſhould be a *Campanian*; which was rejected with the utmoſt indignation, and the deputies ordered immediately to depart *Rome*. *Marius Bloſius*, prætor of the city, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at *Hannibal*'s entry into *Capua*, commanding the citizens, with their wives and children, in a body, to meet him at ſome diſtance from the town. The night after his entry, *Hannibal* invited *Calavius*, with his ſon *Perolla*, and *Jubellius Taureus*, an officer of uncommon merit, to ſup with him; and the day following gave the *Campanians* flattering aſſurances of making their city the metropolis of *Italy*.

By theſe ſteps, and in this manner, did *Hannibal* make himſelf maſter of *Capua*; a which being an event of no ſmall importance to him, and the boundary, as we may ſtyle it, of his great ſucceſs, we could not avoid being thus explicit and particular in our account of it [k].

The Carthaginians *ravage the maritime part of* Hiero's *dominions.*

WHILST *Hannibal* was puſhing on the war in *Italy* with the utmoſt vigour, the ſtate of *Carthage* ſent two fleets to the coaſts of *Sicily*. One of theſe ravaged the maritime part of *Hiero*'s territories, becauſe that prince was in alliance with *Rome*, whilſt the other ſtood off of the iſlands *Ægates*, in order to obſerve the motions of the *Romans*. The admiral of this laſt ſquadron had orders to attack *Lilybæum* both by ſea and land, as ſoon as the *Romans* advanced to the relief of king *Hiero*; of which *T. Otacilius*, the proprætor, being appriſed, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Rome* for a b ſpeedy reinforcement of ſhips: but the ſenate, conſidering the deplorable condition the republic now was in, did not think proper to comply with his requeſt. He therefore found himſelf obliged to ſtand upon the defenſive, leſt he ſhould expoſe the *Roman* dominions in *Sicily* to an invaſion [l].

Hannibal *cannot prevail upon the* Romans *to redeem their countrymen taken priſoners in the battle of* Cannæ.

NOTWITHSTANDING the implacable hatred *Hannibal* bore the *Romans*, he diſpatched *Carthalo* to *Rome*, to treat with the ſenate there about a redemption of the priſoners taken in the battle of *Cannæ*. Though the ſum demanded for theſe priſoners was far from being exorbitant, the conſcript fathers refuſed the payment of it. The reaſons alledged for this refuſal by the *Romans* have been already given; but the true one ſeems to have been the extreme poverty of the *Roman* ſtate at this melancholy c juncture. *Hannibal*, upon *Carthalo*'s return, ſent all the *Roman* priſoners of diſtinction to *Carthage*, and treated the others in the manner by us related in a former part of this hiſtory [m] (N).

He diſpatches Mago *to* Carthage, *with an account of his great ſucceſs.*

SOON after *Capua* had made its ſubmiſſion, many cities of the *Brutii* opened their gates to *Hannibal*, who ordered his brother *Mago* to take poſſeſſion of them. *Mago* was then diſpatched to *Carthage*, with the important news of the great victory obtained at *Cannæ*, and the happy conſequences of it. Upon his arrival there, he acquainted the ſenate, that *Hannibal* had defeated ſix *Roman* generals, four of which were conſuls, one dictator, and the other general of horſe to the dictator; that he had engaged ſix conſular armies, killed two conſuls, wounded one, and driven another out of the d field, with ſcarce fifty men to attend him; that he had routed the general of the horſe, who was of equal power with the conſuls; that the dictator was eſteemed as the only general fit to command an army, merely becauſe he had not had the courage to engage him. As a demonſtrative proof of what he advanced, he produced, according to ſome authors, three buſhels and a half of rings of *Roman* knights and ſenators. He likewiſe ſubjoined, that *Capua*, a city that was not only the metropolis of *Campania*, but, ſince the defeat of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, of *Italy* itſelf, had ſubmitted to *Hannibal*. For ſuch unparallelled ſucceſſes, he moved, that thanks ſhould be returned to the immortal gods, and that an immediate reinforcement ſhould

[k] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 2—11. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 3. PLUT. in Hannib. [l] LIV. l. xxii. c. 56.
[m] POLYB. l. vi. ſub fin. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 58—61. APPIAN. in Hannib. p. 570. edit. Tollii, Amſt. 1670. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 34. AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. vii. c. 18. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 2. Vide BUDÆUM de aſſ. l. ii. GLAREAN. in Eutrop. l. iii. c. 11. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 714.

(N) *Appian* and *Zonaras* intimate, that *Hannibal* ſold ſome of the *Roman* captives for ſlaves, and ſlew a vaſt number of the meaner ſort of them, with whoſe bodies he made a bridge over a river, which facilitated a paſſage for his troops. But this laſt inſtance of cruelty ſeems highly improbable, eſpecially conſidering the partiality of the hiſtorians from whom it comes, and that it is paſſed over in ſilence by *Polybius*. That excellent author, amongſt other things, obſerves, that the ſenate at *Rome* imagined, that a compliance with *Hannibal*'s propoſal would look like a tacit acknowledgment of his great ſuperiority, and therefore declined cloſing with it. *Livy* affirms, that many of the *Roman* priſoners were bought of *Hannibal* by the *Greeks*; which may poſſibly be true. But that great numbers of them were put to a vaſt variety of the moſt exquiſite tortures, purely to gratify the cruel and vindictive diſpoſition of that general, as *Eutropius* ſuggeſts, will not be ſo eaſily admitted by our candid readers, for the reaſons above aſſigned. We muſt beg leave to remark here, that, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, none of the *Roman* captives could be forced, by the moſt grievous ſufferings, to lift up their hands againſt their friends and relations, when *Hannibal* would have obliged them to act the part of gladiators, for the entertainment of his troops; though *Livy* aſſerts the contrary, as will further appear from what we have extracted from that hiſtorian on this occaſion, in the paſſage of the *Univerſal Hiſtory* here referred to. The diſagreement therefore of two ſuch eminent authors, and the ſilence of *Polybius* on this head, ſeem to evince many, if not all, the inſtances of cruelty laid to *Hannibal*'s charge at this juncture, to have been intirely fabulous (20).

(20) *Diod. Sic. Liv. Appian. Eutrop. Zonar. ubi ſup. Vide & Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l.* xliv. *ſub fin. &c.*

a ſhould be ſent to *Hannibal*, who, being in the heart of an enemy's country, wanted both men and money, eſpecially as his troops muſt have greatly ſuffered in the various engagements they had had with the enemy. All ranks and degrees of people being ſtruck with an extraordinary joy on this happy occaſion, *Himilco*, the chief of the *Barcan* faction, fanſying, that a fair opportunity of inſulting *Hanno* now offered, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: *Do you ſtill*, Hanno, *repent of the war we are embarqued in with* Rome? *Forbid, by all means, the appointment of a day of thankſgiving to the immortal gods, for ſo many ſignal advantages obtained! Come, for once let us hear a* Roman *ſenator declaim in the ſenate-houſe at* Carthage! *Hanno*, notwithſtanding this provocation, without any emotion, according to *Livy*, replied,
b *That he ſtill entertained the ſame ſentiments as formerly, in relation to the war; that he ſhould not ceaſe blaming their invincible general's conduct, till his glorious victories had procured them a tolerable peace; that the mighty exploits, on which* Hannibal's *creatures expatiated ſo much, ſuppoſing them real, could only give him joy, in proportion as they were made ſubſervient to ſuch a peace; that, however, as it was prepoſterous in* Hannibal *to ſolicit ſuch ſuccours, as could only be deemed neceſſary for a general in deſperate circumſtances, at the ſame time that he was amuſing them with an account of the rapid conqueſts he had made, he could not help looking upon thoſe exploits as perfectly chimerical and imaginary.* Then turning to *Mago* and *Himilco*, he aſked them, *Whether a ſingle member of any one of the thirty-five tribes had come over to* Hannibal, *or any of*
c *the* Latin *nations declared for him, after the ſo-much cried-up victory at* Cannæ? To which *Mago* anſwering in the negative; *It is evident then*, replied *Hanno*, *that the* Romans *are ſtill very ſtrong. But, pray, what degree of courage are they inſpired with? What hopes or expectations have they of carrying on the war with ſucceſs, to animate them?* Of which queſtion *Mago* profeſſing himſelf incapable of giving a proper ſolution; *How!* ſays *Hanno*; *nothing can be more eaſy than this. Have the* Romans *ſent embaſſadors to enter into a negotiation with* Hannibal? *Has any mention been made of a peace at* Rome? *No*, replied *Mago*. *Why then I find*, ſubjoined *Hanno*, *we have the ſame happy proſpect before us now, that we had the firſt day* Hannibal *entered* Italy. *In what a fine ſituation were we, when* Lutatius *gave us that memorable*
d *defeat off of the iſlands* Ægates, *which deſtroyed all our hopes, and reduced us to the neceſſity of ſuing for an ignominious peace? This may be again our caſe; and therefore I am for concluding an advantagious peace with* Rome, *whilſt our affairs wear a tolerable aſpect, leſt, upon ſome diſaſter, it ſhould not be in our power to do ſo.* *Hanno* therefore, with all his adherents, oppoſed the continuation of the war, and conſequently voted againſt ſending *Hannibal* any ſuccours; but the majority of the ſenate conſidering this merely as the effect of prejudice and jealouſy, the *Barcan* faction prevailed, and orders were given to furniſh the army in *Italy* with a proper reinforcement of troops, as well as an ample ſupply of money and proviſions. A body of forty thouſand *Numidians*, with forty elephants, was firſt deſtined for that country; a
e large detachment of *Spaniſh* forces was appointed to follow the *Numidians*; and that theſe laſt troops might be ready in due time, *Mago* ſet out immediately for *Spain*, to raiſe twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe there. The *Carthaginians* propoſed to recruit, with theſe new levies, not only *Hannibal*'s army, but that likewiſe which acted in *Spain* [n].

As ſoon as *Hannibal* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Capua*, he attempted, both by promiſes and menaces, to make himſelf maſter of *Naples*; but the *Neapolitans* being proof againſt all his efforts, he advanced to *Nola*, and ſummoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmoſt extremities, if they did not immediately ſurrender. The ſenate, at leaſt the leading men in it, was wholly in the *Roman* intereſt;
f but the *Carthaginians* being maſters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was intirely at *Hannibal*'s devotion. The former therefore, in order to carry their point, pretended to be in a diſpoſition to ſurrender the city to *Hannibal*; but at the ſame time inſinuated, that, before this could be done, it would be proper to come to ſome terms of agreement with him. Under the pretence therefore of entering into a negotiation with the *Carthaginian* general, the ſenate of *Nola* found means to ſpin out the time, and ſend, with all poſſible expedition, meſſengers to *Marcellus*, the *Roman* prætor, acquainting him with the ſituation of affairs, and that the city would be obliged to capitulate, except he inſtantly marched to its relief. *Marcellus*, leaving *Caſilinum*, where he was then poſted,

The tranſactions in Italy *immediately after the battle of* Cannæ.

[n] Liv. ubi ſup. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 50. Hannib. apud Lucian. in dial. Eutrop. Zonar. & Oros. ubi ſup.

posted, advanced to *Calatia*; and having passed the *Vulturnus*, moved, with surprising celerity, through the districts of *Satricula* and *Trebia*, in order to succour *Nola*. *Hannibal* drew off upon his approach, and made a fresh attempt upon *Naples*; but without effect. After this, he laid siege to *Nuceria*, and starved it to a surrender. One of the articles of the capitulation was, that the inhabitants should be permitted to march out with all their cloaths, though disarmed. Thirty senators, and most of the people of fashion, retired to *Capua*; but were refused admission there, because they did not at first open their gates to *Hannibal*; but they met with a kind reception at *Cumæ*. *Hannibal* gave *Nuceria* up to his soldiers to be plundered, and afterwards burnt it. *Marcellus*, the *Roman* prætor, having thrown himself, with a body of troops, into *Nola*, was under no apprehension for the safety of that place, though b the *Carthaginian* army, after the destruction of *Nuceria*, encamped before it. The populace ardently desired to deliver it up to *Hannibal*; but *Marcellus* prevented the *Carthaginian* from possessing himself of it, by gaining over to the *Roman* interest *L. Bantius*, the chief of the *Carthaginian* faction. This he did, partly by the force of adulation and condescension, ordering the lictors to give him admission, as often as he desired it, and partly by dint of presents, desiring him to accept of a fine horse and five hundred *bigati* (O). *Hannibal* drew up the *Carthaginian* army in order of battle before the walls, as *Marcellus* did the *Roman* forces within the town. His parties had frequent skirmishes with those of the *Romans*, though neither side sustained any considerable loss. By his emissaries, he engaged the populace to seize upon the gates, c as soon as *Marcellus* had sallied out of them with his whole force, as he had received intelligence the *Roman* general designed to do; by which means the *Romans* would have been hemmed in betwixt the garison and the *Carthaginian* army, and consequently must all have been cut off. *Marcellus*, being informed of this, divided his army into three bodies, which he posted at three gates fronting the enemy; having before issued out an order, forbidding any of the citizens to stir out of their houses. *Hannibal*, in the mean time observing, that no parties were posted on the ramparts for their defence, immediately concluded, that his whole scheme was unravelled, and *Marcellus* now engaged with the citizens. He therefore ordered his scaling-ladders to be brought immediately to the walls, and began the attack. The moment d this happened, *Marcellus*, at the head of a choice body of veterans, sallying out of the middle gate, fell upon the *Carthaginians* with such fury, that he put them into disorder. *Hannibal*, little dreaming of such a sally, with some difficulty rallied his troops, and made head against the enemy. During this conflict, the two other bodies sallied out of the other gates, and attacked the rear of the *Carthaginians*; which struck *Hannibal* with such terror, that he retired into his lines, and soon after drew off from before the town. Though the *Carthaginians*, even according to the *Roman* accounts, did not lose much above two thousand men on this occasion, yet the *Romans* looked upon this action, as one of the most considerable, in its conse- e quences to them, of all that happened during the whole course of the war, since it demonstrated *Hannibal* not to be invincible. *Hannibal*, advancing to *Acerræ*, made the proper dispositions to besiege it; but the inhabitants abandoning it, he laid it in ashes. From thence he moved to *Casilinum*, which he immediately invested. The garison defended itself with inexpressible bravery; neither could *Hannibal* have ever made himself master of it, had not famine forced it to surrender. Before the *Carthaginian* general presented himself before the town, he detached a body of *Gætulians*, under the command of their captain *Isalca*, to prevail upon the inhabitants, if possible, by fair means, to receive a *Carthaginian* garison; but, if this could not be effected,

(O) The *bigati*, or *nummi bigati*, were silver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horses stamped upon them; and the *quadrigati*, or *nummi quadrigati*, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horses, as we learn from *Pliny*. According to the same author, the *Phrygians* invented the former kind of chariots, and *Erichthonius* the latter. Let this be admitted, and it will seem to follow, that the *Romans* had these chariots introduced amongst them by their neighbours the *Etruscans*, who were descended from the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*, since they were used at *Rome* before that city had any intercourse with the *Greeks*. Many *Roman denarii*, particularly of those coined in the times of the republic, with such images on their reverses, are to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. *Tacitus* and other *Roman* authors, as well as *Livy*, mention the coins we are now treating of (21).

(21) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 3. & *l.* vii. *c.* 56. *Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l.* i. *c.* 4. *Val. Max. l.* ii. *ex.* 17. *Plut. in prob. Roman. c.* 52. *Tacit. in cert. Asiat. urb. l.* iv. *Tertul. de pal. Vide etiam Joan. Meursium, de fort. Athen. apud Jac. Gronov. in ant. Græc. thesaur. v. vol. p.* 1707. & *de ling. Etrur. regal. varnac. dissert. edit. Oxon.* 1738.

a effected, they had orders to attempt ſtorming it. *Iſalca*, upon his approach, finding a profound ſilence, and no enemy appearing, imagined the place to be abandoned; and therefore made the neceſſary preparations to force open the gates: which being obſerved by two cohorts that garioned the city, they, according to orders received, iſſued out in a monent, repulſed the *Gætulians*, and made a great ſlaughter of them. *Maherbal* afterwards aſſaulted it with a greater force; but was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Laſtly, *Hannibal* himſelf, with his whole army, formed the ſiege of it; but loſt abundance of men, without making any conſiderable progreſs. However, he at laſt found means to ſurround almoſt the whole gariſon, in a ſally they made, with his elephants, and cut to pieces moſt of them, the reſt
b ſecuring their retreat by favour of the night. The next day *Hannibal*, to inſpire his troops with the greater ardour, promiſed to the ſoldier, who firſt mounted the ramparts, a golden mural crown; and declared, *That it was matter of ſurprize to him, that an inconſiderable town, ſituated in a plain, ſhould be able to baffle the effort of that army, which took* Saguntum, *and defeated the* Romans *at* Cannæ, Thraſymenus, and Trebia. Notwithſtanding which, the gariſon made ſo vigorous a defence, that he found himſelf obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and, after leaving a ſmall body of troops to guard his lines, to put his army into winter-quarters at *Capua* [o].

The pleaſures of Capua *prejudicial to* Hannibal.

It is intimated by the *Roman* hiſtorians, that *Capua* proved the deſtruction of *Hannibal*. Here it was, according to theſe authors, that thoſe ſoldiers, who had
c long been inured to the greateſt fatigues, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were vanquiſhed by luxury, and a flow of pleaſures, with which the minds of the *Capuans*, who were immerſed in a profuſion of the moſt charming delights, had long been corrupted. *Livy* in particular intimates, that *Hannibal*'s delicious abode at *Capua* was a reproach to his former conduct, and infinitely more prejudicial to his affairs, than the falſer ſtep he was guilty of, in not marching directly to *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*; for this laſt error, according to that hiſtorian, might ſeem only to have retarded his victory; whereas the former rendered him abſolutely incapable of conquering. This we ſay, is the ſentiment of *Livy*, and has been adopted by ſeveral later writers; but whether or no it is intirely agreeable to truth, will, if we
d conſider things with due attention, perhaps admit of ſome diſpute [p].

The principal cauſe of the decay of Hannibal's *affairs*

For though we ſhould allow, that the martial genius of the *Carthaginians* was impaired by the bewitching retirement at *Capua*, yet it cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the bad ſucceſs, which afterwards attended *Hannibal*'s arms, ought to be aſcribed to this, as its principal cauſe. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the *Romans*, the ſeveral towns he reduced in ſight of the *Roman* armies, the bravery with which he maintained himſelf in *Italy* for fourteen years after this event, in ſpite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. But *Livy* himſelf puts this beyond diſpute; that author points out to us a cauſe of the declenſion of the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy*, different from the delights of *Capua* [q].

e We have before obſerved from him, that the ſenate and people of *Carthage* ordered forty thouſand *Numidian* horſe, forty elephants, and a conſiderable body of *Spaniſh* infantry, with a proper ſum of money, to be ſent to *Italy*, in order to enable *Hannibal* to maintain and extend his conqueſts there. Had this ample ſupply been ſent him with an expedition equal to the ſpirit with which it was granted, the *Romans* would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon *Hannibal*, on account of his conduct at *Capua*. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty rival of the *Carthaginian* republic to have ſubmited to the ſuperior force of his arms the next campaign. But, notwithſtanding the influence of the *Barcan* faction, *Hanno* and his adherents found means not only to retard the march of the intended
f ſuccours, but even to diminiſh them. *Mago*, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for only twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe; and even with this body of troops, inconſiderable as it was, he was ſent to *Spain*. *Hannibal*, being thus deſerted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had come to a reſolution to ſacrifice the ſtate, of which they were members, to their private reſentment, found himſelf obliged to be on the defenſive, his army being reduced to twenty-ſix thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe. As the *Romans* therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties they

[o] Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 14--19 Plut. in Marcel. Paul. Oros. l. iv. c. 16. [p] Liv. ubi ſup. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Sex. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 3. [q] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 13. & c. 32. Idem, l. xxvi. Idem ibid. Zonar. ubi ſup.

they were reduced to, ſent every year two conſular armies into the field, fully recruited, a
and in good order; as neither the *Gauls* nor *Italians* were natural allies of the *Car-*
thaginians, and conſequently would ſcarce fail of abandoning them, as ſoon as fortune
began to declare againſt them; there is no need to have recourſe to the pleaſures of
Capua, in order to account for *Hannibal*'s being driven out of *Italy* [r].

AT the return of the ſpring, *Hannibal* drew his forces out of their winter-quarters,
and reſumed the ſiege of *Caſilinum*. He did not however puſh this on with vigour,
as knowing, that the place muſt ſoon ſurrender through want of proviſions. The
famine raged ſo grievouſly amongſt the citizens, that they were obliged, for ſome
time, to feed upon the moſt loathſome animals. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one
of them gave another a hundred *Roman* denarii for a ſingle mouſe; which ſupported b
him, till *Hannibal* granted the gariſon a capitulation; but the perſon who ſold it,
in the mean time, periſhed with hunger. *Pliny* and *Frontinus* affirm, that this mouſe
was purchaſed with two hundred *Roman* denarii; and with theſe authors *Livy*, in the
main, agrees. *Marcellus*, not being able to attempt raiſing the ſiege, by reaſon of
an inundation of the *Vulturnus*, the troops in gariſon were forced to have recourſe to
Hannibal's clemency, who, induced thereto by their brave defence, permitted them to
march out of the town, upon the freemens paying ſeven ounces of gold a head. *Livy*
ſays, that, till the gold was paid, the *Carthaginian* general kept them in chains; but
afterwards, with great honour, conducted them to *Cumæ*. Of the *Prænestine* gari-
ſon, which, at the beginning of the ſiege, conſiſted of five hundred and ſeventy c
men, near one half arrived ſafe at *Præneste*, with their prætor *Manitius*, the reſt have-
ing been deſtroyed by ſickneſs, famine, and the other caſualties of war. *Hannibal*
reſtored *Caſilinum* to the *Campanians*, leaving there a *Carthaginian* gariſon of ſeven
hundred men, to defend the place againſt the *Romans*, in caſe they ſhould think
proper, after his departure, to attack it. Then, to complete the reduction of that
part of *Italy*, in conjunction with the greateſt part of the *Brutii*, he laid ſiege to *Pe-*
tilia, the only city of that nation, which held out againſt him. The *Petilini* imme-
diately applied to the *Romans* for ſuccours in the moſt preſſing manner; but the per-
plexed ſtate of affairs would not permit the republic to aſſiſt them. Notwithſtanding
which, they defended themſelves for ſeveral months againſt the reiterated attacks of d
the whole *Carthaginian* army, with incredible bravery and reſolution [s].

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, the war was carried on with great vigour in
Spain. For ſome time *Aſdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general there, kept himſelf upon
the defenſive, not being in a condition to face either the *Roman* fleet under *Publius*
Scipio, or the land-forces commanded by *Cneius*. However, at laſt receiving a rein-
forcement of four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, from *Carthage*, he ventured
to move out of the faſtneſſes, wherein he had before poſted himſelf, and advanced
towards the enemy's camp. He likewiſe gave orders to have his fleet repaired, to
protect the maritime parts of the *Carthaginian* provinces, and the iſlands adjacent to
them, from all inſults of the enemy; but, before this was in a condition to put to e
ſea, he received intelligence, that ſeveral captains of ſhips had gone over to the
Romans. Theſe captains, it ſeems, had been ſeverely reprimanded for abandoning
the fleet upon the *Iberus*, through cowardice the laſt year; which they not being
able to brook, had, from that time, meditated a revolt from the *Carthaginians*.
Not content with what they had already done, they endeavoured to excite the *Car-*
peſii to a defection; in which they ſo far ſucceeded, that ſeveral towns were drawn off
from their obedience to the *Carthaginians*, and another, that refuſed to join them,
reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to *Aſdrubal*,
and a ſeaſonable diverſion in favour of the *Romans*; for the *Carthaginian* general,
leaving the *Romans* to themſelves, advanced, at the head of his whole army, into f
the enemy's territories, with a deſign to attack *Galbus*, the *Carpeſian* general, who
lay encamped under the walls of the town he had lately poſſeſſed himſelf of. He
therefore firſt ſent away his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels, and draw
them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to
ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the ſtraggling parties of the enemy,
that ſhould be found diſperſed there; by which means many of the *Carpeſii* were
killed, others put to flight, and their camp alarmed at the ſame time. However,
their

[r] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 715. & alib.

[s] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 20. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 57. VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 6. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 5. ex 20. PLUT. in Marcel. & in Hannib.

a their forces being very numerous, they were ſo far from being terrified at this motion, that they inſtantly iſſued out of their camp in a body, dancing and ſkipping after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the *Carthaginians*. This ſudden inſtance of courage ſo damped the ſpirits of *Aſdrubal*'s main body, with which he was advancing to attack *Galbus*'s camp, that he thought proper to take poſt on an eminence, in itſelf of difficult acceſs, but rendered more ſo by a river, which ſecured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the two above-mentioned detachments, equally ſtruck with terror at the enemy's approach; nay, under ſuch terrible apprehenſions were the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, that, notwithſtanding their camp might have been looked upon as inacceſſible, *Aſdrubal* fortified it with an
b intrenchment, in order to cover it the more effectually from all attempts of the barbarians. Some ſkirmiſhes happened whilſt the two armies lay ſo near one another; but without any conſiderable loſs on either ſide. *Livy* tells us, that the *Numidian* cavalry were not ſo good as the *Carpeſian*; nor the *Mauritanian* dartmen as the *Carpeſian* targeteers, who, in activity, were equal to them, and in ſtrength, as well as courage, excelled them. *Galbus*, finding it impoſſible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the intrenchment that covered it, ſeized upon *Aſena*, a town where *Aſdrubal* had fixed his principal magazine, when he firſt entered upon the *Carpeſian* frontiers, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the open country round about it. *Aſdrubal*, finding the enemy, not a little elated with their late ſucceſs, ſoon after to
c diſperſe themſelves in ſmall parties over the country, and to lay aſide all diſcipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced out of his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The *Carpeſians*, not expecting ſo ſudden an onſet, being in confuſion, and having a good part of their forces then roving about the country, were eaſily routed by the *Carthaginians*, who continued the ſlaughter a great part of the day. In fine, the whole body of the barbarians in the camp, except a ſmall party, that eſcaped, by a vigorous ſally, to the mountains and woods, was put to the ſword; which threw the *Carpeſii* into ſuch a conſternation, that the next day the whole nation ſubmitted to *Aſdrubal*. Soon after a courier arrived from *Carthage*, with orders to *Aſdrubal* to begin his march
d for *Italy* without delay. This changed the face of affairs in *Spain*; for the *Spaniards*, upon the publication of this news, conſidered the *Carthaginians* as not in a condition to protect them; and of courſe began to turn their eyes towards the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore diſpatched an expreſs to *Carthage*, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been to it; at the ſame time adding, that if the late orders were put in execution, the *Romans* would be maſters of *Spain*, before he had paſſed the *Iberus*. To ſupport what he advanced, he declared, that after he had drawn the forces aſſigned him out of the *Carthaginian* provinces there, neither gariſons nor a general would be left capable of giving any oppoſition to the *Romans*; that, beſides this, the natives were not well affected to the *Carthaginians*;
e and that therefore it would be at leaſt proper for him to defer his march, till a ſucceſſor arrived in *Spain*, with a ſtrong body of forces, to preſerve the *Carthaginian* acquiſitions there; ſince, whatever ſucceſs might attend their arms againſt the *Romans*, the diſpoſition of the *Spaniards* themſelves would require no ſmall number of troops to be diſtributed amongſt them. But, notwithſtanding this juſt remonſtrance, the ſtate of *Carthage* perſiſted in its former reſolution, looking upon it as a matter of the utmoſt conſequence to ſupport *Hannibal*. However, it ſo far complied with *Aſdrubal*'s requeſt, as to ſend *Himilco*, with a competent army, and a conſiderable naval reinforcement, into *Spain*, to watch the motions of both the natives and the *Romans* [t].

f *Himilco*, having tranſported his forces to *Spain*, took care immediately to put himſelf into a ſituation not to fear any any inſults of the *Spaniards*. He fortified his camp, drew his ſhips on ſhore, and ſurrounded them with a ditch and a wall. After this, he haſtened with the utmoſt expedition through the territories of ſeveral cantons, either open enemies to the *Carthaginians*, or diſpoſed to be ſo, to *Aſdrubal*'s camp, eſcorted by a choice detachment of horſe. After he had imparted the orders of the ſenate to that general, and received from him inſtructions how to carry on the war in *Spain*, he returned to his own camp in ſafety, the extreme celerity, with which he poſted through the territories of the above-mentioned *Spaniſh* cantons, not giving any of them an opportunity of diſcovering him. Before *Aſdrubal* began his march for *Italy*,

[t] Polyb. l. viii Liv. l. xxiii. c. 26---29. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Appian. in Iberic. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

Italy, he furniſhed himſelf with large ſums of money, which he exacted from the a
Spaniards ſubject to, and in alliance with *Carthage*, being ſenſible, that *Hannibal*
could never have reached the *Alps*, had he not been powerfully ſupported by gold.
At laſt, having got all things in readineſs for the enterprize he was going upon, he
aſſembled all his forces, and advanced to the *Iberus*. In the mean time, he received
intelligence, that the *Romans*, appriſed of his approach, had laid ſiege to *Ibera*, a
town deriving its name from the river on which it ſtood, and the richeſt in all that
part of *Spain*. To induce them therefore to raiſe that ſiege, he ſat down before
another town, which had lately ſubmitted to the *Romans*. This had the deſired
effect; for the *Romans*, leaving *Ibera*, immediately moved towards him, and
encamped upon a ſpot about five miles diſtant from him. The conſequence of this b
action was a deciſive battle, wherein *Aſdrubal* gave proofs of an extraordinary military
genius, though fortune declared againſt him. The *Spaniards* in his army, not reliſh-
ing an *Italian* expedition, took to their heels at the firſt onſet; the *Mauritanian*
and *Numidian* horſe made but a faint reſiſtance; ſo that the rout was general, and
the ſlaughter dreadful. *Aſdrubal* did all that could be expected from the moſt con-
ſummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greateſt preſence of mind,
and to animate his men by his example, till all things became deſperate; but, not
being able to rally his troops, he found himſelf obliged to leave the field of battle
and his camp to the enemy, together with the vaſt ſums of money he had amaſſed
for the *Italian* expedition. According to *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, the *Carthaginians* c
had twenty five thouſand men killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, in the action.
Zonaras intimates, that *Cneius* was ſo poſted with a body of troops, that very few of
the *Carthaginians* found it poſſible to make their eſcape. After this blow, all the
Spaniards, who had before been wavering in their fidelity to *Carthage*, declared for
the victors. *Aſdrubal*, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his ſhattered
army, was ſo far from being in a condition to attempt ſuccouring *Hannibal*, that,
with great difficulty, he maintained himſelf in *Spain* [u].

Livy *partial in his relation of the tranſactions in* Spain.

Our readers will eaſily perceive, that this account of the *Spaniſh* affairs, during
the period we are now upon, is chiefly extracted from *Livy*; though they may at the
ſame time diſcover, that we have inſerted ſeveral circumſtances not taken notice of d
by that hiſtorian, with which we have been ſupplied by other antient writers. They
are not therefore to be ſurpriſed, if they ſhould meet with ſeveral improbabilities,
and even inconſiſtencies, in the relation; ſince *Livy* muſt be allowed to have been
moſt unreaſonably prejudiced againſt the *Carthaginian* republic, as well as in favour
of his own. *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, from whom he compiled his
hiſtory, were of the ſame diſpoſition with himſelf in this particular. What truth
therefore can be expected from them in a deſcription of any great tranſactions, wherein
the *Carthaginians* bore a principal part? The improbabilities and inconſiſtencies
juſt hinted at are ſo glaring, that they cannot eſcape the eye of any attentive reader;
for which reaſon it is ſuperfluous, would the nature of our deſign permit, to recite e
them. However, thus much is apparent from what the above-mentioned authors
have tranſmitted to poſterity in the point before us, *viz.* that the defeat of *Aſdrubal*,
in a great meaſure, ruined *Hannibal*'s affairs in *Italy*, though it was not attended
with ſuch fatal conſequences in *Spain* as *Livy* ſuggeſts, That hiſtorian himſelf puts
this laſt obſervation beyond diſpute, in ſome ſubſequent parts of his work, How
greatly then are we to regret the loſs of that part of *Polybius*'s excellent hiſtory treat-
ing of theſe campaigns in *Spain!* This, had it been extant, would undoubtedly
have ſet us right in every important particular relating to them. But to return to the
Carthaginian affairs in *Italy* [w]:

The Carthaginians *reduce* Petilia.

Himilco, who commanded the *Carthaginian* forces before *Petilia*, carried on the f
ſiege of that place with great vigour, battering the walls with the utmoſt fury, and
haraſſing the gariſon by continual aſſaults. However, the *Petiliani* defended them-
ſelves in a very gallant manner, deſtroying great numbers of the beſiegers, though
they were but a handful of men. But what not a little contributed to the defence of
the place, was the bravery of the women, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much as
the men on this occaſion. They made frequent ſallies, burnt the enemy's works,
and then retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithſtanding which, *Hannibal*,
having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they
were

[u] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 29. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. Appian. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. &c. ubi ſup. [w] Liv. l. xxvi. & alib.

a were ſo greatly preſſed by famine, that they found themſelves obliged to ſend all the uſeleſs people out of the city, who, according to *Appian*, were immediately butchered by the *Carthaginians* in the ſight of the gariſon. At laſt, they reſolved to make a ſally with their whole force, which they accordingly did; but the greateſt part of them, through hunger and fatigue, not having ſtrength enough either to make uſe of their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the ſword. However, eight hundred of them cut their way through the enemy, and eſcaped in a body to the *Romans*, who, after the concluſion of this war, reinſtated them in their former poſſeſſions, and always took care to diſtinguiſh them by ſuch marks of eſteem, as their ſingular fidelity intitled them to [x].

b After the reduction of *Petilia*, *Hannibal*, having been rejoined by *Himilco*'s detachment, advanced to *Conſentia*; which ſoon ſurrendered to him. *Locri* opened its gates upon the firſt ſummons, the principal citizens having, for ſome time, kept a ſecret correſpondence with the *Brutii*, who had united themſelves with the *Carthaginian* army. *Croton*, which was, in a manner, deſerted by its inhabitants, and ſeveral other cities of *Magna Græcia* did the like. *Rhegium*, though attacked by *Hannibal* with all his forces, held out bravely, and baffled all the efforts of the *Carthaginians*. *Sicily* in the mean time wavered in its fidelity to the *Romans*, the defeat at *Cannæ* giving it ſuch an idea of the *Carthaginian* power, that it could not avoid diſcovering an inclination to follow the example of the *Italians*. Even the family of

c *Hiero* was not intirely free from this diſpoſition; for *Gelon*, the heir apparent to the crown of *Syracuſe*, deſpiſing *Hiero*'s old age, declared for *Hannibal*; and had not death taken him off ſo opportunely, that *Hiero* himſelf was ſuſpected of haſtening his fate, he might have made a powerful diverſion in favour of the *Carthaginians* [y].

As likewiſe Conſentia, Croton, Locri, *and other cities.*

Zonaras intimates, that ſomewhere about the period we are now upon, the dictator *Junius*, with a powerful corps, attended *Hannibal*, and mimicked all his motions. He encamped, decamped, refreſhed his troops at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, the ſubtle *Carthaginian* did; inſomuch, that the movements of both armies correſponded in every particular. *Hannibal*, obſerving this, immediately began to conſider, how he might reap ſome advantage from the whimſical conduct of the

d dictator. He was not long at a loſs for a ſtratagem on this occaſion: the firſt dark, tempeſtuous night that happened, he detached a good body of forces out of his camp, ordering them to take poſt in ſome place at a ſmall diſtance from it, and to haraſs the *Romans* all night with continual ſkirmiſhes and alarms, if *Junius* made the ſame movement. With the other part of the army he repoſed himſelf in the camp till morning, and then recalled the above-mentioned detachment, commanding every man of it immediately to take his natural reſt. This artifice, according to our author, had the deſired effect; for *Junius*, at the beginning of the night, obſerving a large body of troops to march out of *Hannibal*'s camp, and perceiving every thing there ſtill afterwards, imagined the whole *Carthaginian* army to have been in motion;

e and therefore drew all the forces out of his own camp, to obſerve the enemy. The commander of the *Carthaginian* detachment, in purſuance of his orders, kept the *Romans* in action the whole night, and then retired into the camp, to repoſe his troops. Upon *Junius*'s doing the ſame, *Hannibal*, with his freſh corps, fell upon the wearied *Romans*, now aſleep, and not dreaming of any attack, forced their camp, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. The darkneſs of the night, as well as the tempeſtuous weather, did not a little contribute to the happy ſucceſs of this ſtratagem, ſince the *Roman* general was thereby rendered incapable, either of diſcovering the number, or penetrating the deſign, of the *Carthaginians* [z].

Hannibal *outwits the dictator* Junius.

In the mean time, a courier arrived at *Carthage* from the army in *Spain*, with letters

f from *Aſdrubal*, importing, that he had received a total defeat, and that the greateſt part of *Spain* had revolted to the *Romans*. The ſenate and people were thunderſtruck at this melancholy advice, which, for the preſent, diſconcerted all their meaſures. *Mago* was upon the point of ſetting out for *Italy*, with a reinforcement of twelve thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and twenty elephants, beſides a pecuniary ſupply of a thouſand talents in ſilver; but his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying news, was countermanded, and he ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs to embarque for *Spain* at a minute's warning. Whilſt matters were in this ferment at *Car-*

The Carthaginians *prepare to invade* Sardinia.

[x] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 35. Appian. in Iberic. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Plut. ubi ſup. [y] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 30. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. [z] Zonar. l. ix. c. 3.

Carthage, embaſſadors arrived there from *Sardinia*, inviting the *Carthaginians*, in the name of *Harſicora*, who, at that time, bore the chief ſway there, and the other *Sardinian* prime nobility, to ſend over a body of troops, in order to take poſſeſſion of that iſland. Theſe embaſſadors inſinuated, *That the* Romans *had ſcarce any forces there; that the prætor* Cornelius, *a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit, had left the iſland; that a new one, perfectly raw and unacquainted with the genius of the* Sardi, *as well as their manners and conſtitution, was expected; that the* Sardi *were tired of the* Roman *government, and extremely incenſed againſt their imperious and avaritious maſters, for their grievous exactions the laſt year; in fine, that nothing was wanting to induce them to ſhake off the* Roman *yoke, but an encouragement thereto from ſome powerful ſtate, that would take them under its protection.* This embaſſy a little revived the drooping ſpirits of the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon immediately ſent *Mago* to *Spain* with the aboveſaid ſuccours, and diſpatched *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *Calvus* [a], with the like number of forces to ſupport the *Sardi*.

Hannibal *concludes a treaty with* Philip *king of* Macedon.

Whilst the two potent republics of *Carthage* and *Rome* were thus contending for ſuperiority, the eyes of all the neighbouring ſtates were fixed upon them. Amongſt the reſt, *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, had obſerved, with great attention, the progreſs of this war. This, in point of prudence, he thought himſelf obliged to, as he was a neighbour to *Italy*, being ſeparated from it only by the *Ionian* ſea. At firſt, he was equally inclined to both parties; but finding *Hannibal* the favourite of fortune, he came to a reſolution to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the *Carthaginians*. To this end he ſent an embaſſy, with *Xenophanes*, one of his miniſters, at the head of it, to *Hannibal*'s camp in *Campania*. This embaſſy happened to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and was conducted to the prætor *Valerius Levinus*, in his camp at *Nuceria*; but *Xenophanes*, by his addreſs, pretending he came to propoſe a treaty of friendſhip to the *Romans*, found means to purſue his route; and, upon arriving at *Hannibal*'s head-quarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble to it, was couched in the following terms: "Copy of the "treaty concluded between *Hannibal*, general of the *Carthaginian* army, *Mago*, *Myr*- "*can*, *Barmocar*, all the ſenators of *Carthage*, together with the whole body of forces "then preſent, on the one ſide; and *Xenophanes*, ſon of *Cleomachus*, an *Athenian*, "miniſter plenipotentiary of *Philip*, ſon of *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*, the *Mace*- "*donian* nation, and their allies, on the other. The articles of this treaty are "agreed upon in the moſt ſolemn manner by both the contracting powers, in the "preſence of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Apollo*; of the *Dæmon* of *Carthage*, *Hercules*, and "*Iolaus*; of *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Neptune*; of thoſe divinities, who are confederates "with *Carthage*; of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Earth*; of the *Rivers*, *Meadows*, and "*Waters*; of the tutelary deities of *Carthage*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; and laſtly, of "thoſe deities, who, preſiding in war, aſſiſt at, and ſuperintend, the ſigning of the "preſent treaty. *Hannibal*, general of the *Carthaginian* forces, the ſenators above- "mentioned, and the whole *Carthaginian* army, declare this, according to the "mutual intention of both parties, to be a treaty of amity, by virtue of which the "contracting powers are, from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as friends "and brethren. In conſequence thereof of this convention, king *Philip*, the *Ma*- "*cedonian* nation, and the *Greeks* their allies, engage themſelves to defend and ſup- "port, to the utmoſt of their power, the lords the *Carthaginians* (P), *Hannibal* "their general, all the ſenators and forces with him, all governors of provinces under "the dominion of *Carthage*, who govern by the ſame laws, the people of *Utica*, and "all other cities and nations ſubject to the *Carthaginian* empire; all who bear arms "in

[a] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 32.

(P) We have tranſlated here the ΟΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΙ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ of *Polybius*, *the lords the* Carthaginians, and not *the* Carthaginian *lords*; ſince the laſt expreſſion ſeems to refer only to the ſenate and the ſuffetes; whereas the former includes likewiſe the people, who, at the ſigning of this treaty, were the moſt powerful part of the republic of *Carthage*; and that this alliance was concluded by *Philip*'s miniſters with the whole republic of *Carthage*, not with the ſenate and ſuffetes, in excluſion of the plebeians, no one can doubt. So we ſee in the treaty of *Utrecht*, to omit ſeveral others of late date, the ſtates general are ſtyled *the lords the ſtates general*. However, we do not pretend to inſiſt upon the truth of this tranſlation, only offer it as a conjecture to our learned readers, leaving it to them either to admit it, or reject it, as they ſhall think proper (22).

(22) *Polyb. l.* vii.

a " in their ſervice; all the cities in alliance with them in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*; and
" all that ſhall hereafter become their allies in thoſe countries. On the other hand,
" the *Carthaginian* armies, the inhabitants of *Utica*, all the cities and ſtates ſubject to
" *Carthage*, all the *Carthaginian* allies, and their troops, all the nations of *Italy*,
" *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, that are in a ſtate of amity with the *Carthaginians*, or that ſhall
" hereafter enter into an alliance with them, ſolemnly oblige themſelves to preſerve
" from all injuries and inſults, and ſtrenuouſly to ſupport, *Philip* king of *Macedon*,
" the *Macedonian* nation, together with the *Greeks* their allies. No clandeſtine
" practices ſhall be carried on by either party to the prejudice of the other. Both
" powers ſhall, with the utmoſt ſincerity and alacrity, act againſt the enemies of
b " *Carthage* and king *Philip*, except ſuch kings, cities, or ports, as ſhall have con-
" tracted a friendſhip with either of them. The *Romans* ſhall be looked upon as a
" common enemy, till ſuch time as the gods ſhall be pleaſed happily to terminate
" the war already commenced. King *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and the *Greeks*
" their allies, ſhall ſupply the *Carthaginians* with all neceſſaries, in order to carry
" on this war, in ſuch manner as ſhall be hereafter ſettled by a particular convention.
" If Heaven ſhould not vouchſafe ſucceſs to the arms of the high allies, but they
" ſhould be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the enemy, and even conclude
" a peace with them, they ſhall all be comprehended in that treaty. The *Romans*
" ſhall never be permitted to have any footing in the iſland of *Corcyra*, nor to exer-
c " ciſe any dominion over the inhabitants of *Apollonia*, *Epidamnus*, *Pharus*, *Dimalle*,
" *Parthus*, and *Atintania*. They ſhall be obliged to deliver up to *Demetrius Pharius*
" all his friends and relations, who ſhall be found in any part of their territories. If
" the *Romans* ſhall hereafter declare war againſt either of the contracting powers,
" they ſhall mutually aſſiſt each other, as occaſion ſhall require. The ſame thing
" ſhall be done by both parties, if any other power comes to a rupture with either
" of them, except it be a king, ſtate, or city, with which the other was before in
" alliance. It ſhall be lawful either to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or
" add new ones to it, by the mutual conſent of both parties, if it ſhall hereafter be
" judged expedient ſo to do[b]."

d THIS copy of the articles of the offenſive and defenſive alliance concluded betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, preſerved to us by *Polybius*, is a moſt curious and valuable fragment of antiquity, as ſerving not only to give us a good idea of the moſt noted objects of the *Carthaginian* worſhip, but likewiſe to exhibit to our view the form and manner in which that nation drew up their treaties; for it appears pretty plain from *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginians* were looked upon as the chief party concerned in this engagement; and that the preparing of the inſtrument we have given our readers here a tranſlation of, was intirely left to *Hannibal*. It likewiſe further appears, that *Livy* has not ſo much given us the articles of this treaty, as certain inferences and concluſions drawn from thoſe articles, ſome of which were, e in all probability, falſe, taken from *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, who, in few particulars relating to the *Carthaginians*, paid the greateſt regard to truth. For theſe reaſons, we could not prevail upon ourſelves to omit the inſertion of a tranſlation of the copy above-mentioned in this work, which, we doubt not, will oblige all the curious and inquiſitive among our readers[c].

Philip's *embaſſadors intercepted by the* Romans.

WHEN the *Macedonian* embaſſadors returned home, *Hannibal* ſent three miniſters with them, *viz.* *Giſco*, *Boſtar*, and *Mago*, in order to bring him king *Philip*'s ratification of the above-mentioned treaty. They had a veſſel waiting for them, privately ſtationed near the temple of *Juno Lacinia* in *Calabria*; but were ſcarce got out to ſea, when they were deſcried by the *Romans*. Some light galleys of *Corcyra*, f being detached from the *Roman* ſquadron, then cruiſing off the coaſts of *Calabria*, ſoon came up with them, and obliged the veſſel they were on board immediately to ſurrender. In this emergency, *Xenophanes* had recourſe to another falſhood, aſſerting, *That all the paſſes and high ways in* Campania *were ſo guarded by the* Carthaginian *parties, that he found it impoſſible to go to* Rome, *as he was ordered*, but without effect; for the *Carthaginian* miniſters were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the *Romans* diſcovered the whole ſecret, ſent both the *Carthaginian* and *Macedonian* embaſſadors priſoners to *Rome*, and diverted the impending ſtorm this

[b] POLYB. l. vii, c. 16.

[c] POLYB. ubi ſup. & LIV. l. xxiii. c. 33. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 12. OROS. l. iv.

this formidable league threatened them with, in the manner related by us in a former a part of this history [d].

The Carthaginian *affairs go to decay both by sea and land.*

ABOUT this time, *Hannibal* received intelligence, that the *Campanians*, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men to act in favour of the *Carthaginians*, had been intirely defeated by *Gracchus* at *Hamæ*, to which place they had advanced, in order to seize upon *Cumæ*, with the loss of above two thousand men, together with *Marius Alfius* their commander, and thirty-four colours. He therefore, without loss of time, marched to *Hamæ*; but, upon his arrival there, found only the carcasses of the *Campanians* who fell in the last action, with which the ground was strewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to *Cumæ*. For the present, *Hannibal* re-occupied his former camp upon mount *Tifata*; but, at the b solicitation of the *Campanians*, after having ravaged all the country about *Cumæ*, he laid siege to that city. Having applied a high moveable tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous assault; but the *Roman* consul, who had thrown himself into the town, having raised one upon the walls, that overtopped this, and posted some men in it, who discharged a great number of flaming torches, besides a vast quantity of other combustible materials set on fire, upon the besiegers, the *Carthaginians* were put into disorder; which being observed by the garison, a strong party sallied out of the town, put them to the rout, and pursued them as far as their camp, which was about a mile distant. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal* lost fourteen hundred men on this occasion upon the spot, besides forty taken prisoners. However, the c next day the *Carthaginian* drew up his army in order of battle betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the *Romans* to an engagement; but the consul declining this, he immediately decamped, and took post again upon mount *Tifata*. Whilst these things happened, *Hanno* was defeated at *Grumentum* in *Lucania* by *T. Sempronius Longus*, and lost four thousand men upon the field of battle, besides forty-one colours. After this blow, *Hanno* abandoned *Lucania* to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the *Brutii*. Upon these repeated instances of ill success, three towns of the *Hirpini* revolted from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*, who took a thousand prisoners there, and caused them all to be sold under the spear. A little before these disasters happened, *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Calvus*, set sail from *Carthage*, d with the armament under his command, for *Sardinia*; but received great damage from a storm he met with in his passage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the *Balearic* islands. Here he staid a while, in order to refit his fleet; which gave the *Romans* time to make head against the *Carthaginians* in *Sardinia*, and consequently not a little contributed to the signal overthrow *Asdrubal* soon after received in that island [e].

Marcellus *gains another considerable advantage over* Hannibal.

Philip, king of *Macedon*, being informed, that his embassadors, together with the *Carthaginian* ministers sent by *Hannibal*, had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, sent *Heraclitus Scotinus*, *Crito Berræus*, and *Sositheus Magnes*, three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a fresh treaty with that general. This they happily per- e formed; but, as the summer was spent in this negotiation, *Philip* could not put himself soon enough in motion to make any diversion in favour of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* therefore now began considerably to lose ground. *Fabius*, having passed the *Vulturnus*, in conjunction with his collegue, took the cities of *Combulteria*, *Trebula*, and *Ansticula*, by assault, making the *Carthaginian* garisons therein prisoners of war. In the mean time, *Hannibal* kept a secret correspondence with the populace of *Nola*, who were at his devotion, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands; which being communicated to *Fabius*, he sent the proconsul *Marcellus*, with a body of troops thither, to garison the place, and protect the nobility, who were in the *Roman* interest; and, in the mean time, posted himself betwixt *Nola* and the *Carthaf ginian* camp upon mount *Tifata*, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. *Marcellus* likewise made frequent incursions into the territories of the *Hirpini* and the *Samnites Caudini*, where he committed great depredations. This induced the *Hirpini* and the *Samnites* to send deputies to *Hannibal*, reproaching him with his indolence, and telling him, That *Marcellus* seemed rather to be the conqueror at *Cannæ* than *Hannibal*. To whom *Hannibal* replied, That as the blow given the *Romans* at *Cannæ* had eclipsed all his other victories, so they should soon see the glory of that obscured by another more illustrious atchievement; and then, dismissing them with mag-

[d] JUSTIN l. xxix. c. 4. LIV. ubi sup. c. 34. Vide & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 722. [e] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 35. & seq. PLUT. in Hannib.

a magnificent preſents, he advanced towards *Nola*, after having left a ſufficient body of troops to guard his camp on mount *Tifata*. Upon his approach, he ſent *Hanno*, with a detachment of the forces, to perſuade the *Nolans* to ſurrender their city to the *Carthaginians*. To which end, by *Marcellus*'s permiſſion, he had a conference with *Herennius Baſſus* and *Herius Petrius*, two perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the place; but without effect. *Hannibal* therefore, ſitting down before the city, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking it with the utmoſt vigour; which *Marcellus* obſerving, ſallied out upon his forces with ſuch fury, that the action then had become general, had not the combatants on both ſides been obliged to draw off by a violent ſtorm. On this occaſion the *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, loſt thirty men; but the
b *Romans* not one. Two days afterwards, a bloody engagement happened within a mile of *Nola*, wherein the *Carthaginians* were worſted, being driven out of the field of battle, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, and ſixteen hundred made priſoners, beſides nineteen military enſigns, two elephants, *&c.* taken, and four of the laſt-mentioned animals ſlain. A body of near thirteen hundred *Spaniſh* and *Numidian* horſe, immediately after this defeat, deſerted to the *Romans*; which was a great loſs to *Hannibal*, as theſe were ſome of his veteran troops, that had attended him in all his expeditions. *Fabius*, now laying aſide his uſual caution, penetrated into the very heart of *Campania*; and, hearing of *Hannibal*'s retreat into *Apulia*, moved towards *Capua*, deſtroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword; which con-
c cluded the operations of this campaign in *Italy* f.

The Carthaginians *once more driven out of* Sardinia.

In the mean time, *Aſdrubal* being detained in one of the ports of the *Balearic* iſlands by the accident above-mentioned, *Manlius* landed his forces at *Caralis*, and, upon taking a review of them, found them to conſiſt of twenty-two thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near *Harſicora*, the *Sardinian* general, who, being gone into the diſtrict of the *Pellidi Sardi*, to aſſemble all the youth there able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his ſon *Hioſtus* to command in his abſence. *Hioſtus*, being a raſh young man, ventured an engagement with *Manlius*, wherein he had the misfortune to be overthrown, having thirty thouſand of his men killed
d upon the ſpot, and thirteen hundred taken priſoners. The body aſſembled by *Harſicora*, upon this melancholy news, immediately diſperſed itſelf over the fields and woods; but, at laſt, retired to a city called *Cornus*, the capital of the aforeſaid diſtrict. *Sardinia* now muſt have been totally loſt, had not *Aſdrubal* arrived in the critical moment with the forces ſent from *Carthage* for the ſupport of the *Sardi*. *Harſicora* ſoon joined him with all the *Sardinian* troops he could draw together; and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the *Roman* allies, laying waſte the whole country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched directly to *Caralis*, and ſeized upon that capital; but *Manlius* came up with them before they could put their deſign in execution. After
e ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action enſued, wherein the *Sardi* were ſoon put to the rout; but the *Carthaginians* continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, inſomuch, that victory hung in ſuſpenſe for above the ſpace of four hours. However, they were at laſt intirely defeated, and diſperſed beyond a poſſibility of rallying. Twelve thouſand of the *Sardi*, and three thouſand *Carthaginians*, fell in this battle; ſeven hundred of both nations were made priſoners, and nineteen colours taken. *Mago*, a near relation of *Hannibal*, *Hanno*, another *Carthaginian* nobleman, the chief fomenter of all theſe troubles in *Sardinia*, and *Aſdrubal* the general, were in the number of the latter; but *Hioſtus*, the ſon of *Harſicora*, in that of the former, which threw his father into
f ſuch an exceſs of grief, that he laid violent hands on himſelf. The ſhattered remains of the *Carthaginian* and *Sardinian* army fled to *Cornus*, and, upon the firſt ſummons of the conqueror, ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the cities and fortreſſes likewiſe, either in the *Carthaginian* juriſdiction or that of *Harſicora*, in a few days made their ſubmiſſion to *Manlius*; who ſoon ſet ſail from *Caralis* for the coaſt of *Italy*, with the priſoners, as well as vaſt booty, he had acquired in this ſucceſsful expedi-
tion g.

Aſdrubal

f Liv. ubi ſup. c. 38—48. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcel. Flor. l. ii, c. 6. Luc. Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

g Liv. ubi ſup. c. 40—42. Flor. l. ii, c. 6. Oros. l. iv. c. 16. Sil. Ital. l. xii. Eutrop. l. iii. Zonar. l. ix. c. 5.

The Carthaginians *worsted at sea.*

Asdrubal had no sooner landed his troops in *Sardinia*, as already related, than he sent the fleet back to *Africa*, the admiral of which, in his passage, was attacked by a *Roman* squadron of fifty sail, under the command of *T. Otacilius* the prætor; who, having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of *Carthage*, was steering his course towards *Sardinia*, in quest of this very fleet. The *Romans* took seven *Carthaginian* galleys, with their crews, the rest escaping by steering off in time, and by favour of a tempest, that arose during the heat of the action. About this time *Bomilcar* arrived at *Locri* with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a considerable supply of provisions and military stores, from *Carthage*. After a short stay here, he joined *Hanno*, who, at that time, lay encamped in the country of the *Brutii*, having narrowly escaped being cut off by *Appius*, who, having suddenly passed the streights of *Reggio*, unexpectedly advanced to the gates of *Locri*, in order to have surprised him. *Appius* took post in the neighbourhood of *Locri* immediately after *Bomilcar*'s departure; so that the city, being abandoned by the *Carthaginians*, opened its gates to him. However, he missed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, soon after returned to *Messana* [h].

State of affairs in Spain.

The *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, sustained this year a very considerable loss in *Spain*. *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Hamilcar* the son of *Bomilcar*, three *Carthaginian* generals, laid siege to *Illiturgi*, which had revolted to the *Romans*. The *Romans*, with no small difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and supplied their allies with all things necessary, when they were upon the point of surrendering for want of such a supply. This encouraged the *Scipios* to venture a battle with the *Carthaginians*, whose army consisted of sixty thousand men, though theirs did not amount to above sixteen thousand. *Asdrubal*'s camp, being by far the most considerable, was first attacked by the *Romans*; which being observed by *Mago* and *Hamilcar*, they advanced, each of them at the head of his respective corps, to support him. But, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, according to the same author, all the *Carthaginian* camps were forced, and their army overthrown, with the loss of above sixteen thousand men upon the spot, three thousand made prisoners, five elephants slain, besides a thousand horses, sixty military ensigns, and five elephants taken. The consequence of this defeat was the raising of the siege of *Illiturgi*, from whence the *Carthaginians* retired with great precipitation to *Incibili*, and in a short time found means so to recruit their forces out of the *Spanish* provinces, that they ventured another engagement with the *Scipios*; but, their unhappy fate still attending them, they were routed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loss of thirteen thousand men killed in the action and the pursuit. Three thousand prisoners, above forty colours, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds *Livy*, all the different nations of *Spain* revolted to the *Romans* [i].

Our readers will be beforehand with us in observing with what improbabilities, not to say absurdities, this narration of *Livy* is clogged. How can it be supposed possible for *Asdrubal*, after the complete defeat he met with in *Spain* only the last year, to assemble another army of sixty thousand men so soon in the same country, especially since the *Carthaginians* had reinforced their troops in *Italy*, and sent a very considerable body of forces to invade *Sardinia*? If *Asdrubal*, after the terrible blow he received last year, could scarce maintain himself in any part of *Spain*, as this author himself expressly asserts, what probability is there, that, in the space of a very few months only, he should have become so prodigiously superior in strength to his conquerors the *Romans*, especially since the *Spaniards* in general had declared against him? Lastly, admitting all this to be true, can it be imagined, that immediately after the second fatal overthrow mentioned here by our author, the *Carthaginian* general could form so numerous an army out of the *Spanish* nations, who had before espoused the *Romans* interest? The inconsistencies couched in these queries are certainly so glaring, that it would be intirely needless to expatiate upon them; and therefore we shall content ourselves with having barely hinted at them here, as thinking this sufficient to confirm what we have elsewhere observed of the partiality of this historian, or at least of those he extracted his materials from [k].

The troops in Italy *on both sides go into winter quarters.*

No considerable movements happened during the time the troops on both sides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of *Croton*, however, was abandoned to the people of *Locri*,

[h] Liv. ubi sup. c. 41. [i] Idem ibid. Vide & Flor. Eutrop. Oros. & Zonar. ubi sup. ut & in not. Oudendorp. in S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 1. [k] Vide Liv. l. xxiii. c. 29. & c. 49.

a *Locri*, allies of the *Carthaginians*, after the concluſion of the campaign. *Hannibal* took up his winter-quarters at *Arpi*, and the conſul *Sempronius* his at *Luceria*. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagoniſt, and endeavoured to animate his men, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* parties frequently ſkirmiſhing with one another l.

About this time, *Hannibal* found means to raiſe commotions in *Sicily*, which turned out not a little to his advantage. After the death of *Hiero*, by ſeveral artful ſteps, he fixed his grandſon *Hieronymus*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of *Syracuſe*, in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen months; that, after he came to the crown, he ſhewed a moſt b abandoned diſpoſition; and that many prodigies at *Syracuſe* preceded his acceſſion. *Polybius*, however, differs from theſe authors, in relation to his character; though he allows, that he was a weak and unjuſt prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with *Hannibal* and the ſtate of *Carthage*, he was aſſaſſinated by the direction of *Indigemines*, one of the officers of his guards. But, for the particulars of this horrid action, as well as the effect it had upon the affairs of *Carthage* and *Syracuſe*, we muſt refer our readers to a former part of this hiſtory m.

Hannibal raiſes commotions in Sicily.

The *Capuans*, hearing of the vaſt preparations made in all the *Roman* provinces for the vigorous proſecution of this war, no leſs than eighteen legions being deſtined for the ſervice of the current year, were thrown into a great conſternation, eſpecially c as they knew themſelves to be, above all others, obnoxious to the *Romans*. They therefore, in the moſt preſſing terms, intreated *Hannibal* to move immediately to their aſſiſtance, and prevent the *Romans* from taking poſt before their city. *Hannibal*, in compliance with their requeſt, advanced with all expedition to mount *Tifata* near *Capua*, where the former year he had encamped; and, after leaving one body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* to defend the advantagious ſpot of ground he had then poſſeſſed himſelf of, and another to reinforce the gariſon of *Capua*, he marched to the lake *Avernus*, under the pretence of ſacrificing to the gods, but, in reality, to attempt making himſelf maſter of *Puteoli*, into which *Fabius* had, ſome time before, thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of *Cumæ*, as far as the promontory d of *Miſenum*, he preſented himſelf before *Puteoli*, and ſummoned the gariſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to ſurrender; but finding the *Romans* determined to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood, and that the place was, in a manner, impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this repulſe, the populace of *Nola*, upon his approach towards their city, ſent to *Hannibal*, deſiring of him ſome forces to defend them againſt the ſenate, who were friends to the *Romans*. But *Marcellus*, having with great difficulty paſſed the *Vulturnus*, reinforced the gariſon of *Nola* with ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, and thereby prevented the *Carthaginian* from being admitted into the place. In the mean time, *Hanno*, marching out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped within three miles of *Beneventum*, upon the river *Calor*; which *Gracchus* being informed of, moved at the head of a large detachment, conſiſting chiefly of ſlaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. This vicinity of the two camps ſoon brought on a general action, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated, with very conſiderable loſs. During theſe tranſactions in the neighbourhood of *Beneventum*, *Hannibal* appeared again before *Nola*; but *Marcellus*, having joined the proprætor *Pomponius*, and ordered *Claudius Nero*, with a ſtrong body of horſe, to fall upon the enemy's rear, attacked him. After a briſk diſpute, the *Roman* gained the advantage, and might have intirely overthrown the *Carthaginian*, could *Nero* have executed his orders; but that commander having, by ſome unforeſeen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing deciſive happened on either ſide. *Hannibal* ſoon after drew off his forces from before *Nola*, and retreated towards *Tarentum* n.

The Romans *gain ſome advantages over* Hannibal.

Hanno, after the diſgrace he had received near *Beneventum*, retired into *Lucania*, where meeting with a body of *Romans* ſent by *Gracchus* to ravage the country, he ſoon diſperſed them, putting a great number of them to the ſword; which made him ſome amends for his former diſaſter. *Fabius* and *Marcellus* now jointly carried on the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, which they puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that it was at laſt obliged to capitulate. *Fabius* granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that they

Hanno *defeats* Gracchus.

l Liv. l. xxiv. c. 1---4. m Liv. ubi ſup. c. 4---8. Polyb. l. vii. in excerpt. Valeſ. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 100, & ſeq. & vol. iv. p. 722. n Liv. ubi ſup. c. 11--13. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 722, 723. Vide & Liv. ubi ſup. c. 13--18. Appian. & Plut. in Hannib.

they ſhould have leave to retire to *Capua*; but *Marcellus*, *Roman* like, broke this, a maſſacring many of them, and ſending all the reſt, except fifty, that eſcaped to *Fabius*, priſoners to *Rome*. After this exploit, the *Romans*, in a very heroic manner, deſtroyed with fire and ſword the whole country of the *Caudine Samnites*, carried off from thence an immenſe quantity of plunder, and took by ſtorm the cities *Compulteria*, *Teleſia*, *Compſa*, *Melæ*, *Fulſulæ*, and *Orbitanium*. *Blandæ* in *Lucania*, and *Ancæ* in *Apulia*, likewiſe underwent the ſame fate. *Hanno*, with the booty he got in the late action, arrived ſafe in the country of the *Brutii*, the *Roman* forces in thoſe parts not being ſtrong enough to intercept him [o].

Hannibal *advances to* Tarentum, *but without any effect.*

WHILST *Hannibal* was encamped on the lake *Avernus*, five young *Tarentine* noblemen, that had been taken priſoners in the battles of the lake *Thraſymenus* and b *Cannæ*, and diſmiſſed, with great politeneſs, by that general, arrived there as embaſſadors from the city of *Tarentum*. They told him, "That, in return for his "kindneſs to them, they had prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to prefer his friendſhip "to that of the *Romans*; and that they would open their gates to him upon his pre-"ſenting himſelf before the town." *Hannibal*, relying upon this aſſurance, ſoon after advanced into the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*; but finding that nobody offered to ſtir, the proprætor *Valerius* having thrown a body of troops into the place juſt before, he bent his march to *Salapia*, ordering vaſt quantities of proviſions, amaſſed in the territories of *Metapontum* and *Heraclea*, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix there his winter-quarters, he likewiſe ſent detachments of *Moors* and c *Numidians* to carry off every thing valuable, that could be found in the diſtrict of *Salentum*, and the adjacent woody parts of *Apulia*. Amongſt other things, that were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horſes, four thouſand of which, being tamed, were very ſerviceable to *Hannibal* in the remounting of his cavalry [p].

FROM the continent of *Italy*, we ſhould now paſs over to the iſland of *Sicily*, which was the theatre of very conſiderable tranſactions during this period, according to *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*. But as ſo full and ample an account of theſe tranſactions has been given in a former part of this work, that not a ſingle circumſtance of note relative thereto has been omitted, we cannot ſo much as touch upon them, d without being guilty of a repetition. We hope therefore it will be deemed ſufficient for us to have hinted to our readers, that the affairs of *Sicily*, however interwoven with thoſe of other nations, do moſt properly belong to the hiſtory of *Syracuſe* [q].

The tranſactions in Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the loſſes the *Carthaginians* ſuſtained the laſt year in *Spain*, *Aſdrubal* and *Mago*, the beginning of this campaign, defeated a ſtrong body of *Spaniards*; which might have been of bad conſequence to the *Romans*, had not *Publius* advanced with all expedition to the *Iberus*, in order to ſupport his confederates. The *Romans* encamped at *Caſtrum Altum*, a place famous for the death of the great *Hamilcar*. Though this was a fortreſs of great ſtrength and abundantly ſtored with proviſions, *Publius*, finding all the adjacent country poſſeſſed by the enemy, e and his troops greatly haraſſed by their horſe, ſoon decamped, and poſted himſelf on a ſpot not ſo much expoſed to their inſults. The *Carthaginians* cut off above two thouſand *Romans*, in various rencounters, during *Publius*'s ſhort ſtay at *Caſtrum Altum*. *Publius*, ſoon after his arrival in his new camp, which he immediately fortified with a retrenchment, went, with a detachment of his light-armed troops, to reconnoitre ſome of the neighbouring places; which being obſerved by the *Carthaginian* general, he advanced, at the head of his forces, to attack him, and had ſurpriſed him in a plain, had he not had the precaution to retire in time to an eminence, where he defended himſelf, till his brother *Cneius* came to his relief. *Caſtulo*, a ſtrong and noble city of *Spain*, and ſo ſtrictly allied with the *Carthaginians*, that *Aſdrubal* had taken f him a wife from thence, now revolted to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, not diſcouraged at this, laid ſiege to *Illiturgi*, wherein was a *Roman* gariſon, which was in great danger of ſurrendering to them for want of proviſions. *Cneius*, hearing of this, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, ſupplied it plentifully with every thing needful, and the next day ſallying out upon the enemy, killed ſo many of them, that, in the two actions, they loſt twelve thouſand men upon the ſpot, and he took above ten thouſand priſoners, together with thirty-two colours; and all this with a ſingle legion only. The *Carthaginians*, being thus obliged to abandon the

[o] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 19---21. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. [p] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 13. & c. 20.
[q] Idem ibid. c. 21--40. POLYB. l. viii. PLUT. in Marcel. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 100. & ſeq.

a the ſiege of *Illiturgi*, marched from thence to attack *Bigerra*, another city in alliance with *Rome*; but *Cneius* forced them to raiſe this likewiſe, without ſtriking a ſtroke. Afterwards the *Carthaginian* general moved to *Munda*, whither he was followed by the *Romans*. Here both armies engaged for four Hours, when the *Romans* would have been victorious, had not *Scipio* been wounded in the thigh by a javelin; which ſo diſheartened his troops, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat. In this action the *Carthaginian* troops, according to *Livy*, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchment, where thirty-nine of thoſe huge animals periſhed by the enemy's darts. Twelve thouſand *Carthaginians* loſt their lives on the field of battle, and three thouſand of them, with fifty-ſeven military enſigns, fell into the enemy's
b hands. Then the *Carthaginians* retreated with great precipitations to *Oringis*, and were purſued by the *Romans*. There *Cneius*, being carried in a litter, again attacked *Aſdrubal*, and intirely routed him; but did not make ſuch a carnage as in the former engagements, becauſe the *Carthaginian* forces were not at that time ſo numerous. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſaſters, *Mago* ſpeedily raiſed ſuch a number of recruits, as enabled his brother to look the *Romans* again in the face. Another battle enſued, wherein the *Romans* met with their uſual ſucceſs. Above eight thouſand *Carthaginians*, with eight elephants, were ſlain, and about one thouſand, with fifty-eight military enſigns, and three elephants, taken. *Mænicapto* and *Civiſmaro*, two famous kings of the *Gauls*, who came to aſſiſt their allies the *Carthaginians*, likewiſe fell in
c this battle. A vaſt number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other *Gallic* ſpoils, alſo came into the poſſeſſion of the victors. The *Romans*, having now driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to *Saguntum*, forced the *Carthaginian* gariſon to abandon it, and then reſtored it to the antient inhabitants, that had ſurvived the calamities of their country. As for the *Turdetani*, who had been the occaſion of this bloody war, *Cneius* cauſed them to be ſold by auction, and afterwards razed their city. Such is the account *Livy* has given us of the military operations this year in *Spain*; which is juſt as conſiſtent with itſelf, as that extraordinary relation of the action near *Syracuſe*, in the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war, *Philinus* vouchſafed his countrymen, according to which, the conquered were victors, and
d the conquerors vanquiſhed; or, as the conduct of ſome of our neighbours in a late war, when they ſung *Te Deum* for a defeat. In ſhort, our readers will, from a curſory view of this account, be fully convinced, that conſiſtency and impartiality are qualifications not eſſential even to thoſe, who are reputed the beſt *Roman* hiſtorians[r].

THE following ſpring *Hannibal*, received intelligence, that one *Caſſius Altinius*, who abandoned the *Roman* intereſt after the battle of *Cannæ*, had offered to deliver up *Arpi* into the hands of the *Romans* for a ſum of money. This news did not at all diſpleaſe the *Carthaginian*, who had long ſuſpected *Altinius* of holding a correſpond-
e nity of ſeizing upon the immenſe treaſures that wealthy citizen of *Arpi* poſſeſſed; but, that he might ſeem not ſo much influenced by avarice as reſentment, as ſoon as he got *Altinius*'s riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. This ſtory depends upon the authority of *Livy*, and is as probable as ſome of the preceding. *Appian* calls this traitor *Daſius*, and tells us, that he was deſcended from *Diomedes* of *Argos*, the founder of *Arpi*. According to the ſame hiſtorian, he had like to have been deſtroyed by the *Romans*, for making ſuch a villainous propoſal to them, and afterwards wandered about as a vagabond, in continual fear of being cut off either by the *Carthaginian* or *Roman* parties. *Hannibal* immediately put a gariſon of five thouſand *Carthaginians* into the city above-mentioned, who were joined
f by a body of three thouſand citizens, in order to ſecure it againſt any attack of the *Romans*. However, the *Fabii*, having guarded all the avenues to it, ſurpriſed it in the manner already related. About a thouſand *Spaniards*, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the *Romans*, and prevailed upon them to permit the *Carthaginian* gariſon to retire. In purſuance of the capitulation, thoſe troops were conducted by a *Roman* eſcorte to *Hannibal*'s camp at *Salapia*, without the leaſt injury offered them. This is *Livy*'s account. But *Appian* relates, that the *Fabii* did not reduce *Arpi* by force, but, by means of ſome traitors, had it delivered to them; and that they put all the *Carthaginians* found therein to the ſword. Nothing further

The campaign in Italy.

very

[r] PHILINUS apud Polyb. l. i. ſub init. LIV. ubi ſup c. 41-- 43. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 722.

very material, except what has been already taken notice of in the *Roman* history, a happened this campaign in *Italy* [s].

Some motions in Africa.

The *Romans* this year entered into an alliance with *Syphax*, a *Numidian* prince, who had suddenly conceived an aversion to the *Carthaginians*. In consequence of the treaty concluded betwixt the two powers, the *Romans* sent *Q. Statorius* into *Africa*, to train up a body of *Numidians* infantry after the *Roman* manner. This, above all things, *Syphax* desired, the *Numidian* having, till that time, brought only cavalry into the field; which rendered them incapable of coping with the *Carthaginians*. *Statorius*, upon his arrival in *Numidia*, soon inrolled a considerable body of foot out of *Syphax*'s youth. These he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and swiftness, and, in fine, to form all the evolutions b and movements of the military art after the *Roman* model; so that in a short time *Syphax* had a body of infantry, which he could entirely depend upon. The *Carthaginians*, finding their *Numidian* forces beginning to desert in great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects such a formidable union might produce, dispatched embassadors to *Gala*, king of the *Massyli*, another *Numidian* prince, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to him. They insinuated, "that out of regard to his own safety, "he ought to join them without loss of time, before either *Syphax* could transport "any troops into *Spain*, or the *Romans* into *Africa*; that *Syphax* was, at present, "void of all support from the *Romans*, and might therefore be easily crushed." *Gala*, at the instigation of his son *Masinissa*, then but seventeen years of age, closed c with the proposal, and sent an army to assist his new allies. *Masinissa*, to whose conduct that army was committed, gave *Syphax* two such total overthrows, the first in conjunction with the *Carthaginians*, and the second with the *Massylian* forces only, that he found it impossible to make a diversion afterwards in favour of the *Romans* [t].

The Romans *take a body of* Celtiberians *into their service.*

The transactions in *Spain* this year are scarce worth relating. Nothing of the least moment passed there, except that the *Romans* took a body of *Celtiberians* into their service, and sent three hundred persons of the most distinguished families in *Spain* to *Italy*, to encourage a desertion amongst their countrymen in *Hannibal*'s army. *Appian* relates, that this scheme took some effect; but at the same time intimates, that *Hannibal* himself made use of the same method of acting, in order to draw off d the *Spaniards* incorporated with the *Roman* forces, with equal success. The *Celtiberians*, who took on in the *Roman* service, were allowed the same pay, that their countrymen received from the *Carthaginians* [u].

Hannibal *has* Tarentum *delivered up to him.*

Though *Hannibal* stood upon the defensive the last campaign, towards the close of it, some inconsiderable cities of the *Salentines* surrendered to him. However, to compensate this, the *Thurians* and *Consentini* revolted from him to the *Romans*. This revolt might have been attended with more fatal consequences, had not *Hanno* overthrown a body of *Roman* forces under the command of *L. Pomponius Veientanus* in *Lucania*, after they had made dreadful incursions into the country of the *Brutii*, pillaging and laying waste all before them. The commander himself was taken pri- e soner in the action, and a great part of his men cut off; which prevented several petty states from abandoning the *Carthaginian* interest, though a few small towns of *Lucania*, after that defeat, opened their gates to *Sempronius*. In the mean time, *Phileas*, who had a long time resided at *Rome* as minister from *Tarentum*, a man of a turbulent and restless disposition, retired privately from *Rome*, with some *Tarentine* hostages, whom he had assisted to make their escape; but being closely pursued, they were all taken near *Tarracina*, brought back to *Rome*, whipped publicly there in the *comitium*, and afterwards thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. This barbarity extremely incensed the *Tarentines*, who before were far from being well affected to the *Romans*. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of f whom were *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, formed a design to massacre the *Roman* troops in garison, and deliver the city up to the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, being informed of this, moved with his forces towards *Tarentum*. As soon as the approach of the *Carthaginian* army reached the ears of the conspirators, *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under pretence of being engaged the next day in a hunting-match. *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, as had been before concerted, rode up so near *Hannibal*'s lines, that they were seized by one of his advanced guards, their associates having taken care before to disperse themselves

[s] Liv. ubi sup. c. 45, 46, 47. Appian. in Hannib. Univers. hist. ubi sup. p. 723. [t] Appian. in Iberic. Liv. ubi sup. c. 47, 48, 49. [u] Liv. l. xxiv. sub. fin. Appian. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 16.

a ſelves in the neighbouring woods. At firſt they refuſed to give any account of themſelves; but only intimated, that they had ſomething of moment to impart to the general. Being therefore conducted to him, they deſired to have a private conference with him; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the diſpoſition of the *Tarentines*, exclaiming bitterly at the ſame time againſt the *Romans*. *Hannibal* received them with great kindneſs, commended their reſolution, loaded them with promiſes, and agreed to have a ſecond conference with them. In order to blind the *Romans*, as well as the people of *Tarentum*, and conceal the true end of this excurſion, he ordered ſeveral head of cattle to be driven out of the camp, that they might fall into the hands of his new friends, and be carried by
b them into the town; which being done, both the *Romans* and the citizens were extremely pleaſed at the ſucceſs that had attended the ſuppoſed hunting-match, as well as excurſion upon the enemy (for this likewiſe *Nicon* and *Philomenes* related to them); inſomuch, that neither of them entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of what had been really tranſacted. So conſiderable a booty as they brought with them, enabled them to invite both their countrymen, and the *Romans*, to frequent entertainments; which not only paved the way to a ſecond hunting-match, but likewiſe excited great numbers of the citizens to turn marauders, in hopes of meeting with the ſame ſucceſs; and this ſerved to render the deſign of the *Tarentine* leaders ſtill more impenetrable. At the ſecond conference, *Nicon* and *Philomenes* concluded a treaty with *Hannibal* on
c the part of the *Tarentines*, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the "*Carthaginians* ſhould not exact any tribute from the *Tarentines*, nor exerciſe any "dominion over them; but, on the contrary, maintain them in the poſſeſſion of all "their privileges; that they ſhould ſend a gariſon into the city, to deliver the inha-"bitants from the *Roman* yoke; that it ſhould be lawful for them to plunder all the "*Roman* houſes in *Tarentum*, and put every *Roman* they could meet with to the ſword; "and laſtly, that the *Tarentines* ſhould have free acceſs to *Hannibal*, whenever they "approached his camp, in order to confer with him." By virtue of this laſt article, *Nicon* and *Philomenes* often viſited *Hannibal*; which they found it no difficult matter to do, as *Philomenes* had contracted an intimacy with *Caius Livius*, the *Roman* command-
d ant, by the veniſon he gave him, as well as the ſplendid manner in which he frequently regaled him, and won over to his intereſt the captain of the *Roman* guard poſted at the gate called *Temenis*. That he might effectually ſecure that guard, his conſtant practice was to make a preſent to the captain, as well as the ſoldiers, either of ſome veniſon he took in hunting, or ſome cattle, that he was ſupplied with by *Hannibal*; inſomuch, that he had ingreſs and egreſs at pleaſure, the gate being opened to him whenever he approached it, upon a whiſtle, or ſome other ſignal given. The heads of the conſpiracy receiving intelligence, that *Livius* had appointed a day for a feaſt, to which all his officers and friends were invited, in the muſeum, a place near the forum, they, after having held a conſultation with *Hannibal*, pitched upon that day
e for the execution of their deſign. According to the plan of operations agreed upon between the *Carthaginian* and his new allies, when the time drew nigh, he ordered a body of ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. To hinder the *Romans* from conceiving any diſtruſt from the long ſtay he made in his preſent camp, he cauſed it to be given out, that he had, for ſome time, laboured under an indiſpoſition, which had detained him there. At laſt, his troops having ſupplied themſelves with proviſions for four days, began their march at the fourth watch of the night, with their general himſelf at the head of them. He detached a party of *Numidians* to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to advance thirty ſtadia before the reſt to ſcour the country as far as the gates of *Taren-*
f *tum*, in order to prevent the enemy from diſcovering his forces, and to make them believe, that an inconſiderable party only had advanced out of the *Carthaginian* camp for the ſake of plunder. This had the deſired effect; for advice being brought to *Livius*, then in the height of his entertainment, that a detachment of *Numidians* were laying waſte the country within ſight of the town, he commanded ſome of his troops to drive them from thence the next morning, without giving himſelf any further trouble, for the preſent, about them. In the mean time, *Hannibal* contrived matters ſo, as to take poſt before the town about midnight, on the ſide of the gate *Temenis*. Whilſt affairs were in this ſituation, *Tragiſcus* and *Nicon*, *Philomenes* ſerving as a guide to *Hannibal* in this expedition, found means to ſecure all the avenues lead-
; ing to the forum; which it was no difficult matter to do, *Livius* having ſo intoxicated himſelf,

himself, that he could think of nothing but taking his repose. *Hannibal* advertised a his friends in the city of his arrival by a great fire, which he caused to be lighted; and was informed by them, that the plot within doors was ripe for execution, by the same signal, as had been before concerted betwixt them. Upon this, he sent *Philomenes*, with a thousand *Africans*, to possess himself of the gate *Temenis*. *Philomenes* acquainted the guard posted there, that he had brought them a wild boar, and therefore desired a speedy admission. Upon their opening the gate, the *Africans* entered, and put them all to the sword; whilst *Hannibal*, with the main body of his troops, found a passage through another gate, by *Nicon*'s assistance, into the town. All the *Carthaginian* and *Tarentine* forces met, as had been appointed, in the forum; from whence *Hannibal* sent a detachment of two thousand *Gauls*, divided into three bodies, b each commanded by two *Tarentine* captains, into three different parts of the town, to secure every post of importance. After this disposition, he issued out an order, injoining all the citizens not to stir out of their houses; at the same time assuring them of his protection. The *Tarentines*, finding the *Carthaginians* entered, were at first thrown into the utmost consternation; but when some of their own nobility told them, that *Hannibal* was come to deliver them from a proud and insulting enemy, and to restore them to their former liberty, their fears soon subsided. *Livius*, upon the first alarm, being so drunk, that he was incapable of giving out his orders at so critical a conjuncture in a proper manner, withdrew himself, with his family, into the port, notwithstanding the conspirators had taken care to place a guard before his c house, where getting on board a *Roman* vessel, he made his escape to the citadel. In the mean time, *Hannibal* commanded every *Tarentine* to post over his door the word TARENTINI, that the citizens might be distinguished from the *Romans*, and then gave up all the *Roman* houses to his soldiers to be plundered, with a permission to put to the sword every *Roman*, that should fall into their hands. That the *Romans* might be struck with the greater terror, as well as the more effectually massacred, *Philomenes* had caused *Roman* trumpets to be blown towards the citadel, which stood in the mouth of the harbour, as well as in other parts of the town, imagining, that this artifice would draw them thither, where troops were prepared to fall upon them. A considerable number of *Romans* lost their lives by this device; but many of them d retired into the citadel, which *Hannibal* immediately blocked up. As he had drawn up his forces in order of battle, to support the detachments sent to plunder the *Romans*, if they met with any resistance, there was little blood shed on the *Carthaginian* side. When he found the city intirely at his devotion, he ordered the citizens to appear before him unarmed, and made them a speech, filled with assurances of his kind intentions towards them; which was answered with the loudest acclamations. In order to secure the city from the insults of the *Roman* garison in the citadel, *Hannibal* surrounded the former with a line, which, in a manner, cut off all communication betwixt it and the latter. However, he could not effect this without a considerable opposition from the enemy. During the time his men were at work upon e it, one very brisk action happened, wherein the *Romans* were defeated, and lost a great number of men. *Hannibal*, after this, carried on the siege of the citadel with inconceivable vigour; but the *Romans*, receiving a strong reinforcement from *Metapontum*, made a furious sally upon the besiegers, and destroyed the greatest part both of their works and military machines. This made the *Carthaginians* despair of taking it at present by force; so that they drew off from before it. *Hannibal*, upon this disappointment, assembling the *Tarentines*, told them, they would never become masters of the citadel, unless they could cut off all supplies from the *Romans* by sea. This they were sensible of; but as the *Romans* kept their ships blocked up in the port, they thought it would be impossible to exclude them from the dominion of the f sea. But *Hannibal*, by dint of genius, surmounted this difficulty; for observing, that ships of a moderate size might be drawn on shore, and conveyed through the middle of the city into the sea on another side, he made use of this expedient to annoy the enemy. The *Tarentines* therefore, shutting up the citadel on all sides, both by sea and land, soon reduced the *Roman* garison to great extremities. *Hannibal* then, leaving some troops in the city, to support the *Tarentines* against any attack or surprize of the enemy, returned to the camp he had marked out upon the *Galesus*, immediately after he was admitted into the town. Here he continued in a state of inaction, till the commencement of the next campaign [w].

ACCORD-

[w] POLYB. l. viii, LIV. l. xxv. c. 7---12. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. iii. c. 3. ex. 6.

a ACCORDING to *Appian*, the name of the perſon, who introduced the *Carthaginians* into *Tarentum*, was *Cononeus*, and that of the *Roman* commandant *Junius*. *Cononeus*, ſays the ſame author, being extremely fond of hunting, prevailed upon the guard poſted at one of the gates to let him out and in whenever he pleaſed in the night, under the pretence, that he was obliged to purſue his favourite diverſion in the night-time, for fear of the enemy's parties. By this artifice, he found means frequently to confer with *Hannibal*, and at laſt enabled a body of *Carthaginians*, dreſſed like hunters, but with coats of mail and ſwords under their hunting habits, to take poſt in the town; who, being ſoon joined by a greater number of forces, that lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place. Five b thouſand *Romans*, together with a body of *Tarentines* in the *Roman* intereſt, retired into the citadel. Theſe troops, being reinforced by half of the gariſon of *Metapontum*, repulſed the beſiegers in all their attacks, burnt their works and military machines, and deſtroyed many of their men in the frequent ſucceſsful ſallies they made. This ſo diſcouraged *Hannibal*, that he retired into *Apulia*, leaving *Hanno*, with a body of forces, to keep the place blocked up. But the *Romans*, being maſters of the ſea, received copious ſupplies of all things neceſſary, and ſtreightened both the town and the *Carthaginian* camp in ſuch a manner, that *Hannibal*, upon his return, which happened ſoon after, found them almoſt reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. He therefore put them into a method of conveying their ſhips out of c the port into the ſea on the ſouthern ſide of the city. After this, the *Tarentines* and *Carthaginians* intercepted the *Roman* convoys by ſea, and greatly diſtreſſed the gariſon. At laſt receiving intelligence, that the troops in the citadel expected a large ſupply of corn from the *Thurians*, they poſted a ſquadron of galleys at a proper place in ambuſcade, which, without much difficulty, ſeized upon the *Thurian* veſſels, and made all the crews priſoners. The people of *Thurium* therefore ſent deputies to *Hannibal* to redeem the captives, who, being by the *Tarentines* introduced to that general, found a moſt kind reception, and had their priſoners releaſed without ranſom. This made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the deputies, that ſoon after they put *Hannibal* into poſſeſſion of their city, though againſt the conſent of the inhabitants, the gariſon, upon the approach of the *Carthaginians*, retiring privately to *Brunduſium*. As the d reduction of the city of *Tarentum* was an event of the utmoſt importance to *Hannibal*, and what, in all probability, not a little contributed to the protracting of this deſtructive war, we thought ourſelves obliged to give our readers, in this place, a circumſtantial account of it, though, prolix as this may ſeem to be, it is but an abridgment of that to be found in *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Appian* [x].

Appian's *account of the reduction of* Tarentum.

WHILST *Hannibal* lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, the conſuls, towards the beginning of the following year, threatened *Capua* with a ſiege. This greatly alarmed the *Capuans*, who were under dreadful apprehenſions of a famine, as the *Romans* had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore intreated *Hannibal* to ſend them a ſupply of proviſions, before the e *Romans* had cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places, where the *Carthaginians* and their allies had erected magazines. Whereupon *Hanno*, in purſuance of an order received from *Hannibal*, moving out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from *Beneventum*; and, having amaſſed a vaſt quantity of corn, appointed a day for the *Capuans* to ſend a proper number of waggons thither to carry it off. The conſuls being informed of this, *Fulvius* marched with all expedition to *Beneventum*, and from thence to *Hanno*'s camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Pelignian* troops, *Valerius Flaccus*, tribune of the third legion, and *T. Pedanius*, the firſt centurion of it, carried, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. Of the *Carthaginians*, above ſix thouſand f were ſlain, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners. A great number of *Campanian* peaſants, together with their waggons, and the corn *Hanno* had collected for the uſe of the *Capuans*, as well as an immenſe quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Hanno* himſelf was not in the action, but at ſome ſmall diſtance from the camp, when it happened; but, being informed of it by one *Cominius Ceritus*, he retired, with great precipitation, into *Brutium*, attended only by a few of his horſe. This blow ſo terrified the *Capuans*, that the principal of them ſeemed afraid the enemy would as eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of *Capua*, as they had before done of *Arpi*.

Hanno *defeated by the* Romans.

How-

[x] APPIAN. in Hannib.

However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory a from the incurſions of the *Roman* parties, *Hannibal* ſent the gariſon a reinforcement of two thouſand men. In the mean time, the *Carthaginian* gariſon at *Tarentum*, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the ſiege of the citadel there, *Hannibal*, with his army, purſuing all the meaſures, that he thought neceſſary to facilitate the reduction of that place[y].

The Carthaginians *admitted into* Thurium.

The body of troops left to defend *Metapontum* being ſo weakened by the large detachment ſent to the citadel of *Tarentum*, that the *Romans* there were not in a condition to make head againſt the citizens, who were well affected to the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* found means to make himſelf maſter of that city. *Appian* tells us, that the *Metapontini* put all the *Romans* to the ſword; and that *Heraclea*, a town ſituated b between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, followed the example of thoſe two cities. The *Thurians* likewiſe, being nearly related to the people of the two laſt-mentioned cities, as deſcended from the *Achaians*, and highly reſenting the cruel treatment of the *Tarentine* hoſtages, meditated a revolt from the *Romans*. They therefore ſent a deputation to *Hanno* and *Mago*, who then commanded a *Carthaginian* army in *Brutium*, inviting them to come and take poſſeſſion of *Thurium*. *Atinius*, the commandant, had but a ſmall gariſon, his chief dependence being upon the townſmen, whom he had armed and diſciplined, that they might be the better enabled to ſupport him, in caſe of a viſit from the enemy. *Hanno* firſt preſented himſelf before the town with a c body of infantry, whilſt *Mago*, with the cavalry, lay in ambuſcade by favour of ſome eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were ſent to reconnoitre the *Carthaginians*. *Atinius* therefore imagining, that he ſhould be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conſpiracy the *Thurians* had entered into, did not in the leaſt doubt, but that he ſhould eaſily repulſe the enemy. *Hanno*, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the *Romans*, drawing both them and the *Thurians* inſenſibly to the foot of the eminences poſſeſſed by the *Carthaginian* horſe; who immediately ruſhing down upon them with a great ſhout, the *Thurians*, according to agreement, took to their heels, and were received by the conſpirators into the city. The *Romans* in the mean time, notwithſtanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behaved with great bravery; d but being at laſt likewiſe put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they found themſelves denied admiſſion, the conſpirators on the walls crying out, *That the* Carthaginians, *being mixed with the* Romans, *would certainly enter, unleſs the gates were immediately ſhut*. They were all therefore cut to pieces, except *Atinius* with a few of his principal officers, whom the *Thurians* ſaved from the general carnage, out of the great perſonal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and gentle government. After they had ſent theſe on board a galley, prepared for that purpoſe, to the next port belonging to the *Romans*, the conſpirators delivered *Thurium* into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time, the conſuls moved towards *Capua*, in order to form the ſiege of that important place[z]. e

The proconſul Sempronius *betrayed and killed.*

Whilst the *Romans* were thus preparing to attack *Hannibal* in the moſt ſenſible part, they ſuſtained an almoſt irreparable loſs by the death of *Sempronius Gracchus*. That excellent commander, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching out of *Lucania* into the neighbourhood of *Capua*, with a body of *Volones*, to prevent the enemy from throwing any ſuccours into the place, was, by the treachery of *Flavius Lucanus*, drawn into an ambuſcade, and cut off, with all the ſmall party that attended him. *Livy* tells us, that authors do not intirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, ſome affirming, that he was maſſacred by two troops of *Numidians*, as he repeated a ſacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at ſome diſtance from the camp, before he left *Lucania*; others, that a *Carthaginian* f detachment put him and three lictors, with ſome ſervants attending them, to the ſword, near the river *Calor*, in the territory of *Beneventum*, as they were going to bathe themſelves; and laſtly, others, that he fell in the manner firſt related. The *Roman* writers differ likewiſe as much in the accounts they give us of his interment; ſome intimating, that *Hannibal* celebrated his funeral obſequies with great pomp and magnificence, the *Spaniards* diſtinguiſhing themſelves above any other nation in the *Carthaginian* army on that occaſion; and others, that he ſent the body to the *Roman* camp,

[y] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 13, 14. Appian. in Hannib.

[z] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 15. Appian. in Hannib.

a camp, to be interred there. Be that as it will, *Hannibal* reaped conſiderable advantage from this accident, ſince it, for ſome time, retarded the attack of *Capua* [a].

HOWEVER, the conſuls at laſt approached that city, with an intention to inveſt it; of which the *Capuans* being informed, they ordered a detachment of foot out of the town, to make a ſally upon the enemy. As the *Romans* plundered all the country, through which they moved, that detachment, ſupported by a body of *Carthaginian* cavalry, under the command of *Mago*, fell in with a numerous party of them, ravaging the adjacent territory without any order or diſcipline. Theſe troops *Mago* routed at the firſt onſet, laid fifteen hundred of them dead upon the ſpot, took many priſoners, recovered a vaſt quantity of booty, and diſperſed the reſt. This action ſo
b intimidated the conſuls, that, for the preſent, they thought proper to ſtand upon the defenſive, and ſo encouraged the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans*, that they frequently inſulted the enemy. *Hannibal*, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to *Capua*, and attacked the *Romans*. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the quæſtor *Cornelius* appeared with the body of troops formerly commanded by *Sempronius*, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehenſion, both armies drew off from the field of battle to their reſpective camps. The conſuls, after the action, in which the *Romans* ſuffered moſt, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige *Hannibal* to leave the territory of *Capua*. *Fulvius*, with one of them, retreated into the diſtrict of *Cumæ*, whilſt *Claudius*
c took his march into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* purſued the latter; but was not able to come up with him. However, he met with a *Roman* corps of ſixteen thouſand men, under the conduct of *M. Centenius Penula*, who had ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the ſenate by *P. Cornelius Sulla* the prætor, had the aſſurance to tell the conſcript fathers, that, if they would truſt him with only a body of five thouſand men, he would turn the tables upon the *Carthaginians*, and give a good account of *Hannibal*. Inſtead of five thouſand, they aſſigned him eight thouſand, which, by the acceſſion of voluntiers in his march to *Lucania*, and many of the natives on his arrival there, he increaſed to double the number. Being a man of wonderful reſolution, he engaged the *Cartha-*
d *ginians* upon *Hannibal*'s firſt offering him battle; but, not being able to cope with that general, after a fight of two hours, he was intirely defeated. As *Hannibal*, by guarding all the paſſes and avenues in the neighbourhood of his camp, had taken care to cut off their retreat, all the *Romans*, except a thouſand men, together with their general, were ſlain. Notwithſtanding which, *Claudius* having taken a large compaſs, in order to get clear of *Hannibal*, arrived once more before *Capua*, and, in conjunction with his collegue, blocked up that city [b].

Hannibal, ever intent upon taking advantage of the foibles of the *Roman* generals, receiving intelligence from his emiſſaries in *Apulia*, that *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor, being elated with ſome late inſtances of ſucceſs, deſpiſed the enemy, and permitted
e a total relaxation of diſcipline to take place amongſt his troops, advanced to *Herdonia*, where the *Romans* lay encamped. Upon his arrival there, he diſtributed three thouſand light-armed troops in a woody ſpot of ground, which concealed them from the enemy, and detached *Mago*, with two thouſand horſe, to block up all the paſſes and defiles on that part, where, he foreſaw, the enemy would endeavour to make off, in caſe they were puſhed. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was eaſily drawn by *Hannibal* into the ambuſcade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and the retreat cut off, the whole *Roman* corps, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand men, except the prætor and two thouſand, who fled as ſoon as they ſaw victory incline to the *Carthaginians*, were put to the ſword. The two laſt blows
f coming, as as it were, one upon the neck of the other, threw the *Roman* ſenate into a great conſternation, and obliged them to ſend *M. Mitilius* and *C. Lectorius* to the conſuls, with freſh inſtructions [c].

As likewiſe the prætor Fulvius.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe misfortunes, the conſuls, purſuant to an order received from the ſenate, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for forming the ſiege of *Capua*. *Hannibal*, after the defeat of the enemy at *Herdonia*, returned to *Tarentum*, where he attempted, both by force and perſuaſion, to bring the *Roman* gariſon in the citadel to a capitulation; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to *Brunduſium*, to excite the citizens there to a revolt; but being diſappointed in this view, he entertained

Hannibal *in vain attempts to excite the citizens of* Brunduſium *to a revolt.*

ſome

[a] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 16—18. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 17. [b] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 18—22. [c] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 2. PLUT. in Hannib.

some thoughts of moving towards *Capua*, at the earnest desire of the citizens, who now a
sent a deputation to him. At this time the transactions in the island of *Sicily* were
very considerable, and the *Carthaginians* exerted themselves there, notwithstanding
the numerous armies they employed in *Italy* and *Spain*. However, as the particulars
of these transactions do not fall under our province, we must refer our readers for
them to the history of *Syracuse*, to which they properly belong [d].

Otacilius *ravages the coasts of* Africa.

About the time of the reduction of *Syracuse*, *Otacilius* sailed with eighty quin-
queremes from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*; where entering the port in the night, he took a
great number of vessels laden with corn. After which, he landed a body of forces,
that ravaged all the adjacent territory; and then returned on board with a very
considerable booty. The *Carthaginians* giving him no obstruction in this excursion, b
either by sea or land, he arrived safe at *Lilybæum* three days after he left the harbour
of *Utica*, with a hundred and thirty transports, that conveyed the corn and other
spoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By such a seasonable supply, he was
enabled to relieve the people of *Syracuse*, who, as well as the *Roman* garison there,
were, at that time, threatened with a famine [e].

The transactions in Spain.

The *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*; one commanded by *Asdru-
bal* the son of *Gisco*, another by *Mago*, and the third by *Asdrubal* the brother of *Han-
nibal*. The two former generals encamped close together, about five days march
from the *Romans*; and the latter posted himself at *Anitorgis*, a city much nearer the
enemy. This obliged the *Romans* to divide likewise their forces. *Cneius*, with one c
third of the *Roman* troops and a body of thirty thousand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries,
advanced into the neighbourhood of *Anitorgis*, to observe the motions of *Asdrubal* the
son of *Hamilcar*. The two armies encamped on opposite banks of the same river, with
an intention soon to come to an engagement. *Asdrubal*, having a perfect knowledge
of the *Spanish* perfidy, and being besides well skilled in the *Celtiberian* tongue, easily
found means to bribe the *Celtiberian* troops to a desertion; which obliged *Cneius* to
pass the *Iberus*, and to secure himself, by keeping that river betwixt him and *Asdru-
bal*'s army. In the mean time, *Mago* and the other *Asdrubal*, by the assistance of *Ma-
sinissa*, and *Indibilis* regulus of the *Lacetani*, gave the *Romans* a complete overthrow,
and killed *Publius*. The same generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards d
going in quest of *Cneius*, met with him on the top of an eminence, where, after a
bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the sword, with a great number of his
legionaries, and forced the rest to fly to *Publius*'s camp, which was guarded by a small
body, under the command of one of his lieutenants called *T. Fonteius*. However,
the *Carthaginians*, towards the close of the campaign, were unexpectedly over-
thrown by a young *Roman* knight named *C. Martius*, who had collected the remains
of the *Roman* army, as we have elsewhere related. According to *Claudius*, who
translated the *Annales Aciliani* out of *Greek* into *Latin*, two *Carthaginian* camps were
forced in twenty-four hours time by *Martius*, thirty-seven thousand *Carthaginians*
killed, eighteen hundred made prisoners, besides many spoils taken, amongst which e
was a silver shield, weighing an hundred and thirty pounds, with the effigies of *Asdru-
bal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, upon it. *Valerius Antias* relates, that only *Mago*'s camp
was taken, when seven thousand of the enemy were put to the sword; and that, in a
pitched battle, *Martius* defeated *Asdrubal*, killing ten thousand of his men, and
making four thousand three hundred and thirty prisoners. *Piso* affirms, that the
Romans drew the *Carthaginians* into an ambuscade, and by that means cut off five
thousand of them. In short, from this specimen, we may form a true idea of the
authors *Livy* followed; which is the reason of our inserting these last particulars here.
Their relations, in the point before us, are plainly refuted both by the preceding and
subsequent operations of the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies in *Spain*, as may be f
collected even from *Livy* himself; nay, that historian, partial as he is, allows some
of these to have greatly exceeded the truth in their accounts of the numbers of the
slain in the battles they have described; which is a tacit acknowledgment of his
own partiality, and consequently a confirmation of what, in relation to the affairs
of *Spain* during this period, we have so frequently observed [f].

The Roman *generals push on the siege of* Capua.

In the mean time, the consuls and the prætor *Claudius*, having drawn a line round
Capua, pushed on the siege of that important place with the utmost vigour. The
Capuans at first made frequent sallies, especially upon the workmen employed upon
the

[d] Idem ibid. c. 23. Univers. hist. vol. iii. p. 100---128. [e] Liv. ubi. sup. [f] Claud. Val. Antias, & Piso apud Liv. l. xxv. sub fin. ut & ipse Liv. ibid. Vide & Appian. in Iberic.

a the ſaid line, which was flanked with parapets and towers placed at proper diſtances. The *Capuans*, in this diſtreſs, ſent meſſengers to *Hannibal*, complaining, "That "they were deſerted by him, and upon the point of ſurrendering to the *Romans*; at "the ſame time conjuring the *Carthaginian*, by their fidelity to him, to ſend them "ſpeedy ſuccours." This, however, could not induce *Hannibal* to abandon the blockade of the citadel of *Tarentum*; but being at laſt informed by a *Numidian* horſeman, who had paſſed through the *Roman* camp undiſcovered in the night, that *Capua* was reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, with ſome regret he moved from his camp upon the *Galeſus* near *Tarentum*, to the relief of his beloved city. Though for ſome time, after the arrival of the *Numidian*, he remained in a b ſtate of ſuſpenſe, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of *Tarentum*, or the relief of *Capua*, would turn out moſt to his advantage, yet, out of the ſingular affection he bore the *Capuans*, he at laſt came to a reſolution to ſuccour them. It is probable likewiſe, that he took this ſtep, in order to preſerve his reputation amongſt his allies; which, he imagined, could not be more effectually done, than by a vigorous ſupport of thoſe, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his favour. Leaving therefore his baggage in *Brutium*, he advanced, with a ſtrong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards *Capua*, taking poſt in a valley behind mount *Tifata*. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he firſt took a fort called *Galatia* by ſtorm, and then, without loſs c of time, attacked the *Roman* camp, the *Capuans* at the ſame inſtant, as had been before concerted betwixt them and *Hannibal*, making a vigorous ſally with their whole gariſon; but, after a warm diſpute, both the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans* were repulſed, with conſiderable loſs. *Livy* tells us, that in the heat of the action, the *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that thoſe huge animals, by overturning the *Roman* tents, and frighting the beaſts of burden there, ſcattered terror where-ever they moved; and that *Hannibal*, taking advantage of this confuſion, ordered ſome of his men, who could ſpeak *Latin*, to cry out, "That, ſince the *Roman* camp was taken, every ſoldier was at liberty "to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains." d However, the elephants being ſoon driven out of the camp by fire brought thither for that purpoſe, and *Hannibal*'s artifice defeated, the *Romans* recovered themſelves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action, *Hannibal*, not being able either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a paſſage through their camp into the town, laid aſide all thoughts for the preſent of relieving *Capua* [g].

Hannibal *advances to* Rome.

HOWEVER, that general, ever active in forming of ſchemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at laſt hit upon an expedient, which, he doubted not, would infallibly anſwer his purpoſe. He propoſed to march with ſuch expedition to *Rome*, as to preſent himſelf at the walls of that metropolis, before the *Romans* could have any notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. In order to facilitate the execution of this project, e *Hannibal* ordered his troops to ſupply themſelves with proviſions for ten days, and to get ready as many tranſports as would waft them over the *Vulturnus* in one night. But, notwithſtanding the privacy with which this whole affair was tranſacted, *Fulvius*, by means of his ſpies, received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s intended motion, and diſpatched a courier to *Rome*, to give the ſenate early notice of his approach. As the *Carthaginian* did not march directly to *Rome*, but took a large compaſs, and ſtayed to ravage the countries, through which he moved, the *Romans* had time to make proper diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital. However, many, even of the ſenators themſelves, were ſtruck with incredible terror at the appearance of the *Carthaginian* forces. *Hannibal*, having marched through the territories of *Fruſinum*, f *Ferentinum*, *Anagnia*, *Labicum*, *Algidum*, *Tuſculum*, and *Gabii*, encamped on a commodious ſpot of ground within eight miles of *Rome*; his *Numidian* parties, that preceded the main body of the army, putting to the ſword, or taking priſoners, all the *Romans* they met with in their route. After a ſhort ſtay here, he moved to the banks of the *Anio*, about three miles from the enemy's capital; from whence, eſcorted by a choice detachment of two thouſand horſe, he advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the ſituation of the city. But not meeting with the deſired ſucceſs, either in this excurſion, or the attempts he afterwards made, *Hannibal* retired ſix miles from *Rome*, where he pitched his tents upon

[g] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 4—7.

upon the *Tutia*. From hence he went to the grove of the goddeſs *Feronia*, where ſtood a temple ſacred to her, inriched with the valuable oblations and preſents of the *Capenates*, a people inhabiting that particular diſtrict; which he plundered. *Livy* affirms, that, after *Hannibal*'s departure, great heaps of braſs were found in this grove, which his ſoldiers had left there, in the room of the treaſure they had carried from thence, out of a religious motive. According to *Strabo*, a ſacrifice was offered annually to the goddeſs *Feronia*, in the grove where ſhe was worſhipped, at the foot of the mountain *Soracte*, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. On ſeveral *Roman* denarii, preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, ſhe is repreſented with a crown on her head.

Hannibal, finding himſelf diſappointed in his views, is ſaid to have cried out, "That b
"at one time his own will, and at another fortune, would not permit him to take
"*Rome*." *Livy* ſeems to intimate, that the routes *Hannibal* took in his paſſage to *Rome* and retreat from it, could not be aſcertained, ſome authors confounding them, though one of theſe, he believes, in his time, was certainly known. We ſhall not further expatiate upon this remarkable expedition, ſince all the particulars of moment relating to it, omitted by us here, will be found in a proper place [h].

Capua *ſurrenders to the* Romans.

Hannibal, inſtead of marching to the relief of *Capua*, the ſiege of which his late enterprize could not divert the enemy from, moved with ſuch expedition to *Rhegium*, that he had like to have ſurpriſed that city. This little pleaſed the *Capuans*, who prevailed upon *Boſtar* and *Hanno*, the commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Capua*, to preſs *Hannibal*, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt moving terms, to attempt raiſe- c
ing the ſiege of that city. Their letters, however, had no effect; for *Hannibal* either being not able or willing to relieve the place, it was obliged to ſurrender to the *Romans*, *Seppius Læſius* being at that time the *mediaſtuticus*, or chief magiſtrate, there. *Vibius Virius*, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poiſon, as did twenty-ſeven other ſenators. In what a ſhocking and inhuman manner *Fulvius* treated the *Capuan* ſenators, both before, and even after, the conſcript fathers at *Rome* had granted them mercy, may be ſeen in a former part of this work. Nothing can give us a more lively idea of the cruelties and enormities a thirſt after power may make a ſtate capable of, than what even the partial *Livy* himſelf has d
tranſmitted down to poſterity on this occaſion, except the late villainous and unchriſtian behaviour of a moſt chriſtian prince, as famous for his obſervation of ſolemn treaties, as either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* were. The ſucceſs of this ſiege gave the *Romans* a viſible ſuperiority over the *Carthaginians*, and diſpoſed the *Italian* ſtates in general to declare for their former maſters [i].

State of affairs in Spain.

Some time after the reduction of *Capua*, *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, being encamped at a place called *Lapides Atri*, in the country of the *Auſetani*, between *Illiturgi* and *Mentiſſa*, was informed, that *Claudius Nero*, who had been employed before *Capua*, was arrived in *Spain* with a ſtrong reinforcement; and that the command of the army deſtined to act againſt the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* was given to him, in the room of *L. Martius* and *T. Fonteius*. *Aſdrubal* ſoon after, by a falſe point of e
conduct, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up on an iſthmus in ſuch a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himſelf out of the difficulties, in which that error had involved him, though by none of the moſt honourable methods. This event ſo changed the face of affairs in *Spain*, that no perſon of diſtinction, except *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the ſon of *Publius*, who had lately loſt his life in *Spain*, offered himſelf a candidate for the proconſulate there. He was therefore choſen proconſul for *Spain*, and ſent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival there, he received deputations from moſt of the *Spaniſh* nations, who diſcovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a cloſe union with the *Romans*. When *Scipio*, amidſt the applauſe f
and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at *Rome*, took upon himſelf the command of the army in *Spain*, he was ſcarce twenty-four years of age [k].

Hannibal's *affairs go to decay in* Italy, Sicily, *and* Spain.

Nothing of moment, except what has been already related, happened further this year in *Spain*. At the end of it, *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, extended his winter-quarters as far as *Gades* and the ocean. *Mago* took up his above the *Saltus Caſtulonenſis*, in the maritime parts; and *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Saguntum*. About this time, the *Carthaginians* ſent

[h] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 7—12. Polyb. l. ix. Strab. l. v. Sil. Ital. C. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. omneſq; fere al. hiſtoric. Roman. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 727, 728, 729. [i] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 12—17. Polyb. ubi ſup. Vide & Univ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 729. [k] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 20, &c. Polyb. l. x.

a a ſquadron to *Tarentum*, to cut off all ſupplies from the *Roman* gariſon in the citadel there; but they incommoded their allies the *Tarentines* more than the enemy, ſince it was found impoſſible to convey, either by ſea or land, a quantity of proviſions, ſufficient to ſupport both the people of *Tarentum*, and the forces on board the *Carthaginian* galleys. Though the latter therefore for ſome time blocked up the citadel by ſea, they could not carry their point, the *Romans* there being amply provided with all things neceſſary, and having a large train of military engines, wherewith to annoy the enemy. *Hannibal*, now finding the *Carthaginian* affairs going ſwiftly to decay in *Italy*, as well as *Sicily* and *Spain*, could not forbear curſing *Hanno* and his faction, for the detention of thoſe ſuccours, which had ſo long been promiſed
b him. This, which was effected by their artifice, did not only prevent the conqueſt of *Italy*, but proved the total ruin of the *African* republic, the hitherto formidable rival of *Rome*, as will more clearly appear in the future courſe of this hiſtory [l].

THE next campaign the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of *Salapia*, by the aſſiſtance of one *Blaſius*, a *Salapian*, who had always been a ſecret well-wiſher to the *Romans*. As the particulars of this action have been already related at large, we ſhall not dwell upon them here; but only obſerve, that *Hannibal* loſt a body of his beſt horſe in it, which proved much more fatal to him, than the loſs of *Salapia*, ſince his cavalry could never after this blow, if *Livy* may be credited, make head againſt that of the *Romans*, to which it had always been before ſuperior. About this time, a
c *Tarentine* ſquadron, commanded by *Nicon*, defeated a *Roman* fleet ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, under the conduct of *D. Quintius*, who was killed in the action. But, to make amends for this diſaſter, a *Roman* detachment, conſiſting of two thouſand men, fell upon four thouſand *Tarentine* foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader *C. Perſius*, intirely defeated them, putting the greateſt part of them to the ſword [m].

The Romans *take* Salapia; *but are defeated at ſea by the* Tarentines.

ABOUT this time, the *Romans* being reſolved to chaſtiſe the *Brutians* for their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, *Lævinus*, the *Roman* general in *Sicily*, tranſported a body of four thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of robbers, from *Agathyrna* to *Rhegium*, in order to enable the gariſon of this laſt city to lay waſte the whole country of
d *Brutium*. As moſt of the men, of which this corps was formed, had been guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, and committed great depredations in *Sicily* for a conſiderable period of time, the *Romans* could not have pitched upon any troops more proper to execute ſuch a deſign. *Lævinus* likewiſe ſerved another wiſe end by ſending this band of villains to *Rhegium*; for by this means he preſerved the tranquillity and repoſe of the iſland of *Sicily*, which muſt have been greatly diſturbed by the continuance of ſuch a gang of banditti at *Agathyrna* [n].

The Romans *draw four thouſand robbers from* Agathyrna *to ravage* Brutium.

Scipio, having taken care to get his naval forces in readineſs to put to ſea early in the ſpring, and appointed *Tarraco* the place of rendezous for the forces of his *Spaniſh* allies, upon their aſſembling there, ordered the main body of the army to defile
e from thence to the *Iberus*, himſelf following at the head of five thouſand *Spaniards*. Here he harangued the ſoldiery, inſiſting largely upon all thoſe topics, that, he thought, would be the moſt apt to inſpire them with reſentment and reſolution. After this, leaving *M. Syllanus*, with three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, to prevent all diſorders in thoſe parts of *Spain*, he paſſed the *Iberus*, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe. As almoſt all the riches of *Spain* were depoſited in *New Carthage*, a city ſituated, like *Old Carthage*, upon a peninſula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which laſt ſerved as a fence to the weſtern and northern parts of the wall, he formed a deſign upon it. To the attack of this place he was likewiſe further excited by the commodiouſneſs of its
f harbour, which was capacious enough to receive any fleet, and ſo near the coaſt of *Africa*, that the *Romans*, when in poſſeſſion of it, might eaſily make a deſcent on the *Carthaginian* territories there. Upon his arrival here, *Scipio* made a ſpeech to his troops, importing, "That as all the wealth of the enemy amaſſed in *Spain*, all "their engines of battery and military machines, all the hoſtages of the *Spaniards* "to the *Carthaginians*, which alone ſecured the fidelity of the former to the latter, "together with the principal, if not only, granary the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain*, "were lodged in that city, by the reduction of it they ſhould, in a manner, termi-"nate the war, at leaſt in that part of the world, with their proud rival." *Mago*, who,

Scipio *takes* New Carthage.

[l] Iidem ibid. ubi ſup. c. 40.
[m] LIV. xxvi. c. 39. PLUT. in Marcel. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7.
[n] LIV.

who, according to ſome authors, commanded in the town, or, as *Valerius Antias* a will have it, *Arme*, upon *Scipio*'s approach, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a vigorous defence. He poſted two thouſand of the citizens in that part of the town which fronted the *Roman* camp, five hundred *Carthaginians* in the citadel, and five hundred more upon an eminence in the eaſtern part of the city. He likewiſe ordered another body to be ready to move, where-ever the efforts of the enemy ſhould render their aſſiſtance neceſſary, at a moment's warning. The *Romans* did not only repulſe the enemy in a ſally they made upon them, but likewiſe purſued them with ſuch ardour, that, had not *Scipio* cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, they had entered pell-mell with the *Carthaginians* into the town. This ſo intimidated the troops in gariſon, that they abandoned many of their poſts, and, in a manner, deſerted the b ramparts; which when *Scipio* obſerved, advancing to an eminence called *Mercurius Teutates*, he immediately ordered a vigorous attack to be made on thoſe parts of the wall, which were moſt expoſed, his fleet at the ſame time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by aſſaulting the town on the ſea ſide. After a bloody and obſtinate diſpute, the *Romans* carried the place ſword in hand, *Scipio* greatly animating his men, by flying from place to place to give his orders, as occaſion required; and ſome fiſhermen of *Tarraco* enabling one of his detachments to enter the town on the ſide of the *ſtagnum* or moraſs, which ſeemed almoſt inacceſſible. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the *Romans*, that he ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Till the c ſurrender of the citadel, the ſlaughter was general; but afterwards quarter was given, the ſoldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The *Romans* made ten thouſand freemen, beſides a prodigious number of women, children, and ſlaves, priſoners, together with three hundred, or, according to others, ſeven hundred twenty-five *Spaniſh* hoſtages, whom the *Roman* general immediately diſmiſſed. They found in the place an hundred and twenty of the greater catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the leſſer ſort; twenty-three of the larger baliſtæ, fifty-two of the ſmaller; an inconceiveable number of darts and other miſſive weapons; beſides many of the machines called ſcorpions, together with ſeventy-four military enſigns. An immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, both in money and plate, fell into *Scipio*'s hands. But as the authors d *Livy* followed, particularly *Silenus* and *Valerius Antias*, greatly differed in this point, as well as with regard to the ſtrength of the *Carthaginian* gariſon, the number of captives, the quantity of ſhipping ſeized in the port, and the proviſions, naval ſtores, *&c.* found on board, we ſhall beg leave to refer our readers, for their further ſatiſfaction on thoſe heads, to that writer himſelf, and to the circumſtantial account we have already given of this glorious action in a former part of our hiſtory[o].

The Carthaginians ſeem to deſpiſe the Romans, notwithſtanding the progreſs of their arms.

The *Carthaginians*, for ſome time, endeavoured to ſuppreſs the news of the blow they had received in *Spain* by the reduction of *New Carthage*, being apprehenſive, that as ſoon as the *Spaniards* received intelligence of that unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the *Romans*. But not being able long to con- e ceal ſo remarkable a diſgrace, they were obliged at laſt to own it, though they put as good a face upon the matter as they well could, in the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs, in order to palliate their own ſhameful behaviour at the late attack. They gave out, "That *Scipio* had ſtolen the town by ſurprize; that the conqueſt was of "little importance, notwithſtanding the young commander affected to cry it up as "equivalent to a ſignal victory; and that, upon the approach of three *Carthaginian* "generals, at the head of three victorious armies, he would preſently be thrown into "a panic, and have his mind intirely occupied by the frightful idea of the havock "lately made in his family." Notwithſtanding which ſuggeſtions, they were perfectly ſenſible of the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and of the fatal influence the reduf ction of ſo important a fortreſs muſt neceſſarily have upon their affairs. The polite as well as generous treatment the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, regulus of the *Ilergetes*, all the daughters of *Indibilis*, thoſe of the principal *Spaniſh* nobility, a young lady of moſt attractive charms betrothed to *Allucius*, prince of the *Celtiberians*, and *Allucius* himſelf, met with from *Scipio*, will more naturally fall under our obſervation,

o Polyb. l. x. ſub. init. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 43, & ſeq. Appian. in Iberic. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 15. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 1. Sil. Ital. l. xv. Oros. l. iv. c. 18. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 8. Vide Serv. in Virg. Æn. 1. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 731. ut. & Silen. & Valer. Ant. apud Liv. ubi ſupra.

a ation, when we come to the hiſtory of *Spain*; for which reaſon we ſhall content ourſelves with having barely mentioned it in this place [p].

Marcellus, after the taking of *Salapia*, advancing into *Samnium*, made himſelf maſter of *Maronea* and *Melæ*, two cities of that country, by aſſault. Three thouſand *Carthaginian* ſoldiers, left there by *Hannibal*, were all either killed or taken priſoners. Two hundred and forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, together with an hundred and ten thouſand of barley, and ſome plunder, that the troops partook of, were found in thoſe fortreſſes; but this could by no means be deemed a ſufficient compenſation for the great defeat *Hannibal* gave the proconſul *Cn. Fulvius* at *Herdonea* about the ſame time. The *Roman* general, being appriſed, that the citizens of *Her-*

b *donea* ſhewed a diſpoſition to abandon the *Carthaginian* intereſt, moved that way, to encourage them to declare themſelves. *Hannibal*, by his ſpies, receiving intelligence of this motion, as well as the reaſon of it, advanced likewiſe into the neighbourhood of that city, with ſuch celerity, that *Fulvius* had no notice of his approach. However, upon *Hannibal*'s offering battle to the *Romans*, an engagement enſued, wherein the legionaries behaved with great bravery, till the *Carthaginian* found means to ſurround them with his horſe. Then they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and driven out of the field, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men, the reſt flying to *Marcellus* in *Samnium* by different routes. After this victory, *Hannibal* burnt the city of *Herdonea*, put to death as many of the nobility, who had kept a ſecret correſpondence with *Ful-*

c *vius*, as he could diſcover, and tranſplanted the body of the citizens to *Metapontum* and *Thurii*. Upon the firſt news of *Fulvius*'s overthrow, *Marcellus* moved out of *Samnium* into *Lucania*, to give a check to the progreſs of the *Carthaginian* arms, and came up with *Hannibal* near the town of *Numiſtro*. Both ſides immediately ſhewed a diſpoſition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle without delay. *Hannibal* poſted his right wing on an eminence, and *Marcellus* his left cloſe by the town. The action was very ſharp, but not deciſive, the night obliging both ſides to retire. *Hannibal*, not judging it expedient to renew the attack the next morning, decamped in the night, bending his march for *Venuſia*, where, in a few days, the *Roman* army arrived. Some ſlight ſkirmiſhes happened here betwixt the advanced

d guards of both parties; but nothing of moment was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conſpiracy formed againſt the *Roman* troops in *Capua*, being detected, the conſpirators received condign puniſhment. *Syphax*, about this time, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, notifying to the ſenate certain advantages he had lately gained over the *Carthaginians*, with a declaration, that no power was conſidered by him in a more hoſtile light, than the ſtate of *Carthage*, nor in a more friendly one, than that of *Rome*. Towards the cloſe of this campaign, *Hamilcar*, with a *Carthaginian* ſquadron, conſiſting of forty gal-

e leys, hovered about the coaſts of *Sardinia*, and, not meeting with any *Roman* fleet to oppoſe him, ravaged all the country about *Olbia* and *Caralis*. The *Sicilian* banditti above-mentioned, about this time, did not only deſtroy with fire and ſword a good part of *Brutium*, but likewiſe laid ſiege to the city of *Caulonia* [q].

Hannibal, having taken up his winter quarters near *Canuſium*, uſed all poſſible means to excite the people of that city to a revolt from the *Romans*; which reaching the ears of *Marcellus*, he advanced to *Canuſium*, encamped over-againſt *Hannibal*, and ſoon found means to draw him to a battle. The contending armies, being ſepa-

Various engagements betwixt Hannibal *and* Marcellus.

rated by the night, at firſt parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, *Hannibal* worſted the *Romans*. This extremely chagrined *Marcellus*, who hitherto had never received any diſgrace from the *Carthaginians*; but now, beſides the field of battle, loſt near three thouſand men, amongſt whom were four

f centurions and two military tribunes, together with ſix ſtandards, that were taken by the enemy. Being therefore filled with indignation and reſentment, he reſolved to venture another engagement with *Hannibal*, who, on his part, ſeemed determined not to decline the challenge. *Marcellus* poſted the left wing, and thoſe cohorts, that, in the laſt action, had loſt their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed to the right; and appointed *Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Claudius Nero* to command both wings, whilſt the main body was committed to his conduct. *Hannibal* poſted the *Spaniards* in front, and diſpoſed his other forces in the uſual manner. The fight was

[p] Polyb. Liv. & Appian. ubi ſup. Plut. in Marcel. Oros. l. iv. c. 18.

[q] Polyb. l. x. Liv. xxvii. ſub init. Appian. in Hannib.

was obstinate and bloody, the *Carthaginian* elephants overthrowing many of the *Roman* a
standards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading under foot such a number of
them, that their army must have been absolutely ruined, had not *Decimus Flavius*,
a military tribune, advanced boldly against them, at the head of a party of dart-
men, who wounding most of those huge animals by a shower of their *pila* discharged
upon them, they turned upon their own men with such fury, that they were thrown
into disorder; which enabled the *Romans* to drive *Hannibal* to his camp, after they
had laid eight thousand *Carthaginians* dead upon the spot. *Marcellus*, however, lost
above three thousand men in the action, and had almost all the rest wounded; inso-
much, that he found himself not capable of pursuing *Hannibal*, when his spies informed
him, that he was retreating into *Brutium*. During these transactions, the *Hirpini*, b
Lucani, and *Volscentes*, submitted to the consul *Fulvius*, delivering all the troops, *Han-*
nibal had left in their cities for garisons, into his hands. *Pactius* and *Vitius* like-
wise, two of the principal noblemen amongst the *Brutii*, endeavoured to procure for
their countrymen the same terms that had been granted to their neighbours. *Q.*
Fabius, the other consul, about the same time, took by storm *Manduria*, a city of
the *Salentines*, making four thousand men therein prisoners of war. After this in-
stance of success, *Fabius* sat down before *Tarentum*. As the *Carthaginians* had then
no fleets in those seas, having sent all their galleys to the island *Corcyra*, in order to
assist king *Philip*, then at war with the *Ætolians*, he found no difficulty in making
his approaches by sea as well as by land. Whilst these things happened, *Hannibal* c
advanced with a strong body of troops to *Caulonia*; which obliged the *Sicilian* forces
above-mentioned to retire to an eminence at some distance from that town [r].

Fabius *takes* Tarentum.

Fabius had no occasion to push on long the siege of *Tarentum*. An accident, that
could not be foreseen, threw that place into his hands. It happened, that the com-
mandant of the *Brutian* garison, which *Hannibal* left for the defence of that place,
fell desperately in love with a girl, whose brother was a soldier in the *Roman* army.
This person being informed by his sister, in a letter, of the great interest she had
with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to *Fabius*, who
ordered him to go into the city as a deserter, and to try whether he could not, by
his sister's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the *Romans* into the town. d
This was happily effected, without any great effusion of blood, since the *Tarentines*
found themselves not able to make head against the *Romans*, after the *Brutians* had
deserted them. *Nicon* and *Democrates*, two of the *Tarentine* leaders, died gloriously,
on the bed of honour, fighting for the liberties of their country; and *Philomenes*, by
whose agency *Tarentum* had been betrayed to *Hannibal*, was supposed to have thrown
himself headlong from off his horse into a well, after the end of the action. *Carthalo*,
who commanded the body of native *Carthaginians* in the place, was put to the sword,
together with a good number of his men, as well as the greatest part of the *Taren-*
tines, and many even of the *Brutians* themselves, who, one would have thought, e
had merited better treatment. All authors agree, that the plunder taken here
was immense, and even equal to what *Marcellus* found in *Syracuse*. The number
of slaves made prisoners amounted to thirty thousand. *Fabius* took care to disman-
tle *Tarentum*, and to demolish the wall, that separated the town from the citadel.
About this time *Hannibal*, having, for a considerable term, surrounded the body of
Sicilian banditti posted on the eminence near *Caulonia* above-mentioned, forced them
to surrender at discretion [s].

Asdrubal *defeated by* Scipio *in* Spain.

The *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*, commanded by three of
their best generals, *viz.* *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*, *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and
Mago. *Edeco*, or *Edesco*, a general of great fame amongst the *Spaniards*, abandon-
ing the *Carthaginian* interest about the beginning of the summer, came over to *Scipio*. f
His wife and children had been, for some time, in the *Roman* camp; but a regard
to their safety did not so much induce him to act the part he had done, according
to *Livy*, as that sincere affection for the *Romans*, with which *Scipio* had inspired all
the *Spaniards*, by his great humanity, politeness, and condescension. *Indibilis*, *Man-*
donius, and most of the other *Spanish* reguli, charmed with the same amiable qua-
lities, joined *Scipio* with all their forces. By this accession of strength, that general
found himself enabled to hazard an engagement with *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*,
who lay encamped near the city of *Bætula*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Bæcula*. *Scipio*
was

[r] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Zonar. ubi sup. [s] Iidem ibid. Plut. in Fab. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi supra.

a was impatient of delay, as fearing the junction of *Aſdrubal* and his collegues. The *Carthaginian* diſcovered the ſame eagerneſs for a battle on his part, as finding the *Roman* army to be daily reinforced by the acceſſion of *Spaniſh* troops, and his own diminiſhed in proportion, by the continual deſertion of thoſe troops. *Scipio*, upon his approach towards the *Carthaginian* camp, detached ſome parties of his *velites* to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with ſome of their advanced guards, defeated them, purſued them to their camp, and then returned, without any loſs, to their own army. Animated by this event, *Scipio*, the next day, attacked the *Carthaginians*, though *Aſdrubal* had taken care to poſt himſelf upon an eminence in the midſt of a plain, ſurrounded ſo by a river, as to form a peninſula, the preceding
b night, in a moſt advantagious manner. The *Carthaginians*, for ſome time, defended themſelves with great bravery; but were at laſt totally routed, and forced to fly, according to *Livy*, with the loſs of eight thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, beſides ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe taken priſoners; though the ſame moſt conſiſtent hiſtorian had juſt before informed us, that their retreat was cut off in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for any of them to eſcape. This blow, next to the bravery of the *Roman* troops, may be attributed to the violence of the *Carthaginian* elephants, which, being galled by the enemy's *pila*, recoiled upon the forces with which they were intermixed, and ſtruck them with as much terror, as did the *Romans*. *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginian* camp up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, and
c releaſed all the *Spaniſh* priſoners found there without ranſom; but ordered the *Africans* to be ſold for ſlaves. *Aſdrubal*, rallying the remains of his ſhattered army, purſued his march towards the *Pyrenees*, having ſent his elephants that way before the beginning of the engagement. The *Spaniſh* princes, who had entered into an alliance with *Scipio*, received conſiderable preſents, for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; *Indibilis* in particular being ordered by the *Roman* general to pick three hundred horſes, out of thoſe taken from the enemy, for his own uſe. Notwithſtanding the glorious victory *Scipio* had gained, he thought proper to retire from *Bætula*, and the *Saltus Caſtulonenſis*; which gave the other two *Carthaginian* commanders an opportunity of joining *Aſdrubal*. At a conſultation held for that purpoſe, each of
d theſe generals had his particular province aſſigned him. *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, was to march into *Italy*, to aſſiſt *Hannibal*, with all the *Spaniſh* forces he could draw together; *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, was to take upon himſelf the command of the corps lately committed to *Mago*'s conduct, and to retire into *Luſitania*; but induſtriouſly to avoid an engagement; and *Mago* was ſent to the *Balearic* iſlands, with a large ſum of money, to make new levies there. *Maſſiniſſa* had likewiſe a choice detachment of three thouſand horſe, being the flower of the cavalry, aſſigned him, in order to ſupport the *Carthaginian* allies in *Hiſpania Citerior*, as well as to deſtroy the enemy's country there with fire and ſword. As *Scipio*, by his generous and affable deportment, ſeemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the *Spaniards*, it was judged neceſſary to make theſe diſpoſitions, that the *Spaniſh* ſol-
e diery, in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, might be drawn immediately either into *Gaul*, or the remoteſt part of *Spain*, where the *Romans* had not, as yet, got any footing. This, it was hoped, would put an effectual ſtop to that general deſertion, which then prevailed amongſt thoſe troops [t].

All perſons of penetration and attention, upon their peruſal of the above account, will be naturally inclined to inquire, how it was poſſible for *Aſdrubal* to have ſent all the elephants away, with the train that attended them, towards the *Pyrenees*, if many of them remained in his camp, and occaſioned a greater carnage amongſt his troops there, upon the *Romans* forcing it; how theſe troops ſhould have been hemmed in, and ſo ſurrounded on all ſides, by a victorious enemy, that their retreat
f was intirely cut off, and yet that many of them, nay, the greateſt part of them, ſhould have made their eſcape; how *Aſdrubal*'s army ſhould have been intirely ruined, and yet that *Scipio*, immediately after the action, ſhould have been obliged to retire to *Tarraco*, which enabled the other two *Carthaginian* generals to join *Aſdrubal*, and concert with him the operations of the remaining part of the campaign, which the *Romans*, above all things, ought to have prevented; laſtly, what were the happy conſequences of this defeat, which *Scipio* is ſaid to have given the *Carthaginians*. In ſhort, from the above-recited particulars, it appears, that, to uſe ſir

Walter

[t] Polyb. l. x. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 19—23. Appian. in Iberic.

Walter Ralegh's witty expreſſion, the *Romans* beat *Aſdrubal* out of *Spain* into *Italy*, a there to join *Hannibal* with the moſt numerous *Carthaginian* army that ever appeared in that country, (for ſo *Livy* repreſents it) had not a diſaſter prevented that junction. If *Polybius* countenanced ſuch relations as theſe in any manner, (and even that moſt incomparable hiſtorian is not abſolutely void of weakneſs and partiality) he is ſo far to be cenſured. But to proceed:

A party of Numidians *cut off the famous* Marcellus, *and diſperſe the eſcorte that attended him.*

THE next year, being the eleventh of the ſecond *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* threatened to ravage the coaſts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, with a fleet of above two hundred ſail; of which *Scipio* being appriſed, he detached fifty galleys to cruiſe off the ports of *Sardinia*, and protect that iſland from all inſults of the enemy. The conſul *T. Quinctius Criſpinus* ſent for a large train of battering engines from *Sicily*, b intending ſoon to form the ſiege of *Locri*, his fleet having already blocked that city up on the ſea-ſide. But he laid aſide that deſign on *Hannibal's* approach to *Laciinium*, and on receiving advice, that his collegue *Marcellus* had drawn his forces from *Venuſia*, in order to join him. *Hannibal*, being appriſed that both the conſuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt *Bantia* and *Venuſia*, moved that way, pitching his tents at a ſmall diſtance from them. Notwithſtanding the ſummer was far advanced, the conſuls wrote to *L. Cincius*, ordering him to come with a fleet from *Sicily* to *Locri*, a body of *Romans* from *Tarentum* being commanded to inveſt that city by land at the ſame time. This being diſcovered to *Hannibal* by ſome *Thurians*, he placed an ambuſcade for that corps; into which having drawn c them, he put two thouſand of them to the ſword, took twelve hundred priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt. He afterwards decoyed the two conſuls into another ambuſcade of *Numidian* horſe, together with *M. Marcellus*, ſon to one of them, and *A. Manlius*, both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an eſcorte of two hundred and twenty horſe, of which forty were *Fregellani*, and the reſt *Etruſcans*. The brave *Marcellus*, one of them, who had acquired ſuch renown by the ſeveral advantages he got over *Hannibal*, loſt his life, through the cowardice of the *Etruſcans*, who fled at the firſt onſet. But *Criſpinus*, his collegue, with the two tribunes above-mentioned, *L. Arennius*, *M. Aulius*, two prefects of the *Roman* allies, and others, by their own bravery and that of the *Fregellani*, made their eſcape in the manner we d have already related [u].

Hannibal *obliges the* Romans *to raiſe the ſiege of* Locri.

Mago, the *Carthaginian* commandant at *Locri*, found himſelf ſo preſſed by *Cincius*, that he was upon the point of ſurrendering; but receiving advice of the blow *Hannibal* had given the *Romans*, by the ſlaughter of *Marcellus*, he reſolved to defend the place to the laſt drop of blood. Soon after, an expreſs arrived from *Hannibal*, with an account, that the *Numidian* cavalry had already begun their march for *Locri*; and that he himſelf, with the groſs of the army, would follow them with all poſſible expedition. Upon the firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Mago* made a ſally with his whole force upon the beſiegers, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, the *Numidians* coming up in the nick of time, forced them to abandon their works, and leave all e their battering engines, and other military machines, behind them; ſo that *Hannibal*, upon his arrival at *Locri*, found no enemy to oppoſe him there. About this time, *Valerius*, the *Roman* admiral, after having ravaged the coaſt of *Africa*, attacked a *Carthaginian* ſquadron of eighty-three galleys off of *Capua*. The *Carthaginians*, not being able to withſtand the efforts of the *Romans*, were ſoon obliged to ſheer off, with the loſs of eighteen ſhips; which *Valerius* carried off in triumph. From thence ſteering for *Sicily*, he arrived in a ſhort time, with an immenſe booty, at *Lilybæum* [w].

The Carthaginians *are guilty of a breach of faith with regard to* Philip *king of* Macedon.

THOUGH the *Carthaginians* had lately ſent a fleet to aſſiſt *Philip* againſt the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, which, in all probability, was at this time either cruiſing off of the f iſland *Corcyra*, or riding at anchor in the port there, yet we do not find, that this fleet did any important ſervice to that prince. It neither protected his coaſts from the inſults of the *Roman* and *Ætolian* privateers, nor enabled him to tranſport any forces to *Italy*, or any other country, that it might have been his intereſt to have invaded. The *Carthaginians* therefore by no means obſerved the treaty of alliance they had entered into with that prince; which doubtleſs incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he, for the future, broke off all correſpondence with them. Be that as it will, it is certain he not only made a peace with the *Romans* excluſive of them, which

[u] POLYB. ubi ſup. LIV. l. xxvii. c. 23——30. PLUT. in Marcel. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 16, 17. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Marcel. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 1. [w] LIV. ubi ſup. PLUT.

a which was an apparent infraction of the late treaty, provided they had paid any regard to it, but likewiſe left them to cope with the *Romans* alone, both before and after his accommodation with that people; which was alſo contrary to the late treaty, upon the aforeſaid ſuppoſition. But as the diſcuſſion of this point belongs more properly to the hiſtory of *Macedon*, we ſhall at preſent paſs by every thing farther relating to it, and proceed to the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy* [x].

Aſdrubal, as we have lately obſerved, being obliged to abandon his camp near *Bætula*, had afterwards a conference with the other two *Carthaginian* generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were ſettled. In purſuance of the plan then formed, *Aſdrubal* advanced towards the *Pyrenees*, at the head of the forces aſſigned him, with Aſdrubal *beſieges* Placentia.

b all poſſible expedition. The *Pyrenees*, as far as we can collect from hiſtory, he croſſed, without any great difficulty, though, if *Livy* may be credited, *Scipio* had detached a body of troops to diſpute the paſſage of that ridge of mountains with him. As the ſilver-mines (Q) near *Bætula* had ſupplied him with a very conſiderable quantity of treaſure, upon his arrival in *Gaul*, he not only prevailed upon the *Gauls* to grant him a paſſage through their territories, but likewiſe to furniſh him with a proper number of recruits. The *Ligurians* received him in the ſame manner, as would alſo the *Etruſcans*, could he have advanced to their frontiers. *Aſdrubal* therefore, meeting with as little oppoſition, and as many favourable circumſtances, to facilitate and expedite his march, as he could hope for, arrived at *Placentia* ſooner

c than either the *Romans*, or even his brother *Hannibal* himſelf, expected. But ſitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of ſound policy, and continuing the ſiege of it, he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of aſſembling all their forces to attack him, and at the ſame time, by his too great ſecurity, as well as the enterprize he had undertaken, prevented *Hannibal* from joining him, as he had propoſed to do, upon the firſt news of his having paſſed the *Alps*. This indolence of *Hannibal* proceeded from a notion, that *Placentia* would not be ſoon reduced, and that therefore, though they ſhould unite their forces, they could not ſpeedily enter upon any military operation. Thus *Aſdrubal* not only loſt all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendſhip of the *Arverni* and other *Gallic* nations, who had ſo greatly

d expedited his paſſage to *Italy*, by this ſingle ſtep, but likewiſe totally ruined the *Carthaginian* affairs in that country, as will ſoon moſt evidently appear [y].

As ſoon as *Hannibal* moved out of his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the *Salentines*, with an intention to ravage it, before the conſul *Claudius* could take the field; but this was prevented by the conduct and bravery of *C. Hoſtilius Tubulus*, who attacked the *Carthaginians* with a body of light-armed troops, and intirely defeated them, killing four thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. After this diſaſter, *Hannibal* retired into *Brutium*, to prevent his being hemmed in by the enemy, who began now to advance againſt him from ſeveral parts. In the mean time, *Tubulus*, with his forces, joined the conſular army under *Claudius*

e at *Venuſia*. *Hannibal*, having drawn all his gariſons out of *Brutium*, and by this means reinforced his army, marched to *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, in order to recover ſome towns, that, through fear, had revolted to the *Romans*. As, immediately after the late junction, *Claudius* had ſent a detachment, under the command of *Tubulus*, to reinforce the proconſul *Fulvius* at *Capua*, and, with the remaining corps, conſiſting of forty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, had himſelf gone in queſt of *Hannibal*, he arrived at *Grumentum* ſoon after the *Carthaginian*, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. *Claudius*, by the ſtratagem formerly mentioned, and the bravery of *C. Arunculeius*, tribune of the third legion, gave *Hannibal* another defeat here, cutting off eight thouſand of his men, and taking ſeven hundred

Hannibal *receives ſeveral blows.*

[x] Polyb. & Liv. ubi ſup.

[y] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 41—43.

(Q) *Polybius* tells us, that, near *New Carthage*, there was a ſilver mine ſo rich, that the *Carthaginians* extracted out of it every day twenty-five thouſand drachms of ſilver. *Aletes*, the diſcoverer of this mine, was, according to the ſame author, deified by the *Spaniards* after his death, for the ſervice he thereby did his country. *Ariſtotle* and *Poſidonius* intimate, that *Spain*, in the moſt early ages, abounded with ſilver; inſomuch, that the *Phœnicians* exported vaſt quantities of that metal from thence, which they purchaſed for oil and other trifles; nay, the firſt author aſſures us, that the *Phœnicians*, by this means, had not only immenſe quantities of plate, but that even the very anchors of their ſhips were made of ſilver. But of this more, when we come to the hiſtory of *Spain* (23).

(23) *Polyb. l.* x. *c.* 10. *Poſidon. apud Diodor. Sic. l.* v. *Ariſtot. in mirab. auſcult.*

hundred priſoners. Four elephants were likewiſe killed, and two taken, in the a action. Nine military enſigns, and ſome plunder, alſo fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who, according to *Livy*, loſt only two hundred men on this occaſion. *Hannibal*, ſoon after this blow, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few *Numidian* horſe in his intrenchments to amuſe the enemy, made good his retreat to *Venuſia*; but here the conſul came up again with him. At this place, in another rencounter, the *Carthaginians* loſt two thouſand men; upon which *Hannibal* retired, with great precipitation, to *Metapontum*, where he was joined by *Hanno*, and from thence made the beſt of his way to *Canuſium* [z].

The conſul Claudius *moves towards his collegue.*

During theſe tranſactions, *Aſdrubal*, being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Placentia*, began his march for *Umbria*. Of this the conſul *Claudius* being informed by b a letter, ſent from that general to his brother *Hannibal*, which was intercepted near *Tarentum*, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, the very flower of his troops, and poſted with incredible celerity to join his collegue *Livius*. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another, by the *Roman* laws; yet in a conjuncture of ſo delicate and important a nature as this, when the ſafety, and even the very being, of *Rome* lay at ſtake, he thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no ſooner received the letter above-mentioned from *L. Virginius*, a legionary tribune, who had eſcorted the *Carthaginian* couriers with a *Samnite* detachment to him, and read it, than he ſent it to the ſenate, at the ſame c time, diſpatching his orders to the *Larinates*, *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, *Prætutiani*, &c. through whoſe territories he was to paſs, to provide a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and carriages for his troops, that he might purſue his march without the leaſt interruption. As nothing could ſave *Rome*, after the junction of the two *Carthaginian* armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to ſtrike ſuch a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy; which, he imagined, might be done, could he and his collegue vigorouſly charge *Aſdrubal* with their united forces. This reflection determined him to make the movement mentioned here, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to *Q. Catius*, one of his lieutenants [a].

And joins him.

Claudius gave not the leaſt hint of his deſign to any of his officers, till he was got d at ſuch a diſtance from *Hannibal*, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill conſequence to him. He then only in general told them, "That "he was leading them to certain victory; that his collegue wanted a reinforcement; "that in war all depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival "would diſconcert all the meaſures of the *Carthaginians*; and that the whole honour "of this battle would fall to them." He marched with ſuch expedition, that in ſix days he arrived at *Sena*, where *Livius* lay encamped within half a mile of the *Carthaginians*. Soon after his arrival, *Aſdrubal*, taking a view of the *Roman* army, diſcovered ſeveral ſhields of an antient make, that he had never ſeen before, many thin, lean horſes, which had been greatly fatigued, and that the *Roman* army was e apparently more numerous than the day before. By theſe, and ſeveral other circumſtances, that able general ſuſpected *Claudius* to have joined his collegue with a body of troops. This threw him into a ſort of melancholy, as imagining, that *Hannibal* had been overthrown, and conſequently that he came too late to ſupport him [b].

The Romans *defeat* Aſdrubal *upon the banks of the* Metaurus.

Before the arrival of *Claudius*, the prætor *L. Portius Licinus* was encamped, with ſome forces, at a ſmall diſtance from the conſul *Livius*. Immediately after that important event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders preſided. *Livius* gave his opinion, that an action, for ſome days, ſhould be deferred, that *Claudius*'s troops might have time to refreſh themſelves, after ſo tedious and fatiguing a march. *Claudius* himſelf entertained different ſentiments, imagining, that nothing f could prove more fatal to the republic, than the leaſt delay to give the enemy battle at this critical juncture. His advice was complied with, and the ſignal of battle accordingly given. However, *Aſdrubal*, under the apprehenſions above-mentioned, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his army began to march in great diſorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deſerting him, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the *Metaurus*, now the *Metaro*, and was preparing to croſs it, when the united forces of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to avoid coming to an engagement, and

[z] Idem ibid. c. 43—45. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 9.

[a] Polyb. l. xi. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 45—49. S. Jul. Frontin.
[b] Iidem ibid. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 9.

a and therefore did all things, which could be expected from the preſence of mind and courage of a conſummate warrior. He ſeized an advantagious poſt, and drew up his forces on a narrow ſpot, which gave him an opportunity of poſting his left wing, compoſed of *Gauls*, and the weakeſt part of his army, in ſuch a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main battle, and right wing, conſiſting of *Spaniards*, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front. After this haſty diſpoſition of his forces, he poſted himſelf in the centre, and firſt moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the conſul *Livius*, well knowing, that all was at ſtake, and that he muſt either conquer or die. The battle laſted a long time, and was obſtinately diſputed by both parties. *Aſdrubal*
b eſpecially ſignalized himſelf in this engagement, and quite completed the glory he had acquired by a ſeries of ſhining actions. He led on his ſoldiers, who were trembling and quite deſpirited, againſt an enemy ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. He animated them by his words, ſupported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to bring back thoſe who fled; till at laſt, ſeeing that victory declared for the *Romans*, and being unable to ſurvive the loſs of ſo many thouſand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he ruſhed at once into the midſt of a *Roman* cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the ſon of *Hamilcar*, and brother of *Hannibal* [c].

THIS victory, which *Livy* makes equal to that of *Cannæ*, was almoſt intirely *The victory almoſt intirely owing to the conduct and bravery of* Claudius.
c owing to the bravery and activity of *Claudius*. That general flew like lightning from one part of the army to another, inſomuch, that he ſeemed to be in all places at once. Obſerving that the enemy's right wing, compoſed of *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*, the flower of *Aſdrubal*'s troops, charged the left of the *Romans* with ſuch reſolution, that fortune ſeemed to be on the point of declaring for the *Carthaginians* there, and that the enemy's elephants, after having thrown the *Roman* vanguard into confuſion, and overturned the ſtandards there, occupied the void ſpace betwixt the two armies in ſuch a manner, that it was difficult to diſcover to what party they belonged, their guides now not being capable of governing them, he cried out to his men in an angry tone, *To what purpoſe then have we made ſo long a march with ſuch expedition?*
d and immediately made an effort to poſſeſs himſelf of an eminence, that covered the *Gauls*, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that ſide; but, finding this impoſſible, he drew out a detachment of ſome cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to ſuſtain *Livius*, he charged the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* in front, in flank, and in rear, almoſt at the ſame time. This changed the face of affairs, eſpecially as ſuch an attack was unexpected, and made with the utmoſt fury. The *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* therefore, not being able to ſuſtain ſo violent a ſhock, were ſoon put to the rout, and almoſt all cut to pieces; after which the *Gauls* were, for the moſt part, maſſacred without oppoſition. The leaders themſelves deſtroyed moſt of the elephants, to prevent the deſtruction they would have occaſioned amongſt
e their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to *Livy*, fifty-ſix thouſand of *Aſdrubal*'s men fell in this bloody action, and near ſix thouſand were taken priſoners; though *Polybius* makes the whole loſs of the *Carthaginians* not to have exceeded ten thouſand men. Be that as it will, the *Romans* ſeemed to have been weary of killing, ſince when a perſon told *Livius*, after the battle, that it would be an eaſy matter to cut off a body of *Ciſalpine Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who had either not been in the fight, or eſcaped out of it, then flying in great confuſion, with a ſmall detachment of horſe, he anſwered, *It is fit that ſome ſhould ſurvive, to carry the enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery.* *Livy* affirms, that the *Romans* carried off an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, as
f well as plunder of other kinds; but *Polybius* is ſilent on that head. This action proved deciſive, ſince we may juſtly eſteem it to have determined the fate of *Italy*, as the battle of *Zama* a few years afterwards did that of *Africa* [d].

Hannibal received no intelligence of this blow, till *Claudius* advertiſed him of it, *The inhumanity of* Claudius *cenſured.* by throwing his brother *Aſdrubal*'s head into his trenches, immediately after he arrived at the *Roman* camp near *Canuſium*. This inhumanity was the more inexcuſe- able,

[c] Iidem ibid, FLOR. ubi ſup. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 18. SIL. ITAL. l. xv. APPIAN. in. Hannib. SUETON. in Tiber. CIC. in Brut. FLOL. l. ii. c. 6. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Claud. & Aſd. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1. HORAT. l. iv. od. 4. OROS l. iv. c. 18. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 9. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 3 ex. 8. [d] POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 7. ex. 15. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 7. ex. 4.

able, as *Hannibal* had given the *Romans* recent inſtances of a generous and noble diſ- a
poſition, by treating with the utmoſt decency, not to ſay tenderneſs and reſpect, the bodies of *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*. That treatment, in our opinion, demonſtrates the great humanity of *Hannibal*, if not of the *Carthaginians* in general, on ſuch occaſions; as the ſavage barbarity of *Claudius* does that of the *Romans*. As *Claudius* ſent two captives in chains, which, one ſhould have imagined, would have been mortifying enough, to inform *Hannibal* of his brother's fatal overthrow, nothing can equal, vindicate, or even palliate, the ferity of that barbarian. All the glory he had acquired by his late conduct in the battle of *Metaurus*, which certainly ought not to be denied him, ſerved only to render him more hateful and deteſtable; ſince nothing can be more monſtrous, than ſuch a contraſt of qualities in the ſame perſon. b
That the fact, here alledged againſt him, was real, is allowed by the moſt prejudiced *Roman* hiſtorians themſelves, who ſeem to relate it with pleaſure, and thereby reflect an eternal diſhonour both upon themſelves and their republic, as intimating, that they were all pleaſed with it, and conſequently of the ſame diſpoſition with *Claudius*. The juſtneſs of this reflection is confirmed by the high encomium *Valerius Maximus* paſſes upon the noble and humane behaviour of *Hannibal* hinted at, which ought to be looked upon as a ſevere reprehenſion of the conduct of *Claudius*. In ſhort, we think, a more lively inſtance of the *Roman* diſpoſition at this juncture, with regard to humanity and greatneſs of ſoul, than that juſt hinted at, does not occur in hiſtory. It is pity but we had the *Carthaginian* annals for this particular period; they would, c
doubtleſs, have ſet the *Romans* in their true and proper light [e].

Hannibal *greatly affected at the news of his brother's defeat and death.*

The melancholy news imparted to him by *Claudius*, filled *Hannibal* with horror and ſadneſs. He perceived, by this cruel ſtroke, the fortune of *Carthage*: *It is done*, ſaid he, according to *Horace*, in that beautiful ode, where this defeat is deſcribed, *I will no longer ſend triumphant meſſages to* Carthage! *In loſing* Aſdrubal, *I have loſt at once all my hope, all my good fortune!* After this fatal event, *Hannibal* retired to the extremity of *Brutium*, where, aſſembling all his forces, he remained, for a conſiderable time, in a ſtate of inaction, the *Romans* not daring to diſturb him, ſo formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck, and the *Carthaginian* affairs ſeemed not far from the verge of deſtruction. d
Livy tells us, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in proſperity or adverſity. Notwithſtanding which, *Brutium* being at beſt but a ſmall province, and many of its inhabitants being either forced into the ſervice, or forming themſelves into parties of banditti, ſo that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to ſubſiſt there, eſpecially as no manner of ſupplies were ſent him from *Carthage*. The people there were as ſolicitous of preſerving their poſſeſſions in *Spain*, and as little concerned at the ſituation of affairs in *Italy*, as if *Hannibal* had met with an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs, and not the leaſt diſaſter had befallen them ſince his firſt arrival in that country [f].

The Carthaginians *worſted in* Spain.

After *Aſdrubal*'s departure for *Italy*, *Hanno* was ſent to ſucceed him in *Spain*. e
The body of troops this general brought from *Africa*, in conjunction with that *Mago* commanded in *Celtiberia*, formed a conſiderable army. Theſe forces encamped in *Celtiberia*, and at ſome diſtance from them, in the ſame province, nine thouſand *Celtiberians* had poſted themſelves. *Scipio* ſent a detachment of ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, under the command of *M. Syllanus* the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity offered. The proprætor, receiving ample intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of both camps from ſome *Celtiberian* deſerters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was thereby enabled to gain a ſignal advantage over the enemy. He ſurpriſed the *Celtiberians*, being, for the moſt part, new-raiſed men, putting many of them to the ſword, and obliging the reſt to diſperſe in f
the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their reſpective habitations. *Hanno* and *Mago*, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewiſe defeated, and *Hanno* taken priſoner. *Mago*, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his eſcape, and, ten days afterwards, joined *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*. Theſe two commanders, with their united forces, continued, for ſome time, in the neighbourhood of *Gades* [g].

Accord-

[e] Polyb. Liv. Flor. Val. Max. Zonar. &c. ubi ſup. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 9. ex. 2.
[f] Polyb. l. x. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12. Appian. in Hannib. Hor. ubi ſup. [g] Liv. l. xxviii. ſub init. Appian. in Iberic. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 20. Oros. l. iv. c. 18.

a ACCORDING to ſome authors, *Scipio*, being appriſed of *Aſdrubal*'s march for *Italy*, had before ſent a conſiderable reinforcement to the conſul *Livius*, to enable him to make head againſt the *Carthaginian* forces under *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal*, provided neither of the conſular armies could hinder their junction. But the greateſt part of the *Roman* hiſtorians have omitted this circumſtance; which ſeems to invalidate the authority of thoſe writers in this particular. Be that as it will, *Scipio* had no ſooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in *Italy*, than he put himſelf in motion, and began to meditate the intire conqueſt of *Spain*. His brother, *L. Scipio*, being detached with a body of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to take the city of *Oringis*, on the confines of *Lower Bætica*, executed his orders with great bravery, b making the *Carthaginian* gariſon and three hundred of the inhabitants, who ſhut the gates againſt him, priſoners of war, with the loſs only of ninety men. *Livy* ſays, that the *Roman* detachment killed two thouſand of the enemy in the attack; and that *Lucius*, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the *Spaniards*, left the citizens in poſſeſſion of the town and all their effects. The territory of *Oringis* was extremely fruitful, and abounded with ſilver-mines. In the city itſelf, *Aſdrubal* had long had a good number of troops, who had not a little haraſſed the *Romans* and their allies, by their frequent incurſions into the mediterranean parts of the country. The *Carthaginians* therefore ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the reduction of that place. *Scipio* is ſaid to have complimented his brother highly upon this conqueſt, telling him, that c it was equal to the taking of *New Carthage*. That general, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, and that he could make no impreſſion upon the province in which *Gades* was ſeated, ſince *Aſdrubal* had placed numerous gariſons in all the fortreſſes there, ſuſpended the military operations till the following ſpring. However, *M. Valerius Lævinus* the proconſul, who commanded in *Sicily*, committed great ravages on the coaſts of *Africa*, where he made a deſcent about this time. Having deſtroyed with fire and ſword all the country about *Carthage* and *Utica*, he returned to *Lilybæum*, defeating, in his paſſage, a *Carthaginian* ſquadron of ſeventy galleys. Of theſe he took ſeventeen, ſunk four, and diſperſed the reſt. Thus were the *Romans* victorious every-where this campaign, the *Carthaginians* not being able to cope with them either d by ſea or land h.

The Carthaginian *affairs go to decay in* Spain.

THE next year, *Hannibal* ſent a detachment of *Numidians* to obſerve the motions of the *Roman* army, under the command of the conſuls *Q. Cæcilius* and *L. Veturius*, in the territory of *Coſentia*. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a ſhort diſpute, routed it, and carried off the booty to *Hannibal*'s camp. But this ſmall advantage did not make amends for the loſs of *Lucania*, which ſubmitted to the *Romans*. Nothing further worth relating happened this campaign betwixt the forces of the two contending republics in *Italy* i.

Lucania *ſubmits to the* Romans.

THE *Carthaginian* generals, that commanded this year in *Spain*, were *Mago* the ſon of *Hamilcar*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*. Theſe two commanders, in the e ſpring, moved from *Gades*, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter-quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, ſeventy, thouſand foot and four thouſand five hundred horſe. Advancing with all expedition towards the *Romans*, whom they were determined to engage, they at laſt took poſt in the plains of *Silpia*, at no great diſtance from them. *Scipio*, being extremely alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable a power, diſpatched in all haſte *Syllanus* to *Colcas*, a neighbouring prince, who had promiſed *Scipio* a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions. In the mean time, he drew his forces out of *Tarraco*, and, being joined by ſome of his allies, advanced to *Caſtulo*, where he was ſoon met by *Syllanus*, f with a reinforcement of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, from *Colcas*. From thence he marched to *Bætula*, or *Bæcula*, with an army of forty-five thouſand ſtrong. *Mago* and *Maſiniſſa*, at the head of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, fell upon the *Romans* as they were encamping, and had put them into diſorder, had not *Scipio* placed ſome troops of his horſe in ambuſcade behind an eminence, near the ſpot upon which he intended to encamp. Theſe, ſallying out upon the *Carthaginians*, obliged them at firſt to retire with precipitation; but, being afterwards duly ſupported, ſo puſhed them, that they betook themſelves to a downright flight. The light-armed troops

The Carthaginian *generals and* Maſiniſſa *overthrown in* Spain *by* Scipio.

h LIV. ubi ſup. c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 3. ex. 5.

i LIV. ubi ſup. c. 11.

roops on both ſides, for ſome time after this, ſkirmiſhed with one another; but a
without any conſiderable loſs. Both *Aſdrubal* and *Scipio*, for ſeveral days together,
drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though *Aſdrubal*
appeared firſt in the morning, and retired the laſt in the evening. At length *Scipio*,
reſolving to give the *Carthaginians* battle, ordered his men to refreſh themſelves
before day-break; and then ſent his horſe and light-armed troops to brave the enemy.
Aſdrubal poſted the *Spaniards* in the wings, the elephants in front, and the *Cartha-*
ginians, intermixed with the other *Africans*, in the centre. After having made this
diſpoſition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping
their horſe in play. *Scipio* took care to protract the fight till towards noon, imagin-
ing, that the *Carthaginians* muſt wax faint by that time, as being intirely void of b
ſuſtenance, and conſequently that he ſhould break them without much difficulty.
Accordingly then ordering his wings to advance, he attacked *Aſdrubal*'s *Spaniſh* auxi-
liaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the ſame time with the *velites*,
ſuſtained by ſeveral cohorts, which were commanded to wheel about for that pur-
poſe. The *Spaniards*, after ſome reſiſtance, were routed, the *Carthaginian* and
African forces not being able to ſupport them, ſince the *Spaniards*, that formed *Scipio*'s
main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants, as had
frequently happened of late, occaſioned greater confuſion in the *Carthaginian* army,
than in that of the enemy. Notwithſtanding therefore *Aſdrubal* did his utmoſt to
animate his men, they were defeated, and purſued by the *Romans* to their camp, c
which had then been taken, had not a violent ſtorm cooled the ardour of the victors,
and put an end to the action [k].

Maſiniſſa *abandons the* Carthaginian *intereſt.*

The night after the battle, *Aſdrubal* cauſed his camp to be ſtrengthened by ſome
additional works, as expecting the next day another viſit from the enemy. In the
mean time *Attanes*, regulus of the *Turdetani*, with a conſiderable body of troops,
went over to the *Romans*. Many other reguli followed this example; and two for-
treſſes of note ſurrendered to *Scipio*, who made their gariſons priſoners of war. As
the victory lately gained by *Scipio* had intirely alienated the minds of the *Spaniards*
from the *Carthaginians*, *Aſdrubal* thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire
with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had juſt before ſo fatigued his wearied d
and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inacceſſible to the enemy. *Scipio*,
being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the *Carthaginian*
general, who ſo haraſſed him in his retreat, that the legionaries at laſt came up with
him, and, after a faint reſiſtance, put all his men, except ſeven thouſand, to the
ſword. However theſe, with *Aſdrubal* at their head, gained an advantagious poſt,
where, for ſome time, they defended themſelves, till at laſt *Aſdrubal*, finding them
to deſert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his eſcape to *Gades*. In
the mean time, *Syllanus*, whom *Scipio* had left, with a detachment of ten thouſand
foot and a thouſand horſe, to block up the enemy's troops in the poſt above-men-
tioned, found means to draw *Maſiniſſa* their commander off from the *Carthaginian* e
intereſt. This unexpected event proved the total ruin of the *Carthaginians* in thoſe
parts, as will hereafter more fully appear. *Mago*, after the example of *Aſdrubal*,
flying to *Gades*, the remainder of the *African* forces either gradually diſperſed them-
ſelves in the neighbouring provinces, or deſerted to the *Romans*. *Maſiniſſa*, after
his late conference with *Syllanus*, by the connivance of that general, paſſed over into
Africa, with ſome of the leading men of the *Maſſyli*, in order to diſpoſe that nation
to ſecond his views. However, this was done in ſuch a manner, as not to give any
umbrage to the *Carthaginians*, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the leaſt
ſuſpicion of the meaſures he was going to purſue [l].

Scipio *brings over* Syphax *to the* Roman *intereſt.*

Maſiniſſa, to ſerve more effectually the party he intended ſoon to declare himſelf f
in favour of, made but a ſhort ſtay in *Africa*. Having prevailed on his ſubjects to
concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he haſtened to *Gades*,
to confer with *Mago* and *Aſdrubal* about the future operations. *Syllanus* likewiſe
retired with his body of forces to *Tarraco*, where *Scipio* had fixed his head quarters.
Scipio, ſoon afterwards paſſing into *Africa* with two quinqueremes, perſuaded *Syphax*,
king of the *Maſæſyli*, to abandon the *Carthaginians*, and enter into an alliance with
Rome.

[k] Polyb. l. xi. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12---16. Appian. in Iberic. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 1. ex. 1. & l. ii. c. 3. ex. 4. aliiq; auctor. ſup. laudat. [l] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 15, 16. Polyb. l. xi. c. 21. Appian. in Libyc. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. ſub fin. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. ex. 7. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

a *Rome*. *Asdrubal* was then at *Syphax*'s court, and did his utmost to traverse the negotiation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of *Spain*, besides *Gades*, in alliance with, or subject to, *Carthage*, were *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*. *Illiturgi* the *Romans* took by storm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. *Castulo*, in which was a *Carthaginian* garison, composed of the fugitives, that escaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one *Cerdubellus* to *Marcius*, and *Himilco* the commandant, with his whole corps, made prisoners of war. *Marcius*, then passing the *Bætis*, which the *Spaniards* called *Cirtius*, possessed himself of two opulent towns, which surrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Astapa*, and after a warm
b dispute, made himself master of it in the manner already related. In the mean time, *Mago*, having received a reinforcement from *Africa*, as well as of some *Spanish* troops levied by *Hanno*, made the proper dispositions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithstanding the melancholy situation of his affairs. A body of *Roman* forces, encamped upon the *Sucro*, during these transactions, mutinied, a report of *Scipio*'s death, that was industriously propagated, occasioning that commotion; but the mutineers being, by a seasonable punishment of some of their ringleaders, brought back to a sense of their duty, *Marcius* attacked four thousand of the enemy encamped upon the *Bætis*, under the command of *Hanno*, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greatest part of them. The engaging *Syphax* to confederate with the
c *Romans*, was a very considerable point gained, though this was not effected without some difficulty. *Scipio* first sent *Lælius*, with five quinqueremes, to make proposals to that prince, which he ordered him to back with magnificent presents. *Lælius* executed his commission with great dexterity, putting *Syphax* in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the *Romans*. Notwithstanding which, *Scipio*, as we have just observed, found himself obliged to visit in person that prince's court, where, by his uncommon address, if we will believe *Livy*, he defeated the intrigues of *Asdrubal*, and put the last hand to the treaty [m].

Soon after the reduction of *Astapa*, some deserters arrived at *Gades* from *Scipio*'s camp. These fugitives promised that general, not only to deliver the city, together
d with the *Carthaginian* garison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to make him master of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. *Scipio* therefore detached *Lælius* with a body of light-armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereme and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time the conspiracy being discovered to *Mago*, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to seize the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereme, in order to transport them to *Carthage*. *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to *Carteia*, he descried
e *Lælius*'s squadron coming out of that port. The *Carthaginian* could not, for some time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him to attack the *Romans*; but this state of suspense gave *Lælius* an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coasts of *Africa*, with only five triremes. However, *Lælius* missed his aim, since *Mago* had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to *Gades*; of which being appriséd by the prisoners, he returned to *Carteia*, from whence he dispatched an express to *Marcius*, who was moving with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders therefore, judging the siege of *Gades* too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at present, laid aside that design, and, in a short time, rejoined *Scipio* at *New Car-*
f *thage* [n].

Scipio *sends* Lælius *to attempt the conquest of* Gades.

The disappointment the *Romans* had met with in their design upon *Gades*, together with the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*, and revolt of the legions above-mentioned, gave *Mago* hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head against the enemy. He therefore wrote to *Carthage* for a speedy reinforcement, assuring the senate, that, if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had lost in *Spain*. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the *Romans*, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, being offended

Scipio *gives the* Spanish *reguli a great overthrow.*

m Idem ibid. Vide & Liv. ubi sup. c. 17---31. n Liv. Polyb. & Appian. ubi sup.

offended at the *Romans*, for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, a
and encouraged by the report of *Scipio*'s death, pillaged the territories of the *Sedetani*
and *Sueſſetani*, allies of *Rome*. Hearing afterwards of *Scipio*'s ſeverity to the ring-
leaders of the revolting legionaries, who were *Romans*, they concluded, that *Spaniſh*
revolters muſt be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by deſpair,
they aſſembled a numerous army of *Celtiberians*, and advanced againſt *Scipio*. That
general, moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at laſt
found them poſted in a plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains, and ſcarce
capable of containing ſuch a number of men. Having ſecured the defile leading into
this valley, he detached *Lælius*, with the cavalry, to take a compaſs round the hills,
and attack the enemy in rear, whilſt he charged them in front with the legionaries. b
This diſpoſition being made, *Scipio* attacked the reguli, and gave them a total over-
throw, putting almoſt their whole army to the ſword. What became of them after-
wards, our readers will find in a former part of this hiſtory [o].

Scipio *holds a conference with* Maſiniſſa.

Though *Syllanus* and *Maſiniſſa* had ſettled the preliminaries, yet, by ſeveral
intervening accidents, the concluſion of a treaty betwixt the *Numidian* and the *Ro-*
mans was deferred to this time. The chief obſtacle to the ſigning of it was, that
Maſiniſſa could find no opportunity of having an interview with *Scipio*, which he
ardently deſired. *Scipio*, being informed of this, and that *Maſiniſſa* was at *Gades*,
took a journey thither, with a good eſcorte, purely out of a deſire to have a confer-
ence with him. *Maſiniſſa*, receiving intelligence of this from *Marcius*, prevailed c
upon *Mago* to ſend him, with a detachment from the iſland of *Gades*, to ravage the
neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with *Scipio*. At
their firſt interview, *Maſiniſſa* told the *Roman* general, "That, from the time he
"had ſo generouſly and politely releaſed his nephew, for which he was greatly
"obliged to him, he had conceived a ſincere affection for him; that, ever ſince, he
"had wiſhed for an opportunity of expreſſing his high regard for the people of
"*Rome*, which now the gods had bleſſed him with; that no foreigner could be more
"cloſely attached to them than he was; and that though he could not give ſufficient
"proofs of this in *Spain*, where he was a ſtranger, yet if the *Romans* would transfer
"the war to *Africa*, where he had ſome intereſt, he would convince them of the d
"purity of his intentions, and at the ſame time anſwer for the ſucceſs of the expedi-
"tion." Every thing being afterwards ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both
parties, *Maſiniſſa*, in order to blind *Aſdrubal*, plundered ſome part of the adjacent
country, and then returned to *Gades* [p].

Gades *ſurrenders to the* Romans.

The *Carthaginians*, being diſappointed in the diverſion they expected from the
mutiny of the legionaries and the rebellion of the *Spaniards*, ordered *Mago* to aban-
don *Spain*, and ſail with all poſſible expedition to *Italy*. That he might be enabled
the more effectually to ſuccour *Hannibal*, he received a large ſum of money to make
levies in *Gaul* and *Liguria*. Before he left *Gades*, he did not only oblige the citizens
to bring all their gold and ſilver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his e
paſſage to *Italy*, he made an attempt upon *New Carthage*; but was repulſed with
great loſs. From thence he ſailed to the iſland *Pityuſa*, where he met with a kind
reception, receiving a plentiful ſupply of proviſions and a good number of recruits.
Then he ſteered his courſe to the largeſt of the *Balearic* iſlands, that had a commodious
haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in ſo violent a
manner with their ſlings, that he found himſelf obliged to ſheer off with conſiderable
loſs. However, proceeding to the leſſer one near it, that was extremely fertile, though
not ſo populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men,
encamped in a place of great ſtrength, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole iſland with-
out oppoſition. As the ſeaſon was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he f
was the more ſtrongly induced by the good diſpoſition of the natives, who expreſſed
all imaginable zeal and affection for the *Carthaginians*, ſupplying him, during his
ſtay amongſt them, with a body of two thouſand men. We muſt not omit obſerve-
ing, that the people of *Gades* ſhut their gates upon *Mago* after his repulſe at *New*
Carthage; for which affront he whipped and crucified their ſuffetes, who were ſent
to excuſe that conduct to him; nor that they ſurrendered to the *Romans* ſoon after
he had abandoned them [q].

The

[o] Iidem ibid Zonar. l. ix. c. 10. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 738, & ſeq. [p] Liv. Polyb. Appian. Zonar. ubi ſup. [q] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 36, 37. & Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

a THE next ſummer, *Mago*, landing in *Liguria* with an army of twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, ſurpriſed *Genoa*. From thence he ſailed to the coaſts of the *Ligures Alpini*, to try whether he could not raiſe ſome commotions amongſt them. The *Ingauni*, one of their cantons, were then at war with the *Epanterii*, a ſort of highlanders, who likewiſe belonged to them. This gave *Mago* an opportunity of ſeizing upon the town and port of *Savo*, and ſtationing ten of his long ſhips there. The reſt of his fleet he ſent to *Carthage*, upon a rumour, that *Scipio* was going to tranſport a body of troops to *Africa*, in order to attack that capital. Then he joined the *Ingauni*, whoſe friendſhip he preferred to that of the other contending party, and, in concert with them, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for invading the common
b enemy. As his army ſoon grew very numerous by the acceſſion of a ſtrong body of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, the *Romans* were greatly alarmed, and made the motions already mentioned. About this time, *Cn. Octavius*, who commanded in *Sardinia*, took eighty *Carthaginian* tranſports, laden with corn and other proviſions, for *Hannibal*, as *Cælius* will have it, or with booty taken in *Etruria* and *Epanterian* captives, according to *Valerius Antias*, off of the coaſts of that iſland. As the plague made great havock both in the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies this year in *Brutium*, and *Hannibal* had beſides a famine to ſtruggle with, nothing material happened the campaign we are now upon in thoſe parts. *Livy* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* general, during his inaction this ſummer, erected an altar near the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, (*Polybius*
c ſays, a column or pillar near the town of *Lacinium*) upon which he engraved an account of all his great atchievents in *Greek* and *Punic* letters. Our readers will find ſome obſervations upon this monument of antiquity, which, *Polybius* aſſures us, was extant in his time, in two of our former notes [r].

Mago *lands on the coaſt of* Liguria.

THE following year, advice was brought to *Carthage*, that an army formed of the *Auſetani*, *Ilergetes*, and ſeveral other *Spaniſh* nations, under the command of *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, &c. had been intirely overthrown by the *Romans*. *Indibilis*, it ſeems, being encouraged by *Scipio*'s departure out of *Spain*, had excited the people
d above-mentioned to a ſecond revolt, imagining, that now an opportunity offered of rendering himſelf, with all the other reguli, independent both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. To that end he aſſembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, with which he advanced into the country of the *Sedetani*. Here the *Roman* generals, *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thouſand of them to the ſword, in which number was *Indibilis* himſelf, and taking eight thouſand priſoners. *Mandonius* and the other authors of this revolt, being delivered up to the *Romans*, received capital puniſhment, after a confiſcation of all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the *Spaniards* upon reaſonable terms. The particulars of the laſt action, as well as a more circumſtantial account of the tranſactions this year in *Spain*, our readers will find in *Livy*, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction, we refer them [s].

The Spaniſh *reguli receive a ſecond defeat.*

e AFFAIRS were ſcarce ſettled in *Spain*, when *Lælius* made a deſcent in *Africa* at *Hippo Regius*, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This ſo alarmed the inhabitants, that they diſpatched meſſengers in all haſte to *Carthage*, with advice, that *Scipio*, with the *Roman* fleet, was arrived on their coaſts, and had landed at *Hippo* a ſtrong body of forces. As a rumour had, for ſome time, prevailed at *Carthage*, that *Scipio* had already paſſed into *Sicily*, the people and ſenate were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this melancholy news. The great revolution, that had happened in their affairs, the deſtruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of *Syphax*, *Maſiniſſa*, and all their other allies, together with the fickleneſs and inconſtancy of the *Africans*, from whom their auxi-
f liary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a moſt diſmal proſpect, now their metropolis was threatened with a ſiege. However, when they received intelligence, that only *Lælius*, with an inconſiderable force, had put in at *Hippo*, in order to make an incurſion upon their territories on that ſide, their fears began to ſubſide. As ſoon therefore as they had recovered themſelves from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence: they ſent an embaſſy to *Syphax*, to attempt recovering that prince, as well as to ſeveral other *African* reguli, who ſhewed an inclination to ſide with the *Romans*: they remitted a ſum

Lælius *makes a deſcent in* Africa.

[r] POLYB. l. xi. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 46. CÆLIUS. & VALER. ANT. apud LIV. ibid. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 11. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv, p. 739. Vide & vol. vii. p. 9. not. (D). & p. 16. not. (G). [s] LIV. l. xxix. c. 2, 3. APPIAN. in Iberic. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 739.

ſum of two hundred talents of ſilver to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in order to engage a him to make a diverſion either in *Italy* or *Sicily*: they diſpatched orders to their generals in *Italy* to make all poſſible efforts to keep *Scipio* at home; and they ſent *Mago* a reinforcement of ſix thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, ſeven elephants, and twenty-five long ſhips, together with a large ſum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer *Rome*, and join *Hannibal*. *Lælius*, having had a conference with *Maſiniſſa*, wherein that prince gave freſh aſſurances of his ſincere attachment to the *Romans*, and expreſſed an ardent deſire to ſee *Scipio* in *Africa*, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, where he ſafely arrived, with the immenſe booty got in this expedition [t].

Mago *receives a reinforcement.*

In the mean time, the veſſels, with the body of troops deſtined for *Italy* to reinforce *Mago*, ſailed from *Carthage*, and, after a happy voyage, put into the port of *Savo*, b where they joined the other *Carthaginian* ſquadron. *Mago*, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* with the reinforcement and welcome diſpatches he had received from *Carthage*. He took occaſion from hence to aſſure them, "That the chief end of his coming to *Italy* was, to ſecure to them the enjoy-
"ment of their rights and privileges." To this he ſubjoined, "That though the
"ſtate of *Carthage* would exert itſelf to the utmoſt, in order to obtain this deſirable
"end, yet the ſucceſs of its endeavours would depend upon them, as it was in their
"power to enable him to make a greater or leſſer figure in the field; that as *Sp.*
"*Lucretius* and *M. Livius* would ſoon unite their forces, a ſtrong body of auxiliaries
"would be neceſſary to oppoſe ſo formidable an army." To which the *Gauls* replied, c
"That as one *Roman* army was hovering about their frontiers, and another in *Etru-*
"*ria*, at a ſmall diſtance from them, they could not come to ſo vigorous a reſolu-
"tion as their inclination prompted them to, ſince this would expoſe their country
"to the ravages of the enemy; but that, however, underhand, they would give him
"all the aſſiſtance in their power. As to the *Ligurians*, they added, they were at
"liberty to act as they ſhould think proper, ſince the *Roman* armies were too remote
"from their borders to have any influence upon their councils; and therefore it was
"but juſt, that they ſhould openly take part in the war, and ſupply him with what
"number of recruits he wanted." The *Ligurians* being of the ſame ſentiments,
provided he allowed them two months time to raiſe men in, every thing ſucceeded d
according to his deſire; for the *Gauls* privately ſent him proviſions, and, by virtue of the *Carthaginian* money, the new levies went on briſkly in *Liguria*. But, notwithſtanding theſe happy beginnings, *Mago* met with the ſame fate in *Italy*, that *Aſdrubal* had done before in *Spain*, as will in a ſhort time appear [u].

Scipio *takes* Locri.

Both *Scipio* and the *Roman* ſoldiery, expreſſed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence *Lælius* brought from *Maſiniſſa* excited the general to this, as the plunder he carried off with him from *Africa* did the troops. However, they were prevented from undertaking this expedition for the preſent, by a ſucceſsful attempt upon the city of *Locri*. Some workmen, who had ſerved in the *Carthaginian* gariſon of one of the citadels there, being e taken by a *Roman* party and brought to *Rhegium*, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they ſhould expoſe themſelves. This being agreed to, the *Romans*, by the aſſiſtance of theſe traitors, made themſelves maſters of that citadel, in which they were employed; the *Carthaginian* gariſon in the other, commanded by one *Hamilcar*, defended itſelf with great bravery, till *Hannibal* advanced from the river *Butrotus* to its relief. Upon his approach, a warm action enſued, and the *Romans* would have been totally routed, notwithſtanding *Scipio* came from *Maſiniſſa* to their aſſiſtance, had not the people of *Locri* ſupported them; but this happening, and *Hannibal* being wounded by a ſcorpion, the *Carthaginians* thought proper to draw off. *Scipio*, after the action, find- f ing both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed gariſons in them; and then immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying the war into *Africa* [w].

Scipio *lands in* Africa.

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, the *Carthaginians* were under continual apprehenſions of *Scipio*'s making a deſcent in *Africa*. They had poſted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the ſea, to give them notice of the firſt appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every expreſs, for fear he ſhould bring news of the enemy's landing. In this diſtreſs, it was the general opinion,

[t] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 3, 4, 5. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Polyb. l. xiii. Liv. l. xxix. c. 6—9. Appian. in Hannib.

a opinion, that all poſſible attempts ſhould be made to detach *Syphax* from the *Roman* intereſt; ſince both the ſenate and people thought, that a proſpect of aſſiſtance from him would be the chief inducement to the *Romans* to invade their dominions in *Africa*. In order to accompliſh this, a lucky incident intervened: *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who was at *Syphax*'s court with *Scipio*, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquiſite charms, named *Sophonisba*. At that time *Aſdrubal* offered this young lady in marriage to *Syphax*, thinking this would be a means of uniting him with the *Carthaginians*. He therefore now, with the ſame view, waited again upon *Syphax*; and having inflamed him with a deſcription of the beauty he was to have for his conſort, ſent for her thither from *Carthage*, to haſten the mar-
b riage. Amongſt other things, it was ſtipulated on this occaſion, that an offenſive and defenſive league ſhould be concluded betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, in conſequence of which he ſhould aſſiſt them with all his forces. *Aſdrubal*, not ſatisfied with this, as being no ſtranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with *Rome*, nor of the variable temper of the *African* barbarians, thought proper to put him upon a meaſure, which would prevent *Scipio*'s landing in *Africa*, and conſequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the *Romans*. Whilſt therefore he was in his firſt amorous tranſports, the *Carthaginian*, by means of his daughter's ſoothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a letter to *Scipio* in *Sicily* to the following effect: "That, as he had married *Aſdrubal*'s daughter, his intereſt was inſeparable
c "from that of the *Carthaginians*; that, beſides this, he had concluded a ſolemn "treaty with that nation; that he therefore adviſed him not to ſet his foot in *Africa*, "becauſe, in ſuch caſe, he could not diſpenſe with being neutral; that, if he offered "to move with his army to *Carthage*, he ſhould find himſelf obliged, both out of "regard to his own native country, and that of his wife, to oppoſe him with all his "forces." This letter did not, however, produce the deſired effect; for *Scipio*, having in anſwer to it, admoniſhed him "to take care how he violated the laws of hoſpi-"tality with him, and the engagements entered into with the people of *Rome*," ſet ſail with a formidable force for *Africa*, and landed at the *Fair Promontory* without oppoſition [x].

d It is intimated by *Appian*, that *Sophoniſba* was betrothed to *Maſiniſſa*, who was educated at *Carthage*, and a prince of the fineſt accompliſhments. Animated by the paſſion he nouriſhed for a lady of ſuch attractive charms, according to the ſame author, he eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions in *Spain* againſt the *Romans*; but this poor prince being ſtripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any conſiderable aſſiſtance to the *Carthaginians*, *Sophoniſba*, for the reaſon hinted at above, though in defiance of juſtice, honour, and public faith, was given to *Syphax*. *Livy* is ſilent as to this particular, though that ſeems to us no ſufficient argument againſt the probability of it; ſince *Maſiniſſa*'s future long uninterrupted fidelity to the *Romans* is a proof, that he was of a noble diſpoſition, and
e therefore could not abandon his firſt friends the *Carthaginians* without ſome grievous provocation. Poſſibly the *Roman* hiſtorian's great regard for his hero *Scipio*, whoſe character, he might think, would a little ſuffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, *Maſiniſſa* ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and contributed not a little to the deſtruction of their republic, as will moſt evidently appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But to proceed to the war in *Africa* [y]:

As the *Carthaginians* had ſeen no *Roman* army in *Africa* for fifty years paſt, the alarm that *Scipio*'s deſcent occaſioned over the whole country was inexpreſſible. Where-ever that general moved, he ſcattered terror. The inhabitants of the open
f country retired into the towns with their effects; and *Carthage* in particular was extremely crouded on this melancholy occaſion. The gates there were ſhut in the utmoſt hurry, detachments poſted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a ſurprize; in ſhort, the ſame diſpoſitions were made, as would have been proper in caſe of an immediate ſiege. They had no commander of any repute, but *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who had been defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw, undiſciplined troops were incapable of oppoſing the *Roman* legionaries. Being appriſed of *Scipio*'s arrival at *Utica*, with his fleet and land-forces, they

The Carthaginians thrown into a great conſternation upon the news of Scipio's landing in Africa.

[x] Polyb. l. xiv. Liv. l. xxix. c. 23. Appian. in Libyc. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 20. Polyæn. ubi ſup.
[y] Appian. ubi ſup. Vide & Val. Max. l. ix. c. 13. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11.

they detached *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* nobleman, to obſtruct his landing, with a body of five hundred horſe; who, falling in with a detachment of the *Roman* cavalry, ſent by *Scipio* out to plunder, immediately attacked them; but, after a ſhort diſpute, he was cut off, with a conſiderable number of his men, and the reſt diſperſed. After this action, *Scipio* laid the country waſte to the very gates of *Carthage*; and poſſeſſed himſelf of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thouſand of its principal citizens priſoners. Theſe firſt inſtances of ſucceſs greatly heightened the confuſion, that had before begun to reign in *Carthage*, eſpecially when it was known there, that *Maſiniſſa* had joined *Scipio* with a body of two hundred, or, as others ſay, two thouſand, *Numidian* horſe. In this laſt article we have followed *Livy*; but, according to *Appian*, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* greatly careſſed *Maſiniſſa* at this time, in order to prevent the junction of his forces and the *Romans*, though, at the ſame time, they had reſolved upon his deſtruction, as ſoon as *Scipio* ſhould be driven out of *Africa*. This, continues the ſame author, *Maſiniſſa* was not ignorant of, though, in order to overcome them at their own weapons, he pretended to be intirely reconciled to thoſe two commanders, having been before at variance with them, for the reaſon above aſſigned. However, he privately informed *Scipio* of all their motions and deſigns. We might here give our readers an account of the family of *Maſiniſſa*, as well as of the principal events that had happened to him before this period, together with a deſcription of the kingdom his father governed; but all this we chuſe to reſerve for the hiſtory of *Numidia*[z].

Maſiniſſo *defeats* Hanno.

In the room of the horſe lately cut to pieces, or taken priſoners, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raiſed with all poſſible expedition, and the command of it given to another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, who advanced towards *Utica*, to obſerve the enemy's motions. But being too weak to undertake any thing againſt them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he thought proper to remain inactive, till he was reinforced by ſome new levies, that his officers were making both in the *Carthaginian* territories, and thoſe of the neighbouring princes independent of them. At laſt, finding his troops to amount to four thouſand men, he took poſt in a town called *Salera*, fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp. Out of this place, *Maſiniſſa*, who was ſent to *Salera*, with a detachment of horſe, by *Scipio*, for that purpoſe, found means to draw him; and then, in conjunction with a choice body of *Roman* cavalry, commanded by *Scipio* himſelf, that lay in ambuſcade, charged him with ſuch vigour, that he was put to flight, a thouſand of his men falling in the action, and two thouſand being either killed or taken priſoners in the purſuit. Moſt authors relate, that *Hanno* was ſlain; but *Cælius* and *Valerius Antias* affirm, that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this, *Scipio* put a gariſon into *Salera*, and puſhed on the ſiege of *Utica*. In the mean time, *Aſdrubal* aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; but durſt not approach the enemy, till the arrival of *Syphax*, who ſoon joined him with an army of fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. *Scipio*, being informed of this junction, raiſed the ſiege of *Utica*, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the ſpace of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in ſuch a a manner, as to fear no inſults of the enemy. This a little revived the drooping ſpirits of the *Carthaginians*, who now ſaw their own forces, in conjunction with thoſe of *Syphax* their ally, ſuperior to the *Romans* in the field[a].

State of affairs in Italy.

In *Italy* this year, *Hannibal* gained an advantage over the conſul *Sempronius*; but was himſelf ſoon after defeated by that general. The loſs the *Carthaginians* ſuſtained, on this occaſion, was above four thouſand of their men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken priſoners, beſides forty horſes, and ſeven ſtandards, that fell into the victors hands. *Hannibal*, upon this diſaſter, retired with his army to *Croton*. The other conſul *Cethegus* in the mean time kept *Etruria* in awe, and prevented *Mago* from approaching his brother *Hannibal*. As the *Etruſcans* were generally diſpoſed to a revolt, and kept a cloſe correſpondence with *Mago*, *Cethegus* found it a difficult matter to execute the province aſſigned him. The *Brutians*, hearing of the great ſucceſs of *Scipio* in *Africa*, for the moſt part abandoned the *Carthaginian* intereſt. Some of *Hannibal*'s gariſons amongſt them they put to the ſword, others they expelled; and, in many places, where they could not openly declare for the *Romans*, they found means to inform the ſenate of their averſion to the *Carthaginians*,

[z] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 28. Polyb. l. xiv. Appian. ubi ſup. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 743, 744.

[a] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 34, 35. Appian. ubi ſup.

a *nians.* In the mean time, *Hannibal* came to *Petilia*, and expoſtulated with the citizens upon their ſending miniſters to *Rome*; but pretended to be ſatisfied with their conduct, when they ſtrenuouſly denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of ſuſpicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arreſt, committing them to the care of a guard of *Numidians*; and, diſarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the ſlaves. He treated other cities likewiſe with equal ſeverity, *Thurii* in particular, with its diſtrict, which he gave up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, ſparing only three thouſand of the citizens, and five hundred peaſants, whom he knew to be cloſely attached to the *Carthaginians*. Theſe he tranſplanted to *Croton*, where he fixed his head-quarters, erected his principal magazine, and took care effectually
b to cover it from all attempts of the *Romans* [b].

Scipio having fortified his camp, the *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; ſo that both ſides continued in a ſtate of inaction, till the return of the ſpring. During the winter, *Scipio* attempted to draw off *Syphax* from the *Carthaginians*; but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided *Scipio* would agree to this preliminary, *viz.* that both parties ſhould recal their armies home; which, he intimated, would ſerve as a baſis for a future treaty, and effectually ſecure the repoſe of their reſpective dominions. This propoſal the *Roman* general, at firſt, rejected; but afterwards ſeemed to liſten to it, in order to amuſe
c the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, *Scipio* was informed, that the *Carthaginian* camp, which conſiſted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very ſlightly fortified; and that the *Numidian* quarters, which were at ſome diſtance from the other, were intirely defenceleſs, the ſoldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other ſuch-like combuſtible materials. To which his ſpies added, that the troops obſerved no order or diſcipline, but lay in a careleſs manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt forcing their camp by ſome ſtratagem, ſince he found himſelf too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, eſpecially as the ſpot they
d were encamped upon was a ſmooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry, much ſuperior to that of the *Romans*, to act in. Having maturely weighed theſe particulars, he ſent embaſſadors to the camp, to renew, as was given out, the conferences, but in reality to make ſuch diſcoveries, as would favour the execution of his ſcheme. Theſe embaſſadors were attended by ſome of his veteran ſoldiers, diſguiſed like ſlaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and obſerve all the avenues leading to and from it, its form and ſituation, how far *Aſdrubal* was from *Syphax*, how all the poſts were occupied, and whether it would be eaſier to ſurpriſe it in the day-time, or by night. Having informed himſelf of all theſe particulars, he immediately broke off the conferences, letting *Syphax* know, "That as his officers had,
e "in a council of war, declared themſelves averſe to all pacific meaſures, and preſſed "him to puſh on the war with vigour, he found himſelf obliged, in compliance "with their deſire, to purſue the military operations." Such a declaration could not but extremely mortify both *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*, who looked upon the treaty to be as good as concluded. However, they ſoon recovered themſelves, and reſolved to draw, if poſſible, the enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they ſhould be able to give a good account of them; or, if they ſhould fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to beſiege their camp both by ſea and land; which they imagined themſelves capable of doing. But *Scipio* took his meaſures ſo well, that he ſurpriſed them in the manner already related. *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa* burnt *Syphax*'s camp, as *Scipio* himſelf did that of *Aſdrubal*. Their army was intirely
f ruined, only two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, with the two commanders, eſcaping out of ſo great a multitude. According to *Livy*, this complete victory was, in a great meaſure, owing to the wiſe diſpoſitions of *Maſiniſſa*. The ſcene exhibited on this melancholy occaſion, *Polybius* tells us, was inconceivably dreadful; which indeed may eaſily be admitted, if we conſider the terrible havock made of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* troops. *Appian* relates, that *Syphax*, having, ſome time before, ſhamefully abandoned the *Carthaginians*, when he had advanced as far as *Utica* to their aſſiſtance, under the pretext of repelling a foreign invaſion, returned ſoon after to ſuccour them, and endeavoured to bring over *Maſiniſſa*, by promiſing to give him which

Scipio *routs* Syphax *and* Aſdrubal.

[b] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 36. Appian. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 18.

which of his three daughters he pleaſed, and to fix him on the throne of the *Maſæſyli*. a
The ſame author tells us, that *Scipio* offered ſacrifices to the deities *Audacia* and *Pavor*, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be ſtruck with any panic terrors in the night, ſince they were then to begin the attack. *Aſdrubal* made his eſcape to *Anda*, where he rallied the remains of his ſhattered army, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries and *Numidians*; and having, by his own authority, preſented a good number of ſlaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a conſiderable corps. *Syphax* retired to an advantagious poſt, about eight miles from the field of battle, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of. *Appian* relates, that *Aſdrubal* was condemned to be crucified for his ill ſucceſs; which is improbable, if what *Livy* ſays be true, *viz.* that, ſoon after the laſt diſaſter, he went to *Carthage*, in order to prevent the ſenate b
and ſuffetes from coming into any pacifie meaſures. Be that as it will, the ſuffetes having convened the ſenate, three motions were made: firſt, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Scipio*, to treat of a peace with that general; ſecondly, that *Hannibal* ſhould be recalled out of *Italy*; thirdly, that, in imitation of the *Roman* reſolution in adverſity, they ſhould depend upon themſelves and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to *Syphax* for further ſuccours. This laſt, being backed by *Aſdrubal* and the *Barchine* faction, was carried; in conſequence of which, the new levies went on briſkly, and miniſters were diſpatched in all haſte to *Syphax*, who was prevailed upon, by the intreaties and endearments of his beloved *Sophonisba*, to join *Aſdrubal* with a large body of c
forces. In the mean time, *Scipio* advanced to the walls of *Carthage*, and offered the citizens battle; which they thought proper to decline. As ſoon as *Aſdrubal* had left *Anda*, it ſurrendered to the *Romans*. Two other towns of note likewiſe in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make reſiſtance, *Scipio* carried by aſſault, and gave them up to his ſoldiers to be plundered. After this, he ſat down again before *Utica*, and puſhed on the ſiege of that place with the utmoſt vigour. In the mean time, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*, being joined by a good number of *Celtiberian* troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thouſand ſtrong, with which they moved towards *Scipio*, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a ſufficient number of troops to defend d
his lines, roſe from before *Utica*, and advanced to meet them. The *Roman* army was diſpoſed in the uſual manner. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* poſted his *Carthaginian* forces in the right wing, *Syphax*, with his *Numidians*, in the left, and the *Celtiberians* in the centre. The *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were routed at the firſt onſet; but the *Celtiberians* being animated by deſpair, fought with ſuch reſolution, that they were almoſt all to a man killed upon the ſpot. As *Scipio* had treated them with the utmoſt lenity after their late revolt, they were ſenſible the black ingratitude to him, they were now guilty of, deſerved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and finding it impoſſible to eſcape by flight, they reſolved to die in the field. The obſtinacy with which they, for ſome time, maintained the diſpute, gave many of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* an opportunity of ſaving themſelves, who muſt otherwiſe have been inevitably cut off. The day after the battle, *Scipio* detached *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, with the horſe and light-armed troops, to purſue *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*; whilſt he himſelf, with the main body, reduced moſt of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage* [c].

Tunes *abandoned at the approach of* Scipio.

The *Carthaginians* now looked upon their condition as deſperate, expecting every moment to be beſieged by *Scipio* with his victorious army. They therefore repaired the wall of the city, filled their magazines, and made all the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for a vigorous defence. In the mean time, the gariſon of *Tunes* abandoned that city at *Scipio*'s approach. Soon after the loſs of this place, the *Carthaginians* ſent a ſquadron of galleys to deſtroy the *Roman* fleet in the port of *Utica*; which they might have eaſily effected, had they not put into the harbour of *Ruſcino* by the way, and ſtaid a whole night there; which, together with their ſlow ſailing, and the uſeleſs precaution of drawing up their fleet in order of battle, as though they had been to engage ſome formidable enemy, gave the *Romans* an opportunity of fruſtrating, in a great meaſure, their deſign. The great conſternation the *Carthaginians* were thrown into by their late loſſes, prevented them from purſuing this enterprize with the expedition neceſſary to render it ſucceſsful, ſince they imagined the *Romans* to

[c] Liv. l. xxx. c. 4---10. Polyb. l xiv. Appian. in Libyc. Dio Cass. in excerpt. Valeſ. Oros. l. iv. c. 18. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 3. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 20. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 12.

a to be invincible by ſea, as well as by land. However, they carried off ſix of the enemy's galleys; which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, elated them as much, as formerly an important victory would have done. We are told by *Appian*, that *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, ſurpriſing the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*, took one trireme and ſix tranſports; that, immediately after this, *Hanno*, with a body of forces, attempted to raiſe the ſiege of *Utica*; but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs; that, however, *Scipio*, being tired with the long ſiege, or rather blockade, of that place, tranſported all his military machines to *Hippo*; and that having ineffectually played them upon that city likewiſe, he burnt them all as uſeleſs, ravaged ſome parts of the neighbouring provinces, and entered into an alliance with others. The ſame author
b likewiſe intimates, that the *Carthaginians* attempted to corrupt the *Iberian* troops in the *Roman* ſervice; but without ſucceſs; their indirect practices being diſcovered to *Scipio* by the aruſpices at repeated ſacrifices. We might here give our readers all the particulars, beſides thoſe already mentioned, relating to the tragical exit of *Sophoniſba*, as well as the great progreſs made by *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa* at this time in *Numidia*, did we not apprehend them more properly to belong to the *Numidian* hiſtory d.

IMMEDIATELY after the laſt defeat, the ſenate and ſuffetes of *Carthage* came to a reſolution to recall *Hannibal* from *Italy*, upon whoſe veteran troops, and their fleet, together with the powerful aſſiſtance of *Syphax*, they were convinced, their preſervation did abſolutely depend. Their fleet therefore having, in the main, failed in
c the important enterprize above-mentioned, *Syphax* being taken priſoner, his country conquered, and *Hannibal* as yet at a great diſtance, they had no other reſource left, than to ſue to *Scipio* for peace. To this they were farther excited, by that general's encamping again at *Tunes*, within ſight of their capital. They therefore deputed thirty of their principal ſenators, who were ſelected for that purpoſe out of the centumvirate, to wait upon *Scipio*. Being introduced into the *Roman* general's tent, they all threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth, kiſſed his feet, (in conformity, as *Livy* obſerves, to the practice of their anceſtors the *Tyrians*) and ſpoke to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. They accuſed *Hannibal* and the *Barchine* faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confeſſed themſelves to have broken the peace concluded
d betwixt them and the *Romans*, and that they deſerved whatever puniſhment that nation ſhould think proper to inflict upon them. They begged, however, that their city, which had twice merited deſtruction, by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the *Roman* clemency, promiſing at the ſame time an implicit obedience to his commands. *Scipio* replied, "That though he had come into *Africa*, "not for peace, but conqueſt, which he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all "nations might ſee the ſtrict juſtice of the *Romans*, both in undertaking and con-"cluding their wars, he would grant them a peace upon the following terms: that they ſhould deliver up all the *Roman* priſoners and deſerters to him; that they ſhould recall their armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*; that they ſhould never ſet foot again in *Spain*;
e that they ſhould retire out of all the iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*; that they ſhould put the victors in poſſeſſion of all their ſhips, twenty only excepted, which they ſhould be allowed to keep for their own uſe; laſtly; that they ſhould give to the *Romans* five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, three hundred thouſand of barley, and pay five thouſand talents, or, as others will have it, five thouſand pound weight of ſilver. He gave them three days to conſider of theſe conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till *Hannibal*'s arrival. A truce being granted the *Carthaginians*, they immediately ſent deputies to *Rome*, and at the ſame time diſpatched an expreſs to *Hannibal*, to haſten his return to *Africa*. *Appian* intimates, that, beſides the articles above-mentioned, *Scipio* inſiſted upon a com-
f pliance with the two following: that *Maſiniſſa* ſhould not only keep poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, but as many of *Syphax*'s territories, as he ſhould be able to conquer; and that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not extend their dominions beyond the *Foſſa Punica*. But theſe, and other points, wherein that author differs from *Livy* and *Polybius*, ſeem not ſo agreeable to truth, as what has been tranſmitted to poſterity by thoſe two celebrated hiſtorians e.

The Carthaginians *ſue to* Scipio *for peace.*

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Mago* advanced into *Inſubria*, where he met with the *Roman* forces under the command of *M. Cornelius* and *P. Quintilius Varus*. A general action ſoon happened between the two armies, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated.

Mago *overthrown in* Inſubria.

d POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi ſup. e Iidem ibid.

How-

However, *Asdrubal*'s elephants, by their noise, smell, terrible appearance, &c. with a the *Numidian* horse, so pushed the *Roman* cavalry, and his *Carthaginian* infantry charged the legionaries with such bravery, that, had his *corps de reserve*, which consisted of *Gauls*, done their duty against the *triarii*, the *Romans* must have been overthrown. *Mago* performed the part of a consummate general, distinguishing himself greatly throughout the whole action; but being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, which threw his troops into such confusion, that a good part of them betook themselves to flight. Five thousand *Carthaginians* fell on the field of battle, and eighteen of their standards were taken. But this victory cost the *Romans* dear; for they lost two thousand three hundred men, besides the best part of the twelfth legion. *Mago*, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of b the night, returned into the country of the *Ingauni*, which was one of the maritime parts of *Liguria*, where he met a courier bringing him orders to return directly to *Carthage*. The *Ligurians*, being informed of this, received the *Romans* with open arms; and *Mago*, embarking his troops, immediately set sail for *Carthage*; but his wound growing worse, upon his arrival on the coast of *Sardinia*, he expired f.

Hannibal *recalled from* Italy.

The *Romans* being thus every-where victorious, *Consentia*, *Uffugium*, *Vergæ*, *Besidiæ*, *Hetriculum*, *Syphæum*, *Argentanum*, *Dampetia*, and other towns of less note in *Brutium*, opened their gates to the consul *Cn. Servilius*. This was the situation of affairs, when *Hannibal* was commanded to return to *Africa*. *Valerius Antias* wrote, that, just before his departure, *Hannibal* was defeated by *Servilius* not far from *Croton*, c and that, on this occasion, he lost five thousand men. But *Livy*, partial as he is, looks upon this as little better than a downright fiction. When the messengers from *Africa* informed *Hannibal* of the senate's pleasure, he expressed the utmost concern and indignation, groaning, gnashing his teeth, and being scarce able to refrain from tears. "Now, said he, those persons, who have long endeavoured to drag me out "of *Italy*, by denying me proper supplies, send me direct and explicit orders to "return home. *Hannibal* is not vanquished by the *Romans*, but by the senate of "*Carthage*. *Scipio* has not so much reason to exult and plume himself at my being "forced from *Italy*, as *Hanno*, who, for want of other means of effecting it, has "completed the ruin of my family by the destruction of *Carthage*." As he had d foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to *Africa*; which he did, after having massacred a body of *Italian* troops, that refused to accompany him, in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*. Such an instance of cruelty, at that time, was not so much to be wondered at, since *Hannibal* must have been exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit a country, he had been so long contending for. Never banished man, according to *Livy*, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as *Hannibal* did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to *Italy*, accusing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, if we will credit the same author, upon himself, for his not having, after the battle of *Cannæ*, advanced e to the walls of *Rome* at the head of his army, still reeking with the blood of its citizens. *Appian* writes, that *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, committed unparalelled cruelties in all the cities allied with *Carthage*, before *Hannibal*'s departure, permitting his men to ravish their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all respects to them, as the most inhuman enemy does to the inhabitants of all towns carried by assault. But as *Livy*, whose authority, in the main, we prefer to that of *Appian*, is silent as to this particular, we own ourselves inclined to pay no great regard to it g.

The Carthaginians *break the truce* Scipio *granted them.*

The *Carthaginian* embassadors, about this time, arrived at *Rome*, where they met with but a very indifferent reception. The conscript fathers, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by these embassadors, in vindication of their republic, and the f ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of *Lutatius*, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to *Scipio*, who, being upon the spot, could best judge what suited the welfare of the state. However, the *Romans* plainly discovered, from the conduct of their ministers on this occasion, as well as the recalling of their troops home, that, notwithstanding their pretended desire of peace, the *Carthaginians* would be averse to an accommodation, as soon as they received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s landing in *Africa*. They were confirmed in the sentiments they had entertained, by the news, which, in a few days, arrived at *Rome*, viz. that the *Carthaginians*,

f Polyb. & Appian. ubi sup. Liv. l. xxx. c. 18. g Polyb. l. xv. Liv. ubi sup. c. 20, & seq. Appian. in Hannib.

a *ginians*, in violation of the truce, which they themſelves had ſo earneſtly deſired, had ſeized a great number of ſhips on the coaſt of *Africa*, near the iſland *Ægimurus*, and even attacked the galley that carried the *Roman* embaſſadors to *Carthage*, in the river *Bagrada*, within ſight of *Scipio*'s camp. Such a procedure could not but exaſperate the two nations one againſt the other more than ever; the *Romans*, from the ſtrong deſire they muſt have had to revenge ſo black a perfidy; and the *Carthaginians*, from a perſuaſion, that they were not now to expect a peace. For the particulars of thoſe infamous actions, as well as *Scipio*'s great generoſity and politeneſs to the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, notwithſtanding ſuch a flagrant violation of the law of nations, we muſt refer our readers to the *Roman* hiſtory [h].

b *Hannibal* had no ſooner landed in *Africa*, than he ſent out parties to get proviſions for the army, and buy horſes to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the *Areacidæ*, a *Numidian* tribe not far from *Adrumetum*. Four thouſand of *Syphax*'s horſe, then in the ſervice of *Maſiniſſa*, came over in a body to him; but as he did not think it proper to repoſe any confidence in them, he put them all to the ſword, and diſtributed their horſes amongſt his troops. *Vermina*, one of *Syphax*'s ſons, and *Meſetulus*, another *Numidian* prince, likewiſe joined him with a very conſiderable body of horſe. Moſt of the fortreſſes in *Maſiniſſa*'s kingdom either ſurrendered to him upon the firſt ſummons, or were taken by ſtorm. *Narce*, a city of conſiderable note there, he made himſelf maſter of by a ſtratagem. *Tychæus*, a *Numi-*
c *dian* regulus, and faithful ally of *Syphax*, whoſe territories were famous for an excellent breed of horſes, reinforcing him alſo much about the ſame time with two thouſand of his beſt cavalry, *Hannibal* advanced to *Zama*, a town about five days march from *Carthage*, where he encamped. He thence ſent out ſpies to obſerve the poſture of the *Romans*. Theſe being brought to *Scipio*, he was ſo far from inflicting any puniſhment upon them, which he might have done by the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the *Roman* camp, in order to take an exact ſurvey of it, and then diſmiſſed them. *Hannibal*, admiring the noble aſſurance of his rival, ſent a meſſenger to deſire an interview with him; which by means of *Maſiniſſa* he obtained. The two generals therefore, eſcorted by equal detachments of horſe, met at *Nada-*
d *gara*, where, by the aſſiſtance of two interpreters, they held a private conference. *Hannibal*, after having flattered *Scipio* in the moſt refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all thoſe topics, that, he thought, could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms, told him, that the *Carthaginians* would willingly confine themſelves to *Africa*, ſince ſuch was the will of the gods, in order to procure a laſting peace, whilſt the *Romans* would be at liberty to extend their conqueſts to the remoteſt nations. He farther added, that, with regard to the ſincerity of his intentions, ſince the *Romans* had lately, not without reaſon, ſuſpected the *Punic* faith, he deſired him to be fully convinced of it, and to reſt aſſured, that the ſame conſtant and uniform diſpoſition *Hannibal* had ſhewn in the proſecution of this
e bloody war, as long as the gods permitted it, would as eminently appear in the ſtrict obſervation of a future peace; and that the *Romans* had the leſs reaſon to doubt of this, as the intereſt of the *Carthaginians* itſelf rendered ſuch a conduct on their part abſolutely neceſſary. *Scipio* anſwered, That the *Romans* were not prompted by ambition, or any ſiniſter views, to undertake either the former or preſent war againſt the *Carthaginians*, but by juſtice, and a proper regard for their allies; that the *Carthaginians* had, before his arrival in *Africa*, not only made him the ſame propoſals, but likewiſe agreed to pay the *Romans* five thouſand talents of ſilver, reſtore all the *Roman* priſoners without ranſom, and deliver up all their galleys; that the late perfidious actions of the *Carthaginians* ought to be ſo far from procuring them more favourable
f terms, that the *Romans* thought themſelves authorized from thence to impoſe more rigorous conditions upon them; which if he would ſubmit to, then a peace would enſue; if not, the deciſion of the diſpute betwixt them muſt be intirely left to the ſword [i].

Hannibal *makes propoſals of peace to* Scipio.

THIS conference betwixt two of the greateſt generals the world ever produced thus ending without ſucceſs, they both retired to their reſpective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of *Rome* and *Carthage*, but that of the whole world, was to be determined by them the next day. Accordingly, in the morning, both

The diſpoſition of the Roman *and* Carthaginian *armies at the battle of* Zama.

h LIV. l. xxx. c. 24, 25. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 744, 745. i POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29—32. APPIAN. in Libyc.

both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after endeavouring a
to animate their men to make their utmoſt efforts, by all the motives to bravery
that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great reſolution in the
plains of *Zama*. *Scipio* poſted the haſtati, divided into ſmall battalions, with pro-
per ſpaces between them, in front; after them, the principes divided in the ſame
manner; and the rear was brought up by the triarii. The *Italian* horſe, under the
conduct of *Lælius*, he placed in the left wing; and the *Numidian*, commanded by
Maſiniſſa, in the right. By this diſpoſition, which differed ſomething from that
which the *Romans* uſually made, a proper precaution was taken againſt the violence
of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwiſe have undoubtedly born down the
principes. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire b
into the void ſpaces between the battalions, if they found themſelves overcharged by
the enemy, or puſhed by their elephants, the moſt expeditious part of them continue-
ing their retreat, till they came behind the army, thereby giving an opportunity to
their wounded, or more ſlow, companions, of ſaving themſelves in the interval between
the haſtati and principes, or that between the principes and triarii. *Hannibal*, on the
other ſide, poſted his elephants, eighty in number, in front; behind them he placed
his vanguard, conſiſting of *Ligurian*, *Gallic*, *Balearic*, and *Mauritanian* mercenaries;
then followed the main battle, compoſed of four thouſand *Africans* and native *Car-*
thaginians, ſuſtained by a body of four thouſand *Macedonian* veterans, ſent him by
king *Philip*; and, at a furlong's diſtance from them, moved thoſe brave troops, c
that had ſerved under him in *Italy*, forming his rear, in whom he repoſed his chief
confidence. The *Carthaginian* cavalry were oppoſed to *Lælius*; and the *Numidian*,
under *Tychæus*, *Meſetulus*, &c, to *Maſiniſſa* [k].

The battle of Zama.

Some time before the beginning of the action, the *Numidian* horſe on both ſides
ſkirmiſhed with inconſiderable loſs. After which, purſuant to *Hannibal*'s orders, the
elephants advanced againſt the enemy; but thoſe diſtributed in the left wing, being
frightened by the ſound of the trumpets and the other martial muſic, fell foul upon
their own *Numidian* horſe, and put them into diſorder. *Maſiniſſa* immediately took
advantage of this confuſion, and, without giving them time to recover themſelves,
charged them with ſuch fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants, that d
attacked the *Roman* light-armed troops, being likewiſe repulſed, and many of them
wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the *Carthaginian* horſe poſted in the right wing,
and made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they met with the ſame rough treat-
ment from *Lælius*, that the *Numidians* had before done from *Maſiniſſa*. In the mean
time, the infantry on both ſides engaged with unparallelled bravery. *Hannibal*'s
mercenaries at firſt repulſed the legionaries; but theſe laſt, being duly ſupported by
the principes, not only recovered themſelves, but routed the mercenaries, and puſhed
them on the *Carthaginians*; which occaſioned the defeat of both bodies, and, in a
great meaſure, determined victory to declare for the *Romans*. The *corps de reſerve*, e
formed of *Hannibal*'s veterans, that had ſerved under him in *Italy*, behaved with
inexpreſſible intrepidity and reſolution; but *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, returning from the
defeat of the enemy's horſe, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx,
which before ſeemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore put to the
rout, and the ground ſtrewed with their dead bodies, moſt of them being killed either
in the battle or the purſuit. *Appian* relates, that, during the heat of the action,
Hannibal firſt engaged *Scipio*, and afterwards *Maſiniſſa*, in ſingle combat, wherein
he had the advantage. According to the ſame author, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-
five thouſand men ſlain, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. *Livy* and *Polybius*
affirm, that twenty thouſand of *Hannibal*'s men were killed, and as many taken
priſoners; as likewiſe, that an hundred and thirty ſtandards fell into the enemy's f
hands. Some ſay, the *Romans* loſt only two thouſand men; others, that two
thouſand five hundred *Romans*, and a greater number of *Maſiniſſa*'s ſoldiers, fell
in this engagement. Be that as it will, *Scipio* got a complete victory, and made him-
ſelf maſter of *Hannibal*'s camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thouſand five
hundred of ſilver, and an immenſe quantity of other booty. All the remarkable
particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this
work [l].

Hannibal,

[k] Iidem ibid. [l] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Flor. Aurel. Vict. Corn. Nep. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 14. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 23. Plut. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 19. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 746, 747.

a *Hannibal*, having eſcaped to *Thon*, was ſoon joined by ſome *Brutian* and *Spaniſh* fugitives, who had been too ſwift for their purſuers; but not caring to truſt himſelf in their hands, he fled privately to *Adrumetum*. The ſurpriſing military genius of that moſt renowned general never more eminently diſplayed itſelf than at the battle of *Zama*, as we learn from *Polybius*, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occaſion. *Scipio* himſelf likewiſe, according to *Livy*, paſſed a high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement; but being vaſtly inferior to the enemy in horſe, and the ſtate of *Carthage* obliging him, at no ſmall diſadvantage, to hazard a battle with the *Romans*, he met
b with the fate above-mentioned. Some conſolation, however, it muſt have been to him to hear, that *Scipio* not only approved of his conduct, but openly declared, that he outſhined himſelf in this glorious, though unfortunate, action [m].

Hannibal's *excellent conduct at that battle.*

The ſenate of *Carthage*, hearing of *Hannibal*'s arrival at *Adrumetum*, diſpatched meſſengers to him, with orders to return to *Carthage*. He obeyed theſe orders, and adviſed his countrymen to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, upon the terms they ſhould think proper to preſcribe them. To this they were the more ſtrongly excited by the news they received of a defeat given *Vermina*, the ſon of *Syphax*, their ally. This blow was very conſiderable, fifteen thouſand of that prince's men being laid dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made priſoners, and fifteen hundred
c *Numidian* horſes, together with ſeventy-two military enſigns, taken. After this overthrow, the *Carthaginians* ſent ten of their principal citizens, as embaſſadors, to implore *Scipio*'s clemency, who told him, with a haughty air, That they might meet with him at *Tunes*. However, thirty *Carthaginian* ſenators, ſelected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon *Scipio*, and ſuing for peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that general thought proper to dictate to them the following conditions: 1. The *Carthaginians* ſhall be governed by their own laws, and remain in poſſeſſion of all their *African* dominions. 2. The *Carthaginians* ſhall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the *Italians*, whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. This ſhall be done within thirty days after the treaty is
d ſigned. 4. They ſhall alſo deliver up all their ſhips of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and ſhall train up no more of thoſe animals for the ſervice. 5. The ſenate and people of *Carthage* ſhall not engage in any war, without the conſent of the *Romans*. 6. They ſhall ſupply the *Roman* troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſhall ſend to *Rome*. 7. They ſhall pay the *Romans*, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand *Euboic* talents, at equal payments. 8. They ſhall deliver up to *Scipio* an hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of whom ſhall not be under fourteen, and the oldeſt above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor truce ſhall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have reſtored to the *Romans* the ſhips and effects taken from them during the laſt truce.
e 10. The *Roman* armies ſhall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. 11. The *Carthaginians* ſhall reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 12. They ſhall never for the future make any levies in *Gaul* or *Liguria*. 13. They ſhall aſſiſt the *Romans* both by ſea and land, whenever they are called upon ſo to do. Theſe terms, which *Scipio* thought proper to grant the *Carthaginians*, in caſe the ſenate and people of *Rome* would ratify them, appeared ſo intolerable to the populace of *Carthage*, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houſes of the nobility. But *Hannibal*, having aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, at *Marthama*, prevented an inſurrection, and, by his influence, completed the accommodation.
f However, *Giſco*, an enemy to the *Barchine* faction, made a ſpeech to the ſenators, in order to diſſuade them from accepting ſuch a ſhameful peace. *Hannibal*, being highly incenſed at his preſumption, dragged him from his ſeat; which giving great offence, in order to vindicate, or, at leaſt, to palliate, ſo precipitate an action, *Hannibal* made an apology for it to the following effect: "As I left your city at nine "years of age, and did not return till after thirty-ſix years abſence, I had full lei- "ſure to learn the military art, and flatter myſelf, that I have made good improve- "ment in it; but, with regard to your conſtitution, it is no wonder that I am a "ſtranger

A peace concluded between the Romans *and the* Carthaginians.

[m] Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 35. Appian. in Libyc.

" ſtranger to it, and therefore I muſt deſire you to inſtruct me in every branch of it." a
He then inſiſted upon the neceſſity of concluding a peace; adding, " that they ought
" to return the gods thanks for having diſpoſed the *Romans* to grant them ſuch
" favourable conditions." He likewiſe repreſented to the ſenators the importance
of uniting in their ſuffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal conſequence to the
ſtate, if, by their diviſions, they ſhould throw more weight into the popular ſcale,
which already did but too much preponderate. That whole venerable aſſembly
therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking ſuch an affair under their cog-
nizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms propoſed by *Scipio* were accepted.
Ample ſatisfaction having been made the *Romans* for the outrages offered their mini- b
ſters, and the infraction of the late truce, the *Carthaginians* diſpatched an embaſſy, at
the head of which was *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *Hœdus*, or *The Kid*, to *Rome*. As he was
an irreconcilable enemy to *Hannibal* and his family, he endeavoured to excuſe the
people of *Carthage*, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the *Barchine*
faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of *Hanno*, towards the *Romans*.
He likewiſe expatiated upon the generoſity, magnanimity, wiſdom, and humanity
of the *Romans*; whilſt his companions endeavoured to move the ſenate to compaſſion,
by exhibiting to their view the calamitous ſtate of *Carthage* in the moſt lively colours.
By theſe methods of perſuaſion, they not only prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to
grant them their requeſt, but likewiſe to ſend two hundred of their priſoners then at c
Rome to *Scipio*, with orders that they ſhould be reſtored, without any pecuniary con-
ſideration, as ſoon as he ſhould receive from the *Carthaginians* their ratification of the
treaty. The late truce for three months, which the *Carthaginians* obtained of *Scipio*,
upon the return of their embaſſadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the
terms that general had preſcribed. They then, in purſuance of the treaty, delivered
up to *Scipio* above five hundred ſhips, all which he burnt in ſight of *Carthage*, to the
inexpreſſible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewiſe
delivered up into the hands of the *Romans* all their elephants, all the ſlaves, deſerters,
and priſoners of war. The number of theſe laſt amounted to above four thouſand
men. *Scipio* treated both the *Latin* and *Roman* deſerters with extreme ſeverity, d
ordering all the heads of the former to be ſtruck off, and the latter to be crucified.
The public funds at *Carthage* being exhauſted by ſo long and expenſive a war, the
ſenate found it vaſtly difficulty to raiſe a ſum ſufficient for the payment of the firſt tax
impoſed by the treaty. This threw them into a melancholy ſilence, and many could
not even refrain from tears. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, laughing on this occaſion,
was reproved by *Aſdrubal Hœdus*, for inſulting his country in this the time of its
affliction, which, he inſinuated, was owing to his conduct. *Hannibal*, in reply,
according to the ſame author, ſpoke to that auguſt aſſembly to the following effect:
" Were my heart as viſible as my countenance, you would perceive, that this laugh-
" ter, which has given ſuch offence, flows not from an exceſs of joy, but from a e
" mind almoſt diſtracted with the public calamities; nor is even this laughter ſo
" unſeaſonable as your abſurd and indecent tears. Then you ought to have wept,
" when your arms were taken from you, your ſhips burnt, and you were prohibited
" from engaging in any foreign wars. This was the mortal blow, that laid us pro-
" ſtrate. Do not imagine, that the *Romans*, out of any particular averſion to you,
" have formed a ſcheme for your deſtruction. No great city can long enjoy any
" repoſe. If it has no foreign, it will ſoon meet with a domeſtic, enemy; as the
" moſt robuſt conſtitutions, when free from all external morbific cauſes, are born
" down by their own ſtrength. You are only ſenſible of the public calamities, as
" far as you have a perſonal concern in them; and the loſs of your money only gives
" you the moſt pungent ſorrow. When therefore *Carthage* was made the ſpoil of f
" the victor, when it was left diſarmed and defenceleſs amidſt ſo many powerful
" *African* nations, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a ſigh
" was heard. But now, when a capitation-tax is demanded, you lament and bewail,
" as if all were loſt. Alas! I greatly fear, that the ſubject of this day's anxiety
" and concern will ſoon prove the leaſt of your misfortunes." Thus ended the ſecond
Punic war, one of the moſt remarkable mentioned in hiſtory, both on account of the
viciſſitudes of fortune diſcernible in it, and the immenſe quantity of blood and trea-
ſure it occaſioned the conſumption of. *Zonaras*, from ſome authors not now extant,
tells us, it laſted only ſixteen years; but *Livy* and *Polybius*, whoſe authority is more
to be depended upon, make it to have included eighteen campaigns, and intimate
it

a it to have been terminated eighteen years after *Hannibal* came to a rupture with the *Romans* [n].

THE year after the concluſion of the laſt treaty, *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* captain, left in thoſe parts either by *Aſdrubal* or *Mago*, excited the *Inſubres*, *Cœnomani*, and the *Boii*, together with the *Sallyi*, *Ilvates*, and other cantons of *Liguria*, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies of *Rome*. Of this the ſenate immediately informed the ſtate of *Carthage*, threatening at the ſame time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not delivered up to them. What anſwer the *Carthaginians* returned to their menace, we no-where find; but the death of *Hamilcar*, who was ſoon after killed in a battle he fought with *Fulvius Purpureo* the prætor, put

b an end to all farther diſpute betwixt the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans* on this head. The peace betwixt *Carthage* and *Rome* was ſcarce ſigned, when *Maſiniſſa*, at the inſtigation of the *Romans*, unjuſtly made himſelf maſter of part of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Africa*, under pretence, that thoſe territories formerly belonged to his family. The *Carthaginians*, through the villainous mediation of the *Romans*, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourſe, found themſelves under a neceſſity of ceding thoſe countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good underſtanding afterwards betwixt theſe two powers continued many years; but at laſt *Maſiniſſa*, through the intrigues and dark cabals of the *Romans*, as there is great reaſon to believe, violated the trea-

c ties ſubſiſting betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, and not a little contributed to the ſubverſion of the *African* republic, as will ſoon moſt evidently appear [o].

The Romans force the Carthaginians to clap up a diſhonourable peace with Maſiniſſa.

THE following year, in the conſulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*, the *Carthaginians* ſent fifty *Euboic* talents of ſilver to *Rome*, in purſuance of the late treaty; but the ſilver not being good, the quæſtors refuſed it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the *Carthaginian* miniſters were obliged to borrow a ſum of money at *Rome*, to make up the deficiency. At their requeſt, an hundred of their hoſtages were releaſed, and hopes given them, that the other hundred ſhould ſoon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engagements. In the mean time, the remaining hoſtages deſiring leave to be removed from *Norba*,

d which they repreſented as a place very inconvenient for them to reſide in, the ſenate immediately ſent them to *Signia* and *Ferentinum*. From hence they were removed to *Setia*, where their domeſtics occaſioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill conſequence to the *Romans*; but how this accident affected the ſtate of *Carthage* is no-where ſaid. According to *Appian*, the trade of the *Carthaginians* began, even at this time, to flouriſh, notwithſtanding all their ſhipping had ſo lately been, in a manner, deſtroyed. A glaring inſtance this of the ſurpriſing genius of that people for commerce, even in their moſt depreſſed and miſerable condition [p]!

The Carthaginians ſend fifty Euboic talents to Rome, in purſuance of the late treaty.

NOT long after the tranſactions juſt hinted at, *Livy* tells us, that one *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* general, commanded an army of *Gauls*, that was defeated by *Cethegus*; and that this general himſelf was taken priſoner in the action; but whether any, or

e how many, *Carthaginian* troops aſſiſted the *Gauls* on this occaſion, or what influence that event had upon the *Carthaginian* affairs, hiſtory informs us not. In the mean time, *Hannibal* kept up his credit at *Carthage*. Notwithſtanding he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite ſcheme, the republic gave him the command of an army deſtined to act againſt ſome neighbouring *African* powers; and from *Cornelius Nepos* it ſeems probable, that he made ſome campaigns after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war. This gave ſuch umbrage to the *Romans*, that, notwithſtanding the *Carthaginians* made them a preſent of a golden crown, and thanked them in a moſt polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refuſed to releaſe the

f *Carthaginian* priſoners ſtill detained in *Italy*. The ſenate indeed, at the requeſt of the embaſſadors, who came with the compliment to *Rome*, gave leave to the *Carthaginian* hoſtages ſtill with them to reſide in what city of *Italy* they pleaſed; and aſſured the embaſſadors, that this inſtance of their republic's friendſhip was very acceptable to them. But, with regard to the priſoners, the conſcript fathers frankly told them, that they could not diſmiſs them, as long as *Hannibal*, their moſt avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in *Africa*. Upon this remonſtrance, the *Carthaginians* recalled *Hannibal* home, and conferred upon him the office of præ-

Hannibal reforms ſome abuſes at Carthage, and afterwards flies to Antiochus king of Syria.

tor;

[n] POLYB. ubi ſup. LIV ubi ſup. c. 36. & ſeq. APPIAN. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. &c. ubi ſup. [o] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 10, 11, 32. & l. xl. c. 34. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 15. APPIAN. in Libyc. [p] LIV. l. xxxii. c. 2. 26. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 16. APPIAN. ubi ſup.

tor; which seems to have been an employment of great consideration and authority. a
In this post *Hannibal* behaved so as to gain universal applause. He regulated the
finances in such a manner, that, notwithstanding the deplorable state to which *Car-*
thage was reduced, considerable sums were laid up yearly for the public service, after
the payment of the tax to the *Romans* imposed by the last treaty, and all other deduc-
tions made. As such a laudable conduct must have been founded upon a reformation
of many abuses, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many persons concerned
in those abuses; but neither this, nor the animosity of the old *Hannonian* faction,
which was far from being extinguished, prevented him from pursuing the measures
he thought necessary for the service of the republic with zeal and resolution. But he
was not satisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a good footing. b
He was equally impatient of rectifying the irregularities, which had crept into the
administration of justice. As the judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impu-
nity, disposing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of
the citizens, without the least controul, since they held their offices for life, and
mutually supported one another, *Hannibal* resolved to redress so crying an evil. He
therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity acquired thereby, effected the
passing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges should be chosen annually;
with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond their year. This step greatly
irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleased the populace, of *Carthage*.
His reputation and authority amongst the latter were raised to a higher pitch by the c
method he made use of to complete the regulation of the finances above-mentioned.
The public revenues had been embezzled by those, who had the management of
them, and some of the leading men in the city. This obliged the senate and suffetes
to think of levying the annual tribute due to the *Romans* upon the people; which
scheme *Hannibal* prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of
the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the collusions
of those possessed of the other lucrative posts. It is no wonder therefore, that persons
of this complexion should exert their utmost malice to ruin a man, however laudably
disposed to the public, who, they had the assurance to pretend, deprived them of
their lawful property; for in that light they considered their long continued peculation. d
In order to gratify their resentment, they excited the *Romans* to pursue *Hannibal* to
destruction. Accordingly *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Cul-*
leo were sent to *Carthage*, as was pretended, to accommodate all differences betwixt
the *Carthaginians* and *Masinissa*, but, in reality, to ruin *Hannibal*, who, they asserted,
carried on a secret intelligence with king *Antiochus*, in order to concert with him
the proper measures for prosecuting the war against the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, upon their
arrival, notwithstanding their specious pretexts, knew the subject of their commis-
sion, and thought it prudent to submit to the necessity of the times. Having there-
fore made all the proper dispositions for his departure, in order to blind his country-
men, in the dusk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dress, attended e
only by two companions, ignorant of his design. That he might travel with the
greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the assistance of
which, passing the *Vocanian* district, he arrived at a castle, or palace, of his own
between *Acholla* and *Thapsus*. From hence he was wafted over in a vessel, that waited
for him, to the island *Cercina*. Here he had recourse to a stratagem, to conceal his
retreat from *Carthage*; which had the desired effect. The populace of *Carthage*, the
morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city.
Some thought he was fled, others, that he had been assassinated by the *Roman* faction.
However, at last time discovered the truth, the senate receiving certain intelligence,
that he was seen in the island *Cercina*. No sooner did this news come to hand, than f
the *Roman* embassadors insisted upon the *Carthaginians* making a public declaration
of their dislike of the project he was gone upon. In order to impose upon the masters
of ships at that time in the island *Cercina*, he gave out, that the republic of *Carthage*
had sent him their embassador to *Tyre*. *Livy* tells us, that he was not so much
affected with the prospect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities,
which threatened his country. From *Cercina* he steered his course for *Tyre*, where, upon
his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of distinction due to his exalted merit.
After staying some days here, he set out for *Antioch*, and had a conference with
Antiochus's son at *Daphne*, where he was celebrating some solemn diversions. From
hence he posted to *Ephesus*, where he met with a most kind reception from that

prince

a prince himſelf, whom he determined to enter upon a war with *Rome*, after he had been, for ſome time, in a fluctuating condition on that head. *Tully* informs us, that, during his reſidence here, a philoſopher named *Phormio*, eſteemed the beſt orator in *Aſia*, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, *Hannibal* was aſked his opinion of it. To which the *Carthaginian* frankly replied, "That, in his time, he "had ſeen many old dotards, but none that came up to *Phormio*." *Stobæus* informs us, that this *Phormio* was a *Stoic* philoſopher; and that when he undertook to prove, that a wiſe man only was fit to be a general, *Hannibal* laughed, as being convinced, that a ſkill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but by practice.

b The *Carthaginians*, being apprehenſive, that, by *Hannibal*'s intrigues, they might be embroiled with the *Romans*, thought proper to ſend them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of *Antiochus*. This news not a little alarmed them; and the king might have turned ſo lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper uſe of it [q].

Hannibal's conſtant opinion was, that *Italy* ſhould be made the ſeat of the war. To enforce this, he obſerved to *Antiochus*, that *Italy* would ſupply a foreign invader both with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the *Romans* were permitted to tranſport their *Italian* forces into any foreign country, no prince or ſtate in the world could make head againſt them. He offered

c to ſail to *Carthage*, and did not doubt but he ſhould perſuade his countrymen to take up arms againſt the common enemy, provided the king would truſt him with the command of a fleet of an hundred ſhips, and a body of ſeventeen thouſand land-forces on board. With theſe troops, he propoſed making a deſcent in ſome part of *Italy*; whilſt the king himſelf ſhould aſſemble a numerous army, and put himſelf in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it ſhould be thought convenient. Had this ſalutary advice been followed, *Antiochus* would not have been obliged ſoon after to ſubmit to ſuch conditions of peace, as the *Romans* thought fit to impoſe upon him. But, notwithſtanding that prince's wrong conduct, at firſt he approved very much of *Hannibal*'s propoſal; which induced that general to diſpatch one *Ariſton*, a *Tyrian*,

d to *Carthage*, in order to engage the ſenate there more ſtrongly in his intereſt. To ſecure the fidelity of this perſon, *Hannibal* made him ſome valuable preſents, after he had furniſhed him with proper inſtructions, and promiſed him great rewards in *Antiochus*'s name, in caſe he happily executed his commiſſion. *Ariſton* was no ſooner arrived at *Carthage*, than the people began to ſuſpect the errand he came upon. As he aſſociated only with the members of the *Barchine* faction, the ſuſpicions, that had been entertained, were turned into a violent preſumption of his guilt; ſo that he was ſeized, and called upon to clear himſelf; but not having the good fortune to do this to the ſatisfaction of the dominant party, great debates aroſe in the ſenate concerning him. Some members of that auguſt aſſembly were for treating him as a

e ſpy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as nothing could be proved directly againſt him; inſinuating further, that as ſuch an action could be conſidered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, the *Tyrians* would not fail making repriſals upon the *Carthaginians* reſiding at *Tyre*, and other trading cities in their dominions. However the determination of this affair was deferred till the next day; which gave the crafty *Tyrian* an opportunity of making his eſcape in the night, after he had fixed, in ſeveral public places, papers, which fully declared the occaſion of his coming to *Carthage*. The ſenate, to ſhew how religiouſly they intended to obſerve the laſt treaty, immediately ſent advice of this to the *Romans* [r].

The *Romans*, ſoon after the arrival of the expreſs with this news, nominated *P.*

f *Sulpicius* and *P. Villius* their embaſſadors to *Antiochus*, ordering them to take *Pergamus* in their way, that they might confer with *Eumenes*, who reſided there, a violent enemy of *Antiochus*. *Sulpicius* was detained at *Pergamus* by an indiſpoſition; but *Villius*, in purſuance of his orders, came to *Epheſus*, where he found *Hannibal*. He had many conferences with him, paid him ſeveral viſits, and ſpeciouſly affected to ſhew him a particular eſteem on all occaſions; but his chief aim, by all this inſidious behaviour, was to render him ſuſpected, and leſſen his credit with the king; in which he ſucceeded but too well, as afterwards manifeſtly appeared. This we learn

Hannibal *endeavours to embroil his countrymen with the* Romans, *but in vain.*

Hannibal *confers with* Villius *and* Scipio.

both

[q] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 30. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 32—35. & c. 46, 47. Cic. de orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76. Stob. ſerm. 52. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 3. Justin. l. xxi. c. 2.
[r] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 59, 60.

both from *Livy* and *Polybius*; the latter of which hiſtorians repreſents this application a
of *Villius* to *Hannibal* as a premeditated deſign, in order to deſtroy his intereſt with
king *Antiochus*; and the former owns, that the affair took the ſame turn as *Villius*
might have had in view by the execution of ſuch a deſign. However, the firſt author,
for a very obvious reaſon, tells us, that the only end of *Villius*'s converſation with
Hannibal was to ſound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehenſions he
might be under from the *Romans*. *Claudius*, and the *Libri Græci Aciliani*, according
to *Livy*, affirmed, that *Scipio* was joined with *Sulpicius* and *Villius* in this embaſſy,
and even tranſmitted to poſterity ſome of the particulars that paſſed in converſation
betwixt the *Roman* miniſters and *Hannibal*. According to theſe authors, *Scipio* deſired b
Hannibal to tell him, who, in his opinion, was the moſt celebrated general in hiſtory.
To which the *Carthaginian* general replied, *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, becauſe, with
an inconſiderable body of troops, he had defeated moſt numerous armies, and extended
his conqueſts into countries ſo widely diſtant, that it ſeemed impoſſible for any man
even to traverſe them. Being then aſked, who was the next to him, he anſwered,
Pyrrhus, who firſt underſtood the art of encamping to advantage; neither did ever
any commander, continued he, make a more judicious choice of poſts, or better
underſtood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections
and favour of mankind to him, as evidently appeared from the diſpoſition of the
Italian troops, who were more deſirous of being under his government, than that of
the *Romans*, though they had ſo long been ſubject to them. *Scipio* then demanding c
of him, whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no ſcruple of mention-
ing himſelf. Here *Scipio* not being able to refrain from laughing, But what would
you have ſaid, added he, had you vanquiſhed me? I would, replied *Hannibal*,
have ranked myſelf above *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, and all the generals the world ever
produced. *Scipio* was not inſenſible to this artful and delicate flattery; which, by
giving him no rival, ſeemed to inſinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put
in compariſon with him. This anſwer of *Hannibal* is much more probable and inge-
nious, than that mentioned by *Plutarch*, who makes that general to have given the
firſt place to *Pyrrhus*, the ſecond to *Scipio*, and to himſelf the third; which is low, d
jejune, and quite deſtitute of that elegance and vivacity, which *Livy*'s relation, in
conformity to *Hannibal's* character, is ſeaſoned with [r].

Hannibal *removes ſome ſuſpicions* Antiochus *had entertained of him.*

Antiochus, having entertained a ſuſpicion of *Hannibal*, ever ſince his late conferences
with *Villius*, would not, for ſome time, admit him into his councils. This ſlight,
at firſt, *Hannibal* took no notice of; but afterwards, judging it expedient to inquire
into the cauſe of ſuch a ſudden change in the king's conduct towards him, that he
might have an opportunity of clearing himſelf, if any ill offices had been done him,
he intreated that prince to diſcover to him the reaſon of his late coldneſs; which
having learnt, he addreſſed himſelf to *Antiochus* in the following terms: "My
"father *Hamilcar*, *Antiochus*, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, to
"take an oath always to bear an implacable averſion to the *Romans*. Animated by e
"this hatred, I have waged war with them ſix-and-thirty years; prompted thereto
"by it, I have abandoned my native country in times of peace, and taken ſanctuary
"in your dominions; fired by it, ſhould you fruſtrate my expectations, I will fly to
"every part of the globe, and endeavour to rouſe up all nations againſt the *Romans*.
"If any of your favourites therefore would incenſe you againſt me, let him accuſe
"me of ſome other crime. I hate mortally the *Romans*, and am equally hated by
"them. For the truth of this I appeal to the manes of my father *Hamilcar*, and
"all the deities, who were witneſſes of my oath. So long therefore as you are diſ-
"poſed to come to a rupture with the *Romans*, you may rank *Hannibal* amongſt
"your beſt friends. But, if any conſiderations ſhould incline you to peace, I deſire f
"to be intirely excluded your councils." This ſpeech, uttered with ſuch force and
energy, and expreſſive of ſo much ſincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had
imbibed; ſo that *Hannibal* was not only reſtored to favour, but preparations made
to execute the ſcheme he had formed [s].

Antiochus *deſerts* Hannibal.

Though the king had come to a reſolution to give *Hannibal* the command of part
of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his miniſters, the equipment of it was not only
at firſt retarded, but even the expediency of putting the *Carthaginian* in that poſt
debated in council. *Thoas* the *Ætolian* ſuggeſted, "That it was improper to weaken
the

[r] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 14, & ſeq. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167. Plut. in Flamin. & in Pyrr. [s] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 19. Polyb. l. xv. & l. iii. Sex. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 7. Just. l. xxxi. c. 4, 5.

a " the king's fleet at that juncture, by undertaking, with part of it, an expedition " to *Africa*; that, in caſe his majeſty's intereſt had rendered neceſſary ſuch an expe- " dition, no one would have been more improper than *Hannibal* to have conducted " it; that it was imprudent to repoſe ſo much confidence in an exile, a *Cartha-* " *ginian*, whoſe fortune or genius might put every day into his head a thouſand dif- " ferent projects; that the fame *Hannibal* had already acquired, and which he con- " ſidered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for one, who acted under the king; " that the king alone ought to be looked upon as the general and conductor of the " war; that, if *Hannibal* ſhould loſe either a fleet, or an army, the loſs would be as " great, as if a commander of leſs note had occaſioned it; that if ſucceſs attended b " his arms, not *Antiochus*, but *Hannibal*, would have the glory of all the victories " aſcribed to him; that ſuppoſing he ſhould conquer the *Romans* in this war, what " hopes could be entertained of *Hannibal*'s living peaceably as a ſubject under him, " when he was ſcarce ſatisfied with the ſupreme power at *Carthage?* that his beha- " viour from his youth, having always in his mind graſped at univerſal empire, had " not been ſuch as could induce them to believe, that he would tamely ſubmit to " any ſuperior in his old age; that, however, if he could not overcome his fondneſs " for *Hannibal*, he might make uſe of him as a counſellor and companion, but not as " a general, *&c.*" Theſe malicious ſuggeſtions, the pure effect of envy, made ſuch an impreſſion upon *Antiochus*'s low and groveling mind, in which a ſordid c jealouſy had extinguiſhed all noble and generous ſentiments, that he dropt the above-mentioned laudable deſign, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embaraſſed the *Romans*. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* offered to ſupply the *Romans* with a thouſand buſhels of wheat and five hundred thouſand of barley, as a free gift; to equip a fleet at their own expence for their ſervice; and to remit to *Rome* the whole remaining part of the ſum impoſed upon them by the late treaty immediately, though it would not have been due for many years to come by one of the articles of that treaty. The *Romans* gave their embaſſadors a kind reception, and told them, " That they ſhould only require from their " principals the ſhips, that their late engagements obliged them to furniſh; that d " they would pay ready money for whatever ſupplies of corn they ſhould ſend " them; and that the ſum, due to them from *Carthage*, ſhould be paid at equal " payments, in the manner ſtipulated at the concluſion of the laſt peace." From this incident, we may form ſome ſort of an idea of the incredible induſtry of the *Carthaginians*, as well as of their ſurpriſing genius for trade; ſince from hence it appears, that, notwithſtanding they had been intirely exhauſted by a long, bloody, and moſt expenſive war, notwithſtanding they had been ſtripped of the beſt part of their dominions by the *Romans* and *Maſiniſſa*, notwithſtanding they had been deprived, in a manner, of all their ſhips, and almoſt rendered incapable, to outward appearance, of applying themſelves to any ſingle branch of commerce, they yet found e means, in ten or twelve years time, to become wealthy and powerful; which could only have been the effect of a flouriſhing and extenſive trade. At what an exalted pitch of power therefore muſt they have arrived, had *Hannibal* either been duly ſupported in *Italy*, or contended with a nation of not ſuch an inflexible reſolution for the dominion of the world [t]!

Some time after this, *Antiochus* found his affairs in ſuch a perplexed ſituation, that he was at a loſs what meaſures to purſue. In this emergency, his miniſters were obliged to have recourſe to *Hannibal*, who, in abilities, infinitely outſhone all other perſons at his court. Notwithſtanding the late affront put upon him, that renowned general, forgetting the ill uſage he had met with, appeared as much diſpoſed to aſſiſt f the diſtreſſed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations been executed, of ſupporting him before by his conduct and perſonal bravery. In proof of which, he addreſſed himſelf to *Antiochus* in the following terms: " Had I been admitted into your councils ever ſince our arrival in *Greece* [u], I " ſhould have declared my ſentiments, when an alliance with the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, " and people of *Eubœa*, was brought upon the carpet, in the ſame manner as I ſhall " this day, when we are to conſider the expediency of a treaty with the *Theſſalians*. " You are, above all things, to invite *Philip* king of *Macedon* to enter into an alli- " ance with you. As to the *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Theſſalians*, they are not to be " regarded,

Hannibal's advice to him.

[t] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 42. & l. xxxvi. c. 4. Appian. in Libyc. Just. ubi ſup. [u] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 7.

" regarded, since they court your friendship through fear. Upon the first appearance a
" of a *Roman* army, they will change sides, and will be well received, as pretending
" to have been over-ruled by a superior power, and acted against their natural incli-
" nations through compulsion. Besides, the assistance those people can afford you, if
" well affected, is inconsiderable; whereas *Philip* has lately shewn himself a match
" for the *Romans*. You will likewise have the *Ætolians*, a state, that, in the late
" war betwixt *Philip* and the *Romans*, caused the scale to preponderate in favour of
" the latter, to act for you. I can therefore, provided you succeed in your negoti-
" ation, insure you success. But, if *Philip* cannot be prevailed upon to join his arms
" with ours, we may, however, prevent him from assisting the enemy. Your son b
" *Seleucus* is now at *Lysimachia*; let him advance, with the troops under his com-
" mand, through *Thrace* to the confines of *Macedonia*, and lay them waste; which
" will oblige the *Macedonian* monarch to employ all his forces in the defence and pro-
" tection of his own dominions. You have now my opinion with regard to *Philip*.
" And as to the war in general, had my advice been listened to, the *Romans* would,
" before this time, have heard of greater exploits than the reduction of *Chalcis* and
" the castle of *Euripus*; even that *Etruria*, *Liguria*, and all *Cisalpine Gaul*, were in
" a flame, and *Hannibal*, a name terrible to them, once more in *Italy*. However,
" your affairs may still be retrieved; assemble all your land and sea officers, station
" part of your fleet at *Corcyra*, in order to prevent the *Romans* from approaching
" your frontiers; order the other part to hover about the coast of *Italy* facing *Africa* c
" and *Sardinia*; and do you, at the head of your army, march into the territory of
" *Byllis*. By these dispositions, you will provide for the security of *Greece*, and not
" only make the enemy believe, that you have an intention to pass over thither, but
" likewise be able actually to land all your troops there, should the situation of
" affairs require it. However deficient I may be in other points, the vicissitudes of
" fortune I have met with amongst the *Romans*, enable me to point out to you the
" most effectual way of distressing them. In the execution of the plan I have sub-
" mitted to your consideration, you may depend upon my assisting you with the
" utmost zeal and activity. As to the rest, may the gods give you success in this,
" and all your other undertakings!" The speech was received with general applause; d
but none of his salutary admonitions listened to.

Hannibal *defeated in a sea engagement.*

After *Antiochus* was forced to abandon *Europe*, by the victorius arms of the *Romans*, he retired to *Ephesus*. Here he, for some time, took up his residence, without any apprehensions of danger, his flatterers persuading him, that the enemy never durst pursue him into *Asia*. *Hannibal*, being now in great esteem at that prince's court, thought it but just to undeceive him in a point of such importance. He therefore told him, "That he did not so much doubt of an invasion of his *Asiatic* " dominions, as wonder, that the *Romans* were not already there; that it was easier " to transport an army from *Greece* into *Asia*, than from *Italy* into *Greece*; that the " *Romans* were as powerful by sea as by land; that a *Roman* squadron was seen, e
" some time before, hovering about the promontory *Malea*; that he had received
" intelligence of the departure of a fresh reinforcement of ships, and a new general,
" from *Italy*." From whence he inferred, "That *Antiochus* must resolve either
" to abdicate his throne, or oppose vigorously a people, who grasped at the empire
" of the world." As this discourse of *Hannibal*, who was both the most able and faithful counsellor at the *Syrian* monarch's court, not a little affected the prince to whom it was directed, he made the necessary dispositions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unsuccessful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great *Hannibal* himself, was defeated by that of the *Rhodians*, commanded by *Eudamus*, off of *Sida*, on the coast of *Pamphylia*, and miserably shattered. However, the *Rhodians* f
suffered extremely in the action, sustaining almost as great a loss of men and ships as *Hannibal*. The bad success of this engagement was intirely owing to the ill conduct of *Apollonius*, one of *Antiochus*'s admirals, who fled, with the squadron he commanded, almost in the beginning of the fight. Notwithstanding which, *Hannibal* made an excellent retreat, the enemy not being in a condition to pursue him. However, the *Rhodians* detaching *Chariclitus* with twenty beaked ships to *Patara*, and *Megiste*, a small island with a commodious port, in the sea of *Lycia*, prevented the junction of *Hannibal*'s shattered galleys with another *Syrian* squadron; which was a great mortification to the *Carthaginian*. In short, after a series of misfortunes, *Antiochus* found himself obliged to send *Zeusis*, the governor of *Lydia*, and his son *Antipater*, with a

carte

a *carte blanche*, to the *Roman* camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly inſiſted upon was, that *Hannibal* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*; with which *Antiochus*, being unable to defend himſelf, was forced to comply. However, *Hannibal*, foreſeeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the iſland of *Crete*. It appears from *Scipio Naſica*'s ſpeech in *Livy*, that *Hannibal* was a general in the *Syrian* army at the battle of *Magneſia*; from whence, as well as from other circumſtances, we have reaſon to believe, that he was preſent in all the principal actions, that happened between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* [u].

Hannibal, upon his arrival in *Crete*, took ſanctuary amongſt the *Gortynii*; but having brought great treaſure with him, and conſidering the avarice of the *Cretans*, b he judged it would be proper to have recourſe to ſome ſtratagem, in order to ſecure himſelf, eſpecially as he had reaſon to apprehend, that the *Cretans* were advertiſed of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled ſeveral veſſels with molten lead, juſt covering them over with gold and ſilver; which he depoſited in the temple of *Diana*, in the preſence of the *Gortynii*, with whom, he ſaid, he truſted all his treaſure. *Juſtin* tells us, that he left this there as a ſecurity for his good behaviour, and lived for ſome time very quietly in thoſe parts. He, however, took care to conceal his riches in hollow ſtatues of braſs, which, according to ſome, he always carried along with him, or, as others will have it, expoſed to view in a place of public reſort, as things of little value. At laſt he retired to the court of *Pruſias*, king of c *Bithynia*, with whom he found means to unite ſeveral neighbouring princes and ſtates, and ſo formed a powerful confederacy againſt *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a profeſſed friend of the *Romans*. A rupture ſoon commenced betwixt them, which was followed by a great effuſion of blood on both ſides. During this war, *Hannibal* employed a ſtratagem of an extraordinary kind, in a ſea-fight, to deſtroy *Eumenes*, which, he thought, would be of the utmoſt conſequence to him. He put into earthen veſſels a vaſt number of the moſt venomous ſerpents, which he ordered to be collected for that purpoſe, commanding the greateſt part of his captains to attack *Eumenes*'s ſhip, and throw theſe veſſels on board him, whilſt the reſt ſtood on the defenſive. The admiral-galley *Hannibal* diſcovered, by ſending out a boat, with a letter to *Eumenes*; d which enabled the officers above-mentioned to attack it with great fury. *Eumenes* would have been either killed or taken, had he not ſheered off, and been too ſwift for his purſuers. However, the other ſhips of *Pergamus* ſuſtained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen veſſels were thrown into them. At firſt they only laughed at this, and were very much ſurpriſed to find ſuch weapons employed againſt them; but being ſurrounded with the ſerpents, which flew out of theſe veſſels when they were broken, they found themſelves ſeized with ſuch horror, that they retired in confuſion to their camp on the ſhore. *Nepos* tells us, that *Hannibal* promiſed a great reward to the perſon, that ſhould kill *Eumenes*; that when the officer, whom he ſent to him, came on board the admiral-galley, it was imagined he brought propoſals of e peace; that *Eumenes*, inſtead of this, receiving a letter full of ridicule, could not conceive what was the end of ſuch a commiſſion; and that, irritated hereby, he immediately began the engagement. The ſame author likewiſe intimates, that *Hannibal* gave that prince ſeveral overthrows by land, and reduced him to great ſtreights, more by force of genius, or dint of conduct, than ſuperiority of ſtrength [w].

Hannibal *is obliged to fly to* Crete, *and afterwards to* Pruſias *king of* Bithynia.

The *Romans*, receiving intelligence of the important ſervices *Hannibal* had done *Pruſias*, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, ſent *T. Quintius Flaminius* thither as their embaſſador. *Flaminius*, at his firſt audience, complained of the protection *Pruſias* gave *Hannibal*, repreſenting that famous general "as the moſt inve-" terate and implacable enemy the *Romans* ever had; as one who had ruined both f "his own country and *Antiochus*, by drawing them into a deſtructive war with "*Rome*." *Pruſias*, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the *Romans*, immediately ſent a party of ſoldiers to ſurround *Hannibal*'s palace, that he might find it impoſſible to make his eſcape. The *Carthaginian*, having before diſcovered, that no confidence was to be repoſed in *Pruſias*, had contrived ſeven ſecret outlets in his palace, to evade the machinations of his enemies, even if they could carry their point at the *Bithynian* court; which he was actually meditating, when the above-mentioned detachment arrived. Perceiving no poſſibility of eſcaping, he had recourſe to the poiſon, which he

And poiſons himſelf, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

[u] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 41. l. xxxvii. c. 23—25. & l. xxxviii. c. 58—60. Flor. l. ii. c. 8. Zonar. l. ix. c. 20. [w] Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 9, 10. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51. Georg. Syncel. in chronograph. p. 285. Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

he had long kept for this melancholy occaſion; which taking in his hand, "Let us a
"ſaid he, deliver the *Romans* from the diſquietude, with which they have long been
"tortured, ſince they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. *Flaminius*
"will not acquire any reputation or glory by a victory gained over a betrayed and
"defenceleſs perſon. This ſingle day will be a laſting teſtimony of the degeneracy
"of the *Romans*. Their anceſtors gave *Pyrrhus* intelligence of a deſign to poiſon
"him, that he might guard againſt the impending danger, even when he was at
"the head of a powerful army in *Italy*; but they have deputed a perſon of conſular
"dignity to excite *Pruſias* impiouſly to murder one, who has taken refuge in his
"dominions, in violation of the laws of hoſpitality.". Then he denounced dreadful
imprecations againſt *Pruſias* and his kingdom, and invoked the gods preſiding over b
the ſacred rights of hoſpitality; after which, drinking off the poiſon he had prepared,
he expired, at ſeventy years of age. *Cornelius Nepos* intimates, that *Hannibal* deſtroyed
himſelf by a ſubtle (R) poiſon, which he carried about with him in a ring for that
purpoſe. *Plutarch* relates, that, according to ſome writers, he ordered a ſervant to
ſtrangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others will have it, that, in
imitation of *Midas* and *Themiſtocles*, he drank bulls blood. Be that as it will, his
death reflected an eternal ignominy and diſgrace upon the *Romans*, whoſe inſatiable
thirſt after empire had extinguiſhed all generous ſentiments, and every ſpark of virtue,
in their minds [x].

His character. Thus died *Hannibal*, the greateſt general perhaps, notwithſtanding his misfor- c
tunes, that any age ever produced; a general, who would have utterly ſubverted
the haughty *Roman* republic, had he not been ſacrificed to the reſentment of an envi-
ous, wicked, and moſt abandoned faction. *Polybius* ſeems to make him a pattern for
all ſucceeding commanders; and *Livy*, notwithſtanding his partiality, owns himſelf
aſtoniſhed at his wonderful conduct, after the defeat of his brother *Aſdrubal*. No
other general could have found means, after ſo terrible a blow, of maintaining him-
ſelf in one of the pooreſt ſpots of *Italy*, for ſeveral years, without any reinforcement
of troops, or ſupplies of proviſions, from *Carthage*. The perfect harmony kept up
in his army, compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, *viz. Greeks*, *Africans*, *Spaniards*,
Gauls, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, &c. differing in laws, manners, language, genius, and d
almoſt every other particular, even after fortune had declared againſt him, and when
they were in want both of money and proviſions, was a full demonſtration of his
conſummate abilities. The inviolable attachment of his new allies to him, when he
was reduced to the neceſſity of making them ſuſtain almoſt the whole burden of the
war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their reſpect-
ive countries, clearly evinces the ſame thing. *Polybius* obſerves, that he over-reached
moſt of the generals that oppoſed him; but was himſelf never outwitted by any of
them; and ſeems to inſinuate, that it would have been much more fatal to the *Car-*
thaginians to have loſt him, than any of the armies he ever commanded: and indeed
it ſufficiently appears, from the preceding part of this hiſtory, that he was the life e
and ſoul not only of the army, but likewiſe of the *Carthaginian* ſtate. In fine, by
his own ſurpriſing capacity, he carried on a war againſt the moſt martial people in
the world many years, in a remote country, in ſpite of the violent oppoſition made
by a powerful domeſtic faction, which refuſed him ſupplies of every kind, and thwarted
him on all occaſions. With regard to his political character, we ſhall only obſerve,
that the ſecret intelligence he held with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the wiſe counſels he
gave *Antiochus*, the double regulation he introduced at *Carthage*, the potent confe-
deracy he formed in favour of king *Pruſias*, beſides many other inſtances, that will
occur to our readers, evidently prove him to have made as great a figure in the cabi-
net, as the field. What we have already obſerved of his facetious diſpoſition, and f
love

[x] Liv. ubi ſup. & c. 65. Plut. in Flamin. Corn. Nep. & Justin. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 21.

(R) *Zonaras* relates, that *Hannibal* was under no apprehenſion of a ſudden violent death, though he took ſuch precautions to ſecure himſelf. This was occaſioned by an anſwer the oracle gave him, when conſulted on a certain emergency, *viz.* that he ſhould die in *Libya*. However, adds that author, the prediction was fulfilled; ſince the ſpot of ground, on which he took the fatal draught, was called *Libya*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Hannibal* died in a village of *Bithynia* called *Libyſſa*, ſituated near the ſea, where he was buried in a wooden coffin, with this inſcription upon his tomb, *Here lies* Hannibal; and that this was ſtill remaining in his time (24).

(24) *Zonar. l.* ix. *c*, 18. *Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. ſub fin.*

a love for the muſes, is confirmed by *Gellius* and others. His religious and moral conduct *Livy* paints in the blackeſt colours; but the teſtimony, as to this point, *Polybius* has given of him, the humanity with which he treated the bodies of *Marcellus* and *Sempronius Gracchus*, the high reverence he expreſſed for the gods on all occaſions, his ſingular continence and uncommon wiſdom, his contempt of riches, the extraordinary temperance he was famous for, even in the midſt of the greateſt affluence, when he was at the head of the ſtate of *Carthage*; theſe ſhining qualities, we ſay, and others, atteſted by the beſt authors, will not permit us to give any attention to the unfair repreſentation of that prejudiced hiſtorian. *Polybius*, however, intimates, that he was accuſed at *Carthage* of avarice, and of cruelty at *Rome*; and that people
b were much divided in their ſentiments concerning him. This cannot appear ſtrange to any one, who conſiders, that, as he had many implacable enemies in both cities, he muſt, of courſe, have been drawn by ſome of them in the moſt diſadvantagious light. But though, adds *Polybius*, we ſhould allow ſome of the defects he has been charged with true, yet it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with which he was obliged to ſtruggle, during the courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a war, than to his own natural diſpoſition. Beſides, he might be forced frequently to fall in with the inclinations of his officers, when they were oppoſite to his own, in order to excite them to a chearful diſcharge of their duty. Theſe, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he could not always keep within proper bounds,
c conſidering the natural bent of his countrymen, any more than the ſoldiers, who fought under them. Be that as it will, *Polybius* looked upon *Hannibal* to have been a general of ſo noble and ſublime a genius, that, in his opinion, had he at firſt attacked other powers, and reſerved the *Romans* for the laſt nation to have contended with, he muſt have intirely overthrown their republic, and conſequently rendered *Carthage* miſtreſs of the world y.

Diſputes between the Carthaginians *and* Maſiniſſa.

It has been already obſerved, that, by one of the articles of the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were to reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the beginning of the war. To theſe *Scipio* annexed part of *Syphax*'s dominions, in order to reward the zeal and affection that prince had diſcovered for the
d *Romans* on all occaſions, ever ſince the commencement of his friendſhip with them. After *Hannibal*'s flight to *Antiochus*, and his emiſſary *Ariſton*'s eſcape, related above, the *Romans* began to look upon the *Carthaginians* with a ſuſpicious eye, though, to prevent all diſtruſt, the latter of theſe ſtates had ordered two ſhips to purſue *Hannibal*, confiſcated his effects, razed his houſe, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed likewiſe to notify to the *Romans Ariſton*'s commiſſion, as well as eſcape, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation of *Hannibal*'s deſign, by the deputies they diſpatched to *Rome*, to complain of *Maſiniſſa*'s unjuſt pretenſions. That prince, being appriſed, that *Carthage* was miſerably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the *Romans*, on account of the two events above-mentioned, ſeized
e upon part of a maritime territory, which was extremely rich and fruitful, ſituated near the *Leſſer Syrtis*, called *Emporia*. Both ſides ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* on this occaſion, to ſupport the titles of their reſpective maſters to the diſtrict in diſpute. The *Carthaginians* alledged, "That this was within the limits of their *African* domi-
"nions, as ſettled by *Scipio*; and that this had been acknowledged by *Maſiniſſa*
"himſelf, who, when he had purſued one *Aphires*, a *Numidian* prince, making an
"excurſion out of his own territories, as far as the borders of *Cyrenaica*, would not
"paſs through *Emporia*, without aſking leave of the *Carthaginians*, looking upon it
"then as a territory indiſputably belonging to them." To which the *Numidian* miniſters replied, "That what they ſo confidently advanced about *Scipio*'s ſettling
f "the limits, was falſe; that the *Carthaginians*, in ſtrictneſs and equity, ought only
"to have the ſpot of ground, on which *Byrſa* ſtood, every other part of their *African*
"dominions being taken from the natives by fraud and violence; that, as to the
"diſtrict in queſtion, they could not prove themſelves to have been in poſſeſſion of
"it ſince the infancy of their republic, nay, that it had been any conſiderable time
"under their juriſdiction; that the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* had been maſters
"of

y Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l. v. c. 5. Polyb. l. xi. & alib. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12. & alib. paſſ. Just. l. xxxii. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. & alib. in excerptis Valeſ. Corn. Nep. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſup. Plut. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. Valer. Max. Polyæn. S. Jul. Frontin. paſſ. Appian. in Libyc. in Iber. & in Hannib. Oros. & Zonar. paſſ. Vide etiam Polyb. in excerp. legat 33. Liv. l. xxv. c. 17. Lucan. Sil. Ital. paſſ. alioſq; quamplurim. ſcriptor. Græc. & Latin.

" of it by turns, juſt as ſucceſs attended their reſpective arms; and that they a
" hoped the ſenate would permit things to remain in their preſent ſituation." Here-
upon the conſcript fathers thought proper to ſend *Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethe-*
gus, and *M. Minutius Rufus*, to examine the controverſy upon the ſpot. However,
they returned without coming to any reſolution, leaving the buſineſs in the ſame
uncertain ſtate in which they found it. Whether the commiſſioners acted in this
manner of their own head, or by order of the ſenate, is not ſo certain, as that the
intereſt of the *Romans* rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties
then improper; for otherwiſe *Scipio*, who had deſerved ſo well of both of them,
could, by his own ſingle authority, have put an end to the diſpute [z].

The Romans *accommodate the differences between them.*

Maſiniſſa, not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the diſtrict he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped, b
over-ran a province, that his father *Gala* had taken from the *Carthaginians*, and
Syphax from him, from whom it had returned to its former maſters, through the
charms and endearments of *Sophoniſba*. The *Carthaginian* deputies pleaded the cauſe
of their principals, and *Maſiniſſa* his, before the *Roman* commiſſioners, with exceed-
ing heat. The *Carthaginians* urged, that " this territory was theirs, both by right
" of inheritance, and deed of gift." On the other hand, *Maſiniſſa* inſiſted, " that
" it was formerly part of his father's kingdom; that, in conſequence of this title,
" he had taken poſſeſſion of it; and that his pretenſions were ſo indubitable, that he
" only feared, leſt the modeſty of the *Romans*, which might render them timorous
" of indulging a friend and ally in his juſt claims upon their common enemy, ſhould c
" prove prejudicial to him." The commiſſioners, in conformity to the diſpoſition
of their republic, referred this diſpute, which happened ten years after the former,
to the deciſion of the ſenate, and conſequently left it undetermined. However, in
the conſulate of *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*, the *Romans* effected an
accommodation betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, confirming the former in the
poſſeſſion of his unjuſt acquiſitions, and reſtoring to the latter an hundred hoſtages,
they had, till that time, detained [a].

Maſiniſſa *endeavours to embroil the* Carthaginians *with the* Romans.

Maſiniſſa, graſping at farther conqueſts, endeavoured ſoon after to embroil the
Carthaginians with the *Romans*. In order to this, he concerted meaſures with the
Roman embaſſadors in *Africa*, to prejudice the conſcript fathers againſt them. The d
latter did not ſcruple to affirm, that, to their certain knowledge, *Perſeus* king of
Macedon, with whom the *Romans* then were upon the verge of a war, had privately
ſent embaſſadors to *Carthage*, to negotiate an alliance with that ſtate; and that the
ſenate was aſſembled by night in the temple of *Æſculapius*, to confer with them:
whilſt the former, in as ſtrong a manner, aſſerted, that the *Caarthaginians* had diſ-
patched miniſters to *Perſeus*, to conclude a treaty with him. *Livy* ſeems to intimate,
that the *Carthaginians* would not own this; but that the *Romans*, always attentive to
the inſinuations of their enemies, believed it to be true. The future conduct of that
people towards *Carthage* renders *Livy*'s authority, in this point, indiſputable [b].

And makes an irruption into the province of Tyſca.

NOT long after this, *Maſiniſſa* made an irruption into the province of *Tyſca*, where e
he ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of above ſeventy, or, as *Appian* will have it, fifty, towns
and caſtles. This obliged the *Carthaginians* to apply, with great importunity, to
the *Roman* ſenate for redreſs, their hands being ſo tied up by an article of the laſt
treaty, that they could not repel force by force, in caſe of an invaſion, without the
conſent of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginian* miniſters at *Rome* repreſented the miſer-
able condition of their republic in the moſt moving terms. They declared, " That
" *Maſiniſſa* was intirely void of honour; that, without the interpoſition of that
" auguſt aſſembly, to whom they then addreſſed themſelves, no limits could be
" preſcribed to his cruelty, inſolence, avarice, and ambition. They therefore begged
" the conſcript fathers either themſelves to determine the point in debate betwixt f
" their principals and *Maſiniſſa*; or to ſuffer the former to diſlodge the latter from
" his conqueſts by force of arms; or laſtly, if they were reſolved to ſupport the
" *Numidian* in all his unjuſt pretenſions, to ſpecify, once for all, what territories the
" *Carthaginians* were to cede to him, that they might know what hereafter they had
" to depend upon." To this they ſubjoined, " That, if the *Carthaginians* had
" incurred the diſpleaſure of the *Romans* in any point, inadvertently ſince the con-
" cluſion of the laſt peace, they begged they would puniſh them for the offence them-
" ſelves, and not leave them expoſed to the inſults and vexations of *Maſiniſſa*, ſince
" they

[z] POLYB. in excerpt. legat. 118. LIV. l. xxxiv. c. 61. APPIAN. in Libyc. & c. 34. Vide & APPIAN. ubi ſup.

[a] LIV. l. xl. c. 17.

[b] LIV. l. xli. c. 22.

a " they preferred an utter extinction to the barbarities and depredations they were " forced to ſuffer from ſo mercileſs a tyrant." Then throwing themſelves proſtrate on the earth, they burſt out into tears; which making a deep impreſſion upon the ſenate in their favour, *Guluſſa*, *Maſiniſſa*'s ſon, being then preſent, and called upon to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: " That " he had received no inſtructions from his father how to act in the preſent emergency, " ſince it could not be foreſeen, that any thing would be laid to his charge; that " the *Carthaginians* had had ſeveral clandeſtine meetings by night in the temple of " *Æſculapius*, the object of whoſe conſultations was kept ſecret from him, after which " deputies were diſpatched to *Rome*; that the ſole deſign of his father's ſending him b " to *Rome* was, to intreat the ſenate not to pay any regard to the inſinuations of the " common enemy againſt him, ſince the implacable hatred they bore him was oc- " caſioned by the inviolable fidelity, with which he had ſo long been attached to the " *Romans*." The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, " That it would be " proper for *Guluſſa* to ſet out immediately for *Numidia*, in order to acquaint his " father with the complaints of the *Carthaginians* againſt him; that he ought to ſend " deputies to *Rome*, to remove all difficulties that obſtructed an accommodation " between him and them; that they would continue to ſerve him, as they had hitherto " done, but not to the prejudice of the *Carthaginians*; that it was but juſt the antient " limits ſhould be preſerved; that the *Carthaginians* ought to be maintained in the c " poſſeſſion of thoſe territories, which the late treaty had allotted them." The deputies of both powers were then diſmiſſed with the uſual preſents. The *Romans* were prompted to act after this perfidious manner, partly by that implacable hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, and partly by the hopes of receiving ſuccours from *Maſiniſſa* in the *Macedonian* war, which they were juſt going to enter upon. The *Numidian* anſwered their expectations; for he did not only ſupply them with corn, but likewiſe ſent a body of troops, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe and as many foot, with twenty-two elephants, under the command of his ſon *Miſagenes*, to their aſſiſtance. However, this proceeded rather from a motive of policy than gratitude; for he conſidered, that if the *Romans* were victorious in this war, his affairs could but d remain in the ſame ſituation; whereas, ſhould they be overcome, he doubted not reducing *Carthage*, and making himſelf maſter of *Africa* [c].

The villainous behaviour of the Romans *to the* Carthaginians.

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the lamentable ſlavery under which they groaned, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome*, who acquainted the ſenate, " That their " ſtate would immediately tranſport a million buſhels of wheat, and five hundred " thouſand of barley, into what part of the world the *Romans* pleaſed; that they " were ſenſible ſuch a ſupply was not proportioned to thoſe happy effects of the " *Roman* generoſity and goodneſs, which their principals had ſo long experienced, " neither did it correſpond with their inclinations; but that they hoped it would be " conſidered, by way of atonement for this defect, that, during the proſperity of e " both republics, in former times, they had given frequent inſtances of their being " true and faithful allies." *Maſiniſſa*'s embaſſador's not only offered the ſame quantity of corn, but likewiſe to reinforce the *Roman* army with another body of twelve hundred horſe, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the ſenate's commands with the utmoſt alacrity. But neither could the *Carthaginians*, by ſuch an abject and mean-ſpirited behaviour, a ſufficient indication of that low and groveling mind, which ſeems to have been the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of their nation, prevail upon the *Romans* to diſcontinue their chicane. They ſpun out matters to a tedious length, not permitting the miniſters they employed to adjuſt all diſputes betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, to arrive at a deciſion. By this f conduct they enabled the former to exhauſt the latter, and conſequently paved the way to the immediate deſtruction of a ſtate, which to them, of all others, ſtill appeared the moſt formidable [d].

Cato *bears an implacable hatred to the* Carthaginians.

WHATEVER villainous deſigns the *Romans* might have formed, they affected to ſhew a great regard to the principles of juſtice and honour. They therefore ſent *Cato*, a man famous for committing enormities under the ſpecious pretext of public ſpirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*. The latter very well knew their fate, had they ſubmitted to ſuch a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty, which had been concluded by *Scipio*, as the only rule, by which

[c] LIV. l. xlii. c. 23, 24. & c. 29. APPIAN. in Libyc. p. 37. [d] POLYB. ubi ſup. LIV. l. xliii. c. 6. APPIAN. in Libyc.

which both their conduct, and that of their adversary, ought to be examined. This a *unreasonable* appeal so incensed the righteous *Cato*, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that *upright* person was not so much to forward the observation or conclusion of treaties, as to widen breaches, discover the strength and condition of *Carthage*, which was then very flourishing, notwithstanding the many blows it had received, and gratify the *Roman* ambition by all possible means, it is not so strange, that he should, even in the most absurd, though most virulent, manner, press the senate, after his return home, to destroy that city. It is much more wonderful, that a *Frenchman* should censure this conduct, when it so exactly quadrates with that of a certain court, which he cannot possibly be a stranger to, for above a century past. However, as we have more than *a bare jealousy of the growing* b *power*, as well as ambitious designs, of that court, we may, without offence, give it as our opinion, that, in order to secure the liberties of *Europe*, as well as to introduce public faith, justice, and honour once more into the world, is is necessary, *that the state represented by that court should be humbled, if not destroyed* [c].

Masinissa *defeats the* Carthaginians.

Some years before this time, *Carthage* was miserably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the *Romans* was headed by one *Hanno*, a descendant, as may be supposed, of the person, who ruined his country by not supporting *Hannibal*; that in the interest of *Masinissa* by *Hannibal*, surnamed *Passer*; and that formed of the populace by *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Sannis*, and *Carthalo*. But, of late, two powerful parties had struggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called *the popular* c *faction*, prevailed over the other, composed of the grandees and their adherents, and expelled forty of the senators. They retired to the court of *Masinissa*, to excite him to a war with the *Carthaginians*, who sent *Gulussa* and *Micipsa*, two of his sons, to *Carthage*, to solicit their return. However, the gates were shut upon them at their approach, lest the people, moved by the tears of those related to the exiles, should grant their request; nay, *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Sannis*, one of the *Carthaginian* generals, closely pursued *Gulussa*, and cut off some of his retinue. This occasioning a fresh rupture, *Masinissa* besieged *Oroscopa*, in violation of the last treaty. *Asdrubal*, another *Carthaginian* general, advanced to the relief of *Oroscopa*, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and four hundred horse, and was immediately joined by d a body of six thousand men, under the conduct of *Asasis* and *Suba*, two *Numidian* captains, who deserted from *Masinissa*. Animated by this accession of strength, *Asdrubal* approached the *Numidian*, and skirmished successfully with some of the advanced guards. *Masinissa*, observing the eagerness of the *Carthaginian*, retired before him, as though he was afraid of his superior force, and insensibly drew him into a large and desolate plain, surrounded with precipices, and void of all kinds of sustenance. *Asdrubal*, finding himself thus decoyed, possessed himself of several eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately ensuing, and ending in favour of *Masinissa*, the *Carthaginians* sued for peace. In order to terminate their e contests with that prince, the *Carthaginians* offered to yield up the territory of *Emporia*, to pay down two hundred talents of silver, and remit eight hundred more at a stipulated time to him. But *Masinissa* insisting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. It is observable, that the *Roman* deputies, who arrived in the *Numidian* camp soon after the engagement, had orders to insist upon a peace, in case the *Carthaginians* defeated *Masinissa*; but to assure that prince of the continuance of their friendship, and push him on to the war, in case he was victorious. This they did, in order to complete the ruin of the *Carthaginians*. How, through the vindictive disposition of *Gulussa*, and the breaking out of the plague amongst them, the *Carthaginian* forces were almost utterly destroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we must also beg leave to refer them for the f particulars of the action just hinted at [f].

Cato *prevails upon the* Roman *senate to declare war against* Carthage.

Ever since *Carthage* had rejected the mediation of the *Romans*, *Cato* had made his utmost efforts to prevail upon the conscript fathers to destroy that city. But *Scipio Nasica*, having a superior influence in the senate, had hitherto, notwithstanding the grievous provocation he met with from the *Carthaginians*, already related, prevented a rupture. However, the people of *Carthage*, knowing the *Romans* to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had met with from them

[e] Liv. in epit. 47, 48, 49. Appian. ubi sup. c. 38. Flor. l. ii. c. 15. Vell. Paterc. l. i. sub fin. Plut. in Caton. Vide & histoire des Carthagin. par M. Rollin, tom. i. p. 421. [f] Liv. epit. 48. Appian. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 769, 770.

a them ever ſince the commencement of their diſputes with *Maſiniſſa*, were under great apprehenſions of a viſit from them. To prevent this, as much as in them lay, by a decree of the ſenate, they impeached *Aſdrubal* general of the army, and *Carthalo* commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treaſon, for being the authors of the war waged againſt the king of *Numidia*. They ſent a deputation to *Rome*, to diſcover what ſentiments were entertained there of their late conduct, and to know what ſatisfaction the *Romans* required. Theſe miniſters meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were diſpatched, who returned with the ſame ſucceſs. This made the unhappy citizens of *Carthage* believe, that their deſtruction was reſolved upon; which threw them into the utmoſt deſpair.

b And indeed they had but too juſt grounds for ſuch a melancholy apprehenſion, the *Roman* ſenate now diſcovering an inclination to fall in with *Cato*'s meaſures. It is ſaid, that, in order to excite the conſcript fathers to a vigorous reſolution againſt the *Carthaginians*, that incendiary, after one of his moſt virulent ſpeeches, threw out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome *African* figs, whoſe ſize and beauty obſerving the ſenators to admire; *Know*, ſaid he, *that it is but three days ſince theſe figs were gathered; ſuch is the diſtance between the enemy and us.* About the ſame time the city of *Utica*, being the ſecond in *Africa*, and famous for its immenſe riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, ſubmitted to the *Romans*. As the poſſeſſion of ſo important a fortreſs, which, by reaſon of its vicinity

c to *Carthage*, might ſerve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the *Romans* to put the deſign they had been ſo long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*, without the leaſt heſitation. In conſequence of which declaration, the conſuls *M. Manilius Nepos* and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* were diſpatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hoſtilities with the utmoſt expedition. The land-forces, deſtined to act againſt the *Carthaginians*, conſiſted of eighty thouſand foot and four thouſand choſen horſe; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, beſides a vaſt number of tranſports. The conſuls had ſecret orders from the ſenate, not to conclude the operations but by the deſtruction of *Carthage*, without which, the republic pretended, ſhe could not but look upon all

d her poſſeſſions as inſecure and precarious. Purſuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops firſt at *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, from whence, after receiving a proper refreſhment, it was propoſed to tranſport them to *Utica* g.

The Romans demand three hundred hoſtages of the Carthaginians.

THE anſwer brought by the laſt embaſſadors to *Carthage* had not a little alarmed the inhabitants of that city; but they were not yet acquainted with the reſolutions taken at *Rome*. They therefore ſent freſh embaſſadors thither, whom they inveſted with full powers to act as they ſhould think fit for the good of the republic, and even to ſubmit themſelves, without reſerve, to the pleaſure of the *Romans*; but the moſt ſenſible perſons amongſt them did not expect any great ſucceſs from this condeſcenſion, ſince the early ſubmiſſion of the *Uticans* had rendered it infinitely leſs meri-

e torious than it would have been before. However, the *Romans* ſeemed to be, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied with it, ſince they promiſed them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and, in ſhort, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This threw them into a tranſport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the *Romans*. But the conſcript fathers immediately daſhed all their hopes, by declaring the next inſtant, *Roman*-like, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would ſend three hundred young *Carthaginians* of the firſt diſtinction to the prætor *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, within the ſpace of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the conſuls. *Giſco*, ſurnamed *Strytanus*, *Hamilcar*, *Miſdes*, *Gillicas*, and *Mago*, for ſo were the embaſſadors called, durſt not make the leaſt remonſtrance

f againſt the ſeverity of theſe conditions, but immediately ſet out for *Carthage*, to impart them to the ſenate there. That auguſt aſſembly was filled with inexpreſſible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hoſtages, which were conſidered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the nobleſt families in *Carthage*. They found themſelves likewiſe extremely perplexed at the ſilence of the *Romans* with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions they ſeemed willing to make, and at the vague expreſſion of *ſubmitting to all the orders of the conſuls*. However, being abſolutely incapable of coping with ſo formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almoſt every thing, *Mago Bretius*, in a brave and eloquent ſpeech,

g LIV. APPIAN. PLUT. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. ix. c, 26. PLIN. l. xv. c. 18. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15.

ſpeech, exhorted them, for the preſent, to obey. No ſcene can be conceived more a moving, than that exhibited by *Carthage*, when the hoſtages were delivered up: nothing was to be ſeen but tears, all parts, at the ſame time, echoing with groans and lamentations; but, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a moſt mournful ſpectacle, bathing themſelves in tears, tearing their diſhevelled hair, beating their breaſts, and yelling in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage hearts to compaſſion. When the fatal moment of ſeparation was come, they accompanied their children to the ſhip, bid them a long, laſt farewel, perſuaded, that they ſhould never ſee them more, embraced them with the utmoſt tenderneſs, claſped them ſtrongly in their arms, and could not beprevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the ſailors; nay, many of them ſwam a long time after the ſhip, b fixing their eyes immoveably upon it. As the embaſſadors delivered them to the conſuls, and they to *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, before the thirty days were expired, they were not intirely without hopes of ſoftening their hard-hearted enemy; but the conſuls only told them, that, upon their arrival at *Utica*, they ſhould learn the farther orders of the republic [h].

And oblige them to deliver up all their arms.

Those miniſters no ſooner received intelligence of the *Roman* fleet's appearing off of *Utica*, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The conſuls however did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, leſt they ſhould appear ſo harſh and ſevere, that the *Carthaginians* would have refuſed a compliance with them. They firſt therefore demanded a ſuffi- c cient ſupply of corn for the ſubſiſtence of their troops. Secondly, that they ſhould deliver up into their hands all the triremes they were then maſters of. Thirdly, that they ſhould put them in poſſeſſion of all their military machines. And, fourthly, that they ſhould immediately convey all their arms into the *Roman* camp. As care was taken, that there ſhould be a certain interval of time betwixt each of theſe demands, the *Carthaginians* found themſelves enſnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they ſubmitted to the laſt, which *Cenſorinus* inſiſted upon, notwithſtanding the powerful reaſons urged againſt it, with the utmoſt reluctance and concern [i].

The Romans *command the* Carthaginians *to abandon their city.*

The gaining of theſe points paved the way to the deſtruction of *Carthage*, though it reflected an eternal diſhonour upon the *Roman* name. *Cenſorinus*, now imagining d the *Carthaginians* not capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as *Zonaras* will have it, to demoliſh it, permitting them to build another eighty ſtadia from the ſea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the embaſſadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of *Carthage*, when they were appriſed of it, by their geſtures and complaints, demonſtrated the greateſt emotions of grief on this tragical occaſion; but the *Romans* remained inflexible, not ſhewing the leaſt regard to the tears and intreaties of a people, reduced to the extremes of deſpair. The embaſſadors, at one time, ſupplicated the gods with the greateſt fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to excite the com- e paſſion of the *Romans*; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whoſe ſevere eyes are ever open to fraud and villainy. The ſenators and people, upon receiving the report of the embaſſadors, for ſome time, intirely abandoned themſelves to deſpair; which was heightened by the frantic diſpoſition of the women, whoſe children had been ſent to *Rome*. In ſhort, *Carthage* was nothing now but a ſcene of horror, madneſs, and confuſion. The citizens curſed their anceſtors for not dying gloriouſly in the defence of their country, rather than concluding ſuch ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cauſe of the deplorable condition, to which their poſterity was then reduced. They likewiſe condemned themſelves in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo tamely, as well as ſtupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blaſphemouſly taxed the gods themſelves with being f the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make an impreſſion upon the *Romans* in their favour. But as, in a former part of our hiſtory, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we ſhall only beg leave to obſerve farther here, that, when the firſt tranſports of grief were over, and their paſſions began to ſubſide, they unanimouſly reſolved to die upon the ſpot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the *Romans*; and, in conſequence of this reſolution, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital city [k].

A

[h] Polyb. l. xxxiii. in excerpt. legat. 142. Liv. in epit. xlix. Appian. & Flor. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 10. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 26. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 771, 772.

[i] Polyb. Liv. Appian. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſub. c. 27.

[k] Iidem ibid. Flor. ubi ſup. Paul. Oros. l. iv. c. 23.

a A certain polite [1] author takes ſome pains to ſhew, that the *Romans* did not act agreeably to the maxims of juſtice and honour in the point before us; and conſequently ſeems to inſinuate, that ſome proof, beſides the notoriety of the facts, is requiſite to evince the iniquity of their conduct on the preſent occaſion. This perhaps may be looked upon as an argument of ſome good nature, and delicacy of ſentiments; but can never be deemed one of that boldneſs, and inflexible attachment to truth, eſſential to a good hiſtorian. A writer of this kind will paint every ſpecies of vice, particularly thoſe of a moſt public and enormous nature, in their moſt proper, that is, in the moſt odious, colours. He will eſteem a perſon, who endeavours to palliate, or even touches but lightly upon, any flagrant villainy, be the actors of it who they b will, as one who either inwardly approves of it, or is afraid of expoſing it; and conſequently as one ſo far diſqualified for tranſmitting to poſterity the tranſactions of former ages. It is not ſufficient in our opinion, in order to expreſs our deteſtation of that execrable perfidiouſneſs and barbarity the *Romans* were guilty of, to ſay, "I can "never believe, that ſo ſenſible, rational, and juſt a man as *Polybius* could have ap- "proved of the proceedings of the *Romans* on the preſent occaſion.---We do not find "here any of the characteriſtics, which diſtinguiſhed the *Romans* antiently, that great- "neſs of ſoul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of mean artifices, frauds, and impo- "ſtures, which, as is ſomewhere ſaid, formed no part of the *Roman* genius.——— "Why did not the *Romans* attack the *Carthaginians* by force? Why ſhould they c "declare expreſly in a treaty, that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their "liberties and laws, and underſtand, at the ſame time, certain private conditions, "which proved the intire ruin of both? Why ſhould they conceal, under the ſcan- "dalous omiſſion of the word *city* in this treaty, the black deſign of deſtroying *Car-* "*thage*, as though, beneath the cover of ſuch an equivocation, they could juſtly ruin "it? In fine, why did the *Romans* not make their laſt declaration, till after they "had extorted from the *Carthaginians*, at different times, their hoſtages and arms, "that is, till they had abſolutely rendered them incapable of diſobeying their unjuſt "commands?——*It is very dangerous to be poſſeſſed of ſo much power, as may enable* "*one to commit injuſtice with impunity, and with a proſpect of being a gainer by it. The* d "*experience of all ages ſhews, that ſtates ſeldom ſcruple to commit injuſtice, when they* "*think it will turn to their advantage.*" Our readers will here obſerve, that, with regard to the *Roman* nation in general, theſe reflections ſcarce carry with them more of ſatire than panegyric; and that, as to the very perſons guilty of one of the greateſt violations of public faith, attended with the moſt aggravating circumſtances, that perhaps ever happened, he only ſeems to intimate, that they did not come up to the virtues of their anceſtors; nay, he puts them upon a level with thoſe at the head of other ſtates. Such a palliation of one of the moſt atrocious public crimes to be met with in hiſtory, would be inexcuſeable in an author of any other nation than that to which he belongs; but as for his countrymen, if we ſuppoſe them to pay e any deference to the conduct of their ſuperiors for above a century paſt, it is as natural for them to *talk* in this ſtrain now, as it was for the *Romans* to *act* the part they did at the time *Carthage* was deſtroyed.

M. Rollin cenſured.

The perfidious conduct of the Romans expoſed.

In whatever light we view the villainous conduct of the *Romans* at this juncture, it muſt appear as the reſult of a complication of all the bad qualities, that can be inherent in any ſtate. Perjury, cruelty, injuſtice, pride, meanneſs of ſpirit, and even cowardice itſelf, in the higheſt degree, are ſome of the principal of them. Neither can we conceive how it ſhould enter into the head of the author juſt cited, as well as of many others, that even the anceſtors of that profligate ſet of men, we are now ſpeaking of, were ſo eminent for their *rectitude*, *greatneſs of ſoul*, and *public ſpirit*, at f leaſt any of them but thoſe, who flouriſhed in the earlieſt times of the republic. Can any ſtate, that is continually graſping at univerſal empire, and aims at nothing but enſlaving all its neighbours, deſerve ſuch a ſhining character? And that the *Roman* republic had this ſolely in view, even almoſt from its very infancy, is evident from the moſt partial of its own hiſtorians. That *public ſpirit*, if any criminal paſſion deſerves ſuch a noble appellation, which ſerves only to cement the members of a community together, in order to enable them the more effectually to plunder and maſſacre all the reſt of their ſpecies, is, at moſt, no better than that principle, which unites a gang of robbers and aſſaſſins; and whether the *Romans* in general were not, from

[1] M. Rollin. in hiſt. des Carthagin. tom. i. p. 432, 433, & ſeq. à Amſterdam, 1733. Vide & orat. Pontii Telesini, apud Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 27.

from very remote times, actuated by such a *public spirit* as this, will easily be determined by those who have been but moderately conversant with their writers. The best therefore, in our opinion, that can be said of the *Romans* of the age we are now upon, is, that they were worse than any preceding generation of one of the most hypocritical, tyrannical, ambitious, and consequently worst, nations, we read of in history. We must leave it to the consideration of our readers, whether their conduct has not been since equalled by that of a neighbouring nation, which has, for the best part of a century, been taught to distinguish between the *letter* and *spirit* of treaties, and which, with its liberty, seems to have lost the very notion of all public virtues. a

The operations of the Romans *against* Carthage.

But to resume the thread of our history: the *Carthaginians*, having pacified *Asdrubal*, one of their generals, who, for some contumelious treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men, almost to the gates of *Carthage*, in order to besiege it, reduced most of the open country to their obedience. *Asdrubal*, with his forces, posted himself advantagiously before the town, supplying the inhabitants daily with vast quantities of provisions. At last the *Roman* army invested it, not doubting but it would fall an easy prey to them. *Manilius* attacked it by land, as *Marcius* did by sea; and both of them pushed on the siege with all the vigour they were capable of. But *Asdrubal* greatly retarded their approaches, by cutting of their parties sent to collect materials for framing the military machines; which he did, by drawing them insensibly into ambuscades prepared for that purpose. *Manilius* therefore could make no considerable impression on the city by land; and as *Marcius*, with the fleet, lay near the *stagnum* or great morass, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the season, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The garison likewise repulsed the *Romans* in all the attacks they made, with the loss of abundance of men, and, by their vigorous sallies in the night, destroyed most of their works and battering engines. *Asdrubal* also, by his detachments, prevented their excursions, and intercepted their foragers; so that their cavalry was reduced to the utmost distress. As for *Masinissa*, a misunderstanding betwixt him and the *Romans* hindered the junction of their forces; so that the consuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at present, to draw off from before the town. *Marcius*, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coasts of *Africa*; but not being able to execute his design, he attacked the island *Ægimurus*, which surrendered to him. In the mean time, *Manilius* moved towards the sea coasts, to favour, as should seem, the operations of *Marcius*; but finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of *Carthage*, having been harassed in his march by *Himilco*, surnamed *Fabeas*, or, according to *Appian*, *Phameas*, general of the *Carthaginian* horse. However, the siege went on very slowly, *Asdrubal* closely attending him, and destroying great numbers of his men on one side, whilst the besieged made an equal havock of them on the other, by their continual sallies. The *Romans* were only in possession of *Saxus*, *Leptis*, *Cholla*, and *Utica*; so that they were not a little streightened for want of provisions. We are told by *Appian*, that *Censorinus* played one vast ram against the walls with six thousand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whose officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement; but, though a great breach was made, he could not storm the place, the *Carthaginians*, after having repulsed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the *Carthaginians* afterwards burnt the *Roman* fleet, and *Scipio Æmilianus* saved the *Roman* army, when it was upon the very brink of destruction, may be learnt from *Appian*, as well as a former part of this history [m]. b c d e

In the mean time, *Masinissa*, drawing near his end, dispatched a courier to *Æmilianus*, to apprise him of it, and to desire him to divide the dominions he was possessed of betwixt his three sons, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Mastanabal*, as well as to assist them with his advice. This *Scipio* executed in the most prudent and equitable manner, as we shall see in the *Numidian* history. Whilst this was transacting, *Manilius* reduced the strong city of *Tezaga*, and gave the enemy a great defeat there, putting twelve thousand of them to the sword, and taking six thousand prisoners. Some other places of strength he likewise made himself master of before the conclusion of the campaign [n]. f

The

[m] Liv. Appian. Flor. Plut. Aurel. Vict. de vir. illustr. 58. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 773, 774.

[n] Polyb. in excerpt. Vales. p. 175. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2. Appian. Zonar. Oros. ubi sup.

a THE *Carthaginians*, about this time, ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by the deſertion of *Phameas*, one of their beſt commanders, who went over to the *Romans*, after he had had an interview with *Æmilianus*, at the head of a body of two thouſand two hundred horſe. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the deſtruction of *Carthage*. For the particulars of this tranſaction, we muſt refer our readers to to *Appian* [n].

Phameas *deſerts the* Carthaginians.

THE next campaign, the conſul *Calpurnius Piſo* and his lieutenant *Mancinus* conducted the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* were ſo ſtrong this year, that they obtained ſeveral advantages over the *Romans*, and, towards the cloſe of it, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Hippo Zaritus*, which they had carried on the whole ſum-
b mer, after having burnt all their military machines. As for the ſiege of *Carthage*, that, for the preſent, ſeemed to be at a ſtand. The beſieged applied to *Andriſcus*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*, for aſſiſtance, or at leaſt for a diverſion in their favour, by purſuing the war he was then engaged in againſt the *Romans* with vigour. In order the more ſtrongly to excite him to this, they promiſed him powerful ſupplies both of money and ſhips. However, they received no aſſiſtance from that quarter, the reaſon of which, as well as all the moſt important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place [o].

The Carthaginians *obtain ſome advantages over the* Romans.

THE *Carthaginian* army, having been reinforced the preceding year with a body of eight hundred *Numidian* horſe, whoſe leader *Bithyas* had prevailed upon them to
c deſert *Guluſſa*, and the acceſſion of ſome other troops from *Carthage*, began to move very early out of its winter-quarters. As it had been obſerved, that neither *Micipſa* nor *Maſtanabal*, *Maſiniſſa*'s other ſons, had ſent any ſupplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithſtanding they had, for a long time paſt, promiſed them ſuch ſupplies, the *Carthaginians* reſumed their former courage, ſcoured the open country, and put all their places of ſtrength in the beſt poſture of defence. The advantages they had gained at *Nepheris* and *Hippo*, and the enemy's inability to puſh on the ſiege of *Carthage*, though the city was, in a manner, diſmantled, and the inhabitants diſarmed, inſpired them with a reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood. They ſent embaſſadors to *Micipſa*, *Maſtanabal*, and the independent *Mau-*
d *ritanian* princes, in order to form a powerful alliance againſt the *Romans*, inſinuating to thoſe princes, that, ſhould the *African* republic be once ſubverted by that haughty people, they muſt ſoon expect to meet with the ſame fate. *Aſdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general without the town, about this time, deſiring the command of the troops within the city, poſſeſſed by another *Aſdrubal*, *Guluſſa*'s nephew, accuſed him falſly of a deſign to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent perſon was ſo thunder-ſtruck with the accuſation, which came intirely unlooked for, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; ſo that he was inſtantly diſpatched upon the ſpot, without any further proceſs [p].

Bithyas, *with a body of* Numidian *horſe, comes over to the* Carthaginians.

SOON after, *Piſo*, with a body of troops, reduced ſome of the inland towns, leaving
e *Mancinus*, with the other part of the army, to continue the ſiege of *Carthage*. *Mancinus*, obſerving one part of the wall, which, by reaſon of its rocky ſituation, ſeemed inacceſſible, not guarded, found means to ſcale it, and take poſt in the town, with three thouſand five hundred men. But the *Carthaginians* not only prevented any ill conſequences from this lodgment, but likewiſe cut off his retreat, and ſo ſurrounded him, that he muſt either have been deſtroyed, or ſtarved to a ſurrender, had not *Æmilianus* in the critical moment relieved them. This ſo diſheartened the *Carthaginians*, that they abandoned ſeveral poſts; which encouraged *Æmilianus* to make an attack upon *Megara*, a part of the city, which our readers will find already deſcribed. This was begun at midnight, by a ſelect body of troops, who had provided themſelves with axes, levers, and ſcaling-ladders, being led by the general himſelf. They advanced ſeveral ſtadia without the leaſt noiſe; but at laſt gave a ſudden and general ſhout, which ſtruck the enemy, who did not expect a viſit at ſo unſeaſonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themſelves, they oppoſed the aſſailants with ſuch bravery, that *Æmilianus* found it impoſſible to mount the ramparts; but at laſt perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, but without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence deſcending

Æmilianus takes Megara.

[n] APPIAN. ubi ſup. Vide & LIV. epit. l. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 10. & ZONAR. ubi ſupra. [o] APPIAN. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 29, 30. [p] APPIAN. ubi ſup. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 30.

descending into *Megara*, they immediately broke down the gates. Upon which a *Æmilianus* entering with four thousand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themselves obliged to retreat to *Byrsa*, in as great a consternation as if the whole city had been taken, being followed even by the forces, that were encamped without the town. *Asdrubal*, finding the next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined; and, either to gratify his resentment, or to reduce the besieged to a state of desperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of resolution in the defence of the place, massacred all the *Roman* prisoners he had taken, in the manner we have already related [q].

And fortifies his camp.

WHILST *Asdrubal* was thus venting his fury upon the *Roman* captives, and even murdering many *Carthaginian* senators, who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny, *Æmilianus* was busy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation cross the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the continent of *Africa*. That part of these lines, which fronted the city of *Carthage*, was strengthened by a wall twenty-five stadia long, and twelve foot high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. The enemy, who were within a dart's cast of it, made their utmost efforts to put a stop to the work; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. The *Carthaginians* were doubly incommoded by this work; first, as it secured the *Roman* forces against their sallies; and secondly, as *Æmilianus* thereby cut off all provisions from them; which distressed them exceedingly. *Bithyas* indeed, who had been sent out to collect corn, before *Æmilianus* made himself master of *Megara*, arrived soon after the consul had perfected his lines; but he durst not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by sea some small quantities to *Asdrubal*, who distributed what he received amongst his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general seems to have been induced to this by the opposition he met with from the senators, who, being highly incensed at his enormous cruelty to the *Roman* prisoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and, instead of encouraging, disheartened the troops, cried out, *That such an unjustifiable proceeding was highly unseasonable at a juncture, when they were ready to sink under the pressure of the public calamities.* A famine therefore ensued, which not a little contributed to the destruction of the city [r].

The Carthaginians *again worsted.*

THE besieged found themselves already reduced to great streights; but the progress *Æmilianus* had lately made in an attempt to stop up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already shut up by the *Roman* fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy prospect, than any thing that had yet happened to them. Being extremely alarmed, they resolved to take such measures, as might, if possible, defeat the enemy's design. Setting therefore all hands to work, with an industry scarce to be parallelled, they dug a new bason, and opened a communication with the sea; which enabled them to make head against the enemy once more upon that element; for, with the same diligence, they fitted out a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vast number of other vessels, built chiefly of old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed so suddenly, and with such an impenetrable secrecy, that *Æmilianus* entertained not the least suspicion of it, till he saw their squadron appear at sea. Then his surprize was so great, thinking it impossible, that so weak an enemy should, as it were, in an instant become so formidable, that, *Appian* believes, the *Carthaginians* might have totally ruined the *Roman* fleet, had they immediately attacked it. This seems to have been no unreasonable supposition, because, as no such blow was expected, and every man otherwise employed, the *Carthaginians* would have found the *Roman* vessels destitute of rowers, soldiers, and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to an action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preserving every thing dear and valuable to them, the other of finishing a conquest, which had cost them such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the *Carthaginian* brigantines, gliding along under the large *Roman* ships, broke to pieces many of their sterns, rudders, and oars; and, if at any time they found themselves pushed, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately

[q] POLYB. in excerptis Valesii, p. 179. APPIAN. & ZONAR. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 775. [r] Iidem ibid.

a immediately to the charge. The diſpute continued with equal ſucceſs till the evening, when the *Carthaginians* thought proper to retire, not under any apprehenſion of the enemy's ſuperiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter veſſels, being extremely ſwift and numerous, ſoon occupied the harbour, and, by their multitude, ſhut up the mouth of it; ſo that thoſe of a larger ſize were excluded from thence, and obliged to take ſhelter under a very ſpacious terrace, which had been thrown up againſt the walls to unload goods, and on the ſide whereof a ſmall rampart had been raiſed during this war, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but
b at laſt, by the conduct and bravery of five five galleys of *Sida*, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to retire, and ſail for ſhelter to the city. The next morning, *Æmilianus* attacked the terrace; but was repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter by the beſieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by aſſault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built cloſe to thoſe of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finiſhed, he commanded four thouſand men to mount it, and diſcharge ſhowers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to inſult and annoy them. As the troops on each ſide were upon a level, there was ſcarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The laſt action concluded the military operations of this campaign [s].

c In order the more effectually to cut off ſupplies of every kind from the beſieged, *Æmilianus* formed a deſign to reduce the places of ſtrength the *Carthaginians* had ſtill in their hands, particularly *Nepheris*, where they had a numerous body of forces ſtrongly encamped, commanded by *Diogenes*, one of *Aſdrubal*'s intimate friends, who, by means of the new baſon above-mentioned, ſent continual convoys of proviſions to *Carthage*. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by perſons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accompliſhed by a body of troops under the conduct of *Lælius*, ſupported by *Guluſſa*'s *Numidian* horſe. By the activity of theſe laſt, and the violence of the *Numidian* elephants, the whole *Carthaginian* army, conſiſting of eighty-four thouſand men, was
d either cut to pieces, or taken priſoners, except four thouſand, who diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring villages. This happened before *Æmilianus* reſumed the operations againſt the city of *Carthage*, and induced the *Africans*, who were kept in awe by *Diogenes*, to abandon the *Carthaginians* [t].

Lælius *gives* Diogenes, *one of the* Carthaginian *generals, a great overthrow.*

Soon after *Æmilianus* formed two attacks, one againſt *Byrſa*, and the other againſt the *Cothon*. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall, which ſurrounded the port or *Cothon*, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city, that was near it; but the night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his ſoldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thou-
e ſand men from the camp, who, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of *Apollo*, which was immenſely rich, and divided the booty amongſt themſelves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance againſt the enemy. *Æmilianus*, by the occupation of this ſquare and poſſeſſion of the wall, being maſter of every part of the city, but *Byrſa* or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this laſt with inexpreſſible bravery. The *Carthaginians* having been greatly weakened by a famine, inſomuch, that they had been obliged to feed, for ſome time, upon human fleſh, and had ſcarce ſtrength to handle their arms, he, in ſix days, effected this. However, in the conteſt he loſt a vaſt number of men, and gained his point with the utmoſt difficulty. Moſt of thoſe who had fled into *Byrſa*, were ſo intimidated at the approach of the *Roman* army, that they ſurrendered upon the pro-
f conſul's granting them their lives. *Aſdrubal*, the commandant, ſoon after abandoned the reſt of them, and put himſelf into the hands of the *Romans*. His wife could not ſurvive ſuch an inſtance of perfidiouſneſs, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred *Roman* deſerters, to whom *Æmilianus* had denied mercy, committed herſelf, as well as her children, to the flames, that deſtroyed both the citadel, and the famous temple of *Æſculapius* upon it. *Appian* tells us, that, before ſhe acted this tragedy, ſhe appeared in ſplendid attire, with her children, upon the walls, and addreſſed herſelf to *Scipio* in terms to the following effect: "May the gods, *Roman*, "be propitious to you, who act according to the rules of war; but may you, and "the

Æmilianus *takes* Byrſa, *and deſtroys* Carthage.

[s] Iidem ibid. & Liv. in epit. li. Flor. l. ii. c. 15. [t] Liv. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

" the genius of *Carthage*, take vengeance of that miſcreant *Aſdrubal*, the betrayer a
" of his wife, children, country, and religion!" Then turning to *Aſdrubal*, who ſtood
by *Æmilianus*, " Abandoned villain, ſaid ſhe, and moſt cowardly of mortals! both
" I, and theſe my children, ſhall be ſoon buried in theſe flames; but as for you,
" great general of *Carthage*, what a ſplendid triumph will you be reſerved to grace!
" What tortures may you not expect to ſuffer!" This put a period to the ſtate
of *Carthage*, and conſequently to the diſpute for the empire of the world, which had
continued almoſt without intermiſſion, betwixt two of the moſt famous republics
to be met with in hiſtory, for the ſpace of an hundred and eighteen years. What
inſtructions the conſcript fathers at *Rome* ſent the proconſul, in relation to the total b
demolition of *Carthage*, and how, in conſequence of theſe inſtructions, that unfortu-
nate city was intirely razed, the cities confederated with it diſmantled, as well as
thoſe that had declared for the *Romans* rewarded, and the whole country appertain-
ing to it turned into a province, together with many other particulars relative to the
cataſtrophe we are now upon, our readers will find recited at large in the *Roman*
hiſtory [u].

He carries off an immenſe quantity of plunder to Rome.

Thus fell *Carthage*, in the conſulate of *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*,
about a hundred and forty-ſix years before the commencement of the chriſtian æra;
a city, whoſe deſtruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an aban-
doned faction, compoſed of the moſt profligate part of its citizens, than to the power
of its villainous rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The trea- c
ſure *Æmilianus* carried off, even after the city had been delivered up to the ſoldiers to
be plundered, according to the *Roman* military law, was ſo immenſe, that it exceeded
all belief, *Pliny* making it amount to four (S) millions four hundred and ſeventy thou-
ſand

[u] Iidem ibid. ut & Zonar. ubi ſup. Vide etiam Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 2: Oros. l. iv. c. 23. Flor. & Aurel. Vict. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 12. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 778, 779.

(S) This was not the only treaſure *Æmilianus* met with now in *Carthage*. According to *Salluſt*, he preſerved from the flames ſeveral valuable libraries, which he preſented to the ſons of *Micipſa*. The works of all the moſt noted *Phœnician* and *Punic* authors were undoubtedly included in theſe collections, ſome of the principal of which, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were the following:

1. *Dius*, a celebrated *Phœnician* hiſtorian, a fragment of whoſe work, relating to the friendly intercourſe betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, has been preſerved to us by *Joſephus*, in the eighth book of his antiquities, and the firſt of his treatiſe againſt *Apion*.

2. *Eumachus*, a *Carthaginian* writer, cited by *Phlegon*, who, amongſt other things, related, that, whilſt the *Carthaginians* were drawing a line round *Africa Propria*, they diſcovered two human skeletons, depoſited in two coffins, of an enormous ſize. One of theſe, according to *Phlegon*, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto diſcovered.

3. *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, who, according to *Freculphus Lexovienſis*, a chronological hiſtorian, that lived near nine hundred years ago, wrote a hiſtory of *Phœnicia*. For a further account of him, we muſt refer our readers to *Voſſius*.

4. *Heſtiæus Mileſius*, a compiler of *Phœnician* hiſtory, taken notice of by *Joſephus*, in the tenth book of his *Jewiſh* antiquities.

5. *Hypſicrates*, a native, as ſhould ſeem of *Phœnicia*, who compoſed a hiſtory of that country in the *Phœnician* language. A *Greek* tranſlation of this author, done by one *Chœtus*, if not the original itſelf, was extant in the time of *Tatian*. He is likewiſe taken notice of by *Euſebius*, in the tenth book of his *Præparatio evangelica*.

6. *Iolaus*, a compiler of *Phœnician* hiſtory, whoſe works are all loſt, except a few fragments, which ſeem intirely fabulous. From what *Bochart*, *Geſner*, and *Voſſius*, have related of him, the loſs of his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. *Mochus* or *Moſchus*, a *Phœnician*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country in his mother-tongue. *Chœtus*, above-mentioned, tranſlated this piece into *Greek*. *Joſephus*, *Tatian*, and *Athenæus*, ſupply us with the ſhort account we have of him.

8. *Moſchus Sidonius*, a native of *Sidon*, who, according to *Strabo*, ſeems to have been the founder of the atomical philoſophy.

9. *Procles*, a *Carthaginian* hiſtorian, ſome of whoſe fragments have been preſerved to us by *Pauſanias*.

10. *Sanchoniatho*, a *Phœnician* hiſtorian, who, according to the moſt received opinion, lived a little before the ſiege of *Troy*. He extracted his hiſtory, which was written in the *Phœnician* language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the ſacred writings depoſited in temples. *Philo* of *Byblus*, who, according to *Suidas*, lived in the reign of *Hadrian*, tranſlated this hiſtory into *Greek*, ſome extracts of which we find in the firſt book of *Euſebius*'s *Præparatio evangelica*. *Suidas* informs us, that he wrote one treatiſe of the religious inſtitutions of the *Phœnicians*; another of *Hermes*'s phyſiology; and a third of the *Egyptian* theology. *Porphyry* makes him to have been of *Berytus*; but he was of *Tyre*, if we will give credit to *Athenæus*.

11. *Theodotus*, a writer of *Phœnician* hiſtory, whoſe performance *Chœtus* tranſlated into *Greek*. Our readers will find every thing relating to him, that antiquity has ſupplied us with, in *Bochart* and *Voſſius* (25).

(25) *Strab. l.* xvi. *& alib. Joſeph. antiq. & cont. Apion. paſſ. Euſeb. in præp. evang. paſſ. Heſtiæus Mileſius apud Joſeph. in antiq. Judaic. l.* iii. *Phlegon. Trallian. de reb. mirabil. c.* 18. *Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* iii. iv. *& alib. Tatian. in orat. adverſ. gent. Voſſ. de art. hiſtor. c.* 7. *& de hiſt. Græc. l.* iii. *Geſn. in biblioth. & Bochart. in Chan. Suid. paſſ. Porphyr, adverſ. chriſtian. l.* iv. *Vide etiam Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. Bochart. in Chan. Caſaub. animadverſ. in Athen. Reinec. hiſt. Jul. Chriſt. Hendr. de repub. Carthagin. paſſ. alioſq; ſcript. quamplurim.*

a ſand pounds weight of ſilver. The iniquity of the *Roman* conduct at the commencement, as well as through the whole courſe, of this war, is acknowledged by *Velleius* and other hiſtorians, who cannot be ſuſpected of the leaſt partiality in favour of the *Carthaginians*. In fine, *Rome*, though, in a manner, miſtreſs of the world, could not imagine herſelf in a ſtate of ſecurity, as long as even the name of *Carthage* remained; ſo true is it, that a rivetted antipathy, fomented by long and bloody wars, continues even after all cauſe for fear is removed, and does not ceaſe, till the object that occaſions it is no more. The *Romans* ordered it never to be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any part of it, eſpecially *Byrſa* and *Megara*. However, all perſons who
b deſired it, were admitted to ſee *Carthage*, nothing affording *Æmilianus* a higher ſatisfaction, than to have people view the ruins of a city, which had contended with *Rome* for ſuperiority ſuch a ſeries of years. The *Carthaginian* priſoners, ſent to *Rome*, were diſtributed in the various provinces of *Italy*, as already related. In confirmation of what we have advanced above concerning the duration of *Carthage*, we muſt here beg leave to obſerve, that *Syncellus* aſſerts this city to have ſtood ſeven hundred and forty-eight years, which almoſt intirely correſponds with Sir *Iſaac Newton*, *Salmaſius*, *Petavius*, &c. and therefore may be conſidered as an additional argument in favour of what thoſe great men have offered on that head [w].

ABOUT twenty-four years after this ſtately metropolis had been laid in aſhes by
c *Æmilianus*, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate, *C. Gracchus*, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himſelf with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, to that end, conducted thither a colony of ſix thouſand *Roman* citizens. The workmen, according to *Plutarch*, were terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city; which the ſenate being informed of, would have ſuſpended the attempt: but the tribune, little affected with ſuch preſages, continued carrying on the work, and finiſhed it in a few days. From hence it ſeems probable, that only a ſlight kind of hurts were erected, eſpecially ſince we are told by *Velleius*, that *Marius*, after his flight into *Africa*, lived in a poor, mean condition amidſt the ruins of *Carthage*, conſoling himſelf by the ſight of ſo
d aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle, and himſelf at the ſame time ſerving, in ſome meaſure, as a conſolation to that ill-fated city. But whether *Gracchus* executed his deſign, as *Plutarch* intimates, or the work was intirely diſcontinued, in compliance with the ſenate's orders, as *Appian* ſuggeſts, it is certain this was the firſt *Roman* colony, that ever was ſent out of *Italy* [x].

Carthage afterwards rebuilt by the Romans *themſelves.*

Appian relates, that *Julius Cæſar*, having landed his forces in *Africa*, to put an end to the war with *Pompey*'s adherents there, ſaw, in a dream, an army compoſed of a prodigious number of ſoldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, ſtruck with the viſion, he wrote down in his pocket-book the deſign he formed, on this occaſion, of rebuilding *Carthage* and *Corinth*; but that being murdered ſoon after
e in the *curia* at *Rome* by the conſpirators, he was not able to execute it. However, ſays the ſame author, *Auguſtus Cæſar*, his adopted ſon, finding this memoir amongſt his papers, built a city at ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſpot on which ancient *Carthage* ſtood, which he called by the ſame name, in order to avoid the ill effects of thoſe imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its deſtruction. Thither he ſent a colony of three thouſand men, who were ſoon joined by conſiderable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by *Appian*, is not ſo conſiſtent with what we find advanced by *Strabo*, who intimates, that both *Carthage* and *Corinth* were rebuilt at the ſame time by *Julius Cæſar*. It is certain this laſt author, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Tiberius*, affirms *Carthage*
f in his time to have been equal, if not ſuperior, to the largeſt city in *Africa*; which can ſcarce be admitted, if we ſuppoſe it to have been built by *Auguſtus*, after the concluſion of all his wars; and, till that time, it is not natural to ſuppoſe him to have built it. Be that as it will, *Plutarch* follows *Strabo*, and therefore, in oppoſition to *Appian*, gives a ſanction to his authority. *Pliny* mentions it as a very conſiderable colony in his days, though the town then was not of ſo large an extent, as

And, after various turns of fortune, is at laſt razed by the Saracens. that

[w] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxxiii. c. 11. VEL. PATERC. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. POLYB. in excerpt. legat. cxviii. APPIAN. ubi ſup. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. GEORG. SYNCELL. in chronograph. p. 293. Vide D. AUGUST. de civ. Dei, iii. 41. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 718, 719. AUG. de civ. Dei, iii. 21. THEMIST. in orat. x. de pac. ad Valent. alioſq; mult. [x] APPIAN. ubi ſup. PLUT. in Gracch. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 19. LIV. in epit. lx.

that deſtroyed by *Æmilianus*. *Solinus* gives us to underſtand, that the town built by a *Gracchus* was called *Junonia*, and, for ſome time of little note, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the conſulate of *M. Antonius* and *P. Dolabella*, it made ſuch a figure, that it was eſteemed the ſecond city in the *Roman* dominions; which, in our opinion, adds ſome weight to the laſt obſervation of *Strabo*. It was looked upon as the capital of *Africa* for ſeveral centuries after the commencement of the chriſtian æra. *Maxentius* laid it in aſhes about the ſixth or ſeventh year of *Conſtantine*'s reign. *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, took it *A. C.* 439. but, about a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the *Roman* empire by that renowned commander *Beliſarius*. At laſt the *Saracens*, under *Mohammed*'s ſucceſſors, towards the cloſe of the ſeventh century, ſo completely deſtroyed it, that b no other traces or footſteps of it are now to be diſcovered, than thoſe we have already taken notice of in the firſt ſection of the *Carthaginian* hiſtory [y].

[y] Appian. in Libyc. ſub fin. Strab. l. xvii. p. 833. Plut. in Cæſ. Dio Cass. l. xliii. & l. lii. Plin. l. v. c. 4. Solin. c. 27. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 21. Oros. l. v. c. 12. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 663. Mermol. l. ii. c. 9, 10. D. Bern. Aldret. in var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. Afric. y otras provinc. l. iv. c. 25. p. 619, 620.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The history of the Numidians, *to the conquest of their country by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Numidia.

The limits of Numidia.

a THE limits of the region, called *Numidia*, have been differently defined by the antient geographers. *Pliny* gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers *Tusca* and *Ampsaga*; which includes the *Numidia Nova* of *Ptolemy*, together with the district of the *Cirtesii*. *Mela* affirms it to have extended from the river *Molochath* or *Mulucha*, to the borders of *Africa Propria*, which he seems to have fixed at a small distance from the city of *Cirta*. But its boundaries are certainly the best ascertained by *Strabo*, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Dio*, makes it to have comprehended the kingdoms of the *Massyli* and *Masæsyli*, the last of which was bounded on the west by the *Mulucha*, as the first was on the east by the *Tusca*. *Dionysius Afer*, *Silius Italicus*, and *Appian*, as well as the b former historians, add no small weight to *Strabo*; for which reason, our readers will permit us to give a geographical description of *Numidia* upon the plan he has laid down [a].

Numidia *had different bounds assigned it at different times.*

Numidia then was limited on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the south by *Gætulia*, or part of *Libya Interior*; on the west by the *Mulucha*, which separated it from *Mauritania*; and on the east by the *Tusca*, a boundary it had in common with *Africa Propria*. If we suppose *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Mulucha*, *Molochath*, and the present *Mullooïah* of the *Algerines* to be the same river, and the modern *Zaine* to correspond with the antient *Tusca*, as the learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* seems to have rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length, *Twunt*, the c western *Algerine* frontier, about fifty miles to the east of the former river, being in 0° 16′ W. long from *London*, and *Tabarka*, the antient *Tabraca*, upon the latter, in 9° 16′ to the east of that city. The breadth cannot be easily ascertained; but, supposing it to have been nearly the same with that of the present kingdom of *Algiers*, as there is good reason to apprehend it was, in the narrowest part it must have been about forty miles, that being the distance near *Tlemsan* from the desert or *Sahara* to the sea-coast, and above a hundred in the broadest, *Jijel* being in N. lat. 36° 55′, and *Lowtaiah*, situated amongst the mountains of *Atlas*, in 34° 50′. In the *Carthaginian* times, *Numidia* contained two considerable nations, the most powerful of which, according to *Strabo*, was called the *Massyli*, and the other the *Masæ*d *syli* or *Massæsyli*. The country inhabited by the *Massæsyli* is, by some authors, esteemed a part of *Mauritania*; but *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*, whose authority will bear down that of all other writers in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was considered as appertaining to *Mauritania* in after-ages by the *Romans*, we learn from *Dio*, who not only intimates this, but likewise asserts, that it had the name of *Mauritania Cæsariensis* given it by the emperor *Claudius* [b].

Numidia,

[a] Plin. l. v. c. 3. Ptol. l. iv. c. 2. Pompon. Mel. l. i. c. 6. Strab. l. xvii. p. 570. Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 48. & l. xxviii. c. 17. Dio. Cass. l. xli. p. 172. Dionys. Perieg. ver. 187. Sil. Ital. l. xvi. ver. 170, & 183. Appian. in civil. l. iv. p. 995, & alib. [b] Plin. Mel. Strab. Ptol. &c. ubi sup. Dio. Cass. l lx. p. 671. Is. Voss. in Mel. ubi sup. Dr. Shaw's geographical observations of Algiers, c. 1.

The extent of Numidia.

Numidia, including *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, or that of the *Maſæſyli*, extended from 34° 50′ to 37° N. lat. and from 1° 15′ W. to 9° 16′ E. of *London*. *Ptolemy* is as inaccurate and erroneous in his geography of this country, as we have before ſhewn him to be in that of *Africa Propria*; for he places *The Great Promontory* in 35°, and the *Ampſaga* in 31° 45′ N. lat. and ſo in proportion of the interjacent places, whereby that part of the coaſt is laid down nearly in an E. S. E. direction; whereas, according to the lateſt obſervations, to the *Promontorium Apollinis* it is N. E. and from thence to the *Ampſaga*, inclining to the N. In ſhort, according to the ſame obſervations, *Ptolemy* differs ſo widely from the truth in the whole, that thoſe places, which he has fixed in a ſouthern inclination, ſhould have had a northern one; and *The Great Promontory*, which he has placed 3° 15′ to the northward of the *Ampſaga*, is really 1° 37′ S. of it. Several places likewiſe of this country he has put five degrees farther ſouth, than, in fact, they are found to be. The region formerly poſſeſſed by the *Maſſyli*, from the moſt accurate obſervations of the moderns, in conjunction with the hints given us by the antients, ſeems to have extended itſelf from 34° 50′ to 37° N. lat. and from 6° 30′ to 9° 16′ E. long. from *London*. From hence the ſituation and extent of the *Maſæſylian* kingdom may likewiſe be eaſily determined [c].

The country of the Maſſyli.

The country of the *Maſſyli*, *Numidia Propria*, or, as ſome authors call it, *Terra Metagonitis*, was ſeparated from the proper territory of *Carthage* by its eaſtern boundary the river *Tuſca*, and from the kingdom of the *Maſæſyli*, or *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, if we will believe *Pliny*, by the *Ampſaga*. It ſeems to correſpond with that part of the province of *Conſtantia* lying between the *Zaine* and the *Wed el Kibeer*, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The ſea-coaſt of this province is, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky, anſwering appoſitely enough to the appellation given it by *Abulfeda*, viz. *El Adwah*, *the high* or *lofty*. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories that formed the kingdom of the *Maſæſyli*, though this nation is repreſented as leſs potent than the *Maſſyli* by *Strabo*. We ſhall only mention ſuch of the principal places ſeated in it, as have been taken the greateſt notice of by the antients, the bounds we have preſcribed ourſelves obliging us, at preſent, to paſs over all the reſt [d].

Cirta.

The capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was *Cirta*, a place of very conſiderable note amongſt the antients. It ſtood about forty-eight miles from the ſea, and at a ſmall diſtance from the *Ampſaga*. According to *Strabo*, it was a fortreſs of great ſtrength, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of *Micipſa*, who invited a good number of *Greeks* to come and reſide in it. *Mela* and *Pliny* intimate, that it was likewiſe known by the name of *Sittianorum Colonia* in their time, and in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, when under the dominion of *Syphax*. The latter name it received from the colony ſettled there by *P. Sittius*, who, having been of ſingular ſervice to *Cæſar* in the *African* war, received a great extent of territory in thoſe parts, which formerly belonged to *Manaſſes*, one of *Juba*'s confederates, from that prince, as we learn from *Appian* and *Dio*; for which reaſon we find it called *Cirta Julia* by *Ptolemy*, who names the territory adjacent to it, *the diſtrict of the* Cirteſii, which he ſeparates from *Numidia*, making it to include the cities of *Vaga*, *Miræum*, *Lares*, *Ætara*, and *Azama*. That *Cirta* was one of the largeſt, as well as ſtrongeſt, cities of *Numidia*, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, and the commodiouſneſs of its ſituation; for the greateſt part of it was built upon a kind of peninſular promontory, inacceſſible on all ſides, except towards the ſouth-weſt. This promontory was a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the ſouthward, but terminating in a precipice of a northern direction, and above an hundred fathom in perpendicular. Here a beautiful landſkip aroſe from a moſt agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themſelves to a great diſtance. To the eaſtward the proſpect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the ſouth-eaſt, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of *Cirta* with a diſtant view of the high mountain, called at preſent *Ziganeah*, as well as thoſe large and fertile eminences, whoſe modern name is *Seedy Rougeiſe*. The peninſular promontory above-mentioned, in the direction we are now upon, was ſeparated from the neighbouring plains by a deep, narrow valley, perpendicular on both ſides, where a rivulet, that ſeems to have been

[c] Ptol. & Shaw, ubi ſup.

[d] Strab. l. ii. Plin. Mel. Ptol. ubi ſup. Abulfed. in geogr. ex traduct. V. C. I. Gagnier. Shaw, ubi ſup. c. 7. & alib.

a a branch of the *Ampſaga*, the modern *Rummel* of the *Algerines*, conveyed its ſtream; and over which there was formerly a bridge of moſt excellent workmanſhip. The iſthmus, near which ſtood the principal gate of the city, is about half a ſtadium broad, being intirely covered at preſent with a ſeries of broken walls, ciſterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a ſmall plain parallel to the valley above deſcribed. The moſt eminent fragments of antiquity ſtill remaining are, 1. A particular ſet of ciſterns near the centre of the city, being about twenty in number, and forming an area of fifty yards ſquare. 2. The aqueduct, whoſe remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the ciſterns, ſufficiently demonſtrate the wealth, public ſpirit, and magnificence of the *Numidian*
b princes, who held their reſidence here. 3. Part of a large and noble edifice, four of whoſe baſes, ſeven foot in diameter, ſtill in their places, ſeem to have formed part of the portico. This ſtands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place where the *Turkiſh* gariſon of *Conſtantina* is always poſted. That name was given *Cirta* in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, who repaired and adorned it, according to *Aurelius Victor*. *Cirta* was the metropolis of *Maſiniſſa*'s dominions, that prince himſelf, his father *Gala*, and ſeveral other kings of the ſame family, reſiding there, as we learn from *Polybius*, *Livy*, and others. *Strabo* informs us, that *Micipſa* took care to render it ſo large, populous, and flouriſhing, that, in his time, it could ſend into the field an army of twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. From
c its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, and founded by the *Phœnicians*, even before *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa*; for *Cirta* or *Certa* ſeems to have ſignified *city* in the *Phœnician* language when *Hercules* built *Carteia*, about the time that he firſt came into theſe parts, as we learn from *Heſychius*, who tells us, that one of his names was *Melicerta*, i. e. *king of* Certa, Cirta, or *the city*. We have likewiſe already obſerved, that the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, when expelled their native country by *Joſhua*, fled into *Numidia*; and that ſeveral proper names of places here were *Phœnician*; nay, we have, from ſome good authors, rendered it probable, that the *Phœnicians* ſettled in *Numidia* and *Mauritania* long before the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſſed them of the land of *Canaan*. It may not be improper to add, that the antient *Cirta* was
d much larger than the modern *Conſtantina*, which is about 6° 36′ eaſt of *London*, and in north latitude 36° 20′ [e].

Vaga, a large city, according to *Ptolemy*, a few miles eaſt of *Cirta*. *Plutarch* calls it *Baga*, and *Salluſt Vacca*; which is the name likewiſe given it by *Silius*, *Pliny*, and St. *Auſtin*. The *Romans* placed a ſtrong gariſon here under the command of *Turpilius*, as we learn from *Salluſt* and *Plutarch* [f]. Vaga.

Lares, a town ſouth-eaſt of *Cirta*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, which ſome think different from that in the itinerary called *Laribus Colonia*, or, according to *Schottus*, *Laribum Colonia*. This place is mentioned by *Salluſt*, and other antient authors [g]. Lares.

Azama, a town which *Ptolemy* makes to be fifteen days journey diſtant from *Car-*
e *thage*, lying ſouth-eaſt of *Cirta*. Some authors imagine this to be the ſame with *Zama*, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the ſignal defeat *Hannibal* received near it. But this is rendered improbable by *Livy* and *Polybius*, who fix *Zama* on a ſpot at leaſt two thirds nearer *Carthage*. *Miræum* and *Ætara*, the other two places in the diſtrict of the *Cirteſii*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, are ſo obſcure, that it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned them [h]. Azama.

About eighteen miles from the *Ampſaga*, at the weſtern bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, or, as it is now called, the gulf of *Stora*, ſtood the *Cullu*, or *Collops Magnus*, of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. There is nothing remaining at preſent of this antient city, but a few miſerable houſes, and a ſmall fort. The modern name is *Cull*, which, as well
f as the antient, might be derived from a ſmall port before it, *Culla* in *Arabic* and *Phœnician* ſignifying *a port*. At the eaſtern extremity of the ſame gulf was the *Ruſicada* of *Ptolemy*, the *Sgigata* or *Stora* of the moderns. A few ciſterns, converted at preſent into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity diſcernible in it. CollopsMagnus.

[e] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. Mel. ubi ſup. Plin. l. v. c. 3. Dio Cass. l. xliii. ſub init. Appian. in civil. l. iv. p. 996. Liv. l. xxx. c. 12, & alib. Sallust. in Jugurth. Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 259, & alib. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. c. 3. Shaw ubi ſup. c. 8. Vide etiam Plut. in Mario, p. 409. Hesych. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 2. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 666. [f] Sallust. Plut. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Vide etiam D. August. cont. Donatiſt. l. iii. c. 6. [g] Sallust. in Jugurth. c. 90. Ptol. ubi ſup. D. August. cont. Donatiſt. l. vi. c. 28. [h] Polyb. l. xv. c. 5. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29. Sallust. in Jugurth. c. 57. Hirt. in B. Afr. c. 91. Plin. l. v. c. 4. Ptol. ubi ſup. & inſcript. vet. apud Gruter. p. 364.

The antient geographers have fixed it fifty or ſixty *Roman* miles from *Cullu*; whereas a in reality it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet ſeems to be the *Tapſas* of *Vibius Sequeſter*[i].

Tacatua. Not many miles to the north-eaſt ſtood the *Tacatua* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary, the *Tuckuſh* of the *Algerines*, at preſent a pleaſant village, with a fruitful country round about it. At ſome diſtance from it, in an eaſtern direction, was the *Sulluco* or *Collops Parvus* of *Ptolemy*, the modern ſmall port of *Tagodeite*[k].

HippoRegius At the weſtern extremity of the gulf of *Hippo*, upon the river *Armua*, was the city of *Hippo Regius*, a place we have had occaſion to mention frequently in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* hiſtory. Upon the ſpot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is ſtill to be ſeen. According to *Leo Africanus*, the city of *Bona*, b or, as the *Moors* call it, *Blaid el Aneb*, *Town of Jujebs*, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of theſe ruins. This ſeems to be confirmed by the name *Bona*, which is undoubtedly a corruption of *Hippo* or *Hippona*. It is probable, that *Bona* has the ſame ſituation that *Ptolemy's Aphrodiſium* had, ſince he places it fifteen miles to the north of *Hippo*. The ruins of *Hippo* take up a ſpace about half a league in circumference, conſiſting, as uſual, of large broken walls and ciſterns. This city was called *Hippo Regius*, becauſe it was, for ſome time, the ſeat of the *Numidian* kings, as *Silius Italicus* informs us. And indeed its commodious ſituation both for hunting and commerce, the ſalubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, the delightful proſpect they enjoyed, which took c in the ſea, a ſpacious harbour, a variety of mountains covered with trees, and plains diverſified with rivers, fountains, and fertile ſpots of ground, in a moſt beautiful manner, all at once, demonſtrate this city to be as worthy of ſuch an honour, as any other in the *Numidian* dominions. We have before ſhewn the word *Hippo* to be of *Phœnician* extraction, which is a proof, that the antient inhabitants were of the ſame origin. We ſhall reſerve the deſcription of *Bona* for the hiſtory of *Algiers*, to which it will more properly belong[l].

Tabraca. *Thabraca* or *Tabraca* was a maritime city of *Numidia Propria*, ſeated on the weſtern bank of the *Tuſca*. *Mela*, *Juvenal*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Auſtin*, all make mention of it. *Pliny* inſinuates, that it was a *Roman* colony in the latter ages. The ruins of d it are ſtill remaining, and out of them has ſprung the modern *Tabarca*, where there are ſeveral broken walls and ciſterns, with a ſmall fort and gariſon of *Tuniſeens*. *Bochart* ſays, that *Thabraca* was a *Phœnician* word, and equivalent to the *Latin Frondoſa*, which, he ſhews, might be properly enough applied to this place, from that verſe of *Juvenal*:

Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca ſaltus. Sat. x. ver. 194[m].

Naragara. *Naragara* or *Nadagara*, a very antient town, ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance ſouth-weſt of *Tabraca*, on the confines of *Africa Propria*. Here, towards the conclu- e ſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, *Scipio* is ſaid to have encamped for the benefit of the water, *Hannibal* at the ſame time taking poſt upon an eminence four miles diſtant from him. *Polybius* ſeems to have called this place *Margaron*. It is ſuppoſed, that ſome fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this antient city, are ſtill to be ſeen[n].

Sicca. Somewhere in this tract we are to look for *Sicca*, *Sicca Venerea*, or, as ſome will have it, *Venerea*. But, as we have taken notice of this place elſewhere, as well as the lewd cuſtom prevailing in it, and as its ſituation cannot, with any preciſion, be aſcertained, we ſhall drop all further particulars relating to it[o].

Thirmida. *Thirmida*, a town of this province, where *Hiempſal*, according to *Salluſt*, loſt his life; but whether it ſtood on the borders of the *Maſſyli*, or remote from them, for f want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, we ſhall not take upon us to determine[p].

Suthul. *Suthul*, a city where that prince's treaſure was depoſited, as we are informed by the ſame hiſtorian. It ſhould ſeem probable from ſome hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from *Thirmida*[q].

Madaura,

[i] Plin. l. v. c. 3. Solin. c. 26. Vib. Sequest. de flumin. Ptol. ubi ſup. & Itinerar. Antonin. [k] Plin. Ptol. Itiner. & Shaw, ubi ſup. [l] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. Liv. l. Shaw ubi ſup. c. 7. xxix. c. 3. Plin. & Mel. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 259. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 4. J. Leo African. p. 211. Shaw ubi ſup. & Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 88. [m] Plin. l. v. c. 3. Pomp. Mel. l. i. c. 7. Ptol. ubi ſup. J. Leo African. p. 287. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Shaw ubi ſup. [n] Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29. Shaw ubi ſup. [o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 697. Vide & Sallust. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. [p] Sallust. in Jugurth. c. 12. [q] Idem ibid. c. 37.

a *Madaura*, a city, as may be inferred from St. *Auſtin*, in the neighbourhood of *Sicca Venerea*, *Tagaſte*, and *Hippo Regius*. It was famous for the birth of *Apuleius* the *Platonic* philoſopher; which is all we can ſay of it[r]. Madaura.

As for *Sava*, *Gemellæ*, *Calama*, *Lambeſa*, *Theveſte*, *Tadutti*, *Sigus*, *Tipaſa*, *Simiſthu*, *Lamaſba*, and an infinite number of other obſcure places, mentioned chiefly, if not ſolely, by *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, *Peutinger*'s table, the *Notitia*, *Æthicus*, *Oroſius*, and others, who lived below that period of time, to which we muſt here confine ourſelves, as they cannot improve our idea of any ſingle fact or circumſtance relative to the hiſtory we are now upon, our readers will not only excuſe a deſcription, but even a bare enumeration of them. It will be ſufficient, in order to complete our geogra- Sava, &c.

b phical deſcription of this province, to give a ſuccinct account of the moſt remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, iſlands, and ſome of the principal curioſities of it, to which we ſhall beg leave to premiſe a word or two concerning the mediterranean part of it[s].

We have already obſerved, that the ſea-coaſt of this province was, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky. To which we ſhall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diverſified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew leſs capable of culture, in proportion as it approached the *Sahara*. In many places, for ſeveral leagues together, nothing was to be ſeen but a ſolitary deſert, void both of all animals, and every thing proper for their ſupport; in others fruitful

c diſtricts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the moſt delicious pomgranates, apples, &c. afforded a moſt delightful proſpect to travellers. But the natural hiſtory, both of *Numidia Propria*, and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, our readers may expect in a proper place[t]. *The ſea-coaſt of this province mountainous.*

The firſt ridge of mountains we ſhall take notice of is, that upon the borders of *Gætulia*, which terminated the country between the parallels of *Sitifi* and *Cirta*, called by the antients *Buzara*. 2. That called *Thambes*, extending itſelf as far as *Tabraca*. 3. The *Mampſarus* of *Ptolemy*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*, which ſeparated that country, or the *Sahara*, from the *Mauritania Sitifenſis*. 4. The *Mons Audus* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mons Auraſius* of the middle age, known at preſent amongſt the

d *Turks* by the name *Jibbel Aureſs* or *Evreſs*. All of which will hereafter be deſcribed[u]. *The mountains of it.*

The firſt promontory that falls under our obſervation is the *Tritum* of *Strabo*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of the *Ampſaga*, called at preſent the *Sebba Rous*, or *Seven Capes*, by the *Algerines*. 2. The *Hippi Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, the *Mabra* of the ſea-charts, about twenty leagues eaſt of the former. It goes now among the *Algerines* by the name *Ras el Hamrah*, i. e. *The Red Cape*, and has the ruins of two ſmall buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league diſtant from the *Hippi Promontorium*, to the northward, is the *Stoborrum Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*. This was in the gulf of *Hippo*, and about a league from the city of that name[w]. *The promontories.*

e

Of the rivers which water *Numidia Propria*, the moſt remarkable are the following: 1. The *Ampſaga*, which ſeparated this region from that of the *Maſæſyli* or *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*. That river fell into the ſea about ſix leagues to the weſt of *Cullu*, and is at preſent named the *Wed el Kibeer*, or *Great River*; which very well tallies with the ſignification of the word *Ampſaga*, *Aphſah* importing in *Arabic broad*, *large*, *ample*, &c. At preſent it appears to be made up of the following branches: The *Wed el Dſahah*, *River of Gold*, whoſe ſource is at *Kaſbaite*, a heap of ruins ſixty miles to the ſouth-weſt; the rivulet of *Jimmeelah*, in the ſame direction nearly with the *Wed el Dſahah*, but at a little more than forty miles diſtance; the *Wed el*

f *Hammam*, twenty miles to the weſt of *Conſtantina*; the *Wed el Sigan*, fifteen miles to the ſouth-weſt from *Phyſgeah*; and the ſprings of *Hydrah*, about half that diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt. The modern geographers have generally conducted the chanel of their *Ampſaga* towards the gulf of *Cull*; whereas the *Wed el Kibeer*, which truly anſwers to the *Ampſaga* of the antients, has no ſuch direction, but falls into the ſea ſix leagues to the weſtward. *Cellarius* ſeems to fix its ſource in that ridge of mountains, by *Ptolemy* called *Buzara*, upon the borders of the *Sahara*; which *The rivers.*

runs

[r] Apul. Madaurens. in metamorphoſ. l. xi. de Platon. philoſ. l. iii. & in apol. D. Aug. in confeſ. l. ii. c. 3. [s] Vide Ptol. Itinerar. Antonin. Peuting. tab. Notit. Æthic. Oros. &c.
[t] Abulfed. & Shaw, ubi ſup. [u] Plin. Ptol. & Shaw, ubi ſup. [w] Mel. l. i. c. 7. Strab. l. xvii. Ptol. & Shaw, ubi ſup.

runs counter to the lateſt and moſt accurate obſervations. 2. The *Armua* of *Pliny*, a
the modern *Sei-bouſe*, which emptied itſelf into the weſtern extremity of the gulf of
Hippo. This frequently lodges great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the
neighbouring ſhore, and, by reaſon of the low ſituation of the adjacent country,
occaſions frequent inundations. 3. The *Rubricatus* of *Ptolemy*, or *Ma-fragg* of the
Algerines, has its fountains on ſome hills, that lie at a little diſtance to the ſouth of
Hippo, its mouth being about four leagues eaſterly from that of the *Armua*. *Bochart*
thinks, that the word *Rubricatus* is a *Latin* one, equivalent to the *Punic* or *Phœnician*
Siſara, i. e. *Red* or *Purple*; and that both the river and lake ſo called deduced their
name from that dye, the preparation of which the *Africans* and *Carthaginians* were
ſo famous for; which notion ſeems to be confirmed by *Pliny* and *Dioſcorides*, but par- b
ticularly by *Herodotus*, who informs us, that the *Zygantes*, the antient inhabitants of
this country, beſmeared themſelves with a liquid ſubſtance of that colour. We are
told, that the mouth of this river is at preſent generally ſtopped up with a high bank
of ſand, raiſed by the north and north-eaſt winds; ſo that it is ſeldom open, but
after long and heavy rains. 4. The *Tuſca*, called now the *Zaine*, the boundary of
this province on the ſide of *Africa Propria*. It is ſaid, that, in the language of the
neighbouring *Kabyles*, or remains of the old *Africans*, the word *Zaine* denotes an *oak-*
tree, and conſequently approaches pretty near in ſignification to *Thabraca*, the *Phœ-*
nician name of the frontier town upon this river above-mentioned. The *Zaine* has its
ſource in the adjacent mountains; which is contrary to what *Leo* has advanced [x]. c

Fountains. All the moſt noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Thoſe
to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been juſt touched upon.
And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of *Zama*, whoſe waters, if drunk copiouſly,
rendered the voice loud and ſonorous, according to *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. This extra-
ordinary quality, if *Bochart* may be credited, gave name both to the fountain and the
town; for זמר *Zamar*, *cecinit*, *ſonorus fuit*, and in *Pihel* זמר *Zimmer*, *canere fecit*, *ſono-*
rum eſſe fecit, &c. plainly allude to it. The eliſion of the R was very common in
oriental words adopted into other languages; as in *Vacca* from בקר *Bacar*, Μῦσα from
מזסר *Muſar*, *Mappa*, from מפר *Mapar*, &c. The town of *Zamar* was ſituated near d
the ſource of the *Ampſaga*; and if we ſuppoſe it to have occupied the ſame ſpot of
ground that *Marmol*'s *Zamor* or *Zamora* does, *Bochart*'s etymon will appear extremely
probable. *Zama* was the city in which king *Juba* reſided, and was levelled with
the ground by the *Romans*, according to *Strabo* [y].

The only iſlands, as far as we can recollect, that were ever ſuppoſed to have
been adjacent to this region, were, 1. The *Inſulæ Naxicæ* or *Pithecuſæ* of *Scylax*,
oppoſite to *Collops Magnus*, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to *Europe*
than *Africa*. 2. The iſland of *Tabraca* near the mouth of the *Zaine*, or *Tuſca*, now
in the poſſeſſion of the *Genoeſe*, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of
Algiers [z]. e

Curioſities of this province. The principal curioſities of *Numidia Propria* are, 1. The large marſhy plain
between *Blaid el Aneb* and *Hippo*, with the river *Booemah*, which hath a bridge of
Roman workmanſhip upon it. 2. The *Roman* inſcriptions found diſperſed all over
this province. 3. The rich lead mines in the mountains of *Beni Boo-Taleb*. 4. The
lukewarm ſprings, bubbling within a large ſquare baſon of *Roman* workmanſhip,
which ſeem to be the *Aquæ Calidæ* or *Aquæ Tibilitanæ* of the antients, lying about
ten leagues to the ſouth-weſt of *Hippo Regius*, and ſixteen to the eaſt of *Cirta* or *Con-*
ſtantina. To which we might add ſeveral others, did we not reſerve them for the
natural hiſtory of the kingdom of *Algiers* [a].

The limits and extent of the Regio Maſæ-*ſylorum.* The limits and extent of the *Regio Maſæſylorum* of *Strabo*, or the *Mauritania* f
Cæſarienſis of *Dio*, being that tract lying between the *Mulucha* and *Ampſaga*, is already
aſcertained, by the determination of thoſe of *Numidia* in general, and *Numidia Pro-*
pria, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, in particular. The length indeed of the former
province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not conſiderable,
being at a mean only about twenty leagues, except in that part, which bordered upon
the confines of the *Maſſyli*. It lay betwixt 34° 30′ and 37° N. lat. and extended
from

[x] Herodot. l. iv. Plin. l v. c. 3. & l. xxxv. c. 6. Dioscorid. l. v. Ptol. ubi ſup. Strabo, Mel. Solin. ubi ſup. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24, & alib. J. Leo African. p. 287. Geogr. Nubienſ. & Shaw paſſ. [y] Plin. l. xxxi. c. 2. Vitruv. l. viii. c. 4. Strab. l. xvii. Marmol. in deſcript. d'Afr. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. [z] Scylax Caryand. peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 142. Marmol. l. v. c. 54. [a] Ptol. & Shaw ibid.

a from 1° 15′ W. to 6° 30′ E. long. from *London*, incuding that part of the country of the weſtern *Moors* bounded on the weſt by the *Mullooia*, and on the eaſt by the mountains of *Trara*, the provinces of the kingdom of *Algiers* called *Tlemſan* and *Titterie*, together with the eaſtern part of that going by the name of *Conſtantina*. The principal cities (A), rivers, mountains, promontories, *&c.* we ſhall touch upon in the conciſeſt manner poſſible [z].

Igilgili, a town of this tract, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward of the *Ampſaga*, where, according to *Pliny*, *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Ptolemy* places this town half a degree to the ſouthward of *Saldæ*, in a ſituation contrary to that of the modern *Jijel*, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. *Shaw* b takes this place to be the *Igilgili* of the antients. It is ſcarce to be doubted but this town was much older than the time of *Auguſtus*, becauſe the name *Igilgili*, which *Pliny* intimates it to have had in the *Auguſtan* age, was apparently not of *Roman* extraction [a]. Igilgili.

Saldæ, another place where *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Ptolemy* makes it to be two degrees diſtant from *Igilgili*, and the itinerary ninety-three miles; which is falſe, if, with the traveller above-mentioned, we admit the modern *Boujeiah* to be the antient *Saldæ*. As there is no manner of affinity betwixt the names *Boujeiah* and *Saldæ*, and the city, which goes by the former name, is but thirteen leagues from *Jijel*, the ſuppoſed *Igilgili* of the antients, perhaps our ſagacious readers will be c inclined to believe them two different towns; which ſentiment we own ourſelves diſpoſed to entertain [b]. Saldæ.

Ruſazus, another *Auguſtan* colony weſt of *Saldæ*, taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary. We remember not this place to be famous in hiſtory for any remarkable tranſaction that happened in or near it [c]. Ruſazus.

Ruſucurium, a city in the neighbourhood of the former, that was highly diſtinguiſhed by the emperor *Claudius*, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by *Pliny* [d]. Ruſucurium.

Ruſconium, another *Roman* colony, that owed its origin to *Auguſtus*, ſeated near the mouth of the *Serbes* or *Serbetes*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ruſtonium*; but we apprehend, d that he ought to be corrected by *Pliny*. In the itinerary we find it named *Ruſguniæ Colonia*. It has been imagined, that a ſmall caſtle on cape *Temendfuſe* or *Metafus*, fifteen miles eaſt of *Algiers*, in ſituation anſwers pretty nearly to it; becauſe *Icoſium*, which is ſuppoſed to have correſponded with the preſent *Algiers*, and *Ruſconium* had the ſame diſtance, and were placed in the ſame direction, according to the itinerary. If this be admitted, *Ruſconium* had a *Cothon*, ſome traces of which are ſtill remaining; and the modern *Dellys* occupies the very ſpot of ground *Ruſucurium* ſtood upon. The three towns laſt-mentioned, from their names, ſeem to have been originally *Libyan* or *Phœnician* [e]. Ruſconium.

Icoſium, whoſe ſituation has juſt been determined, may ſeem to have taken up the e ſpace on which *Algiers* was afterwards built, both from the conſideration already offered, and from ſome *Roman* inſcriptions found in this laſt city, taken notice of by *Gramaye* [f]. Icoſium.

Tipaſa, a *Roman* colony, mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the itinerary: but the town was probably of higher antiquity than the conqueſt of *Numidia* by the *Romans*. It was forty-ſeven miles from *Icoſium*, in a north-eaſt direction; which is an additional argument in favour of *Algiers*'s being the antient *Icoſium*, and likewiſe evinces, that the preſent *Tefeſſad* is the *Tipaſa* of the old geography [g]. Tipaſa.

THE

z Polyb. Liv. Strab. Mel. Plin. Solin. Appian. Ptol. Dio Cass. &c. ubi ſup. Shaw, ibid.
f a Plin. l. v. c. 2. Ptol. & Shaw, ubi ſup. b Iidem ibid. c Iidem ibid. d Iidem ibid.
e Itinerar. Antonin. Plin. Ptol. Shaw, ubi ſup. & p. 88. f Plin. Ptol. Itinerar. Shaw, ubi ſup. Gram. Afr. illuſt. l. vii. c. 1. Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 82. J. Leo. African. p. 204. g Ptol. Plin. Itinerar. Shaw, &c. ubi ſup.

(A) It is probable, that *Miltine*, a town mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, muſt have been near the confines of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, or in that province; but the particular ſpot it occupied, we cannot take upon us to determine. It ſeems probable, from what we find hinted of it by *Diodorus*, to have been a place of conſiderable force, and ſituated in a populous country. As for the cities of *Tocas*, *Phellina*, *Maſchala*, *Acris*, &c. they ſeem to have had their ſituation near the borders of *Africa Propria*. For a confirmation of this, we muſt refer our readers to a former note (1).

(1) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 808. *not.* (Y), (Z), *&* *p.* 809.

Jol. The next city of conſequence on the ſea-coaſt, to the weſtward, was *Jol*, the ſeat of the younger *Juba*, who, out of the great veneration he had for *Auguſtus*, gave it the name of *Cæſarea*, according to *Eutropius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. That it had a port, and an iſland lying in the mouth of it, we are aſſured by *Strabo*; which gives us good grounds to ſuppoſe, that the modern *Sherſhell* anſwers to the *Jol* or *Julia Cæſarea* of the antients. The large circuit, and ſumptuous remains of an old city at *Sherſhell*, together with its ſituation, and many other concurring circumſtances, ſerve likewiſe to render extremely probable ſuch a ſuppoſition. For a full and ample deſcription of the port or *Cothon*, and all other particulars of note relating to *Sherſhell*, ſome of which were doubtleſs applicable to the *Numidian Jol*, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the obſervations of the ingenious traveller ſo frequently cited. We ſhall only add, that a colony was ſettled here by the emperor *Claudius*; and that *Bochart* affirms the word *Jol*, in the original languages, to ſignify *high* or *lofty*; which agrees with the ſituation of the place, and conſequently proves, that it was either founded by the *Orientals*, or by ſome of their deſcendants [g].

Canucius. The *Canucius* of *Ptolemy*, *Gunugi* of *Pliny*, and *Gunugus* of the itinerary, anſwering to the *Breſk* of the *Algerines*, ſtood about nine miles to the weſtward from *Jol*. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a *Roman* colony planted in it by *Auguſtus*, it is now uninhabited, the violences committed by the neighbouring *Kabyles* not permitting people of any nation to make a ſettlement in it [h].

Cartenna. *Cartenna*, a very conſiderable city, ſituated, as ſhould ſeem, near the mouth of the river *Cartennus*, where *Auguſtus* ſettled the ſoldiers of the ſecond legion. *Ptolemy* indeed places it ſome leagues more weſterly; but the poſition he aſſigns many of his towns, is ſo extremely erroneous, that he deſerves no credit, when any ſhadow of an argument can be offered againſt him. Now, *Cartenna*, in the *Phœnician* language, ſignified *the city of* Tenna; and we find a promontory ſome leagues to the eaſtward, at this day called the cape of *Tennes*, and a town named *Tnis* or *Tennis* not far diſtant from it. It was not unuſual amongſt the moſt antient founders of cities to build them upon the banks of rivers, and to give thoſe rivers the names of the new-built towns. Of this the city and river of *Camicus* in *Sicily*, to omit many others that might be produced, is a ſufficient proof. That *Tenna*, *Tennes*, or *Tanas*, was a local proper name in *Numidia*, is not only evident from the cape above-mentioned, but from the *Tanas*, which was a river of this country, though its courſe cannot, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, be aſcertained. Whether *Tenna* or *Tennis* was the proper name of the founder, or derived from the nature of the ſoil, as the learned traveller we are ſo much obliged to ſeems to inſinuate, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. However, we hope that ingenious gentleman will not take it amiſs, if we diſſent from him, when he derives *Tanis*, the name of a moſt antient and illuſtrious city of *Egypt*, from יחו *tin*, *clay*, and makes this city to have been the ſame with *Peluſium*; for *Tanis*, in *Hebrew* letters, is צען *Tzaan*, or *Zoan*, and the word itſelf *Egyptian*, whoſe ſignification is intirely unknown. As for the city, it was, according to the itinerary of *Antoninus*, at leaſt forty-four *Romans* miles from *Peluſium*, and conſequently muſt have been different from it. We have deduced the word *Cartenna* from the *Phœnician* language, becauſe it appears from *Procopius* and *Euſebius*, not to mention other writers, that the *Phœnicians* ſent colonies into this country in the moſt early times [i].

Arſenaria. On the weſtern banks of the *Cartennus*, the antients place *Arſenaria*, a town where, if *Pliny* may be credited, a *Latin* colony was planted under ſome of the firſt *Roman* emperors. As the laſt-mentioned author makes it to be three *Roman* miles from the ſea, it is probable the modern *Arzew* anſwers to it [k].

Quiza. The next maritime town of note, in a weſtern direction, is the *Quiza Xenitana*, *Quiza Colonia*, or *Quiza Municipium*, of *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and the itinerary. Dr. *Shaw* will have *Geeza* to be the antient *Quiza*; which, as the ſituation aſſigned this laſt was immediately after the *Portus Magnus*, is not improbable [l].

Siga. *Siga*, an antient city of great repute, ſituated at the mouth of an harbour, and upon a river of the ſame name. According to *Pliny*, *Syphax*'s palace was here, which, together

[g] Strab. l. xvii. p. 571. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vii. c. 10. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. Shaw, ubi ſup. c. 3. [h] Ptol. Itinerar. Shaw, ubi ſup. [i] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Sallust. in Jugurth c. 90. Pſal. lxxviii. 12. Euseb. chron. p. 11. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 29. Hyde in Peritſ. p. 23. Shaw, p. 36. [k] Plin. ubi ſup. & Shaw, p. 28. [l] Mel. Plin. Ptol. Itinerar. Shaw, ubi ſup.

together with the city itſelf, was demoliſhed in the time of *Strabo*. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, and a colony ſettled there, as we are informed by *Ptolemy*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that the *Tafna* anſwers to the river, and *Tackumbreet* to the town, of *Siga*. It appears from *Scylax*, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls *Sigum*. It was the laſt maritime place of eminence of this region, being at no great diſtance from the *Malva*, which our learned traveller has, with a good appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the ſame river with the *Molochath* and *Mulucha* [m].

Sitifi *and* Satafi.

THE firſt mediterranean cities worthy our notice, to the weſt of the *Ampſaga*, were *Sitifi* and *Satafi*, ſixteen miles from one another. For a further account of which, our readers may have recourſe to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Ptolemy*, and other antient writers. By their names, they ſeem to have been founded by the *Phœnicians* [n].

Auzia.

Auzia or *Auzea*, a city of great antiquity, if, with *Menander Epheſius*, we ſuppoſe it to be the *African* city of that name founded by *Ithobaal* king of *Tyre*. *Tacitus* tells us, that it was built in a ſmall plain, ſurrounded on all ſides with barren foreſts of a vaſt extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring *Arabs Sour Guſlan, the walls of the antelopes*, a great part whereof, flanked at proper diſtances with little ſquare towers, is ſtill remaining [o].

Tubuſuptus.

Tubuſuptus or *Tubuſuttus*, a town mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which *Lipſius* takes to be the *Thubuſcus* beſieged by *Tacfarinas*, according to *Tacitus*. From what *Marcellinus* has hinted, it ſeems to have been ſituated near the *Mons Ferratus* [p].

Nababurum, &c.

As *Nababurum*, *Vitaca*, *Uſſara*, *Vazagad*, *Auſum*, *Robonda*, *Zaratha*, *Chizala*, *Lamida*, *Vaſana*, *Phloryia*, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long ſince buried in oblivion, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and proceed to the principal promontories, mountains, rivers, &c. of this province, which it will be neceſſary for our readers to have a general idea of, in order to underſtand thoſe accounts of the tranſactions happening in it, that have been tranſmitted down to us by the antient hiſtorians [q].

The promontories of this province.

THE firſt promontories, that preſent themſelves to our view, are the *Audus* and *Vabar* of *Ptolemy*. The *Aſhounemonker* of the *Algerines* ſeems to anſwer to *Vabar*, having ſome traces of old ruins ſtill remaining upon it. 2. The *Promontorium Apollinis* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the *Nackos* of the *Moors*, and cape *Tennes* of the modern geographers. It deduces its name *Nackos*, i. e, *The bell*, from the figure of the grotto in the lower part of it, and is in almoſt 2° E. long. from *London*. 3. The *Promontorium Magnum* of *Ptolemy* was a large and conſpicuous cape near 1° E. of the *Malva* or *Mulucha*. This is at preſent called by ſailors *Cape Hone*, and by the inhabitants *Ras Hunneine* and *Mellack*. It lies about four leagues to the north-eaſt of *Twunt*, and is a continuation of the mountains of *Trara* [r].

The mountains

AMONGST the mountains of note in the *Numidia Maſæſylorum* may be ranked that high knot of eminencies, which at preſent diſtinguiſh themſelves to the ſouthward of the plains of *Sudratach*, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the antients mount *Atlas*. 2. The *Zalacus* of *Ptolemy*, which ſeems to have had the ſame poſition as the preſent mount *Wannaſhreeſe*. 3. Mount *Malethubalus*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*. This is in the *Sahara*, and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into *Europe*. 4. The *Durdus* of *Ptolemy*, lying between the mountains of *El Callah* and *Trara*. 5. The *Mons Phruræſus*, immediately ſucceeding *Malethubalus*. 6. The *Montes Chalcorychii*, near the country of the antient *Herpiditani*, between mount *Durdus* and the *Malva* or *Mulucha* [s].

The rivers.

THE moſt remarkable rivers taken notice of by the antients were, 1. The *Audus*, placed by *Ptolomy* at the bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, no traces of which are now to be ſeen. 2. The *Siſaris*, called at preſent by the *Moors* and *Algerines* the *Manſoureah*, whoſe water was probably of a red colour in antient times; for that the name imports, as has been already obſerved. 3. The *Niſſava*, known at this day by the name of the river of *Boujeiah*, becauſe it empties itſelf into the ſea a little to the eaſtward

[m] SCYLAX CARYAND. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. SHAW, p. 19, 20, 21. [n] PTOL. ubi ſup. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxviii. ſub fin. & l. xxix. c. 23. D. AUGUST. epiſt. cxxii. [o] TACIT. annal. l. iv. JOSEPH. antiq. JUD. l. viii. c. 7. PROCOP. ubi ſup. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW, p. 81. [p] PLIN. & POLYB. ubi ſup. TACIT. an. iv. c. 24. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxix. c. 24. JUST. LIPS. in Tacit. ubi ſup. [q] PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. &c. [r] PLIN. PTOL. &c ubi ſup. SHAW paſſ. [s] Iidem ibid.

ward of that city. It conſiſts of a number of rivulets, falling into it from different a
directions, and has its ſource at *Jibbel Deera*, ſeventy miles up into the country to the W. S. W. 4. The *Serbetis*, now the *Yſſer*, a large river, whoſe mouth is about eight leagues from *Temendfuſe*, and lieth ſomething nearer *Ruſgunia* than *Ruſuccuræ*. We are told, that its ſources are from the mountainous diſtrict to the S. S. W. that the weſt-ermoſt branch of it is called *Shurffa*, after the name of the neighbouring *Arabs*; and the other *Wed el Zeitoune*, i. e. *The river of olives*, from the vaſt quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The *Savus*, a river falling into the ſea near *Pliny*'s *Icoſion*, which our learned traveller takes to have had the ſame ſituation as the *Algiers* of the moderns. If this be admitted, the *Hameeſe* bids faireſt for the antient *Savus*, eſpecially as *Leo* calls this very river *Sefsaia*, a word nearly approaching to b
Savus. 6. The *Chinalaph* of *Ptolemy* is the moſt noted river of the *Algerines*, who call it *Shelliff*. It ariſeth in the *Sahara*, at the diſtance of eighty miles to the ſouth-eaſt. The fountains which form its ſource, from their number and contiguity, are known amongſt the *Arabs* by the name *Sebbienne Aine*, or *Sebaoun Aioun*, *The ſeventy fountains*. A minute deſcription of this river our readers will find in a proper place. 7. The *Cartennus*, to which, it is ſuppoſed, the ſtream formed by the *Sikke* and the *Habrah* anſwers. *Marmol* calls a river in this ſituation *Cirat*; which may give ſome countenance to the aforeſaid ſuppoſition. 8. The *Flumen Salſum*, at preſent called the *Wed el Mailah*, is a ſtream ſomething leſs than the *Cherwell*, as it paſſeth by *Oxford*. c
9. *Aſſara*, a river mentioned by *Ptolemy*, which may poſſibly be the ſame with the *Iſſer* of *Abulfeda*. The *Iſſer* is one of the four branches, that form the *Tafna*, which our readers may find deſcribed in that curious piece we have ſo often referred them to [t].

The iſlands appertaining to it.

The only iſlands that deſerve our attention are, 1. The *Acra* of *Scylax*, an iſland, that forms the modern port of *Harſhgoone*, under which veſſels of the greateſt burden may lie in the utmoſt ſafety. 2. The *Tres Inſulæ* of *Antoninus*, ſituated about ten miles from the *Mulucha*, to the north-weſt of that river [u].

Its curioſities.

The chief curioſities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a *Roman* city, called at preſent *Caſſir*, among the *Beni Grohberry*, to the northward of *Jibbel Afroone*; upon the mountains adjacent to which the *Algerines* frequently dig up large pipes of lead, d
ſuppoſed to have been formerly employed in conveying the excellent water thoſe parts produced to *Saldæ*. 2. The rivulet of ſalt-water, which glides through the valley *Dammer Cappy*, i. e. *The iron gate*. 3. The large ſalt-pits, five miles to the ſouth-ward of *Arzew*. 4. One of the fountains of the *Habrah* at *Niſrag*, where the water burſts out with a ſurpriſing noiſe and rapidity; as alſo the hot bath, and ſeveral antient ciſterns upon a branch of the *Habrah*, when it arrives within eight leagues of the ſea. 5. *Wanaſhreeſe*, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with ſnow, and remarkable for its mines of lead-ore, many fleaks and ſparks of which being brought down by the river *Wed-el-Fuddah*, and left upon the banks of it expoſed to the ſun, gave occaſion to the name *Wanaſhreeſe*. 6. The *Jibbel Miniſs*, an intire e
mountain of ſalt. 7. The *Aquæ Calidæ Colonia* of the antients, the *Hammam* or *Bath* of *Mereega* of the moderns. All of which, with many others that we cannot touch upon here, will be accurately deſcribed in that branch of the modern hiſtory, to which they properly belong [w].

[t] Iidem ibid. & J. Leo African. p. 205.
[u] Scylax Caryand. Itinerar. Antonin. & Shaw, ubi ſup.
[w] Geogr. Nubienſ. J. Leo African. & Shaw, paſſ.

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, &c. *of the* Numidians.

The antiquity of the Numidians.

All the authors, famous for their reſearches into antiquity, agree, that the tract extending from the iſthmus of *Suez* to the lake *Tritonis*, was chiefly peopled by the deſcendants of *Miſraim*; and that the poſterity of his brother *Put*, or *Phut*, ſpread themſelves over all the region betwixt that lake and the *Atlantic* ocean. It is certain *Herodotus* gives great countenance to this notion; for he tell us, that the *Libyan*

a *Libyan Nomades*, whoſe territories, to the weſt, were bounded by the *Triton*, agreed in their cuſtoms and manners with the *Egyptians*; but that the *Africans*, from that river to the *Atlantic* ocean, differed almoſt in all points from them. *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Putea* near *Adrumetum*; and *Pliny* a river of *Mauritania Tingitana*, known by the name of *Fut* or *Phut*; which ſeems to confirm the above-mentioned ſuppoſition. The diſtrict adjacent to this river we find mentioned by ſome authors under the appellation of *Regio Phutenſis*; which plainly alludes to the name *Phut*. That word ſignifies *ſcattered* or *diſperſed*; which very well agrees with what we find related of the *Numidians* by *Mela* and *Strabo*; ſo that we may, without any ſcruple, admit the *Aborigines* of this country to have been the deſcendants of *Phut*. *Aldrete*,

b *Gaſpar Varreiro*, and others, think, that ſome remains of *Phut* are ſtill diſcernible in the modern *Fez*; which notion, after a peruſal of thoſe writers, our readers will perhaps think proper to eſpouſe. However, it appears from *Euſebius*, *Procopius*, St. *Auſtin*, and others, that the *Aborigines* were not the only antient inhabitants of *Numidia*, ſince the *Phœnicians*, in almoſt the earlieſt ages, ſent colonies thither. But though both theſe nations deſcended from *Ham*, they yet differed in many particulars, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to obſerve [a].

Polybius, as has been already obſerved, informs us, that the *Carthaginians* once poſſeſſed all that part of *Africa*, extending from the confines of *Cyrenaica* to the pillars of *Hercules*; but this, we apprehend, is to be underſtood of the ſea-coaſt of

c that vaſt tract: for it ſufficiently appears from *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Livy*, and other antient hiſtorians, that the interior *Numidia*, at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, was independent on the *Carthaginians*. It is true, the *Numidians* always aſſiſted the *Carthaginians* in their wars; but moſt of theſe forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, ſent in purſuance of ſolemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. This might be proved by a great number of paſſages drawn from the authors juſt mentioned, were it in any manner neceſſary. The *Carthaginian* form of government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of *Numidia* ſubject to the ſtate of *Carthage*, though, in others, abſolute monarchy took place. No one can doubt of this, who conſiders, that not only the kingdom

d of *Antæus*, including this country, as well as *Mauritania Tingitana*, and conſequently that of his conqueror *Hercules*, was deſpotic, but likewiſe that *Iarbas*, *Gala* (B), *Syphax*, *Maſiniſſa*, and other later princes, ruled here with an unlimited ſway. The old eaſtern governments alſo, from whence that of *Numidia* was derived, put the point here inſiſted upon beyond diſpute. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims, that formed the baſis of it, we are intirely in the dark, the moſt authentic antient hiſtorians not ſupplying us with the leaſt hint relative thereto [b].

Their government.

WHETHER or no any of the independent princes of *Numidia* were legiſlators, or, if ſo, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their ſubjects, hiſtory informs us not. The *Carthaginian* laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongſt all

e the *Numidians* under the dominion of *Carthage*. Could *Iſidore* be relied upon, ſome laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians* might poſſibly have been obſerved in ſeveral diſtricts of this country, ſince he ſeems to intimate, that thoſe nations, in antient times, planted a colony in *Numidia*, at leaſt, that there was an intercourſe betwixt them and the *Numidians*. *Salluſt* likewiſe more than inſinuates the ſame thing, ſince he affirms, that the *Perſians* ſailed hither before the *Phœnicians*, when, intermixing with the *Gætulians*, they, in conjunction with that people, formed the *Numidian* nation. To which that

Laws.

[a] HERODOT. l. iv. c. 186, 187. PTOL. l. iv. c. 1. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. EUSEB. de loc. HIERON. in tradit. Hebr. EUSTATH. in Hex. ISID. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 8. STRAB. l. ii. Geneſ. x. 6. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. BERNARD ALDRET. var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. l. iii. c. 6. p. 358. GASPAR. VARREIRO in lib. de Ophir. EUSEB. chron. p. 11. PROCOP. ubi ſup. D. AUGUST. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub init. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 666. [b] POLYB. LIV. DIOD. SIC. SALLUST. FLOR. APPIAN. JUSTIN. VIRG. SERV. SIL. ITAL. LUCAN. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. CEDREN. aliiq; quamplurim. paſſ. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 664. & alib. paſſ.

(B) We are informed by *Appian*, that there were many *reguli*, or heads of tribes, in the country of the *Maſæſſyli*, not much unlike the *emirs* of the preſent *Arabs*, who enjoyed a ſort of ſovereignty over their reſpective tribes, but yet acknowledged *Syphax* for their chief. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Syphax*'s government, with reſpect to theſe princes, was deſpotic, otherwiſe he could not have brought ſuch numerous armies into the field. What has here been obſerved of *Syphax*, was undoubtedly true of the other kings of the *Maſæſyli*, as well as thoſe of the *Maſſyli* (2).

(2) *Appian in Libyc. c.* 6. *p.* 10. *edit. Tol. Amſt.* 1670.

that author ſubjoins, that neither being able to find any materials here for building of a houſes, nor to carry on any commerce with the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of their different languages, and the great ſea betwixt them, the *Perſians* built them huts, tents, or cottages, of the bottoms of their ſhips inverted, which they removed from place to place; and that, from this circumſtance, they called themſelves *Numidæ*, a word which, in the *Perſic* tongue, alluded thereto. But this relation being inconſiſtent with itſelf, and the notion couched therein intirely repugnant to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and prophane antiquity, our readers will not ſcruple to reject it [c].

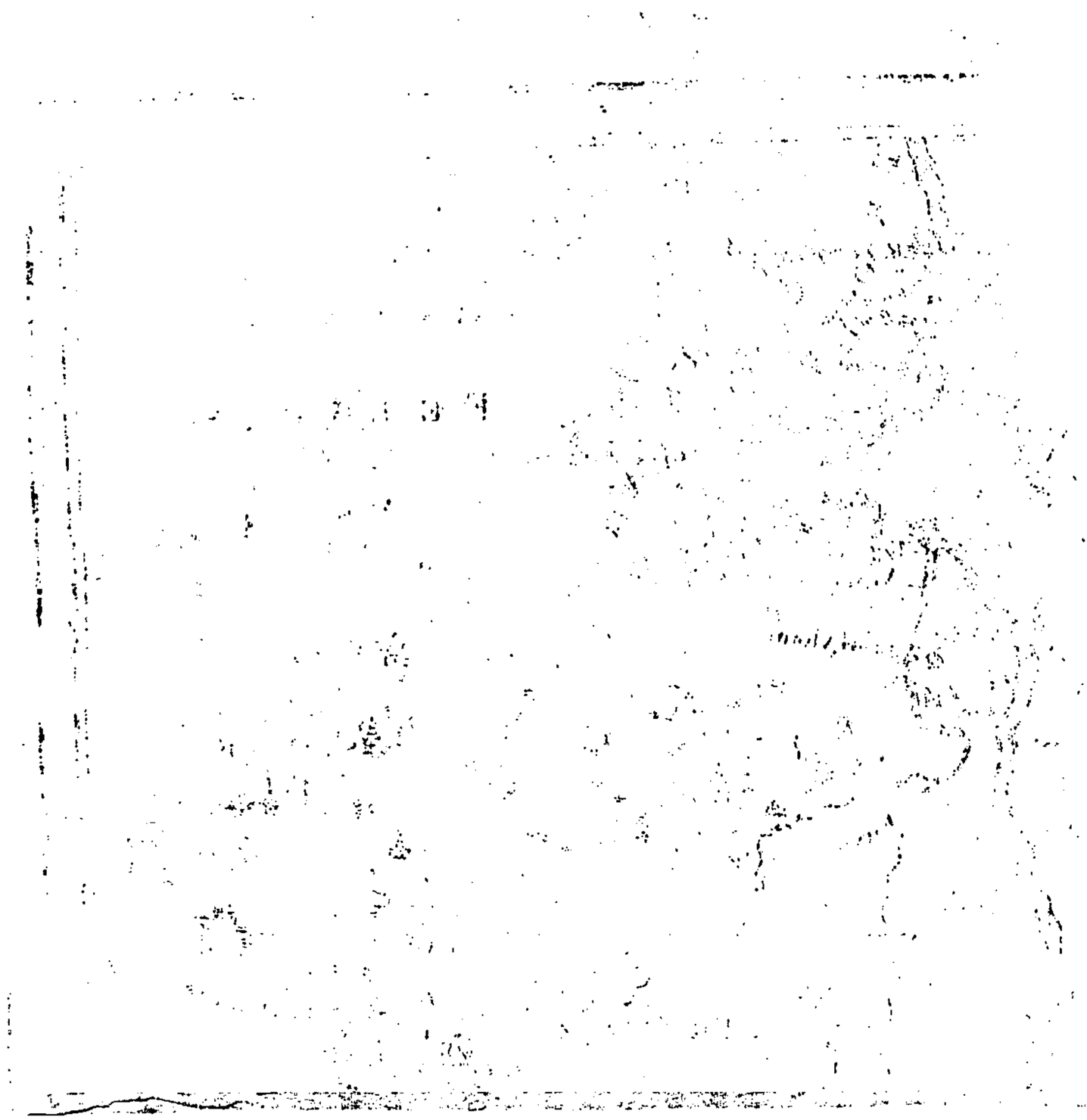
Religion. As the firſt *Numidians*, in common with all the other *Indigenæ* of that vaſt tract between the borders of *Egypt* and the *Atlantic* ocean, were called *Libyans*, we may infer from *Herodotus*, that the principal gods they ſacrificed to were the *Sun* and b *Moon*. This is a convincing proof of their high antiquity, as clearly evincing, that the migration of the firſt colony, which peopled this country, preceded the introduction of image-worſhip into the pagan world. It is likewiſe an argument, that this colony did not conſiſt of *Perſians*, ſince the *Sun* only was their principal deity. Some of theſe *Numidians* alſo might probably worſhip *Triton*, *Minerva*, and *Neptune* (C), eſpecially thoſe near the confines of *Africa Propria*, as the ſame author ſeems to ſuggeſt. That part of this nation ſubject to *Carthage*, it is reaſonable to preſume, paid divine honours to the *Phœnician* and *Greek* deities, that were the objects of the *Carthaginian* worſhip, of which we have already given ſo full and ample an account. It appears from *Herodotus*, that *Hephæſtus*, or *Vulcan*, was an c *Egyptian* deity worſhipped at *Memphis*; but whether or no the *Numidians* held him in any veneration, or indeed had any knowledge of him, we muſt leave others to decide [d].

Language. From what has been juſt offered, our readers will allow it probable, that *Miſraim* and *Phut*, with their deſcendants, moved together into *Africa*; and that their poſterity inhabited contiguous regions; nay, if any credit may be given to *Herodotus* and other authors of the beſt repute, they agreed, for many ages, in moſt particulars. *Herodotus* ſeems to intimate, that in his time, or at leaſt not long before it, the people, inhabiting that tract afterwards called *Numidia*, went by the general name of *Libyans*; and that the *Numidians* were then poſſeſſed of the country ſituate between d the frontiers of *Egypt* and the river *Triton*, ſince he tells us, that the nation occupying that region were called *Libyan Nomades*, in contradiſtinction to the *Libyans*, who extended themſelves from thence to the weſtward, as far as the *Atlantic* ocean. This obſervation we remember not to have been made by any other author. However, it ſeems to be of conſiderable conſequence; for it bids fair to prove, that the kingdoms of the *Maſſyli* and *Maſæſyli*, though of a very early date, were not called *Numidia*, till after, or at leaſt a little before, the time of *Herodotus*; and that this name was occaſioned by an irruption of a great body of the *Libyan Nomades* into the countries to the weſtward of the *Triton* about the period above-mentioned. In confirmation of e this notion, it may be obſerved, that no mention is made of the *Numidians* by any of the *Greek* or *Roman* hiſtorians, till about the time of *Herodotus*; which is a preſumptive argument, that they made no conſiderable figure, and conſequently did not poſſeſs territories of ſo large an extent then as afterwards. Though therefore it can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Numidia Propria* and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* were at firſt peopled by *Phut*'s deſcendants, it is probable, that neither of thoſe provinces were called *Numidia* till the age of *Herodotus*, or at leaſt not long before that age, when the *Libyan Nomades*, or *Numidians*, paſſed into them. However, in confor- mity to what has been aſſerted above, we muſt remind our readers, that the *Phœ- nicians*, in the moſt early ages, and after them the *Carthaginians*, planted colonies here. *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Strabo*, by intimating, that the *Numidians* of their time f agreed

[c] Isidor. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. Sallust. in Jugurth. Vide & Bernard. Aldret. en var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. &c. l. iii. c. 17. p. 387, 388. [d] Hebodot. l. iv. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 688, 691. Vide etiam Herodot. l. iii. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & l. ii. c. 3.

(C) Father *Delrio* thinks, that the *Nephthuim* of *Moſes* was either the great anceſtor, or nation, of the *Numidians*. If ſo, it is very poſſible, that *Neptune*, one of the great gods of *Africa*, might have deduced his name from thence. This notion ſeems to be countenanced by St. *Jerom*, who reads it *Neptuim*; which is almoſt intirely the ſame word with *Neptunus*, after the rejection of the *Latin* termination US. *Aldrete*, a perſon of moſt profound erudition, comes into this opinion (3).

(3) *P. Delrio apud Aldret. l.* iii. *c.* 6. *ut & ipſe Aldret. ibid.*



Septentrio

Atlas major
Autolole
Salathu R.
Thuatath
Chusaris R.
Tagaris
Mauſoli
Bagazi
Nuius flu.
Solentia prom.
Massa R.
Tarzetta
Magura
Daradus R.
Babiba
Ubrix
Stachir R.
Perphosius Portus
Stachiræ
Hesperi cornu
Sinus Hesperius
Deorum currus M.
Hyperbarus flu.
Perorsi
Ichthyophagi Aethiopes
Gaetulia
Talubath
Tagapola M.
Melanogætuli
Salacath
Tucabach
Daphthitæ
Vintha
Cuphe
Peſside
Thige
Saluce
Thamondacana
Cecisani
Anygath
Churitæ
Nigritæ
Nigir flu.
Nigir R.
Vigira metropolis
Velegia
Panagra
Tagama
Silice
Butharus
Bagrada R.
Natembes
Gelanus
Anagath
Thaluthis
Bouta
Capsa
Debris
Gir flu.
Gira metrop.
Badiath
Libya palus
Alitambi
Dudum
Garamantes
Libya Interior
Maurali
Odrangidi
Caphas Mons
Orphes
Matites
Achamæ
Thala Mons
Gongalæ
Tarualtæ
Arualtis Mons
Derbici
Canalis
Gaba
Garama metropolis
Vanius
Bedirum
Girgiris M.
Lycomedis Palus
Blemmyes
Lyxamatæ
Lyxama
Phaſaca Regio
Bacalitis
Daulitæ
Caluæ
Thappa
Tucrubnuda
Aroncæ
Daradi
Cadupi seu Duppi
Elephantophagi
Aethiopia sub Aegypto
Capachi
Memnones
Auxumitæ
Adulitæ
Tralitæ
Aſtacuri
Volopes
Vallis Garamantica
Astaboras flu.
Astapus flu.
Atlas flu.
Arabiæ Felicis Pars
Sinus Arabicus
Troglodytæ
Metacompsi
Catadupi
Pnups
Berethis
Gerbo
Patata
Napata
Jacole
Jandae
Premis magna
Attiri
Babylonii
Merve
Jacolde
Erchoas
Jatachitha
Tathis
Auxuma
Muza
Ocelis
Avalites Sinus
Avalitæ
Molibæ
Avalites emporium
Nubæ
Pars Avalitarum
Malos emp.
Elephas M.
Garbata M.
Struthophagi
Pechini
Coloe
Coloe palus
Aromata
Opone
Apocopa
Azania
Noti cornu
Essina emp.
Serapionis statio
Sinus Barbaricus
Tonice
Raptus R.
Rapta Metrop.
Prasum promont.
Maſtitæ
Maste
Aethiopia Interior
Nili Fontes secundum Ptolemæum
Montes Lunæ Ptolemæi
Incognita Ptolemæo

Occidens
Oriens
Meridies
Æquinoctalis Circulus ſive Æquator

LIBYA INTERIOR, GARAMANTUM, et MELANOGÆTULORUM REGIO, AETHIOPIA SUB AEGYPTO, & AETHIOPIA INTERIOR &c.

J. Wheatley Sculpt

Septentrio



a agreed in ſome points with the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, add ſome weight to the hypotheſis we have juſt offered to the conſideration of the learned. From all which particulars we may conclude, that the languages ſpoken in *Numidia* were, 1, That of the *Libyan Nomades*, which, from many authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old *Egyptian*. 2. The *Carthaginian*. 3. The *Phœnician*. And 4. That of *Phut*'s immediate deſcendants, who at firſt came there, which, in ſome points, might have differed from all the reſt. That the tongue prevailing, in part of *Numidia* at leaſt, was different from the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian*, is evident from *Salluſt*, and others. However barbarous the *Numidians* might have been, ſome of them uſed letters, not very unlike thoſe that made up the *Punic* alphabet, as
b appears from the legends of ſeveral antient *Numidian* coins [c] (D).

WITH regard to the cuſtoms of the *Numidians*, our readers will neither expect nor deſire us to be prolix on that head: neither the limits we have preſcribed ourſelves, nor the materials left us by the antients, will permit this. In order, therefore, to form a general idea of theſe cuſtoms, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the principal of them were the following:

1. THE *Numidians* were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the ſame manner as the *Arabes Scenitæ*, and not very unlike the preſent *Tartars*; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their anceſtors the antient *Scythians*; whereas the circular *dou-wars* of the *Numidians* were compoſed
c of their *mapalia*, with which the *hhymas*, or tents, of the modern *Bedoweens* nearly correſpond. *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Virgil*, *Pliny*, and others, put this point beyond diſpute. The *mapalia*, or *Numidian* tents, were ſecured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering only of ſuch hair-cloth as our coal-ſacks are made of. They were all of the ſame form, oblong, reſembling the inverted bottom of a ſhip, in conformity to the deſcription *Salluſt* has given us of them. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and, having conſumed all the produce of one fruitful ſpot, removed from thence to another, as is the cuſtom of their poſterity the *Bedoweens* at this day. As this part of *Africa* conſiſted of dry and barren ſandy deſerts, interſperſed with fruitful ſpots, (for which reaſon *Strabo* compares it to a leopard's ſkin) ſuch a
d way of life was abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe who did not live in cities. Hence it appears, in conjunction with what we have obſerved of their language, that *nome*, agreeable to what we find advanced by *Diodorus Siculus*, St. *Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Euſebius*, and others, muſt have been either an *Egyptian* or *Syriac* word, ſignifying *part*, *portion*, *diviſion*, &c. and not of *Greek* extraction, as ſome abſurdly pretend; to which add נַחֲלָה *ida* or *yeda*, *place*, *limits*, *country*, &c. and the name *Numidia* is formed in a much more rational and appoſite manner, than it is poſſible for it to be upon the principles of thoſe perſons, who ſuppoſe it deduced from a language intirely unknown to the *Numidians* [f].

The Numidians *were divided into tribes*, &c.

2. THOSE *Numidians* who lived in fixed habitations, for the moſt part dwelt in
e ſmall cottages, raiſed either with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or built out of ſome ſuch ſlight materials, in the ſame manner as the *gurbies* of the *Kabyles* are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubted covered with ſtraw or turf, ſupported by reeds or branches of trees, as thoſe of the *gurbies* are. The *Numidians*, at leaſt thoſe of *Phœnician* extraction, called theſe habitations *magaria*, an explication of which word has been already given. The very learned and accurate Dr. *Shaw* informs us, that

Some of them lived in ſmall huts or cottages, called magaria.

[c] HERODOT. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. SOLIN. c. 26. STRAB. l. ii. & l. xvii. SALLUST. in Jugurth. Vide etiam BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. BERNARD. ALDRET. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 26. SPON. miſcel. erudit. antiq. fol. Lugd. 1685. p. 146. BEG. theſ. Brand. vol. i. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. i. HERODOT. l. i. & l. iv. PHIL. JUD. de vit. Moſ. l. i. LIBAN. progym. [f] POMP. MEL. c. 9. STRAB. l. xvii. VIRG. georg. iii. PLIN. & SOLIN. ubi ſup. DIONYS. Af. ver. 184. LUCAN. paſſ. Vide etiam FEST AVIEN. ver. 277. SAL. in Jugurth. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 35. EUSEB. præp. evang. l. iii. p 57. EPIPHAN. & CYRIL. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 24. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent in voc. נַחֲלָה & alib. ALDRET. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 17. & SHAW ubi ſup. p. 286—291.

(D) This likewiſe appears from the letter *Bomilcar* wrote to *Nabdalſa* or *Nabadalſa*, a *Numidian* nobleman of the firſt rank; which being delivered into the hands of *Jugurtha*, occaſioned the death of *Bomilcar*, and many others, as we learn from *Salluſt*. What we have here advanced, is likewiſe countenanced by *Livy*, and other authors (4).

(4) *Salluſt. in Jugurth. c.* 73, 74. *Liv. aliiq; ſcript. apud D. Bernard. Aldret. en var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. Afric. y otr. provinc, l.* iii. *c.* 33. *p.* 467. *Vide & Val. Max. l.* i. *c.* 1.

that the towns or villages formed of theſe huts, are at preſent built upon eminences, and called by the *Kabyles*, who inhabit them, *daſhkras* [g].

They rode without bridles.

3. The *Numidians* rode without ſaddles, and many of them without bridles, whence *Virgil* calls them *Numidæ infræni*. As their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horſes from their infancy, they found this no difficult thing. The cuſtom we are now upon ſuggeſts to us the meaning of the word *Metagonium* (E), the proper name of a promontory, as likewiſe of the country of the *Maſſyli*, as has been obſerved above. It is undoubtedly equivalent to מתג יניח *meteg ionihh*, or *meteg ioniahh*, *one that lays aſide*, or *that hath laid aſide, his bridle*. This is a much more natural etymology, than any that can be drawn from the *Greek* tongue [h].

They had many wives, concubines, &c.

4. According to *Strabo*, they had many wives, concubines, and conſequently many children, as the *Orientals* had, tho', in other reſpects, they were very temperate and abſtemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping we have already taken notice of; and therefore to touch upon that head here, would be intirely ſuperfluous [i].

The king's brother ſucceeded to the crown in Numidia.

5. The king's next brother, not his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in *Numidia*, particularly in the country of the *Maſſyli*. This we learn from *Livy*, who, in proof of what he aſſerts, tells us, that *Gala*, the father of *Maſiniſſa*, was ſucceeded by his next brother *Deſalces* [k].

The diet of the Numidians.

6. Their diet conſiſted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulſe, water, *&c.* and they abſtained almoſt intirely from wine; fleſh was ſometimes, though not ſo frequently, uſed. To this, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in ſummer and winter, *Appian* ſeems to attribute their long lives, and the large ſhare of health they enjoyed. In conformity to nature and experience, that author aſſures us, that the ſummers in *Numidia* were not near ſo hot as in *India* and *Ethiopia* [l].

They uſe only a whip or rod on horſeback.

7. The *Numidians*, particularly the *Maſſyli*, did not only ride without ſaddles and bridles, but likewiſe all ſorts of accoutrements, as we learn from what *Appian* relates of *Maſiniſſa*, as well as from many other authors. This they did, in order to ruſh upon their enemies, or prey, with the greater force and fierceneſs. However, they made uſe of a rod or whip, with which they eaſily managed their horſes, though in the midſt of the hotteſt engagements [m].

Are clad in looſe garments.

8. Many of the poorer ſort of people in *Numidia* went almoſt naked; but the *Numidians* of any faſhion wore their garments looſe, not making uſe of a ſaſh or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the *Carthaginians*, and moſt of the other *Africans*. Hence that of *Virgil* [n]:

Hic Nomadum genus, & diſcinctos Mulciber Afros, &c.

Eminent for their ſkill in throwing of darts, &c.

9. They were eminent for their ſkill in hurling the javelin, and throwing of darts, which they diſcharged in vaſt numbers upon the enemy. As they ſeldom or never failed doing great execution, this rendered them very formidable [o].

Fight in the night-time.

10. We are told, that the *Maſſyli*, when at war with their neighbours, for the moſt part, choſe to come to a general action in the night-time [p].

Deſertion no crime amongſt them.

11. Desertion was no crime amongſt the *Numidians*, who, after the firſt defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleaſed [q].

12. In fine, there muſt have been a great variety of cuſtoms in *Numidia*, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that were oppoſite to one another in many particulars, one of which *Diodorus* calls the *Aſphadelodians*, who were probably of a different

[g] Virg. Æn. i. & Serv. in loc. Sallust. ubi ſup. Isidor. orig. l. xv. c. 22 Plin. Solin. ubi ſup. Aldret. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 2. Shaw ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 662. Vide & Fest. Charis. & Sil. Ital. l. ii. [h] Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 41. Liv. apud Hendreich. in Carthag. p. 359. Serv. in Virg. ubi ſup. aliiq; mult. Vide Schind. lex. pent. in voc. יניח & מתג. [i] Strab. l. xvii. Sall. in Jugurth. [k] Liv. l. xxix. c. 29. [l] Appian. in Libyc. c. 6, 39, & 64. Strab. l. xvii. [m] Lucan. l. iv. Liv. l. xlv. Oppian. de venat. l. iv. Martial. l. ix. Herodian. l. vii. Strab. l. xvii. Vide & Liv. l. iv. l. viii. & l. xl. [n] Virg. Æn. l. viii. ver. 724. Serv. in loc. Sil. Ital. l. i. Plaut. in Pænul. act. v. ſc. 2. Tertul. de pall. [o] Appian. in Libyc. Sallust. in Jugurth. Herodian. l. vii. [p] Nic. Damascen. in excerptis Valeſ. p. 518, 519. [q] Sallust. in Jugurth.

(E) It appears from *Martial* and *Lucan*, that the cuſtom of riding without bridles prevailed more amongſt the *Maſſyli* than the *Maſæſyli*. Now, the country of the *Maſſyli* was the *Terra Metagonitis*, as has been already obſerved; which not a little ſupports the etymon we would give of *Metagonium* (5).

(5) *Martial. l.* ix. *Lucan. l.* iv.

a ferent caſt from the reſt, ſince he informs us, that they were as black as the *Ethiopians*. According to *Hellanicus*, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the *Libyan Nomades*, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they conſtantly carried about with them, their ſmall *mapalia* being made of *aſphodelus*, great quantities of which they took care in the ſummer-time to be provided with, in order to have always then an agreeable ſhady retreat. This circumſtance undoubtedly gave occaſion to the name *Diodorus* calls them by, and is the chief thing, that we find remarked of them by the antient hiſtorians [r].

Arts, &c.

THE *Numidians*, that inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or ſciences amongſt
b them. The *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* indeed, who were very civilized, polite, and ingenious nations, formed, as there is reaſon to believe, no ſmall part of the inhabitants of the moſt conſiderable cities and towns; but we have already treated amply of the arts and ſciences they were famous for. However, the proper *Numidians* ſeem to have been eminent for their ſkill in managing horſes (F), and knowledge in ſome branches of the military art. Some knowledge likewiſe of the *Egyptian* theology, polity, and philoſophical notions, we cannot well ſuppoſe them to have been deſtitute of, ſince their anceſtors had, for a ſeries of generations, an intercourſe with the poſterity of *Miſraim*; but as to the extent of any knowledge of this kind amongſt them, we are intirely in the dark. The preſent *Kabyles* and *Bedoweens*, according to
c Dr. *Shaw*, ſpend their time chiefly in making *hykes*, or woollen blankets, and *burnooſes*, as they call cloaks or upper garments, in an employment not unlike to which poſſibly ſome of the antient ruſtic *Numidians* might have been engaged, eſpecially ſince he imagines the *Kabyles* to be the remains of the old *Africans*. As for the chronology of the *Numidians*, if they had any, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it muſt have agreed in the main with that of the nations they were derived from, and contiguous to, *viz.* the *Carthaginians*, *Phœnicians*, and moſt early *Egyptians*. In one point, however, they differed from moſt, if not all, other nations; for they computed their time by nights, and not by days, if any credit may be given to a fragment of *Nic. Damaſcenus* [r].

d [r] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. HELLANICUS apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l. ii. Vide etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. paſſ. [s] NIC. DAMASCEN. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 520, 521. SHAW, ubi ſup. Vide etiam quamplurim. ex auctor. ſupra laudat.

(F) Theſe horſes were very ſmall, but extremely ſwift and eaſily managed, according to *Livy* and *Strabo*. They were ſatisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirſt a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had an ugly gait, a ſtiff neck, and threw their head forward, the *Numidian* horſeman made but a ridiculous figure before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement. *Livy* ſeems to intimate, that, in *Hannibal*'s time, ſome of the *Numidian* cavalry uſed bridles, and were heavy-armed troops, wearing coats of mail, ſwords, ſhields, and lances; which is countenanced by *Polybius*, *Salluſt*, and others (6).

e (6) *Appian. & Strab. ubi ſup. Liv. l.* xxi. *c.* 44, 46. *l.* xxii. *c.* 48. *Polyb. l.* iii *c.* 65. *Sil. Ital. l.* iv. *Salluſt. in Jugurth. Iſidor. orig. l.* xvii. *c.* 12. *& alib. Juvenal. ſcholiaſt. Appian. in Libyc. Liv. l.* xxiii. *c.* 29. *Vide & Polyb. apud Juſtum Lipſium, in tract. de milit. Rom. ut & ipſum Lipſ. ibid. l.* iii. *dial.* 7 & 8.

SECT III.

The hiſtory of the Numidians, *from the earlieſt accounts of time, to the conqueſt of their country by the* Romans.

f NUMIDIA, being pretty remote from *Egypt*, as well as that part of *Libya* contiguous to it, ſeems to have been but thinly peopled before the firſt arrival of the *Phœnicians* there. When this happened, we cannot preciſely determine; but, according to *Euſebius*, who is followed by *Bochart* and other authors of good repute, it muſt have been above three hundred years before the foundation of *Carthage*. For *Ariſtotle* relates, that the *Phœnician* hiſtorians made *Utica* to be two hundred eighty-ſeven years older than *Carthage*; and *Euſebius* affirms *Hercules*, ſurnamed *Diodas* or *Deſanaus*, i. e. the *Phœnician Hercules*, to have been extremely famous all over *Africa* this very year, and to have conquered *Antæus* in the fartheſt part of *Mauritania* near *Zilis* and *Tingis*,, about fifty years before. Sir *Iſaac Newton* however, not without reaſon, fixes this event nearer the time of the *Trojan* war. *Salluſt*, *Florus*, and *Oroſius* likewiſe, inform us, that this *Hercules*, whom *Salluſt* calls *Libys*, built *Capſa*.

Whence the Phœnicians came firſt into Numidia.

From whence we may infer, that either the kingdom of *Antæus* included *Numidia*, and even *Africa Propria*, or else that *Hercules* over-ran these countries after he had conquered *Mauritania*; the former of which notions appears to us the most probable. We must defer touching upon the war betwixt *Hercules* and *Antæus*, till we come to the history of the *Mauritanians*, though the consequences of that war extended to the nation we are now upon [a].

No accounts of the Numidian *affairs for several of the earliest centuries now remaining.*

The transactions of *Numidia*, during many of the earliest centuries, have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable, however, that as the *Phœnicians* were masters of a good part of it, they were recorded, and not unknown in the *Carthaginian* times. King *Iarbas* probably reigned here, as well as in *Africa Propria*, if not in *Mauritania* and other parts of *Libya*, when *Dido* began to build *Byrsa*; but we have elsewhere taken notice of all the principal particulars relating to that prince, handed down to us by the antients. It appears from *Justin*, that, about the age of *Herodotus*, the people of this country were called both *Africans*, or *Libyans*, and *Numidians*; which seems to imply, that the latter name was not then of very long standing, and consequently to countenance what we have advanced above concerning the incorporation of the *Libyan Nomades* with these (G) *Africans* or *Libyans*. *Justin* likewise intimates, that, about this time, the *Carthaginians* vanquished both the *Moors*, or *Mauritanians*, and *Numidians*, who had leagued together against them; the consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted from them ever since *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* by the latter. As for the part the *Numidians* acted in all the wars betwixt the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, &c. and the *Carthaginians*, we have already been so copious on that head, that our readers will not expect us to expatiate upon it here [b].

The Carthaginians *treat the* Micatanian Numidians *with great severity.*

After the conclusion of the first *Punic* war, the *African* troops carried on a bloody war three years against their masters the *Carthaginians*. The most active of all others in this rebellion, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Micatanian Numidians*. This so incensed the *Carthaginians*, that, after *Hamilcar* had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those *Numidians*. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmost rigour and severity; for he plundered all that district in a terrible manner, and crucified all the prisoners, without distinction, that fell into his hands. This filled the rest with such indignation and resentment, that both they, and their posterity ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*. The conduct of the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* service, during the first *Punic* war, was such as merited the highest applause, as our readers will plainly perceive by consulting a former part of this history [c].

Syphax *defeated twice by* Masinissa.

In the consulate of the younger *Fabius* and *Sempronius Gracchus*, *Syphax*, king of the *Masæsyli*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. This induced *Gala*, king of the *Massyli*, to conclude a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of which his son *Masinissa* marched at the head of a powerful army to give *Syphax* battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of *Carthaginians*, as soon as he came up with the *Masæsyli*, he engaged them. The fight was sharp and bloody; but at last *Masinissa* carried the day, putting thirty thousand of the *Masæsyli* to the sword, and driving *Syphax* into the country of the *Mauruſii*, or *Mauritania*. This, for the present, gave a check both to the progress of *Syphax*'s arms and the towering projects of the *Romans*. However, the *Masæsylian* monarch found means, some time after, to assemble another formidable army of *Masæsylians* and *Mauritanians*; which was likewise defeated and dispersed by *Masinissa*. But the face of affairs in this country was soon afterwards greatly changed [d].

A brief account of Masinissa*'s affairs before he entered into an alliance with the* Romans.

Gala dying whilst his son *Masinissa* was acting at the head of the *Numidian* troops, sent to the assistance of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, his brother *Desalces*, according to the

a Aristot. de mirabil. Euseb. in chron. Flor. l. iii. c. 1. Sallust. in Jugurth. Oros. l. v. c. 15. Vide Bochart. in præfat. ad Chan. b Georg. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 140. Justin. l. xix. c. 2. Appian. in Libyc. sub init. Univers. hist. vol. vi. pass. c Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerptis Valesii, Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 849, & seq. & alib. pass. d Liv. l. xxiv. c. 47, 48. 49. Appian. in Libyc.

(G) The *Numidians*, particularly the *Masæsyli*, lived upon herbs, roots, flesh, milk, cheese, &c. in conformity to what *Herodotus* relates of the *Libyan Nomades*, as we learn from *Appian* and *Strabo*. This adds no small weight to the hypothesis we have ventured here to submit to the consideration of the learned (7).

(7) *Appian. in Libyc. c.* 6. & 64. *Strab. l.* xvii.

a the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion in *Numidia*, took poſſeſſion of the *Maſſylian* throne. That prince dying ſoon after his acceſſion, *Capuſa*, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for one *Mezetulus*, a perſon of royal extraction, but an enemy to the family of *Gala*, found means to excite a great part of his ſubjects to a revolt; which enabled him to form a conſiderable corps, and to bring *Capuſa* to a general action; which ending in his favour, and *Capuſa*, with many of the nobleſſe, being ſlain, he obtained the *Maſſylian* crown, as the fruit of his victory. However, he did not think proper to aſſume the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of guardian or protector to *Lacumaces*, the only ſurviving young prince of the blood, whom he graced with the royal title. To ſupport himſelf in
b his uſurpation, he married the widow of *Deſalces*, who was *Hannibal*'s niece, and conſequently of the moſt powerful family in *Carthage*. In order to attain the ſame end, he ſent embaſſadors to *Syphax*, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time, *Maſiniſſa*, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his couſin's ſlaughter, and of *Mezetulus*'s uſurpation, immediately paſſed over to *Afric*, and went to the court of *Bocchar*, king of *Mauritania*, to ſolicit ſuccours. *Bocchar*, ſenſible of the great injuſtice offered *Maſiniſſa*, gave him a body of four thouſand *Moors* to eſcorte him to his dominions. His ſubjects, having been appriſed of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The *Moors*, in purſuance of their orders, returned home, as ſoon as *Maſiniſſa* reached the confines of his kingdom; notwithſtanding which, and the ſmall body that declared for him,
c having accidentally met *Lacumaces* at *Thapſus* with an eſcorte going to implore *Syphax*'s aſſiſtance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by aſſault, after a faint reſiſtance. However, *Lacumaces*, with many of his men, found means to eſcape to *Syphax*. The fame of this exploit gained *Maſiniſſa* great credit, inſomuch, that the *Numidians* flocked to him from all parts, and, amongſt the reſt, many of his father *Gala*'s veterans, who preſſed him to make a ſpeedy and vigorous puſh for his hereditary dominions. *Lacumaces* having joined *Mezetulus* with a reinforcement of *Maſæſylians*, which he had prevailed upon *Syphax* to ſend to the aſſiſtance of his ally, the uſurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer *Maſiniſſa* battle; which
d that prince, though much inferior in number, did not decline. Hereupon an engagement enſued, and, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, *Maſiniſſa*, by his own conduct and bravery, and the valour of his troops, gained a complete victory; the immediate conſequence of which was a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, *Mezetulus* and *Lacumaces*, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of *Carthage*. However, looking upon his preſent ſituation as precarious, he offered to declare *Lacumaces* the heir apparent to the crown, and treat him in a manner ſuitable to his high rank, provided he would immediately make his ſubmiſſion to him; and, after having pardoned *Mezetulus*, and reſtored to him every thing that he had forfeited by his treaſonable conduct, to take him into favour, if
e he would acknowledge him as his ſovereign. Both of them readily complied with the propoſal, and immediately returned home; ſo that the tranquillity and repoſe of *Numidia* would have been then ſettled upon a ſolid and laſting foundation, had not this been prevented by *Aſdrubal*, who was then at *Syphax*'s court, He inſinuated to that prince, who was diſpoſed to live amicably with his neighbours, "That he was "greatly miſtaken, if he imagined *Maſiniſſa* would be ſatisfied with his hereditary "countries; that he was a prince of much greater capacity and ambition, than "either his father *Gala*, his uncle *Deſalces*, or any other of his family; that he had "often diſcovered in *Spain* marks of a moſt rare and uncommon merit; and that, "in fine, unleſs this riſing flame was extinguiſhed before it came to too great a head, "both the *Maſæſylian* and *Carthaginian* ſtates would be infallibly conſumed by it."
f *Syphax*, alarmed by theſe ſuggeſtions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a diſtrict, which had long been in diſpute between him and *Gala*, but then in the poſſeſſion of *Maſiniſſa*. This brought on a general action between thoſe two princes, wherein the latter was totally defeated, his army diſperſed, and he himſelf obliged to fly to the top of mount *Balbus*, attended only by a few of his horſe. Such a deciſive battle at the preſent juncture, before *Maſiniſſa* was fixed in his throne, could not but put *Syphax* into poſſeſſion of the kingdom of the *Maſſyli*. *Maſiniſſa* in the mean time made nocturnal incurſions from his poſt upon mount *Balbus*, and plundered all the adjacent country, particularly that part of the *Carthaginian* territory contiguous to *Numidia*. This diſtrict he not only thoroughly pillaged, but likewiſe laid waſte

with

with fire and ſword, carrying off from thence an immenſe booty, which was bought by ſome merchants, who had put into one of the *Carthaginian* ports for that purpoſe. In fine, he did the *Carthaginians* more damage, not only by committing ſuch dreadful devaſtations, but by maſſacring and carrying into captivity vaſt numbers of their ſubjects on this occaſion, than they could have ſuſtained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of an open and legal war. *Syphax*, at the preſſing and reiterated inſtances of the *Carthaginians*, ſent *Bocchar*, one of his moſt active commanders, with a detachment of four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to reduce this peſtilent gang of robbers, promiſing him a great reward, if he could bring *Maſiniſſa* either alive or dead. *Bocchar*, watching an opportunity, fell upon them unawares, as they were ſtraggling about the country without any order or diſcipline; ſo that he took many priſoners, diſperſed the reſt, and purſued *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had taken poſt. As he looked upon the expedition to be in a manner ended, he did not only ſend many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to *Syphax*, but likewiſe all the forces, except five hundred foot and two hundred horſe. With this detachment he drove *Maſiniſſa* from the ſummit of the hill, and purſued him through ſeveral narrow paſſes and defilés, as far as the plains of *Clupea*, where he ſo ſurrounded him, that all the *Maſſylians*, except four, were put to the ſword, and *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, after having received a dangerous wound, eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. As this was effected by croſſing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants were drowned in the ſight of the detachment that purſued him, it was rumoured all over *Africa*, that *Maſiniſſa* had been ſwallowed by the ſtream; which gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*. For ſome time he lived undiſcovered in a cave, where he was ſupported by the robberies of the two horſemen, that had made their eſcape with him; but, having cured his wound, he boldly began to advance towards his own frontiers, giving out publicly, that he intended once more to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horſe, and, ſoon after his arrival amongſt the *Maſſyli*, ſo many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; with which he did not only reinſtate himſelf in his dominions, but likewiſe laid waſte the borders of the *Maſæſyli*. This ſo irritated *Syphax*, that he immediately aſſembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiouſly upon a ridge of mountains between *Cirta* and *Hippo*. His army he commanded in perſon, and detached his ſon *Vermina*, with a conſiderable force, to take a compaſs, and attack the enemy in rear. In purſuance of his order, *Vermina* ſet out in the beginning of the night, and took poſt in the place appointed him, without being diſcovered by the enemy. In the mean time, *Syphax* decamped, and advanced towards the enemy, in order to give them battle. When he had poſſeſſed himſelf of a riſing ground, that led to their camp, and concluded that his ſon *Vermina* muſt have formed the ambuſcade behind them, he began the fight. *Maſiniſſa* being advantagiouſly poſted, and his ſoldiers diſtinguiſhing themſelves in an extraordinary manner, the diſpute was long and bloody; but *Vermina* unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this means, obliging them to divide their forces, which were ſcarce able before to oppoſe the main body under *Syphax*, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and forced to betake themſelves to a precipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by *Syphax*, and partly by his ſon, ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the unhappy *Maſſyli*, that only *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, with ſeventy horſe, eſcaped to the *Leſſer Syrtis*. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the *Carthaginians* and *Garamantes*, till the arrival of *Lælius*, and the *Roman* fleet, on the coaſt of *Africa*. What happened immediately after his junction with the *Romans*, our readers will find related at large in a part of this work, to which it more properly belongs [e].

Some farther particulars relating to Syphax *and* Maſiniſſa.

We have already obſerved, that the *Carthaginians* loſt *Maſiniſſa* by depriving him of his dear *Sophoniſba*. That lady was verſed in various branches of literature, excellently well ſkilled in muſic, the greateſt beauty of that age, or perhaps any other, and of ſuch exquiſite charms in every reſpect, that, according to a grave author, either her bare voice, or a ſight of her, was ſufficient to captivate the moſt rigid and ſevere philoſopher. *Maſiniſſa* therefore could never forgive the mortifying affront put upon him by the ſtate of *Carthage*, when her father *Aſdrubal*, in violation of

[e] Liv. l. xxix. c. 29—35. Appian. in Libyc. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 739, & ſeq.

of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to *Syphax*. The *Carthaginians*, however, endeavoured to fix that prince in their intereſt, and, in order to this, prevailed upon *Syphax* to reſtore him his dominions. *Maſiniſſa*, to have his full revenge both of *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, feigned himſelf intirely ſatisfied with ſo generous a ceſſion, and outwardly expreſſed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though at the ſame time he was under-hand with the *Romans* meditating their ruin. *Aſdrubal* had either ſome private intelligence, or entertained a ſuſpicion, of this; which induced him to lay an ambuſcade for *Maſiniſſa* after his arrival in *Africa* from *Spain*, which that prince happily eſcaped. *Syphax*, in the mean time, acted much ſuch a part as *Maſiniſſa*; for he aſſured the *Romans* of an inviolable attachment to their intereſt, though he had entered into the ſtricteſt engagements with the *Carthaginians*, at the earneſt ſolicitations of his wife, whoſe charms he found himſelf incapable of reſiſting. The conſequences, both of his conduct, and that of his rival *Maſiniſſa*, have been already related at large. It will be ſufficient therefore in this place to obſerve, that, by the aſſiſtance of *Lælius*, *Maſiniſſa* reduced *Syphax*'s kingdom; that, according to *Zonaras*, he and *Scipio* ſo far outwitted *Hannibal* before the memorable battle of *Zama*, that, by a ſtratagem, they deprived him of ſome advantagious poſts, which, with a ſolar eclipſe happening during the heat of the action, and not a little intimidating the *Carthaginian* troops, greatly contributed to the victory the *Romans* obtained; and that, at the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, he was amply rewarded by the *Romans* for the important ſervices he had done them. As for *Syphax*, after the loſs of his dominions, he was kept in confinement for ſome time at *Alba*, from whence being removed in order to grace *Scipio*'s triumph, he died at *Tibur* in his way to *Rome*. *Zonaras* adds, that his corpſe was decently interred; that all the *Numidian* priſoners were releaſed; and that *Vermina*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, took peaceable poſſeſſion of his father's throne. However, part of the *Maſæſylian* kingdom was before annexed to *Maſiniſſa*'s dominions, in order to reward that prince for his ſingular fidelity and cloſe attachment to the *Romans*, as has been already obſerved [f] (H).

a

b

c

As an account of all the principal tranſactions, in which *Maſiniſſa* was concerned between the ſecond and third *Punic* wars, has been already extracted from the beſt antient hiſtorians, we cannot here pretend to touch upon any of them, without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing therefore is further requiſite, in order to complete the hiſtory of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view ſome points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the cloſe, of life; the wiſe diſpoſitions made after his death by *Æmilianus*, in order to the regulation of his domeſtic affairs; and ſome particulars relating to his character, genius, and habit of body, drawn from the moſt celebrated *Greek* and *Roman* authors [g].

d

By drawing a line of circumvallation round the *Carthaginian* army under *Aſdrubal*, poſted upon an eminence, *Maſiniſſa* cut off all manner of ſupplies from them; which introduced both the plague and a famine into their camp. As the body of *Numidian* troops employed in this blockade was not near ſo numerous as the *Carthaginian* forces, it is evident, that the line here mentioned muſt have been extremely ſtrong, and conſequently the effect of great labour and art. The *Carthaginians*, finding themſelves reduced to the laſt extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which *Maſiniſſa* dictated to them: 1. That they ſhould deliver up all deſerters. 2. That they ſhould recal their exiles, who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they ſhould pay him five thouſand talents of ſilver, within the ſpace of fifty years. 4. That their ſoldiers ſhould paſs under the *jugum*, each of them carrying off only a ſingle coat. As *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, though between eighty and ninety years of age, con-

e

Maſiniſſa forces the Carthaginians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.

[f] Appian. in Libyc. c. 6. Liv. l. xxx. c. 43. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11, 12. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 748.

[g] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. & vi. paſſ.

(H) This ſeems to be countenanced by the epitomizer of *Livy*, who gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, that *Syphax*'s family, for a conſiderable term after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, reigned in one part of *Numidia*; for he intimates, that *Archobarzanes*, *Syphax*'s grandſon, and probably *Vermina*'s ſon, hovered, with a powerful army of *Numidians*, about the *Carthaginian* frontiers, a few years before the third *Punic* war broke out, in order, as ſhould ſeem, either to cover them, or enable the *Carthaginians* to make an irruption into *Maſiniſſa*'s territories. *Cato*, however, pretended, that theſe forces, in conjunction with thoſe of *Carthage*, had a deſign to invade the *Roman* dominions, which he urged as a reaſon to induce the conſcript fathers to deſtroy the *African* republic (8).

(8) *Liv. epit. l.* xlviii.

conducted the whole enterprize, he must have been extremely well versed in fortifi- a
cation, and other branches of the military art. His understanding likewise he must have retained to the last. This happened a short time before the beginning of the third *Punic* war [h].

Masiniſſa *disgusted at the* Romans.

SOON after, the consuls landed an army in *Africa*, in order to lay siege to *Carthage*, without imparting to *Masiniſſa* their design. This not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the *Romans*, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions to him, and consulted him on all occasions. When therefore the consuls applied to him for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he made answer, "That they should have a reinforcement from "him, when they stood in need of it." It could not but be provoking for him to b
consider, that, after he had extremely weakened the *Carthaginians*, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his pretended imperious friends should come to reap the fruits of his victory, without giving him the least intelligence of it [i].

He dies:

HOWEVER, his mind soon after returned to its natural bias, which was in favour of the *Romans*. Finding his end approaching, he sent to *Æmilianus*, then a tribune in the *Roman* army, to desire a visit from him. What he proposed by this visit, was to invest him with full powers to dispose of his kingdom and estate, as he should think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he had entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this step; but, believing c
that death would not permit him to have a personal conference with *Æmilianus* upon this subject, he informed his wife and children, in his last moments, that he had impowered him to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all his possessions, and to divide his kingdom amongst his sons. To which he subjoined, "I require, that "whatever *Æmilianus* may decree, shall be executed as punctually, as if I myself "had appointed it by my will." Having uttered these words, he expired, at above ninety years of age [k].

Some particulars relating to his character.

THIS prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, as appears from several preceding parts of this history. However, says *Appian*, being supported by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted course of prosperity d
for a long series of years. His kingdom extended from *Mauritania* to the western confines of *Cyrenaica*; from whence it appears, that he was one of the most powerful princes of *Africa*. Many of the inhabitants of this vast tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their soil, and to reap those natural advantages, which the fertility of some parts of their country offered them. He was of a more robust habit of body than any of his cotemporaries, being blessed with the greatest health and vigour, which was doubtless owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he incessantly sustained. We are informed by *Polybius*, that sometimes he stood upon the same spot of ground from morning till evening, without the least motion, and at others continued as long in a sitting posture. He would remain on horseback e
for several days and nights together, without being sensible of the least fatigue. Nothing can better evince the strength of his constitution, than his youngest son, named *Stembal*, *Sthemba*, or *Stembanus*, who was but four years old at his decease. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men, and always rode without a saddle. *Pliny* tells us, that he reigned above sixty years. He was an able commander, and much facilitated the reduction of *Carthage*. *Plutarch* from *Polybius* observes, that, the day after a great victory won over the *Carthaginians*, *Masiniſſa* was seen sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. *Suidas* relates, that, to the last, he could mount his horse without any assistance. According to *Appian*, he left a numerous well-disciplined army, and an immense f
quantity of wealth (I), behind him [l].

Masiniſſa,

[h] APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 40, 41. [i] Idem ibid. c. 55, 56. LIV. & POLYB. pass. [k] APPIAN. ubi sup. c. 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 100. [l] Univers. hist. vol. iv. & vii. pass. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. VAL MAX. ubi sup. STRAB. l. xvii. POLYB. in fragm. p. 1013. edit. Casaub. 1619. PLIN. l. vii. c. 40. PLUT. in comment. an. sen. gerend. sit resp. p. 791. CIC. de senect. SUID. in voc. Μασανάσσης. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. POLYB. in excerp. Vales. p. 175. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. aliiq; plur.

(I) We are farther told, that *Masiniſſa* always went bare-headed, even though the weather was never so severe; and that, in his extreme old age, he could sit on horseback for four-and-twenty hours together, without being in the least fatigued Some authors say, that he was a pious prince, and sent back to *Melita* or *Malta* a large quantity of ivory, which had been brought him from thence out of *Juno*'s

a *Maſiniſſa*, before his death, gave his ring to his eldeſt ſon *Micipſa*; but left the diſtribution of all his other (K) effects and poſſeſſions amongſt his children, as has been juſt obſerved, intirely to *Æmilianus*. Of fifty-four ſons, that ſurvived him, only three were legitimate, *viz.* *Micipſa*, *Guluſſa*, and *Maſtanabal*. *Æmilianus*, arriving at *Cirta* after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongſt theſe three, though to the others he gave conſiderable poſſeſſions. To *Micipſa*, who was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition and the eldeſt ſon, he aſſigned *Cirta*, the metropolis, for the place of his reſidence, in excluſion of the others. *Guluſſa*, the next to him, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the tranſacting of all affairs, relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And *Maſtanabal*, or, according to *Livy* and *Salluſt*, *Manaſtabal*, the b youngeſt, had the adminiſtration of juſtice, an employment ſuitable to his education, allotted him. They enjoyed in common the immenſe treaſures *Maſiniſſa* had amaſſed, and were all of them dignified by *Æmilianus* with the royal title. After he had made theſe wiſe diſpoſitions, that young nobleman departed from *Cirta*, taking with him a body of *Numidian* troops, under the conduct of *Guluſſa*, to reinforce the *Roman* army, that was then acting againſt the *Carthaginians* [m].

Æmilianus divides his kingdom and effects amongſt his three ſons, Micipſa, Guluſſa, *and* Maſtanabal.

Maſtanabal and *Guluſſa* died ſoon after their father, as appears from the expreſs teſtimony of *Salluſt*. We find nothing more remarkable of theſe princes, beſides what has been already related, than that the latter continued to aſſiſt the *Romans* in the third *Punic* war; and that the former was pretty well verſed in the *Greek* lan- c guage. *Micipſa* therefore became ſole poſſeſſor of the kingdom of *Numidia*. In his reign, and the conſulate of *M. Plautius Hypſæus* and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, according to *Oroſius*, a great part of *Africa* was covered with locuſts, which deſtroyed all the produce of the earth, and even devoured dry wood; but at laſt they were all carried by the wind into the *African* ſea, out of which being thrown in vaſt heaps upon the ſhore, a plague enſued, which ſwept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In *Numidia* only periſhed eight hundred thouſand men, and in *Africa Propria* two hundred thouſand: amongſt the reſt, thirty thouſand *Roman* ſoldiers quartered in and about *Utica*, for the defence of the laſt province. At *Utica* in particular the mortality raged to ſuch a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of d one gate in a day. *Micipſa* had two ſons *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew *Jugurtha*. That young prince was the ſon of *Maſtanabal*; but his mother having been only a concubine, *Maſiniſſa* had taken no great notice of him. However, *Micipſa*, conſidering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him, as he did of his own children [n].

Maſtanabal *and* Guluſſa *die ſoon after their father* Maſiniſſa.

Jugurtha poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. He was very handſome, endued with great ſtrength of body, and adorned with the fineſt intellectual endowments. He did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf, with perſons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exerciſes, ſuited e to the martial genius of the *Numidians*; and, though he ſurpaſſed all his fellow-ſportſmen, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight; but it was that of lions, and other ſavage (L) beaſts. *Salluſt*, to finiſh his character, tells us, that he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf [o].

So

[m] Appian. ubi ſupra, c. 63, 64. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2. Liv. ubi ſupra. Zonar. l. ix. c. 27. p. 464, 465. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. vi. [n] Sallust. in Jugurth. c. 5. Liv. epit. l. Appian. in Libyc. Oros. l. v. c. 11. [o] Sallust. ubi ſup. Flor. l. iii. c. 1.

Juno's temple, as a preſent by his admiral. It is added, that he cauſed inſcriptions in *Numidian* letters to be engraven on ſome of the pieces of this ivory, importing, that he willingly returned it, as ſoon as he knew it belonged to the goddeſs. *Valerius Maximus* ſays, that not being able to repoſe any confidence in any of his children, officers, *&c.* he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from the attempts of his enemies by a guard of dogs. He ſuſtained as many toils, at near ninety years of age, as any man in his dominions. His ſubjects he trained up in the military art, inſtead of permitting them to plunder and ravage the country, as had frequently happened before his time. The inſcriptions above-mentioned are a further proof, that the *Numidians* had an alphabet of their own (9).

(K) It is ſaid, that *Maſiniſſa* was ſerved in earthenware, after the *Roman* faſhion; but all the ſtrangers at his table in plate. The ſecond ſervice, or deſert, was adorned with golden baſkets, in conformity to the *Italian* cuſtom, ſo ingeniouſly worked, that they reſembled thoſe made of twigs, ruſhes, *&c.* *Greek* muſicians likewiſe attended his entertainments (10).

(L) *Salluſt* ſeems to intimate, that many of the natives of *Numidia* were deſtroyed by theſe wild beaſts;

(9) *Cic. de ſenect. Val. Max. l.* i. *c.* 1. *l.* viii. *c.* 13. *& l.* ix. *c.* 13. (10) *Ptol. comment. l.* viii. *apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* vi.

Micipsa *jealous of his nephew* Jugurtha.

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections at first charmed *Micipsa*, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he soon began to reflect, that he was considerably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirsted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. These reflections soon excited his jealousy, and determined him to expose *Jugurtha* to a variety of dangers, some of which, he entertained hopes, might prove fatal to him. In order to this, he gave him the command of a body of forces, which he sent to assist the *Romans*, who were at that time besieging *Numantia* in *Spain*. But *Jugurtha*, by his admirable conduct, did not only escape all these dangers, but likewise won the esteem of the whole army, and the friendship of *Scipio*, who sent a high character of him to his uncle *Micipsa*. However, that general gave him some prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, observing, no doubt, in him certain sparks of ambition, which, if lighted into a flame, he apprehended, might, one day, be productive of the most fatal consequences [P].

Jugurtha's *perfidiousness and cruelty.*

Before this last experiment, *Micipsa* had endeavoured to find out some method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongst the *Numidians* obliged that prince to lay aside all thoughts of this nature. After his return from *Spain*, the whole nation almost adored him. The heroic bravery he had shewn there, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmost calmness of mind, which enabled him to preserve a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance rarely to be met with in persons of his age, and, above all, the advantagious testimonials of his conduct given by *Scipio*, attracted an universal esteem; nay, *Micipsa* himself, charmed with the high idea the *Roman* general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, resolving, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two sons (M) to the crown. Finding, some few years afterwards, that his end approached, he sent for all three to his bed-side, where, in presence of the whole court, he desired *Jugurtha* to recollect with what extreme tenderness he had treated him, and consequently to consider how well he had deserved at his hands. He then intreated him to protect his children on all occasions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now, by their father's bounty, become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their interest, he likewise complimented him upon his bravery, address, and consummate prudence. He further insinuated, that neither arms nor treasures constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real services and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where, continued he, can we find better friends than in brothers? And how "can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, "or depend upon, strangers?" Then addressing himself to *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*, "And you, said he, I injoin always to pay the highest reverence to *Jugurtha*, "Endeavour to imitate, and, if possible, surpass, his exalted merit, that the world "may not hereafter observe *Micipsa*'s adopted son to have reflected greater glory "upon his memory than his own children." Soon after, *Micipsa*, who, according to *Diodorus*, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though *Jugurtha* did not believe the king to speak his real sentiments with regard to him, yet he seemed extremely pleased with so gracious a speech, and made him an answer suitable to the occasion. However, that prince at the same time was determined within himself to put in execution the scheme he had formed at the siege of *Numantia*, which was suggested to him by some factious and abandoned *Roman* officers, with whom he there contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this scheme was, that he should extort the crown by force from his two cousins, as soon as their father's eyes were closed; which,

[P] Sallust. ubi sup. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 9.

beasts; for he says, that the *Numidians* were so healthy, and of such robust constitutions, that almost all of them attained to old age, except those who either fell in war, or were devoured by wild beasts, scarce any disease ever proving fatal to them (11).

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that tho' *Micipsa* had many children, his three favourite sons were *Adherbal*, *Hiempsal*, and *Micipsa*. The same historian likewise adds, that he was the most clement of all the *Numidian* monarchs; and that he sent for a great number of *Greeks*, eminent in all branches of literature, particularly philosophy, by whose instructions he became a most celebrated philosopher (12).

(11) *Sallust. in bell. Jugurth.*

(12) *Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Vales. p.* 385, 386.

a which, they inſinuated, might eaſily be effected by his own valour, and the venality of the *Romans*. Accordingly, a ſhort time after the old king's death, he found means to aſſaſſinate *Hiempſal* in the city of *Thirmida*, where his treaſures were depoſited, and drive *Adherbal* out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himſelf obliged to fly to *Rome*, where he endeavoured to engage the conſcript fathers to eſpouſe his quarrel; but, notwithſtanding the juſtice of his cauſe, they had not virtue enough effectually to ſupport him. *Jugurtha*'s embaſſadors, by diſtributing vaſt ſums of money amongſt the ſenators, brought them ſo far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. When thoſe embaſſadors therefore declared, that *Hiempſal* had been killed by the *Numidians*, on account of his exceſſive cruelty; that b *Adherbal* was the aggreſſor in the late troubles; that he was only chagrined, becauſe he could not make that havock amongſt his countrymen he would willingly have done; and intreated the ſenate to form a judgment of *Jugurtha*'s behaviour in *Africa* from what he had ſhewn at *Numantia*, rather than from the ſuggeſtions of his enemies, by far the greateſt part of the ſenate diſcovered themſelves prejudiced in his favour. A few, however, that were not loſt to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, inſiſted upon bringing him to condign puniſhment; but, as they could not prevail, he had the beſt part of *Numidia* allotted him, and *Adherbal* was forced to reſt ſatisfied with the other [q].

Jugurtha, finding now by experience, that every thing was venal at *Rome*, as his friends at *Numantia* had before informed him, thought he might purſue his towering c projects without any obſtruction from that quarter. He therefore, immediately after the laſt diviſion of *Micipſa*'s dominions, threw off the maſk, and attacked his couſin by open force. As *Adherbal* was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and almoſt in all reſpects the reverſe of *Jugurtha*, he was by no means a match for him. The latter therefore pillaged the former's territories, ſtormed ſeveral of his fortreſſes, and overran a good part of his kingdom without oppoſition. *Adherbal*, depending upon the friendſhip of the *Romans*, which his father, in his laſt moments, aſſured him would be a ſtronger ſupport to him than all the troops and treaſures in the univerſe, diſpatched deputies to *Rome*, to complain of theſe hoſtilities. But, whilſt he loſt his time in ſend- d ing thither fruitleſs deputations, *Jugurtha* overthrew him in a pitched battle, and ſoon after ſhut him up in *Cirta*. During the ſiege of this city, a *Roman* commiſſion arrived there, in order to perſuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding *Jugurtha* untractable, the commiſſioners returned home, without ſo much as conferring with *Adherbal*. A ſecond deputation, compoſed of ſenators of the higheſt diſtinction, with *Æmilius Scaurus*, preſident of the ſenate, at their head, landed ſome time after at *Utica*, and ſummoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them. That prince at firſt ſeemed to be under dreadful apprehenſions, eſpecially as *Scaurus* reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the reſentment of the *Romans*, if he did not immediately raiſe the ſiege of *Cirta*. However, the *Numidian*, by his addreſs, and the irreſiſtible power of gold, as was afterwards ſuſpected at *Rome*, ſo mollified e *Scaurus*, that he left *Adherbal* at his mercy. In fine, *Jugurtha* had at laſt *Cirta* ſurrendered to him, upon condition only, that he ſhould ſpare the life of *Adherbal*; but the mercileſs tyrant, in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he had got poſſeſſion of the town, ordered him to be put to a moſt cruel death. The merchants likewiſe, and all the *Numidians* in the place capable of bearing arms, he cauſed, without diſtinction, to be put to the ſword [r].

He bribes the Roman *ſenate, and maſſacres* Adherbal.

EVERY perſon at *Rome*, inſpired with any ſentiments of humanity, was ſtruck with horror at the news of this tragical event. However, all the venal ſenators ſtill concurred with *Jugurtha*'s miniſters in palliating his enormous crimes. Notwithſtand- f ing which, the people, excited thereto by *Caius Memmius* their tribune, who bitterly inveighed againſt the venality of the ſenate, reſolved not to let ſo flagrant an inſtance of villainy go unpuniſhed. This diſpoſition in them induced the conſcript fathers likewiſe to declare their intention to chaſtiſe *Jugurtha*. In order to this, an army was levied to invade *Numidia*, and the command of it given to the conſul *Calpurnius Beſtia*, a perſon of good abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition he was to go upon by his inſatiable avarice. *Jugurtha*, being informed of the great preparations making at *Rome* to attack his dominions, ſent his ſon thither to avert the impending ſtorm. The young prince was plentifully ſupplied with money, which he had orders

He corrupts Beſtia *and* Scaurus.

[q] SALLUST. & FLOR. ubi ſup. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 26. OROS. l. v. c. 15. [r] Idem ibid. LIV. ep. lxiv.

orders to distribute liberally amongst the leading men. But *Bestia*, proposing to a himself great advantages from an invasion of *Numidia*, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree passed, ordering him and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unless they were come to deliver up the king himself, and all his territories, to the republic by way of dedition; which decree being notified to them, they returned, without so much as having entered the gates of *Rome*; and *Bestia* soon after landed with a powerful army in *Africa*. For some time he carried on the war there very briskly, reduced several strong-holds, and took many *Numidians* prisoners. But, upon the arrival of *Scaurus*, whose character has been already given in the *Roman* history, a peace was granted *Jugurtha* upon advantagious terms. That prince coming from *Vacca*, the place of his residence, to the *Roman* camp, in order to confer with *Bestia* and *Scaurus*, b and the preliminaries of the treaty being immediately after settled between them in private conferences, every body at *Rome* was convinced, that the prince of the senate and the consul had sacrificed to their avarice the good of the republic. The indignation therefore of the people in general displayed itself in the strongest manner. *Memmius* also fired them with his speeches. It was therefore resolved to dispatch the prætor *Cassius*, a person they could confide in, to *Numidia*, to prevail upon *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome*, that they might learn from the king himself which of their generals and senators had been seduced by the pestilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival there, he found means to bribe one *Bæbius Salca*, a man of great authority amongst the plebeians, but of insatiable avarice, by whose assistance he escaped with c impunity; nay, by the efficacy of gold, he did not only elude all the endeavours of the people of *Rome* to bring him to justice, but likewise enabled *Bomilcar*, one of his attendants, to get *Massiva*, an illegitimate son of *Micipsa*, assassinated in the streets of *Rome*. That young prince was advised by many *Romans* of probity, well-wishers to the family of *Masinissa*, to apply for the kingdom of *Numidia*; which coming to *Jugurtha*'s ears, he prevented the application by this execrable step. However, he was obliged to leave *Italy* immediately. He departed *Rome* with passing that severe reflection upon the venality of its infamous citizens already mentioned [s].

Obliges the Roman *army to pass under the* jugum, *and quit* Numidia.

Jugurtha had scarce set foot in *Africa*, when he received advice, that the senate had disannulled the shameful peace concluded with him by *Bestia* and *Scaurus*. Soon d after, the consul *Albinus* transported a *Roman* army into *Numidia*, flattering himself with the hopes of reducing *Jugurtha* to reason before the expiration of his consulate. In this, however, he found himself deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, so amused and imposed upon *Albinus*, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This rendered him strongly suspected of having betrayed his country, after the example of his predecessors. His brother *Aulus*, who succeeded him in the command of the army, was still more unsuccessful; for, after rising from before *Suthul*, where the king's treasures were deposited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impossible to extricate himself. He therefore was obliged to submit to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the *jugum*, with all his men, e and to quit *Numidia* intirely in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate destruction. The avaricious disposition of the *Roman* commander prompted him to besiege *Suthul*, the possession of which place, he imagined, would make him master of all the wealth of *Jugurtha*, and consequently paved the way to such a scandalous treaty. However, this was declared void as soon as known at *Rome*, as being concluded without the authority of the people. The *Roman* troops retired into *Africa Propria*, which they had now reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and there took up their winter-quarters [t].

Defeated by Metellus.

In the mean time, *Caius Mamilius Limetanus*, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to inquire into the conduct of those persons, by whose assistance *Jugurtha* f had found means to elude all the decrees of the senate. This put the body of the people into a great ferment; which occasioned a prosecution of the guilty senators, that was carried on, for some time, with the utmost heat and violence. *Lucius Metellus* the consul, during these transactions, had *Numidia* assigned him for his province, and consequently was appointed general of the army destined to act against *Jugurtha*. As he perfectly disregarded wealth, the *Numidian* found him superior to all his temptations; which was a great mortification to him. To this he joined all the other virtues, which constitute the great captain; so that *Jugurtha* found him in all respects inac-

[s] Iidem ibid. [t] Sallust. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. ubi sup.

a inacceſſible. That prince therefore was now forced to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of *Metellus*, with the greateſt caution, and exert his utmoſt bravery, in order to compenſate for that hitherto favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. *Marius*, *Metellus*'s lieutenant, being likewiſe a perſon of uncommon merit, the *Romans* reduced *Vacca*, a large, opulent city, and the moſt celebrated mart in *Numidia*; defeated *Jugurtha* in a pitched battle; overthrew *Bomilcar*, one of his generals, upon the banks of the *Muthullus*; and, in fine, forced the *Numidian* monarch to take ſhelter in a place rendered almoſt inacceſſible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, *Jugurtha* ſignalized himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of a conſum-
b mate general, to whom deſpair adminiſters freſh ſtrength, and ſuggeſts new lights. But his troops could not make head againſt the *Romans*; they were again worſted by *Marius*, though they obliged *Metellus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Zama*. *Jugurtha* therefore, finding his country every-where ravaged, his moſt opulent cities plundered, his fortreſſes reduced, his towns burnt, vaſt numbers of his ſubjects put to the ſword, and taken priſoners, began to think ſeriouſly of coming to an accommodation with the *Romans*. His favourite *Bomilcar*, in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, but who had been gained over to the enemy by *Metellus*, obſerving this diſpoſition, found it no difficult matter to perſuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horſes, and deſerters, in whom the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted, into the
c hands of the *Romans*. Some of theſe laſt, in order to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, retired to *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, and liſted in his ſervice. But *Metellus* ordering him to repair to (N) *Tiſidium*, a city of *Numidia*, there to receive farther directions, and he refuſing a compliance with that order, hoſtilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now ſeemed to declare in favour of *Jugurtha*: he retook *Vacca*, and maſſacred the *Roman* gariſon, though *Turpilius*, the commandant, found means to make his eſcape. However, ſoon after a *Roman* legion ſeized again upon it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity. About this time, one of *Maſtanabal*'s ſons, named *Gauda*, whom *Micipſa*, in his will, had appointed to ſucceed to the crown, in caſe his two legitimate ſons and *Jugurtha* died
d without iſſue, wrote to the ſenate in favour of *Marius*, who was then endeavouring to ſupplant *Metellus*; the occaſion and effect of which ſolicitation has already been related. That prince, having his underſtanding impaired by a declining ſtate of health, fell a more eaſy prey to the baſe and infamous adulation of *Marius*, who, after having ſoothed his vanity, aſſured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the *Numidian* throne, as ſoon as *Jugurtha* was either killed or taken, which muſt in a ſhort time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the *Roman* army with an unlimited commiſſion. Soon after, *Bomilcar* and *Nabdalſa* formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate *Jugurtha*, at the (O) inſtigation of *Metellus*; but this being detected, *Bomilcar* and moſt of his accomplices
e ſuffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot, however, had ſuch an effect upon *Jugurtha*, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquillity or repoſe. He ſuſpected perſons of all denominations, *Numidians* as well as foreigners, of ſome black deſigns againſt him. Perpetual terrors ſat brooding over his mind; inſomuch, that he never got a wink of ſleep, but by ſtealth, and often changed his bed in a low, plebeian manner. Starting from his ſleep, he would frequently ſnatch his ſword, and break out into the moſt doleful cries. So ſtrongly was he haunted by a ſpirit of fear, jealouſy, and diſtraction [u].

Overthrown a ſecond time by him.

Jugurtha, having deſtroyed great numbers of his friends, on ſuſpicion of their having been concerned in the late conſpiracy, and many more of them deſerting to the
f *Romans* and *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, found himſelf, in a manner, deſtitute of counſellors, generals, and all perſons capable of aſſiſting him in carrying on the war.

This

[u] Iidem ibid. Liv. epit. lxv. Plut. in Mar. Vell Paterc. l. ii. c. 11.

(N) This city ſeems to have been ſituated either upon the borders of *Africa Propria*, or in that province, ſince *Metellus* diſtributed his troops in winter-quarters there, after the concluſion of the campaign (13).

(O) *Frontinus* relates, that *Metellus* endeavoured to ſecure *Jugurtha*'s perſon, not to aſſaſſinate him, which, he inſinuates, might have been more eaſily effected. But as this runs counter to *Salluſt*, who is ſuperior, in point of authority, to *Frontinus*, this hiſtorical fragment deſerves not much credit (14).

(13) *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.*

(14) *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat, l. i. c. 8. ex. 8.*

This threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him diſſatisfied with every a
thing, and made him fatigue his troops with a variety of contradictory motions.
Sometimes he would advance with great celerity againſt the enemy, and at others
retreat with no ſmall ſwiftneſs from them. Then he reſumed his former courage;
but ſoon after deſpaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his com-
mand. All his movements therefore proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt he was forced by
Metellus to a battle. That part of the *Numidian* army *Jugurtha* commanded behaved
with ſome reſolution; but the other fled at the firſt onſet. The *Romans* therefore
intirely defeated them, took all their ſtandards, and made a few of them priſoners.
Not many of them were ſlain in the action, ſince, as *Salluſt* obſerves, the *Numidians*
truſted more to their heels than their arms for ſafety in this engagement [w]. b

Metellus *takes* Thala.

Metellus purſued *Jugurtha* and his fugitives to *Thala*, a place we have formerly
deſcribed. His march to this place, being through vaſt deſerts, was extremely tedi-
ous and difficult; but being ſupplied with wooden veſſels of all ſizes taken from the
huts of the *Numidians*, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had
ſubmitted to him, he inveſted that city. He had no ſooner ſat down before it, than
a moſt copious ſhower of rain, a thing very uncommon in thoſe deſerts, proved a
great and ſeaſonable refreſhment to his forces, who, animated thereby, as though
the gods had declared for them, prepared to attack the town with ſuch vigour, that
Jugurtha, with his family and treaſures depoſited therein, thought proper to aban-
don it. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the gariſon, conſiſting of *Roman* c
deſerters, ſetting fire to the king's palace, and conſuming themſelves, together with
every thing valuable to them, in the flames. *Jugurtha*, being now reduced to great
extremities, retired into *Gætulia*, where he formed a conſiderable corps. From
thence he advanced to the confines of *Mauritania*, and engaged *Bocchus*, king of that
country, whoſe daughter he had married, to enter into an alliance with him; in con-
ſequence of which, having reinforced his *Gætulian* troops with a powerful body of
Mauritanians, he turned the tables upon *Metellus*, and obliged him to keep cloſe
within his intrenchments. *Salluſt* informs us, that *Jugurtha* bribed *Bocchus*'s mini-
ſters to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience,
he inſinuated, that, ſhould *Numidia* be ſubdued, *Mauritania* muſt be involved in its d
ruin, eſpecially as the *Romans* ſeemed to have vowed the deſtruction of all the thrones
in the univerſe. In ſupport of what he advanced, he produced ſeveral inſtances very
appoſite to the point in view. However, the ſame author ſeems to intimate, that
Bocchus was determined to aſſiſt *Jugurtha* againſt his enemies by the ſlight the *Romans*
had formerly ſhewn him. That prince, at the firſt breaking out of this war, ſent
embaſſadors to *Rome*, to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive alliance to the republic;
which, though of the utmoſt conſequence to it at that juncture, a few of the moſt
venal and infamous ſenators, who were abandoned to corruption, prevented from
taking effect. This undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon *Bocchus* in favour
of *Jugurtha*, than the relation he ſtood in to him; for both the *Moors* and *Numi-* e
dians adapted the number of their wives to their circumſtances, ſo that ſome had ten,
twenty, *&c.* to their ſhare. Their kings therefore were unlimited in this particular,
and of courſe all degrees of affinity, reſulting to them from marriage, had little force.
It is obſervable, that the poſterity of thoſe antient nations have the ſame cuſtom
prevailing amongſt them at this day [x].

And endeavours to draw off Bocchus *from the intereſt of* Jugurtha.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in *Numidia*, when *Metellus* received advice of the
promotion of *Marius* to the conſulate. What effect this news had upon that excellent,
tho' much injured, commander, has been already obſerved. But, notwithſtanding the
injurious treatment he met with on this occaſion, he generouſly endeavoured to draw
off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, though this would facilitate the reduction of *Numidia* for f
his rival. To this end embaſſadors were diſpatched to the *Mauritanian* court, who
intimated to *Bocchus*, "That it would be highly imprudent to come to a rupture
"with the *Romans* without any cauſe at all; that he had now a fine opportunity of
"concluding a moſt advantagious treaty with them, which was much preferable to
"a war; that, whatever dependence he might place upon his riches, he ought not
"to run the hazard of loſing his dominions by embroiling himſelf with other ſtates,
"when he could eaſily avoid this; that it was much eaſier to begin a war, than to
"end it, which it was in the power of the victor alone to do; that, in fine, he would
"by

[w] Sallust. Liv. Paterc. Oros. ubi ſup. Eutrop. ubi ſup. c. 27. [x] Iidem ibid. Strab. l. xvii.
Vide & Bern. Aldret. ubi ſup. p. 400, 401, & ſeq.

a "by no means conſult the intereſt of his ſubjects, if he followed the deſperate for-
"tunes of *Jugurtha*." To which *Bocchus* replied, "That, for his part, there was
"nothing he wiſhed for more than peace; but that he could not help pitying the
"deplorable condition of *Jugurtha*; that if the *Romans* therefore would grant that
"unfortunate prince the ſame terms they had offered him, he would bring about an
"accommodation." *Metellus* let the *Mauritanian* monarch know, that it was not in his power to comply with what he deſired. However, he took care to keep up a private negotiation with him till the new conſul *Marius*'s arrival. By this conduct he ſerved two wiſe ends; for, firſt, he prevented thereby *Bocchus* from coming to a general action with his troops; which was the very thing *Jugurtha* deſired, as hoping
b that this, whatever the event might be, would render a reconciliation betwixt him and the *Romans* impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to diſcover ſomething of the genius and diſpoſition of the *Moors*, a nation, of whom the *Romans*, till then, had ſcarce formed any idea, which, he imagined, might be of no ſmall ſervice, either to himſelf or his ſucceſſors, in the future proſecution of the war y.

Jugurtha, being informed, that *Marius*, with a numerous army, was landed at *Utica*, adviſed *Bocchus* to retire, with part of the troops, to ſome place of difficult acceſs, whilſt he himſelf took poſt upon another inacceſſible ſpot with the remaining corps. By this meaſure, he hoped the *Romans* would be obliged to divide their forces, and conſequently be more expoſed to his efforts and attacks. He likewiſe
c imagined, that, ſeeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy in no condition to make head againſt them; which might occaſion a relaxation of diſcipline, the uſual attendant of a too great ſcarcity, and conſequently produce ſome good effect. However, he was diſappointed in both theſe views; for *Marius*, far from ſuffering a relaxation of diſcipline to take place, trained up his troops, which conſiſted chiefly of new levies, in ſo perfect a manner, that they were ſoon equal in goodneſs to any conſular army that ever appeared in the field. He alſo cut off great numbers of the *Gætulian* marauders, defeated many of *Jugurtha*'s parties, and had like to have taken that prince himſelf priſoner near the city of *Cirta*. Theſe advan-
d tages, though not of any great importance, intimidated *Bocchus*, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the *Romans*, not being ſufficiently ſatisfied of his ſincerity, gave no great attention to them. In the mean time, *Marius* puſhed on his conqueſts, reducing ſeveral places of leſs note, and at laſt reſolved to beſiege *Capſa*. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greater ſecrecy, he ſuffered not the leaſt hint of his deſign to tranſpire, even amongſt any of his officers. On the contrary, in order to blind them, he detached *A. Manlius*, one of his lieutenants, with ſome light-armed cohorts, to the city of *Lares*, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and depoſited the military cheſt. Before the lieutenant left the camp, that he might the more effectually amuſe him, he intimated, that himſelf, with the army, ſhould take the ſame route in a few days; but, inſtead of that, he bent his
e march towards the *Tanais*, and, in ſix days time, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a ſhort time, in order to refreſh his troops; which having done, he advanced to *Capſa*, and made himſelf maſter of it, in the manner we have already related. As the ſituation of this city rendered it extremely commodious to *Jugurtha*, whoſe plan of operations, ever ſince the commencement of the war, it had exceedingly favoured, he levelled it with the ground, after it had been delivered up to the ſoldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewiſe, being more ſtrongly attached to that prince than any of the other *Numidians*, on account of the extraordinary privileges he indulged them with, and, of courſe, bearing a more implacable hatred to the *Romans*, he put to the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves. The true
f motive of the conſul's conduct on this occaſion ſeems here to be aſſigned, though we are told by *Salluſt*, in conformity to the *Roman* genius, that neither avarice nor reſentment prompted him to ſo barbarous an action, but only a deſire to ſtrike a terror into the *Numidians* z (P).

Marius *reduces* Capſa.

THE

y SALLUST. VEL. PATERC. & PLUT. ubi ſup. FLOR. PLUT. EUTROP. OROS. ubi ſupra.

Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 21.

z SALLUST. LIV.

(P) *Salluſt* does not only inform us, that the *Numidians* lived after much the ſame manner as the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, but likewiſe that they were called *Nomo-Numidæ*; which ſeems to confirm what we have hinted above concerning the etymon of the word *Numidia*. He likewiſe tells us, that theſe *Nomo-Numidæ* increaſed ſo exceedingly, that they over ſtocked their original country; and therefore

Jugurtha *prevails upon* Bocchus *to assist him.*

The *Numidians*, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of *Marius*, who a now, in his own opinion, had eclipsed the glory of all his predeceſſor's great atchievements, particularly the reduction of *Thala*, a city, in ſtrength and ſituation, nearly reſembling *Capſa*. Following his blow, he gradually preſented himſelf before moſt of the places of ſtrength in the enemy's country, many of which either opened their gates, or were abandoned, at his approach, being terrified with what had happened to the unfortunate citizens of *Capſa*; others, taking by force, he laid in aſhes; and, in ſhort, filled the greateſt part of *Numidia* with blood, horror, and confuſion. The operations of the campaign were concluded by the reduction of a caſtle, that ſeemed impregnable, ſeated on the *Mulucha*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his treaſures (Q). In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, not being able to prevail upon *Bocchus*, by b his repeated ſolicitations, to advance into *Numidia*, where he found himſelf greatly preſſed, was obliged to have recourſe to his uſual method of bribing the *Mauritanian* miniſters, in order to put that prince in motion. He alſo promiſed him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or get all the *Numidian* dominions confirmed to him by treaty [a].

They are both defeated by Marius, *upon which* Bocchus *delivers up* Jugurtha *to the* Romans.

So conſiderable a ceſſion could not fail of engaging *Bocchus* to ſupport *Jugurtha* with his whole power. The two (R) *African* monarchs therefore, having joined their forces, ſurpriſed *Marius* near *Cirta*, as he was going into winter-quarters. The *Roman* general was ſo puſhed on this occaſion, that the barbarians thought themſelves certain of victory, and doubted not but they ſhould be able to extinguiſh the *Roman* name c in *Numidia*; but their incaution and too great ſecurity enabled *Marius* to give them a total defeat, which was followed four days after by ſo complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand men, by the acceſſion of a powerful corps of *Moors*, commanded by *Bocchus*'s ſon *Volux*, was intirely ruined. *Sylla*, *Marius*'s lieutenant, moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt action, which laid the foundation of his future greatneſs. *Bocchus*, now looking upon *Jugurtha*'s condition as deſperate, and not being willing to run the riſk of loſing his dominions, clapped up a peace with *Rome*. However, the republic gave him to underſtand, that he muſt not expect to be ranked amongſt its friends, till he had delivered up into the conſul's hands *Jugurtha*, that inveterate enemy of the *Roman* name. The *Mau-* d *ritanian* monarch, having entertained a high idea of an alliance with that ſtate, reſolved to ſatisfy it in this particular, and was confirmed in his reſolution by one *Dabar*, a *Numidian* prince, the ſon of *Maſſugrada*, and deſcended, by his mother's ſide, from *Maſiniſſa*, who, being cloſely attached to the *Romans*, and extremely agreeable to *Bocchus*, on account of his noble diſpoſition, had defeated all the intrigues of *Aſpar*, *Jugurtha*'s miniſter. Upon *Sylla*'s arrival at the *Mauritanian* court, the affair there ſeemed to be intirely ſettled. However, *Bocchus*, who was for ever projecting new deſigns, and, like the reſt of his countrymen, in the higheſt degree perfidious, debated within himſelf, whether he ſhould ſacrifice *Sylla* or *Jugurtha*, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated e by a contrariety of ſentiments. The ſudden changes, which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, his air, and his whole perſon, evidently ſhewed how ſtrongly his mind was agitated; but at laſt he returned to his firſt deſign, to which the bias of his mind ſeemed naturally to lead him. He therefore delivered up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, to be conducted to *Marius*, who, by that ſucceſsful event, happily terminated

[a] Sallust. Flor. Plut. ubi ſup. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3.

fore a great multitude of them were obliged to make an irruption into the country afterwards from them called *Numidia*, where they ſettled. This piece of hiſtory the ſame writer affirms to have been extracted from ſome *Punic* books belonging to king *Hiempſal*. From whence it may be inferred, that what has been advanced by *Herodotus* concerning the irruption of the *Libyan Nomades* into *Numidia*, is probably true, ſince it is atteſted by the *Punic* writers themſelves, though it muſt be owned, that where theſe authors contradict *Herodotus*, and the generality of the beſt hiſtorians, ſuch a degree of credit is not due to them (15).

(Q) Notwithſtanding the immenſe treaſures *Jugurtha* had been in poſſeſſion of, ſo late as ſome years after the death af *Gala*, father to *Maſiniſſa*, a great part of the *Numidians*, all thoſe at leaſt inhabiting the open country, had no gold or ſilver money. However, they were not very ſenſible of this defect, ſince it was ſupplied by their flocks and herds, as we are informed by *Livy* (16).

(R) *Frontinus* ſays, that *Jugurtha* never began a battle with the *Romans* till towards evening, that, if he ſhould happen to be defeated, he might eſcape by favour of the night (17).

(15) *Herodot. ubi ſup. l.* iv. *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.* (16) *Liv. l.* xxix. *c.* 31. (17) *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l.* ii. *c.* 1. *ex.* 13.

minated this dangerous war. The kingdom of *Numidia* was now reduced to a new form: *Bocchus*, for his important ſervices, had the country of the *Maſæſyli*, contiguous to *Mauritania*, aſſigned him, which, from this time, took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to *Hiempſal*, another to *Mandreſtal*, both deſcendants of *Maſiniſſa*, and the third the *Romans* annexed to *Africa Propria*, or the *Roman* province, adjacent to it. What became of *Jugurtha*, after he had graced *Marius*'s triumph (S), at which ceremony he was led in chains, together with his two ſons, through the ſtreets of *Rome*, our readers will find related at large in a former part of this work [b].

Jugurtha's two ſons ſurvived him, but ſpent their lives in captivity at *Venuſia*. However, one of them, named *Oxyntas*, was, for a ſhort time, releaſed from his confinement by *Aponius*, who beſieged *Acerræ* in the war between the *Romans* and the *Italian* allies. That general brought this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw the *Numidian* forces off from the *Roman* ſervice. Accordingly thoſe *Numidians* no ſooner heard, that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; which obliged *Julius Cæſar*, the conſul, to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and ſend them back into *Africa*. Some few years after this event, *Pompey* defeated *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Hiarbas*, one of the king's of *Numidia*, killing ſeventeen thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. Not ſatisfied with this victory, that general purſued the fugitives to their camp, which he ſoon forced, put *Domitius* to the ſword, and took *Hiarbas* priſoner. He then reduced that part of *Numidia* which belonged to *Hiarbas*, who ſeems to have ſucceeded *Mandreſtal* above-mentioned, and gave it to *Hiempſal*, a neighbouring *Numidian* prince, deſcended from *Maſiniſſa*, who had always oppoſed the *Marian* faction. For a particular account of the treacherous reception *Hiempſal*, or his ſon *Mandreſtal*, gave young *Marius*, *Cethegus*, *Lectorius*, and others of the ſame party, when proſcribed by *Sylla*, and forced to ſeek an aſylum at his court, we muſt refer our readers to *Plutarch* and *Appian* [c].

Transactions in Numidia *after the death of* Jugurtha.

Suetonius informs us, that a diſpute happened at *Rome* between *Hiempſal* and one *Maſintha*, a noble *Numidian*, whom, it is probable, he had, in ſome reſpect, injured, when *Julius Cæſar* firſt began to make a figure in the world. This is a plain demonſtration, that *Numidia* was, at that time, in reality, ſubject to the *Romans*, ſince the ſubjects there could then apply to the *Romans* for redreſs, even from their ſovereign. The ſame author adds, that *Cæſar* warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Maſintha*, and even groſly inſulted *Juba*, *Hiempſal*'s ſon, when he attempted to vindicate his father's conduct on this occaſion. He pulled him by the beard, than which a more unpardonable affront could not be offered an *African*, and reproached him with being a tributary dependent prince. In ſhort, he ſcreened *Maſintha* from the inſults and violence of his enemies; from whence a reaſon may be aſſigned for *Juba*'s adhering ſo cloſely afterwards to the *Pompeian* faction [d].

Cæſar *treats* Juba *in a very indecent manner.*

In conſequence of the indignity *Cæſar* had offered *Juba*, and the diſpoſition it had occaſioned, that prince did *Cæſar* great damage in the civil wars betwixt him and *Pompey*. By a ſtratagem he drew *Curio*, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, which

Juba *defeats* Curio, *one of* Cæſar's *lieutenants.*

[b] Sallust. ubi ſup. Liv. epit. lxvi. Plut. in Mar. & in Syl. Dio Cass. l. xliii. Appian. de bell. civ. Flor. Eutrop. & Oros. ubi ſup. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Strab. l. xvii. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 27, 28, 29, 30, &c. Vel Paterc. l. ii. c. 12. [c] Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. p. 376. & 388. Liv. ep. lxvii. Plut. in Mar. in Syl. & in Pomp. [d] Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 71.

(S) According to *Plutarch*, *Marius*'s triumph happened on the firſt day of *January*, which began the year amongſt the *Romans*, when *Jugurtha* was expoſed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely pleaſed with that ſight, the *Numidian*, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himſelf terrible to the *Romans*; nay, *Florus* intimates, that he was looked upon by them as a ſecond *Hannibal*. *Plutarch* adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he fell diſtracted; that, when he was afterwards thrown into priſon, whilſt ſome tore off his cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly diſcompoſed; and that yet, full of horror, when he was caſt naked into the dungeon, he forced a ſmile, crying out, *O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours!* In this place he ſtruggled for ſome time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithſtanding his own inhuman diſpoſition, will remain an eternal monument of the *Roman* cruelty and ingratitude. *Mithridates* therefore juſtly reproached the lords of the world with their infamous barbarity to the grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*, a prince that contributed as much to the deſtruction of their only rival *Carthage* as either of the *Africani* (18).

(18) *Juſt. l.* xxxviii. *c.* 6. *Plut. in Mario.*

which it was his intereſt at that time to have avoided. He cauſed it to be given out a all over *Africa Propria* and *Numidia*, that he was retired into ſome remote country at a great diſtance from the *Roman* territories. This coming to *Curio*'s ears, who was then beſieging *Utica*, it hindered him from taking the neceſſary precautions to prevent a ſurprize. Soon after, the *Roman* geneaal receiving intelligence, that a ſmall body of *Numidians* was approaching his camp, he put himſelf at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, for fear they ſhould eſcape, began his march in the night, looking upon himſelf as ſure of victory. Some of their advanced guards he ſurpriſed aſleep, and cut them to pieces, which ſtill further animated him. In ſhort, about day-break he came up with the *Numidians*, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then faſting, and vaſtly fatigued by their forced and precipi- b tate march. In the mean time, *Juba*, who, immediately after the propagation of the rumour above-mentioned, had taken care to march privately, with the main body of the *Numidian* army, to ſupport the detachment ſent before to decoy *Curio*, advanced to the relief of his men. The *Romans* had met with a great reſiſtance before he appeared; ſo that he eaſily broke them, killed *Curio*, with a good part of his troops upon the ſpot, purſued the reſt to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them priſoners. Moſt of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their eſcape on board the ſhips in the port of *Utica*, were either ſlain by the purſuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of *Varus*, who would have ſaved them; but *Juba*, who arrogated to himſelf the honour of this victory, ordered them c all to be put to the ſword [e] (T).

Cæſar *overthrows* Scipio, Juba, *and* Labienus.

This victory infuſed new life and vigour into the *Pompeian* faction, who thereupon conferred great honours upon *Juba*, and gave him the title of king of all *Numidia*. But *Cæſar* and his adherents declared him an enemy to the ſtate of *Rome*, adjudging to *Bocchus* and *Bogud*, two *African* princes intirely in their intereſt, the ſovereignty of his dominions. *Juba* afterwards, uniting his forces with thoſe of *Scipio*, reduced *Cæſar* to great extremities, and would, in all probability, have totally ruined him, had he not been relieved by *Publius Sittius* (U). That general, having formed

[e] Cæs. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 7, 8. Dio, l. xli. ad ann. U. C. 705. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Appian. de bell. civil. l. 2. p. 455. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex 40.

(T) *Cæſar*, who gives us the particulars of this action, intimates, that *Sabura*, *Juba*'s general, receiving continual reinforcements from his maſter, who kept at a ſmall diſtance from him, at laſt overpowered the *Romans*, though they behaved with great bravery; that *Sabura* cut off *Curio*'s retreat, by poſting ſome parties of his horſe upon ſeveral eminences near the field of battle; that, in conſequence of this, almoſt the whole *Roman* corps, commanded by *Curio*, was cut to pieces; and that part of the body of troops left with the quæſtor *Rufus* to guard the camp, made their eſcape to *Sicily*. In other points, for the moſt part, he agrees with *Dio*, whom we have here choſen to follow. *Appian* inſinuates, that this defeat happened near the banks of the *Bagrada*; that *Juba* cauſed a rumour to be induſtriouſly propagated, that he was returned home, to repreſs the courſes of ſome neighbouring nations, who frequently made incurſions into his dominions, and had only ſent *Sabura*, with a ſmall body of troops, to obſerve the enemy. This, adds the ſame author, occaſioned the deſtruction of almoſt two intire *Roman* legions, with a body of horſe, velites, and ſlaves. *Appian* alſo relates, that, upon the news of *Curio*'s overthrow, *Flamma*, the *Roman* admiral, fled, without taking any of the runaways on board; that many of them, with *Pollio*, a *Roman* commander, ſo crouded ſome merchant-ſhips, in order to make their eſcape on board them, that they immediately ſunk, whilſt others were thrown over-board for the ſake of the money they brought with them; and laſtly, that *Juba*, having placed a great number of the unhappy priſoners, that fell into his hands, upon the walls of *Utica*, cauſed them to be pierced with darts. Though *Varus* did his utmoſt to prevent this inhuman maſſacre, he could not prevail. After the end of the action, *Curio*'s head was cut off, and carried, as an agreeable preſent, to *Juba* (19).

(U) *Appian* gives us the following account of this *P. Sittius*: Being accuſed of a certain crime at *Rome*, he abandoned that city before his trial came on, and aſſembled a body of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, with which he paſſed over into *Africa*. Upon his arrival there, he found the reguli of that country engaged in bloody wars amongſt themſelves. Sometimes he aſſiſted one of theſe princes, and ſometimes another, victory always declaring for him, whoſe intereſt he eſpouſed. This rendered his name terrible to the *Moors* and *Numidians*, inſomuch that he eaſily made the ſcale preponderate in favour of *Cæſar*, and was rewarded by that general, after the reduction of *Africa*, with a large extent of territory formerly belonging to one *Manaſſes*, a *Numidian* prince, who had aſſiſted *Juba*. The other part of this diſtrict was given to *Bocchus*. *Sittius* ſettled the troops, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves under his conduct, here; but was afterwards cut off by treachery. This was effected by *Arabio*, *Manaſſes*'s ſon, who, after *Julius Cæſar*'s death, ſent ſix thouſand *Africans* to aſſiſt *S. Pompeius* in *Spain*. Theſe *Africans*, returning home ſome time after, diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, enabled *Arabio* to diſpatch *Sittius*, and likewiſe to drive *Bocchus* out of the territory he had uſurped from him (20).

(19) *Cæſ. de bell. civil. l.* ii. *c.* 7, 8. *Appian. de bell. civil. l.* ii. *c.* 455, 456. (20) *Appian. ibid. l.* iv. *c.* 620, 621.

a formed a conſiderable corps, conſiſting of *Roman* exiles, and *Mauritanian* troops ſent him by *Bocchus*, according to *Dio*, or, as *Cæſar* will have it, *Bogud*, made an irruption into *Gætulia* and *Numidia*, whilſt *Juba* was employed in *Africa Propria*. As he ravaged theſe countries in a dreadful manner, *Juba* immediately returned with the beſt part of his army, to preſerve them from utter deſtruction. However, *Cæſar*, knowing his horſe to be afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack *Scipio* in the abſence of the *Numidian*, till his own elephants, and a freſh reinforcement of troops hourly expected, arrived from *Italy*; which acceſſion of ſtrength, he imagined, would enable him to give a good account, both of the *Roman* forces, with which he was to cope, and the barbarians. In the mean time, *Scipio* diſpatched reite-
b rated expreſſes to (W) *Juba* to haſten to his aſſiſtance, but could not prevail upon him to move out of *Numidia*, till he had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of all the *Roman* dominions in *Africa*, if they could from thence expel *Cæſar*. This immediately put him in motion; ſo that, having ſent a large detachment to make head againſt *Sittius*, he marched with the reſt of his troops to aſſiſt *Scipio*. However, *Cæſar* at laſt overthrew *Scipio*, *Juba*, and *Labienus*, near the town of *Thapſus*, and forced all their camps. As *Scipio* was the firſt ſurpriſed and defeated, *Juba* fled into *Numidia*, without waiting for *Cæſar*'s approach; but the body of *Numidians* detached againſt *Sittius*, having been broken and diſperſed by that general, none of his ſubjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to deſpair, he ſought death in a ſingle combat
c with *Petreius*, and, having killed him, cauſed himſelf to be diſpatched by one of his ſlaves [f] (X).

Cæſar *reduces* Numidia *to the form of a province.*

AFTER this deciſive action and the reduction of *Africa Propria*, *Cæſar* made himſelf maſter of all *Numidia Propria*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, appointing *Criſpus Salluſtius* to govern it in quality of proconſul, with private inſtructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by that means, put it out of their power ever to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. However, *Bocchus* and *Bogud* ſtill preſerved a ſort of ſovereignty in the country of the *Maſæſyli* and *Mauritania*, ſince the former of thoſe princes, having deſerted *Cæſar*, ſent an army into *Spain* to aſſiſt the *Pompeians*; and the latter, with his forces, determined victory to declare for *Cæſar* at
d the ever memorable battle of *Munda*. *Bogud*, afterwards ſiding with *Antony* againſt *Octavius*, ſent a body of forces to aſſiſt him in *Spain*; at which time the *Tingitanians* revolting from him, *Bocchus*, with an army compoſed of *Romans* in the intereſt of *Octavius*, who paſſed over from *Spain* into *Africa*, and his own ſubjects, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Mauritania Tingitana*. *Bogud* fled to *Antony*, and *Octavius*, after the concluſion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of *Tingi* with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. He likewiſe confirmed *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, or the coun-
e try of the *Maſæſyli*, in the poſſeſſion of *Tingitania*, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important ſervices. In this he imitated the example of his great predeceſſor *Julius Cæſar*, who divided ſome of the fruitful plains of *Numidia* among the ſoldiers of *P. Sittius*, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed *Sittius* himſelf ſovereign of that diſtrict. *Sittius* (Y), as has been intimated above, having taken *Cirta*, killed *Sabura*, *Juba*'s general, intirely diſperſed his forces, and either cut off, or taken priſoners, moſt of the *Pompeian* fugitives, that eſcaped from the battle of *Thapſus*, highly deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed in ſo eminent a manner. After *Bocchus*'s death, *Mauritania* and the *Maſæſylian Numidia* were, in all reſpects, conſidered as *Roman* provinces, according to *Dio*; which ſeems to evince, that the hoſtilities *Bocchus* committed againſt *Carinas*, whom *Octavius* had appointed governor of *Spain*, mentioned by *Appian*, were not attended with any bad conſequences, either

f [f] A. HIRT. de bell. African. c. 3, 4, 5, & ſeq. APPIAN. ubi ſup. l. iv. p. 620, 621. DIO, l. xliii. PLUT. in Cat. & Cæſ.

(W) *Juba*, according to *Dio*, pretended to aſſiſt *Pompey*, not out of a motive of reſentment, but becauſe he was a defender of the ſenate and people of *Rome*. But princes frequently, in the place of the real cauſe, ſubſtitute the pretext (21).

(X) *Hirtius* intimates, that *Juba* killed *Petreius* in this combat, and was himſelf afterwards diſpatched by his ſlave. *Oroſius* relates, that *Petreius* run himſelf through with his ſword; and that *Juba* hired a perſon to kill him; but *Appian*, *Eutropius*, and *Dio*, aſſure us, that they ſlew each other (22).

(Y) We learn from *Hirtius*, that *Sittius*, or, as he calls him, *Sitius*, greatly diſtreſſed *Juba* before the battle of *Thapſus*, by poſſeſſing himſelf of a caſtle ſituated on a hill, where that prince had a very conſiderable magazine (23).

(21) *Dio*, *l.* xli. *c.* 23. *Dio*, *l.* xliii.

(22) *Appian de bell. civil. p.* 490. *Oroſ. l.* vi. *c.* 16. *ſub fin.* *Eutrop. l.* vi.

(23) *A. Hirt. de bell. Afric. c.* 5.

either to himself or to the *Romans*, since he continued on the throne of the *Massæsylian* a *Numidia* and *Mauritania* as long as he lived. What happened to *Bogud* after he was driven out of his dominions, as also a brief account of the younger *Juba* (Z), his son *Ptolemy*, and *Tacfarinas*, who gave the *Romans* no small trouble in the reign of *Tiberius*, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now upon, our readers will naturally expect to find in the history of the *Moors* or *Mauritanians*[g].

[g] A. Hirt. ubi sup. & de bell. Alex. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. Auct. comment. de bell. Hisp. Dio, l. xliii. xlix. l. Strab. l. iii. Flor. ubi sup.

(Z) As *Masiniſſa*'s family makes so considerable a figure, both in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* history, it will not be amiss to exhibit to our readers view as full an account of it as can be drawn from antiquity; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to them.

Hiarbas, cotemporary with *Dido*.

Twenty generations.

Gala, the father of *Masiniſſa*. — Desalces.

A daughter. — Masinissa. — Capusa. — Lacumaces.

Massiva, nephew to *Masiniſſa*.

Masgaba. — Micipsa. — Misagenes. — Gulussa. — Manastabal. — Stemba. — A daughter, mentioned by *Appian*. — Massugrada.

Adherbal. — Hiempsal. — Massiva. — Jugurtha, whose mother was a concubine, and named *Gauda*. — Gauda, mentioned by *Sallust*. — Asdrubal, destroyed by the intrigues of another *Asdrubal*, according to *Appian*. — Dabar.

Oxyntas. — Another son, whose name is not known. — Hiempsal. — Mandrestal.

Juba. — Mandrestal. — Hiarbas.

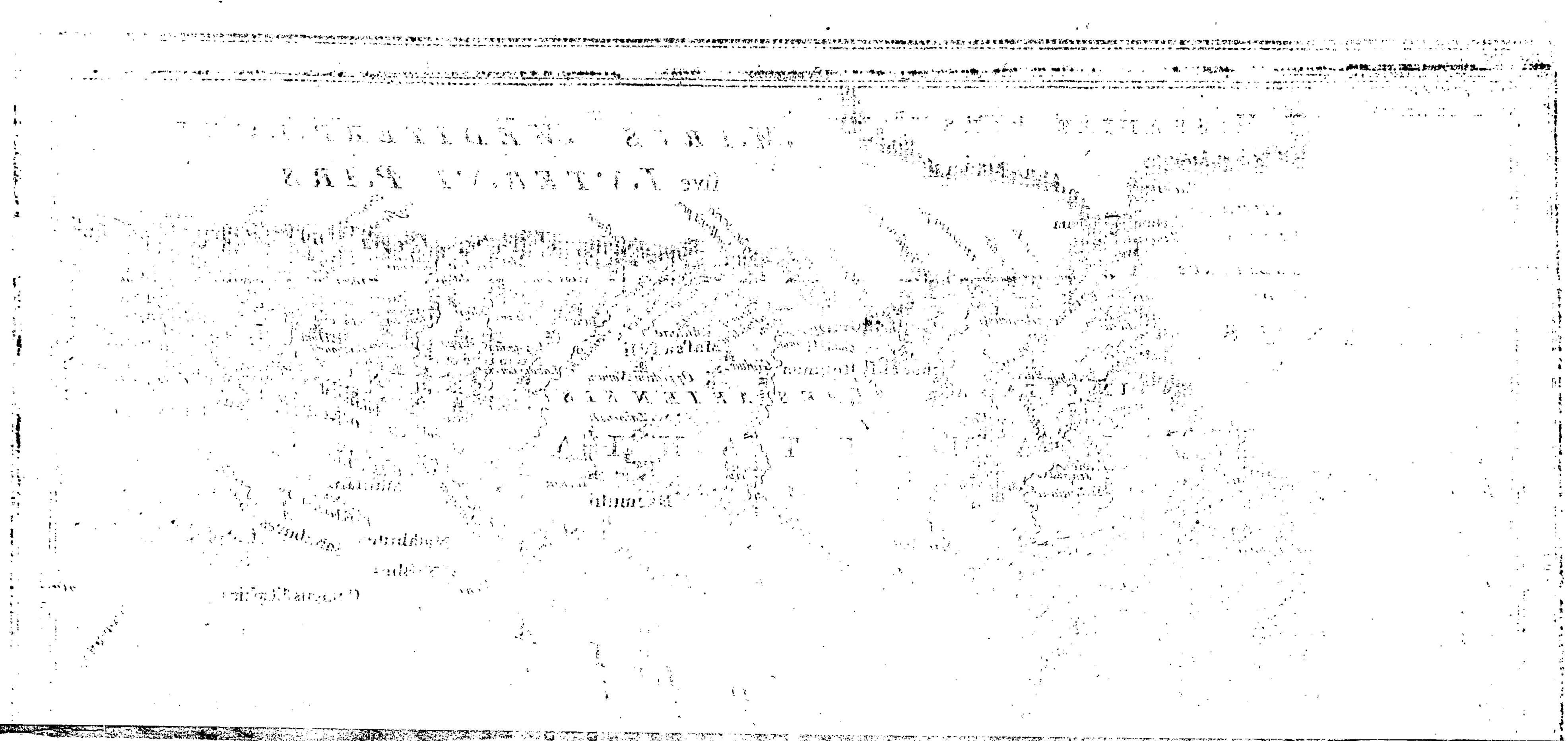
Juba.

Ptolemy.

We have placed *Hiarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, at the head of this family, since we find a prince of it called *Hiarbas*, taken notice of by *Plutarch*, as likewise, because it appears from *Stephanus Byzantinus* and *Eustathius*, that the *Mazyes*, *Hiarbas*'s subjects, were *Numidians* (24).

(24) *Liv. Appian. Sueton. Sallust. Dio Cass. Cæs. Hirt. Plut. Justin. Steph. Byzant. Eustath. aliiq; script. plurim.*

CHAP.



Septentrio

HISPANIAE PARS

MARIS MEDITERRANEI
sive INTERNI PARS

SINUS GADITANUS

OCEANUS ATLAN-TICUS

TINGITANA MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS

BYZACII PARS

AFRICAE PROPRIAE

NUMIDIA PROPRIA

PARS

GAETULIA

LIBYA INTERIOR

Occidens

Meridies

Orientis

35

30

25

Gades
Fretum Gaditanum
Tingis
Regnum Lilis
Lixus fl.
Tingis fl.
Asarium
Boguddis
Babba
Sybur
Tiga
Portus Divini
Portus Magnus
Bocchi Regnum
Massæsyli
Victoria
Cartenna
Gunugi
Tunici
Tenia
Caesarea Jol
Iomnium pr.
Sipsira port.
Portus Magnus
Gigthis
Oppidum Novum
Zalacus M.
Auzia
Tubuna
Tucca
Cisi
Igilgili
Saldae
Sitifis
Tubusuctu
Tamasba
Tamugadi
Lambaesis
Zabi
Numidae
Vaga
Bulla Tarrun
Nacmusii
Tripa
Galapha
Thabraca
Hippo Regius
Germania
Hippo Diarrhytus
Utica
Carthago
Thenae
Sicca Veneria
Thysdrus
Hadrumetum
Leptis magna
Capsa
Musuni
Misulani
Audus Mons
Limus
Nasabutes
Sabubures
Nisibes
Buzaea Mons
Campus Sisaphius
Thabraca
Bagradas fl.
Carthago
Utica
Hippo Diarrhytus
Hippo Regius
Thenae
Sicca Veneria
Thysdrus
Hadrumetum
Leptis magna
Capsa
Tacape
Garamantes
Purpurariae Insulae
Atlas minor Mons
Dium fl.
Cusa fl.
Rusubis Portus
Jovis Mons
Myocaras Portus
Dorath
Phihath fl.
Hercules promont.
Tamusiga
Fortunatae Insulae
Usadium prom.
Bocanum hemorum
Suriga
Vala
Una flu.
Agna flu.
Salat flu.
Baniubae
Vacuatae
Deserta pleraque
Tropicus Cancri
Atlas Major Mons

MAURETANIA,
NUMIDIA,
GÆTULIA &c.

J. Wheatley Sculp.t

CHAP. II.

The history of the Mauritanians, *to the intire reduction of their country by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Mauritania.

Description of Mauritania.

a MAURITANIA, or, as it is called by *Strabo*, *Mauruſia*, and the country of the *Mauruſii*, was bounded on the eaſt by the *Malva* or *Mulucha*; on the weſt by the *Atlantic* ocean; on the ſouth by *Gætulia*, or *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. This kingdom, being reduced to a *Roman* province in the reign of *Claudius*, had the name of *Mauritania Tingitana* given it by that prince, as we are informed by *Dio*. From *Pliny*, and ſome inſcriptions in *Gruter*, it likewiſe appears, that it was called by the *Romans* at that time, as well as afterwards, ſimply *Tingitania*, from its principle city *Tingi*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*. If we may judge from what has been already obſerved of *Numidia* and *Africa Propria*, the antients were not over-accurate in their deſcriptions of
b this country. However, all their faults cannot be diſcovered, much leſs corrected, ſince no modern accounts of the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, anſwering nearly to the *Tingitania* of the antients, can be intirely depended upon. All that can be done is, to make uſe of the beſt lights, that have been hitherto afforded us [a].

Limits and extent of Mauratania.

THOUGH *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, then was conſiderably broader than *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, the correſponding parts of mount *Atlas*, or the confines of *Gætulia*, lying more to the ſouthward, yet *Pliny* and *Martianus*, according to the lateſt obſervations, exceed the truth, when they affirm the greateſt breadth of the *Mauritaniæ* to be four hundred and ſixty-ſeven, or four hundred and ſeventy-three miles. The length of this region we may make a tolerable eſtimate of, by obſerve-
c ing, that the *Malva* or *Mullooïah*, its eaſtern limit, about 1^{o} $15'$ W. of *London*, is ſomething above two hundred and forty miles diſtant from the *Atlantic* ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of *Fez* to be two hundred and ſeventy miles long, and that of *Morocco*, from cape *Non* to the mountains which divide it from *Segelmeſſa*, above three hundred and ſeventy; but this computation, with reſpect to the antient *Tingitania*, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of *Pliny*, which amounts only to an hundred and ſeventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the ſouthern limits of *Tingitania* cannot be aſcertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but *Septa*, the preſent *Ceuta*, its moſt advanced city to the northward, is about 35^{o} $58'$ N. latitude, and about 6^{o} W. longitude from *London*. The
d *Al-Magreb Al-Achſa* of *Abulfeda* includes the *Mauruſia* of *Strabo*, or the country we are now upon, and part of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, as it extends from the *Atlantic* ocean, which he calls the ſea *Almohit*, to *Tlemeſan*. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Ptolemy* places the *Atlas Major*, his ſouthern boundary of this kingdom, at a vaſt diſtance from the ſouthern limits aſſigned it by *Pliny*, in the deſerts of *Gætulia* or *Libya Interior*. But it appears from what has been already advanced, as well as the beſt relations of modern travellers, that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to *Tingitania* [b].

Mauri

[a] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. DIO CASS. l. lx. p. 771. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. Vet. inſcript. apud GRUTER. p. 482. n. 7. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 1. [b] STRAB. PLIN. PTOL.. ubi ſup. MARTIAN. de duab. Mauritan. Geogr. Nubienſ. in clim. 3. ISM. ABULFED. ex traduct. V. Cl. Joan. Gagnier. MARMOL en l'Afrique, l. iv. J. LEO AFRIC. paſſ. L'Afrique en pluſieures cartes nouvelles, &c. par le ſieur SANSON D'ABBEVILLE, &c. à Paris, 1683. Nouvelle methode pour aprendre la geographie univerſ. par le ſieur DE LA CROIX, &c. à Paris, 1705. LUYTS introd. ad geograph. Traj. ad Rhen. 1692. Atl. geogr. vol. iv. MOLL's geogr. in the kingd. of Morocco and Fez. SHAW's geograph. obſervations relating to the kingdom of Alg. p. 9. See alſo MORERY, and a new geographical dictionary publiſhed at Lond. 1737.

Whence ſo called.

Mauritania and *Mauruſia* are names of this region derived from the *Mauri*, an antient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old hiſtorians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongſt themſelves about the origin of this word. *Salluſt* affirms it to be a corruption of the word *Medi*; but this is by no means probable. Dr. *Hyde* deduces it from מעברי *Mabri* or *Mav'ri*, *one that lies near the paſſage*, as he thinks the ſtreights of *Hercules* might properly enough be called. *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis* and *Manilius* think the name ought to be derived from the black, dark, ſwarthy colour of the people to which it was applied; but none of theſe etymons ſeem ſo eaſy and natural as that of *Bochart*, who makes *Maurus* to be equivalent to מאחור *Mahur*; or, as an eliſion of gutturals in the oriental languages is extremely common, *Maur*, i. e. *one from the weſt*, or *a weſtern perſon*, ſince *Mauritania* was weſt of *Carthage* and *Phœnice*. However, in our opinion, it would ſound better ſtill, ſhould we ſay, *one that comes from the end*, or *utmoſt limit of* Africa, or *the boundary of our voyages*, as both the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, for ſeveral ages, might have ſaid of the *Tingitanians*; for the ſtreights or pillars of *Hercules* limited the weſtern voyages of thoſe nations for a conſiderable period of time, as is evident from a variety of the beſt authors. It is not improbable, that this country, or at leaſt a good part of it, was firſt called *Phut*, ſince it appears from *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Jerom*, that a river and territory not far from mount *Atlas* went by that name. From the *Jeruſalem Targum* it likewiſe appears, that part of the *Mauri* may be deemed the offspring of *Lud* the ſon of *Miſraim*, ſince his deſcendants, mentioned *Gen.* x. are there called מריטאי *Mauri* or *Mauritani*. We have already evinced, that this region, as well as the others to the eaſt of it, had many colonies planted in it by the *Phœnicians*. *Procopius* tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white ſtone were to be ſeen there, with the following inſcription in the *Phœnician* language and character upon them: *We are the* Canaanites, *that fled from* Joſhua *the ſon of* Nun, *that notorius robber*. *Ibnu Rachich*, or *Ibnu Raquiq*, an *African* writer cited by *Leo*, together with *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, aſſerts the ſame thing. How, in after-ages, that vaſt tract, extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean, came to be called *Barbary*, our readers will be informed in another place [c].

The *Mauritanians*, according to *Ptolemy*, were divided into ſeveral cantons or tribes. The *Metagonitæ* were ſeated near the ſtreights of *Hercules*. The *Succoſii*, or *Cocoſii*, according to *Bertius*, took up the coaſt of the *Iberian* ſea. Under theſe two petty nations, the *Maciſes*, *Verues*, and *Verbicæ*, or *Vervicæ*, ſettled themſelves. The *Saliſæ* or *Salinſæ* were ſituated lower, towards the ocean; and ſtill more to the ſouth the *Volubiliani*. The *Maurenſii* and *Herpiditani* poſſeſſed the eaſtern part of this country, which was terminated by the *Mulucha*. The *Angaucani* or *Iangacaucani*, *Nectiberes*, *Zagrenſii*, *Baniubæ*, and *Vacuatæ*, extended themſelves from the ſouthern foot of *Ptolemy*'s *Atlas Minor* to his *Atlas Major*; which is all that he has intimated of them. *Pliny* mentions the *Baniuræ*, whom father *Hardouïn* takes to be *Ptolemy*'s *Baniubæ*; and *Mela* the *Atlantes*, whom he repreſents as poſſeſſed of the weſtern parts of this region. The names of the different clans of *Numidians* we have poſtponed, till we come to the hiſtory of the *Gætulians*, ſince the latter nation was ſo intermixed with the former towards the *Roman* times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them ſome clans belong [d].

Tingis.

Tingis, or *Tingi*, the metropolis, as ſhould ſeem, of *Tingitania*, was a city of great antiquity. According to *Mela*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*, *Antæus*, cotemporary with *Hercules*, and conquered by him, laid the firſt foundations of it. *Procopius* ſeems to intimate, that *Tingi* was built before the time of *Joſhua*, ſince he tells us, that the *Gergeſites*, *Jebuſites*, and other *Canaanitiſh* nations or tribes, erected a caſtle in a city, where *Tingis*, or, as he calls it, *Tigiſis*, ſtood. Dr. *Hyde* therefore is miſtaken, when he affirms *Procopius* to have aſſerted, that the *Gergeſites*, *Jebuſites*, &c. were the founders of *Tingis*. *Pliny* inſinuates *Antæus* to have had a palace at *Lixus* or *Lixos*, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at *Tingis*. This ſeems likewiſe confirmed by

[c] Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Sallust. in Jugurth. paſſ. Hirt. de bell. African. Liv. l. xxi. c. 22. & alib. Strab. l. xvii. Tacit. paſſ. Horat. Lucan. Sil. Ital. & al. quamplurim. ſcript. Græc. & Latin. Hyde in Peritſ. p. 48. Manil. l. iv. Isidor. Hispalens. l. ix. c. 12. & l. xiv. c. 5. Val. Schind. lex. pent. in voc. לוד *Lud* & אחור *Ahur* vel *Aur*. Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. c. x. Eſai. c. xlii. D. Hieronym. in Eſai. c. xli. Procop. de bell Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. p. 257. Evagr. l. iv. c. 18. Niceph. Callist. l. xvii. c. 12. Theophan. in hiſt. miſcel. Ibni Raquiq. apud J. Leo African. part. v. Aldret. l. iii. c. 15. [d] Mel. l. i. c. 4. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Harduin. in Plin. ubi ſup. Sallust. in Jugurth. & Aldret. l. iii. c. 31.

a by *Plutarch*, who adds, that his ſepulchre was ſtill remaining there in the time of *Sertorius*, who, paying no regard to the tradition that prevailed amongſt the inhabitants, cauſed it to be opened, and took out of it a corpſe ſixty cubits long. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* called it *Tingir*, *Tiggir*, *Tagger*, &c. which, in their language, ſignified an *emporium:* and it muſt be owned, that the ſituation of *Tingis* was extremely commodious for carrying on a general trade; which we may, from this circumſtance, reaſonably preſume the *Tingitanians* did, eſpecially as *Pliny* ſeems to inſinuate, that to ſome branches of commerce they actually applied themſelves. *Bochart*'s notion therefore receives ſome weight from theſe conſiderations, as alſo from the modern name of this city, *Tangier*, which we cannot help believing to
b have been of *Phœnician* extraction. If we ſuppoſe the antient *Tingis* to have occupied the ſpot on which *Tangier* at preſent ſtands, it was very near the ſtreights of *Hercules*, at the bottom of a gulf of the weſtern ſhore. We are informed by *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, that the *Romans* drew a colony from this place into the neighbourhood of *Carteia*, a town on the other ſide of the ſtreights; on which account *Pliny* abſurdly calls it *Julia Traducta*, that name being properly applicable to the colony deduced from thence to *Spain*, to which *Strabo* gives the appellation of *Julia Joza*, of the ſame import with the former, *Joza*, in *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Phœnician*, being equivalent to the *Latin Traducta*. We find it likewiſe named by *Ptolemy* and *Marcianus* ſimply *Tranſducta*. Some writers will have *Ptolemy* to have called *Tingis*
c *Cæſarea*; but this is a controverted point. However, that geographer ſeems to have looked upon *Tingis* as the moſt noted and uſual proper name of the city we are now upon. *Tangier*, ſuppoſed to be the antient *Tingis*, is in 6° 30′ W. longitude from *London*, and in N. latitude 35° 56′ [d].

Zelis or *Zilis*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of *Tingis*, ſituated near a river of the ſame name. The inhabitants of this city were tranſported to *Spain*, as we learn from *Strabo*, and a colony of *Romans* or *Italians* tranſplanted thither, as ſhould ſeem, in their room, according to *Pliny*. The kings of *Mauritania*, after the planting of that colony, exerciſed no juriſdiction over *Zelis*, it being under the dominion of the *Roman* governor of *Spain*. Some authors imagine, that the modern *Arzilla*
d anſwers to *Zelis*; which if we admit, it ſtood about ſeventy miles from the ſtreights of *Hercules*. *Marmol* ſays, that *Arzilla* was built by the *Romans*; but this we muſt not give credit to, if it ſhould be thought proper to countenance the aforeſaid ſuppoſition; for if *Zelis* did not owe its origin to the *Indigenæ* of this country, it was undoubtedly of *Phœnician* extraction [e]. Zelis.

Lixus or *Lixos* ſeems to have been a place of conſiderable repute in the earlieſt ages, ſince, according to *Pliny*, *Antæus* had a palace, and therefore probably reſided, here. This circumſtance renders it likely, that *Lixus* was ſuperior to *Tingis* itſelf in point of antiquity. But ſome authors ſeem to have confounded theſe two cities, as we ſhall find, by comparing the names given the former by *Artemidorus*, *Eratoſthenes*, and *Strabo*, with *Pliny*. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Eratoſthenes*
e to that of the others in this point, ſince it is ſupported by *Pliny*. *Lixus* therefore and *Tingis*, in conſequence of this preference, we muſt look upon as two different cities. *Pliny* relates, that *Hercules* vanquiſhed *Antæus* near this place, which he makes to have been in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the *Heſperides*, and thirty-two miles diſtant from *Zelis*. The ſame author intimates, that a *Roman* colony was ſettled here likewiſe by *Claudius*. As *Lixus* was called by different writers *Linz*, *Linga*, *Tinga*, *Tingi*, in all probability it was miſtaken by ſome antient hiſtorians or geographers for *Tingis*; and therefore *Pliny* might be impoſed upon by ſome of the authors he extracted his materials from, when he affirmed *Antæus* to have had his royal palace
f at *Lixos*, ſince it is more natural to ſuppoſe, that he reſided at *Tingis*. The learned *Aldrete* aſſerts the word *Lixus* to be derived from לחישו *lachiſu*, or נהרא לחישו *nahara lachiſu*, *incantation*, or the *river of incantation*. In ſupport of this ſentiment he obſerves, with the antients, that the town ſtood near the banks of a river of the ſame name; and that ſuch wonderful things had been related of *Antæus*, as well as his tomb, by Lixus.

various

[d] Pomp. Mel. l. ii. c. 5. Plin. ubi ſup. Solin. c. 24. Procop. & Hyde. ubi ſup. Plut. in Sertor. Strab. l. iii. & alib. Plin. Mel. Ptol. Martian. & al. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 24. Moll, De la Croix, &c. ubi ſup. Vide & Christ. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. ii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 7. ut & Isaac. Voss. auq; Jacob. Gronov. in Mel. l. ii. c. 6. [e] Strab. l. xvii. p. 569. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. c. 1. Antonin. in itiner. Aldret. ubi ſup. l. iv. c. 8. Vide & Cellar. l. iv. c. 7. p. 933. edit. Lipſ. 1732.

various authors, that, to all thoſe who believed them, he muſt appear as a magician. a
Bochart derives it from ψ'ן a *lion*, becauſe ſuch animals were common in *Mauritania*. But it may be further obſerved in favour (A) of *Aldrete*, that the inhabitants of this country were ſuppoſed to have an uncommon ſkill in ſorcery and magic, as appears not only from *Virgil* and *Silius*, but likewiſe from what we find related of *Sidius Geta* by *Dio*. The river *Lixus* is mentioned both in the *periplus* of *Hanno*, and that of *Scylax*, as alſo by *Ptolemy* and *Stephanus*. *Pliny* ſeems to turn this river into an æſtuary, which, by its winding courſe, he makes to reſemble a dragon or ſerpent, intimating that it gave riſe to the fable of the dragon guarding the golden apples of the *Heſperides*. Some learned men will have the preſent *Larache* to be the antient *Lixus*; and it muſt be owned, that the ſituation of that place gives great countenance b
to ſuch a ſuppoſition [f].

Thymiaterion. AT ſome diſtance from *Lixus*, to the ſouthward, *Hanno*, in his *periplus*, ſays, he built a city, which he called *Thymiaterion*. In *Scylax*, the name is *Thymiaterias*; and in *Stephanus*, *Thymiateria*. *Bochart* believes the *Punic* name to have been דמאתיריה *Dumathiria*, i. e. *a city ſituated in a plain*. *Hanno* himſelf juſtifies this etymology, as the reader will find, by conſulting his *periplus*; for which reaſon he will not ſcruple giving his aſſent to it. Though this city was ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, ſomewhere to the ſouth of *Lixus*, the ſpot, on which it ſtood, cannot now be preciſely determined [g].

Sala. *Pliny* mentions *Sala*, a town near a river of the ſame name, not far from the c
Atlantic ocean, at a conſiderable diſtance from *Lixus*. All that he obſerves of this town is, that the diſtrict adjacent to it was deſert, infeſted with vaſt herds of elephants, and the excurſions of the *Autololes*, a tribe of *Gætulians*. The ſituation, as well as name, of this place, ſufficiently indicates it to be the modern *Sallee*, a city famous for its corſairs, who ſometimes commit great depredations in the *Mediterranean* [h].

Rutubis. THE port of *Rutubis*, where, it is probable, a town ſtood, was two hundred and thirteen miles ſouth of *Lixus*. At ſome diſtance from this were the *Mons Solis*, the port of *Myſocaras*, the promontories of *Hercules* and *Uſadium*, and the frontiers of the *Autololes*. Theſe frontiers terminated *Mauritania* to the ſouth; and *Ptolomy* has d
undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction, than is conſiſtent with truth. As for *Tamuſiga*, *Suriga*, and other obſcure places mentioned by that geographer, extending ſtill farther to the ſouth, is it ſufficient juſt to have taken notice of them. Thus much for the principal maritim towns of *Tingitania*, bordering on the coaſt of the *Atlantic* ocean [i].

Exiliſſa. THE firſt maritim town to the eaſtward of *Tingis*, ſeems to be the *Exiliſſa* of *Ptolemy*. *Marmol* takes the *Ceuta* of the moderns to correſpond with this place, as it does likewiſe, in all probability, with the *Septa* and *Arx Septenſis* of *Procopius*. That author, together with *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis* and others, inſinuates this name to have been derived from the ſeven hills, called the *Septem Fratres* by *Mela*, in its neigh- e
bourhood. *Exiliſſa*, *Septa*, or *Ceuta*, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the *Goths*, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to the hiſtory of that nation [k].

Ruſadir. *Ruſadir*, a city and haven, taken notice of by *Pliny*, not far from the country of the *Maſæſyli*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ryſſadirum*; and, from the itinerary, there ſeems to have been a *Roman* colony ſettled in it. Some authors will have *Melila* or *Melillo*, lately in the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, to be the *Ruſadir* or *Ryſſadirum* of the antients. If ſo, it ſtood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulf, and was commanded by a mountain on the weſt ſide [l].

THE

[f] HANNO CARTHAG. in peripl. PLIN. ubi ſup. ARTEMIDOR. & ERATOSTH. apud. Strabon. l. xvii. ut & ipſe STRAB. ibid. & alib. DIO, l. lx. VIRG. SIL. ITAL. POMP. MEL. SUID. &c. apud. Aldret. l. iv. c. 9. ut & ipſe ALDBET. ibid. SCYLAX. CARYAND. in in peripl. PTOL. ubi ſup. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 37. Vide IS. CASAUB. in Strab. ubi ſup. [g] HANNO, SCYLAX, STEPH. BYZANT. BOCHART. ubi ſup. [h] MEL. & PLIN. ubi ſup. PTOL. ibid. Vide J. LEO AFRICAN. MARM. CELLAR. MOLL, DE LA CROIX, &c. [i] PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. ut & POLYB. apud Plin. ibib. [k] MEL. PTOL. & MARÆ. ubi ſup. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. xv. c. 1. Vide etiam ANTONIN. MARTIAN. alioſq; apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 31. [l] PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOL. ubi ſup. ANTONIN. itinerar. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c.

(A) In order to ſtrengthen this conjecture, *Aldrete* obſerves, that the word *Tingin*, in *Arabic*, approaches pretty near the ſignification of *Lixus*; an obſervation, which, we believe, has eſcaped all other writers (1).

(1) *Vide Aldret. in loc. citat.*

a THE firſt inland town, meriting any attention, near the frontiers of the *Maſæſyli*, was the *Aſcurum* of *Hirtius*. According to that author, this place was of ſome conſequence, ſince *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania Tingitana*, had a ſtrong gariſon in it, which ſallying out upon a body of the *Pompeians*, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, driving many of them into the ſea, and the reſt on board their ſhips. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining [m]. Aſcurum.

Molochath, or *Mulucha*, and *Galapha*, which *Ptolemy* places in *Tingitania*, muſt belong to *Numidia*, if the (B) *Molochath*, *Mulucha*, and *Malva*, be the ſame river, as Dr. *Shaw* has rendered probable; and therefore we ſhall ſay nothing more of them here [n]. Molochath *and* Galapha.

b *Herpis*, a town upon the *Mauritanian* bank of the *Mulucha*, lying at a conſiderable diſtance from the city *Molochath* in a northern direction. As to any further particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark [o]. Herpis.

Mela ranks *Volubilis*, *Gilda*, and *Priſciana*, amongſt the principal inland towns of *Tingitania*. *Ptolemy* ſays, that *Volubilis* was one of the moſt noted places of this country; and the itinerary makes it a *Roman* colony. From various authors it appears to be the *Fez* of the moderns. *Gilda* is taken notice of likewiſe by *Stephanus*, as a city of good repute. They were all ſituated in the heart of the country; but the ſpots of ground, occupied by them, cannot, with preciſion, be aſcertained. However, *Marmol* aſſerts, that *Mequinez* anſwers to *Gilda*, which he corruptly calls c *Silda* [p]. Volubilis, Gilda, *and* Priſciana.

A little to the ſouth of *Volubilis* ſtood the *Tocoloſida* of *Ptolemy*. According to *Marmol*, *Amergue*, a city three leagues from the river *Eguile*, in the province of *Habat*, anſwers to the antient *Tocoloſida*; but, as that author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, intirely depend upon him [q]. Tocoloſida.

THE *Triſidis* of *Ptolemy*, according to that geographer, could not be far from the neighbourhood of *Tocoloſida*. *Marmol* ſays, that it was built by the *Romans*, which we can ſcarce believe, upon a riſing ground. The ſame author intimates, that *Aben Gezer*, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, ſome of whoſe bones, of an enormous ſize, he aſſerts to have been taken out of ſeveral antient d tombs in his time. Triſidis.

Gontiana ſtands ſouth-weſt of *Tocoloſida*, near the river *Sala*, and not far from mount *Atlas*. *Marmol* informs us, that a ſmall town, by the *Moors* called *Gamaa*, upon the road between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, is the antient *Gontiana*; as likewiſe, that this place, though ſtrong by nature, has, for ſome time, been almoſt intirely depopulated and demoliſhed [r]. Gontiana.

Banaſa, *Banaſſa*, or *Banaſa Valentia*, was ſeated in the neighbourhood of the river *Subur*, at a very conſiderable diſtance, in a northern direction, from *Gontiana*. *Pliny* ſeems to intimate, that *Banaſa* was ſeventy-five miles from *Lixus*, thirty-five from *Volubilis*, and as many from the *Atlantic* ocean. That author, in the ſame place, e ſays, that *Babba*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Babba Julia Campeſtris*, was an inland town, forty miles from *Lixus*; and that *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* colony there. This likewiſe the curious may find confirmed by the legends on ſome antique coins exhibited by *Goltzius* [s]. Banaſa.

Chalce or *Chalca*, a city of *Mauritania Tingitana*, mentioned by *Scylax* and *Hecatæus*; but in what part of that region we are to look for it, cannot now be determined. *Ptolemy* takes notice of a town called *Carcome* or *Carcoma*; which *Bochart* will have to be the *Chalce* of *Scylax* and *Hecatæus*, ſince thoſe two words are of the ſame import in the *Syriac* and *Greek* languages. They ſignify *braſs* or *copper*; which Chalce.

[m] HIRT. de bell. African. c. 23. [n] PTOL. ubi ſup. SHAW's geogr. obſerv. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. p. 10—16. [o] PTOL. ubi ſup. [p] PTOL. ubi ſup. MEL. l. ii. ex emend. Iſ. Voſſii. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. ANTONIN. itinerar. MARMOL. HARRIS in biblioth MOLL. [q] PTOL. & MARMOL, ubi ſup. [r] Iidem ibid. [s] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. GOLTZ. apud Cellar. l. iv. c. 7.

(B) This appears from *Florus* and *Frontinus*, who affirm the fortreſs of *Mulucha* to have been in *Jugurtha*'s dominions, and conſequently in *Numidia*, *Salluſt* likewiſe confirms this, when he gives us an account of the ſiege and reduction of that place by the *Romans* in the *Jugurthine* war. From *Cellarius*, in conformity to the old geographers, it ſeems probable, that *Galapha* was ſouth-eaſt of *Mulucha*; and therefore, that what has been obſerved of the former, holds more ſtrongly with regard to the latter (2).

(2) *Flor. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *ex.* 3. *Salluſt. in Jugurth. Cellar. geograph. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 7.

which seems to intimate, that this place was near some copper-mine, from whence it deduced its name: and that there was a famous copper-mine in *Tingitania*, appears from *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* makes his *Carcoma* to be not very remote from *Jol*, or *Julia Cæsarea*, but betwixt it and *Gades*. However, the inaccuracy of that geographer in many points, will not permit us to infer from thence, that this place, which he asserts to be a maritim city, is to be sought for in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. On the contrary, we can scarce doubt of its having appertained to *Tingitania*, from what we find advanced by *Strabo*. To what has been said we may add, that *Polybius* censures *Polyhistor*, for affirming *Chalcea* to be the proper name of a *Libyan* city, since, according to him, the copper-mine above-mentioned only was so called [t]. a

Calamintha. *Calamintha*, a town of *Libya*, probably of *Mauritania*, taken notice of by *Herodotus* and *Heccatæus*, whose situation is unknown. However, *Bochart* has ventured to assert, that it stood on an eminence or rising-ground. This notion has been suggested to him by the word itself; for he looks upon *Calamintha* to be equivalent to the *Syriac* or *Phœnician* גלמיתא *galmitha*, an *eminence*, or a *city built upon an eminence*. From hence he likewise infers, that it must have been of a *Phœnician* original [u]. b

Marmol's *inaccuracy*. We must here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Marmol* has discovered his inaccuracy, not to say ignorance, in many particulars; for he has either corrupted several of *Ptolemy*'s names of cities, or assigned names, pretended to be taken from *Ptolemy*, to several places, that are not to be found in his geography, as will appear to every one, who will be at the trouble to compare these two authors. His comparative geography is likewise frequently not to be relied upon; for which reason we have made but few extracts from him. As for *Vobrix*, *Thicath*, *Ceuta*, and many more inconsiderable towns mentioned by the antient geographers, which are scarce ever taken notice of in history, nay, all traces of which are, in a manner, lost, we have thought proper to pass them over in silence; neither are we apprehensive, that, for this, it will be deemed necessary to make any apology [w]. c

Rivers of Tingitania. The first river of *Tingitania*, if it does not appertain to *Numidia*, is the *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Chylemath*, *Molochath*, or *Mulucha*; for it went by all these names. That these names denoted the same river, will appear from a careful examination of what the old geographers have advanced on this head. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, give the same situation to the *Chylemath* and *Mulucha*, making it the common boundary of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. *Strabo* also affirms his *Molochath* to separate the country of the *Masæsyli*, i. e. *Numidia*, from *Mauritania*, i. e. *Tingitania*; and lastly, the author of the itinerary, who was cotemporary with *Ptolemy*, positively asserts, that the *Malva*, or *Malvana*, limited the two *Mauritaniæ*, i. e. *Tingitania*, and that part of *Numidia* joining to it. From whence, as it does not appear from history, that the limits of those two kingdoms were ever changed, but, on the contrary, probable that they never were, we may fairly infer, that the above-mentioned variety of names points out one and the same river, the *Mullooïah* of the present western *Moors*. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the *Thaluda*, *Taluda*, or *Tamuda* of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, which emptied itself into the *Mediterranean*, considerably nearer the streights than the former. *Pliny* represents this as navigable, and consequently as a considerable river. The different names given it, by different geographers, seem to countenance what we have just offered in relation to the *Mulucha* (C). 3. The river *Zelis* or *Zilia*, near the city of the same name, already mentioned. 4. The *Lixus*, already taken notice of, when we gave some account of the city so called. *Scylax*, in his *periplus*, mentions a river not far from the *Lixus*, but betwixt it d e

[t] Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Hecat. perieg. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Strab. & Ptol. ubi sup. Polyb. & Herodot. apud Steph. & Bochart. ubi sup. [u] Herodot. & Hecat. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Bochart. ubi sup. [w] Ptol. & Marmol, pass. Vide etiam Aldret. l. iii. c. 31. p. 457.

(C) *Ptolemy*'s *Vallona* discharged itself into the sea not far from the narrowest part of the streights of *Gibraltar*, near the place where the town *Alcazar Saguir*, as *Marmol* calls it, or, according to *Moll*, *Alcazar Quivir*, i. e. *the great palace*, at present stands. It appears to us not improbable, that the present rivers *Sebou*, *Gueron*, *Ommirabih*, and *Sus*, answer to the *Subur*, *Sala*, *Duus*, and *Cusa*, of *Ptolemy*. Our readers may possibly be of the same opinion, when they have diligently examined *Ptolemy*'s geographical description of that part of *Mauritania* contiguous to the *Atlantic* ocean, and maturely weighed what has been advanced in a former note (3).

(3) *Ptol. Marmol, Moll, &c. ubi sup.*

a it and the ſtreights, which, *Salmaſius* thinks, ought to be called *Adonis*; but as to its courſe, or indeed any particulars at all relating to it, we are intirely in the dark. 5. The *Subur*, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the *Lixus*. It paſſed by the city of *Banaſa*, as has been lately obſerved. 6. The *Sala*, which took its courſe, according to *Pliny*, near the confines of the *Sahara*. 7. The *Duus*, *Caſa*, *Aſama*, *Phthuth*, and other rivers either in, or upon, the borders of *Libya Interior* (D), recited by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are intirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to thoſe geographers themſelves [x] (E).

THE chief capes or promontories of *Tingitania* were the following: 1. The *Metagonitis* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Metagonium* of *Strabo*. This promontory, *Marmol* tells *Promontories.*
b us, in his time was called cape *Caſaſa*, having a town of the ſame name built upon it. *Strabo* intimates, that a conſiderable extent of territory, whoſe ſoil was of a dry and ſandy nature, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the ſame name amongſt the *Mauritanians*. This was different from the *Terra Metagonitis* of *Pliny*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, near the mouth of the *Ampſaga*. For their farther ſatisfaction on this head, we muſt refer our curious readers to the learned *Lucas Holſtenius*, who has favoured the world with a particular account of both the *Metagonia*, in his notes upon *Ortelius*. 2. The *Seſtiarium promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Ruſſadi* of the *Itinerary*. 3. The *promontorium Oleaſtrum*, ſo called, according to ſome, from the prodigious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The *Phœbi promon-*
c *torium*. 5. The cape *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Ampeluſia*, not far from *Tingis*, taken notice of by *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. The moderns call it cape *Spartel*. From *Mela* and *Bochart* it appears, that *Cotes* and *Ampeluſia* were words of the ſame import in the *Phœnician* and *Greek* languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. *Mons Solis*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and *Uſadium*, of which *Ptolemy* has handed down to us nothing but the bare names [y].

AMONGST the principal mountains of *Mauritania Tingitana* we are to rank, 1. *Mountains.*
Abyle, *Abyla*, *Abila*, *Abina*, *Abinna*, or *Abenna*, for ſuch a variety of names it had, a mountain on the *African* ſide of the ſtreights of *Hercules*, called, by the antients, one of *Hercules*'s pillars. *Abinna* and *Abenna* ſeem to have been names given it by
d the *Arabs*, and the others it received from the *Phœnicians*. They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by *Aldrete* and *Bochart*. It has been mentioned by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, *Silius Italicus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Feſtus Avienus*, and others. If we are not miſtaken, it is now called, by our countrymen, *Apes Hill*;

x STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. & alib. ANTONIN. itinerar. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. ex emend. Claud. Salmaſii. y STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. LUCAS HOLSTENIUS ad Ortel. p. 121. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

(D) To theſe may be added, from *Ptolemy*, 1. Mount *Diur*, which might poſſibly have been near the river of the ſame name. 2. Mount *Phocra*, extending from the *Atlas Minor* to *Ruſadir*, between the promontories *Metagonitis* and *Seſtiarium*. The modern name of this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, is *Jibbel el Hadith*, i. e. the *mountain of iron*, according to *Ortelius*. 3. The *Durdus*, already mentioned in the hiſtory of *Numidia* (4).

(E) That *Ptolemy* knew little of the geography of this part of *Mauritania*, is generally acknowledged; but will moſt evidently appear from ſeveral circumſtances, which we ſhall beg leave to throw together here: 1. *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, is evidently the ſame name with *Dorath*, which *Ptolemy* makes to be the name of a town upon the *Diur*; as therefore that river, which is the ſouthern limit of the kingdom of *Sus*, is at this day called *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, by the *Moors*, it muſt be allowed, that *Ptolemy*'s *Dorath*, not far from the borders of *Gætulia*, was a river, and probably that which he calls *Diur*. 2. As this was the ſouthern limit of the country we are now upon, ſuppoſing it to extend as far to the ſouthward as even the preſent kingdom of *Sus* does, the river *Phthuth* muſt be to the north of it, and not to the ſouth, as *Ptolemy* aſſerts; agreeably hereto, *Marmol* makes *Tenſift*, the next river to the *Darodus*, in a northerly ſituation, to be the *Phthuth* of *Ptolemy*. 3. As the mouth of the *Darodus* lies in about twenty-eight degrees north latitude, about four degrees and a half from the tropic of *Cancer*, it muſt have been in nearly the ſame latitude with *Ptolemy*'s *Promontorium Uſadium*, and, conſequently, much farther to the ſouthward than he extends the *Diur*. 4. Even the *Promontorium Uſadium*, the *Mons Solis*, *Portus Myſocaras*, *Portus Herculis*, *Tamuſiga*, and all the other places he has fixed to the ſouth of the *Diur*, either are to be placed to the northward of it, or elſe, in antient times, belonged to *Libya Interior*, and not *Tingitania*. 5. From *Marmol*, *Gramaye*, and ſome of the moſt accurate modern obſervations, it appears, that the towns of *Suriga* and *Vala*, rivers *Una*, *Agna*, *Sala*, &c. to which *Ptolemy* aſſigns a ſouthern ſituation, in reſpect of the *Diur*, or *Darodus*, are really north of it.

Some of our readers may poſſibly imagine, that *Ptolemy*'s *Daradas*, or *Daras*, which he places in about fifteen degrees north latitude, was the ſame river as the modern *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, which in Mr. *Senex*'s map of *Africa* is likewiſe called *Dras*. But admitting this ſuppoſition, *Ptolemy* will be out in the parallel he aſſigns it about thirteen degrees; which is a greater error than any of the preceding (5).

(4) *Ptol. ibid. Ortel. aliiq; geograph.* (5) *Marmol. Gramaye, De la Croix, Moqette, Dapper, Moll, aliiq; mult.*

Hill; an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the antients, or, at leaſt, the country adjacent to it. 2. The *Septem Fratres* of *Mela*, and the *Heptadelphi* of *Ptolemy*, almoſt contiguous to *Abyla*. 3. Mount *Cotta*, not far from the *Lixus*. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount *Atlas*, which, according to *Oroſius*, ſeparated the fruitful land from the barren, or, in the ſtyle of the natives, the *Tell* from the *Sahara*. The antients likewiſe inform us, that theſe mountains were known by the names *Dyris*, *Adyris*, *Dyrim*, and *Adderim*, i. e. great, high, lofty, or *the Southern limit*, as mount *Atlas* is generally eſteemed to be with reſpect to *Tingitania* and *Numidia*. However, Dr. *Shaw* aſſures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his obſervation, in height could not ſtand in competition either with the *Alps* or *Apennines*. He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, uſually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or ſix hundred yards, with an eaſy aſcent, and ſeveral groves of fruit and foreſt-trees, riſing up in a ſucceſſion of ranges one behind another; and that if to this proſpect we here-and-there add a rocky precipice of a ſuperior eminence, and difficult acceſs, and place upon the ſide or ſummit of it a mud-walled *Daſhkrah*, or village of the *Kabyles*; we ſhall then have a juſt and lively idea of theſe mountains, without paying any regard to the nocturnal flames, melodious ſounds, or the laſcivious revels, of ſuch imaginary beings, as the antients have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to this place [z]. a b

Ports. The chief ports of this country were, 1. The *Ruſadir* of *Pliny*, or *Ryſſadirum* of *Ptolemy* already mentioned. The *Itinerary* makes the town here a *Roman* colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape *Ruſſadi*. 2, That at the bottom of the *Sinus Emporicus*, where there ſeems to have been a town furniſhed with inns, warehouſes, and all manner of accommodations for the *Phœnician* merchants, who frequented this place from almoſt the earlieſt ages to the time of *Auguſtus*. *Pliny* calls the bay the *Sinus Saguti*, which *Bochart* would willingly have read *Sinus Saguri*; ſince that lection would enable him to deduce the word from סחור, *ſachur*, *mercator*, the ח being frequently, amongſt the *Orientals*, pronounced as the ג, of which he produces ſome inſtances, and conſequently to aſſign it the ſame ſignification as *Emporicus*. 3. *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Cotta*, a port or bay mentioned by *Scylax*, which may poſſibly have been in the neigbourhood of cape *Cotta* above-mentioned; and if ſo, that author has not given it a right ſituation, ſince he places it between cape *Mercury* and the ſtreights of *Hercules*. 4. *Ruſibis*, or *Rutubis*, an harbour taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, in the ſouth-weſtern part of *Mauritania*, between the rivers *Cuſa* and *Diur*. 5. *Myſocaras*, a port ſome miles to the ſouth of *Ruſibis*, not far from the river *Phthuth*, This was the ſouthern port of *Mauritania*, mentioned by the antients, being almoſt contiguous to the northern confines of *Gætulia* [a]. c d

Islands. We ſhall now proceed to the principal iſlands, on the coaſt of *Tingitania*, which were known to the old geographers: 1. The *Tres Inſulæ* of the *Itinerary* already mentioned, where there is now good ſhelter for ſmall veſſels, were ſituated to the north-weſt of the *Mulucha*, at the diſtance of ten miles. 2. *Gezira*, or rather *Jezeirah*, a ſmall iſland in the river *Lixus*, about three leagues, according to *Marmol* and *Leo*, from the ſea, and thirty from the city of *Fez*. *Pliny* tells us, that in his time this iſland abounded with olives; and intimates, that the antients placed the gardens of the *Heſperides* here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, ſacred to *Hercules*, ſtill remaining in it when he wrote. *Aldrete* believes, that this iſland, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in proceſs of time, laid intirely under water, and at laſt converted into that lake called, by the *Spaniards*, *Laguna grande*, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of *Larache*. 3. *Ptolemy*'s *Pœnæ* and *Erythia* (F), two ſmall obſcure iſlands in the *Atlantic* ocean, oppoſite to the tract e

[z] Iidem ibid. Festus Avienus, Sil. Ital. Ammian. Marcellin. Orosius, Philostratus, Eustathius, Tzetzes, aliiq; mult. Vid. et Aldret. l. ii. c. 2. & alib Schind. Bochart. & Shaw, ubi ſup. [a] Scylax, Plin. Ptol. Antonin, itinerar. ubi ſup. et alib. Bochart. ubi ſup. Agrip. comment. apud Plin. l. v. c. 1.

(F) The iſland *Erythia* is now called *Mogador*, and has a caſtle in it of conſiderable ſtrength. This is defended by a gariſon of two hundred men, who are poſted there to ſecure the gold mines in the neighbouring country, from which 'tis about five miles diſtant (6).

(6) *Moll, de la Croix*, &c.

a tract between his *Major* and *Minor Atlas*. 4. The *Inſulæ Purpurariæ*, which *Pliny* aſſures us faced the country of the *Autololes*. The natives of theſe iſlands were famous for dying that colour called the *Gætulian* purple, which brought great advantage to king *Juba*, who, according to the ſame author, firſt diſcovered them. Father *Hardouïn* aſſerts, that they are the iſlands called at this day *Madera* (G) and *Porto Santo*, being induced thereto by *Pliny*, who places them betwixt the *Streights* and the *Fortunate Iſlands*. 5. The *Inſulæ Beatæ* (H), or *Fortunatæ*, of *Statius Seboſus*, *Juba*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* gives theſe iſlands too ſouthern a ſituation, affirming them to lie on the coaſt of *Libya Interior*, whereas they are in the ſame parallel with the

(G) *Madera*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *Madeira*, is an iſland of the *Atlantic* ocean, betwixt thirty-two and thirty-three deg. north lat. about ſixty miles broad, ſeventy-five long, and an hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it ſeems to have been known to the antients, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at laſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſe*, commanded by Don *Juan Zarco*, and Don *Triſtano Vaz*, *A.D.* 1419. Others maintain, that one *Juan Machen*, an *Engliſhman*, diſcovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it will, the *Portugueſe* took poſſeſſion of it in the year above mentioned, and are ſtill almoſt the only nation inhabiting it. The modern name *Madera*, or *Madeira*, was derived from the vaſt ſtore of wood with which it was ſtocked; the *Portugueſe*, at their firſt landing, finding it little better than a thick foreſt. In order, therefore, to render the ground capable of cultivation, they ſet fire to this wood, which, according to their writers, occaſioned a conflagration of ſeven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing, in great abundance, the richeſt wine, ſugar, the moſt delicious fruits, eſpecially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It alſo abounds with boars and other wild beaſts, as likewiſe with all ſorts of fowls, beſides numerous groves of cedar-trees. The air of *Madera* is more temperate than that of the *Canaries*; and conſequently its condition cannot be inferior to that of any of thoſe iſlands. The towns are *Monchico*, *Santa Croce*, and *Funzal*, its metropolis, ſo called from the prodigious quantity of *fennel* at firſt found growing in its neighbourhood. It is now the ſee of a biſhop, who is ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of *Liſbon*; and the ſeat of a *Portugueſe* governor. Notwithſtanding father *Hardouin*'s opinion, ſome authors make it the *Cerne*, or *Cerne Atlantica*, of the antients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of thoſe hawks ſo well known in *Maſſylia*, according to *Pliny*. As that author places this *Cerne* in the *Atlantic* ocean, and from the circumſtance juſt mentioned it appears to have been not remote from *Maſſylia*, ſuch a ſentiment cannot well be deemed intirely groundleſs. Whichever of theſe notions we eſpouſe, *Madera* ſeems formerly to have appertained to *Mauritania*.

Porto Santo lies at a ſmall diſtance from *Madera*, and is under the juriſdiction of the ſame biſhop and governor as *Madera*. It is only eight miles in compaſs; but the ſoil is extremely fruitful. 'Tis remarkable, that this iſland produces the beſt honey and wax in the world.

Beſides the two aforeſaid iſlands, there is another, called by the *Spaniards Iſla Deſierta*, i. e. the *deſolate iſland*, ſeven miles diſtant from the eaſtern coaſt of *Madera*. But this being inconſiderable, on account of the ſterility of its ſoil, and its ſmall extent, it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it (7).

(H) The *Fortunate Iſlands*, or, as they are at preſent called, the *Canary Iſlands*, are ſeven in number. They lie to the ſouthward of *Madera*, weſt of the ſouthern coaſt of *Mauritania*, and betwixt twenty-ſeven and thirty degrees north lat. Their names are *Palma*, *Hierro*, *Gomera*, *Teneriffe*, *Gran Canaria*, *Fuerteventura*, and *Lanzarote*. *Palma* and *Hierro* lie moſt to the weſt. Their ſoil is rich; they have good paſture-ground, produce excellent wine, ſugar, &c. and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the ſame name. The firſt is ſeven leagues long, ſix broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, ſeven broad, and twenty-ſix round. *Hierro* has a commodious haven; and *Palma* a *volcano* that emits vaſt quantities of ſulphureous matter, as we learn from *Juan Nunez de Pena*. On the weſtern point of *Hierro* moſt modern geographers place the firſt meridian. *Gomera*, ſituated to the ſouth of *Palma*, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, ſugar, and wine, with paſtures for numerous herds of cattle. It takes up twenty-two leagues in compaſs, and has a conſiderable town of the ſame name, beſides a very capacious harbour. *Teneriffe*, to the eaſt of *Hierro*, is ſaid to be ſixty miles long. In it there is a famous mountain, called the *Pico* of *Teneriffe*, frequently covered with ſnow; which renders it probable, that this iſland was *Pliny*'s *Nivaria*, and *Ptolemy*'s *Ninguaria*. The *Pico* is an aſcent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when theſe iſlands were diſcovered by M. *Jean de Betancourt*, a *French* gentleman, for Don *Juan* king of *Caſtile*, in 1405. the inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were under ſeveral kings, who lived in caves; and that they kept the bodies of their anceſtors dried like mummies. The towns in it are, *St. Chriſtopher de la Languna*, *Santa Cruz*, *Rotava*, or *Oratava*, *Rialejo*, and *Garachico*. *Canaria*, or *Gran Canaria*, had the ſame name amongſt the antients, as we learn from *Pliny*; ſo that 'tis probable, it was not given by the *Spaniards*, as ſome writers ſuggeſt; as likewiſe, that ſome knowledge of it has been retained all along from the *Roman* times, ſince the name aſſigned it by the *Romans* has been preſerved to the preſent times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty-eight in compaſs, and about thirty from cape *Boſador*. Its ſituation is eaſt of *Teneriffe*, and its capital city *Palma*, *Palmes*, or *Canaria*. In fertility it equals, at leaſt, if it does not exceed, any of the others. *Fuerteventura* is eaſt of *Gran Canaria*, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of *Africa*. 'Tis likewiſe fruitful, and has four towns, *Tarafala*, *Lanagala*, *Pozo Negro*, and *Fuerteventura*. *Lanzarote*, north of the former, and in all points anſwering to the reſt, has three towns, *Cayas* or *Lanzarote*, *Puerto de Naos*, and *Puerto de Cavallos*. Though the ſeven are the principal iſlands that go under the name of the *Canaries*, yet there are ſeveral others in the neighbourhood of leſs note; as the *Iſla de los Lobos*, ſituated between *Fuerteventura* and *Lanzarote*; the *Salvaticæ* lying farther towards the north-weſt; beſides *Rocca*, *Gratioſa*, *Santa Clara*, and *Alagranza*, on the north of *Lanzarote*. They are all ſubject to the king of *Spain*; and *Canaria* is the ſee of a biſhop, ſubject to the metropolitan of *Sevil*.

(7) *Plin. l.* x. *c.* 8. *l.* vi. *c.* 3. *& alib. Vide etiam Marmol, Dav. Voſſ. ad Mel. Moll, Pory, & Hakluyt, tom.* ii. *p.* 2, *&c.*

the ſouthern part of *Mauritania*, according to *Strabo* (I); which ſeems to tally with a the beſt modern accounts and obſervations. The antients did not agree in fixing the number of theſe iſlands; *Marcellus* made them ten; ſeven of which he affirms the number of theſe iſlands; *Marcellus* made them ten; ſeven of which he affirms to have been ſacred to *Proſerpina*, and the other three to *Pluto*, *Ammon*, and *Neptune*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, from *Juba*, relate, that there were ſix of them; and *Seboſus*, as well as *Plutarch*, only two. One of them *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* call *Ombros*, *Ombrios*, and *Pluvialia*; the former author, two others *Junonia*; the latter, *Junonia*, and *the inacceſſible iſland*. The other three *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, according to *Iſaac Voſſius*, named *Capraria*, *Canaria*, and *Ninguaria*, or *Nivaria*. *Ombrios* was uninhabited, and deſtitute of water at all times, but when it rained; from which circumſtance it derived its name. This iſland produced a ſort of canes, ſome of which were black, b and others white; out of the former the *Mauritanians* expreſſed a liquor of a bitter taſte; and out of the latter a pleaſant kind of drink. In one of the *Junonias* there was a ſmall temple, built of ſtone. *Capraria* abounded with monſtrous lizards. *Nivaria* was always covered with ſnow; and *Canaria* over-run with dogs of an enormous ſize, two of which were preſented to king *Juba*. From hence they had their names aſſigned them. They all abounded with apples, and other ſorts of fruit, as well as honey, and all kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the *Siluri*, a kind of ſhad-fiſh, *&c.* In ſhort, the antients ſo highly eſteemed them, on account of their happy climate, ſalubrious air, and fertile ſoil, that they ſtyled them the *fortunate iſlands*, and fixed here their *Elyſian* fields[b]. c

Curioſities. Curiosities, moſt worthy obſervation, were, 1. The vines, grapes, reeds, *&c.* towards the confines of *Libya Interior*, of a moſt prodigious and incredible ſize, mentioned by *Strabo*. 2. The trees growing in the iſland *Ombrios*, or *Pluvialia*, and the liquor extracted from them; which ſome learned men have imagined to be the ſugar-canes and moloſſus of the moderns. 3. The river, in the ſouthern parts of *Tingitania*, which overflowed all the adjacent country, and fertilized it in the ſame manner as the *Nile* did *Egypt*; for, that there was ſuch a river in this diſtrict, appears from the beſt modern obſervations compared with *Strabo*. 4. The ſeveral remarkable ruins of *Roman* antiquities ſtill remaining. 5. The narrow deſcent of many fathom deep, a few miles from *Tangier*, which leads into a ſort of cave, from d whence are paſſages into ſubterraneous apartments, deſigned undoubtedly by the antients as repoſitories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and ſtatues with *Punic* inſcriptions upon them. We ſhall reſerve all other curious particulars for the hiſtory of the *Sharifs* in *Fez* and *Morocco*[c].

[b] Ptol. ubi ſup. & l. iv. c. 6. Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Statius Sebosus, & Juba apud Plin. ibid. Strab. ſub init. Marcellus in Æthiopic. apud Proclum, l. i. in Timæ. Plut. in Sertor. Solin. c. 24. Is. Voss. ad Mel. l. iii. c. 10. & Jacob. Perizon. ad Ælian. l. iii. c. 18. Vide etiam Joan. Harduin. ad Plin. ubi ſup. & Aldret. l. iv. c. 9. [c] Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. I. Leo African. Marmol, De la Croix, Moll, &c.

vil. *Canaria* formerly produced a ſort of dates, and pine apples, in conſiderable plenty, according to *Pliny*. In the rivers alſo of theſe iſlands grew the plant *papyrus*, as in the *Nile*, if the ſame author may be credited. From the cuſtom of preſerving the bodies of their anceſtors, in the manner above-mentioned, it ſeems probable, that the antient inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were either a colony of the *Ethiopians*, or deſcended from the firſt progenitors of that people; ſince, that ſuch a cuſtom prevailed in very early times amongſt them, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (8).

(I) The beſt modern obſervations tally with *Strabo*, if, with that author and *Ptolemy*, we extend the ſouthern limits of *Mauritania* as far to the ſouthward as within three degrees, or leſs, of the tropic of *Cancer*; but if, with the moderns, we will not allow it to reach beyond the mouth of the *Darodus*, in nearly twenty-eight degrees north latitude, the *Inſulæ Fortunatæ* will ſeem to have partly appertained to *Gætulia*. For our part, we are inclined to believe, that part of the kingdom of *Sus* and *Morocco*, particularly the province of *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, together with the diſtrict contiguous to the town of *Meſſa*, belonged to the *Gætulians*, as will be rendered probable when we come to the hiſtory of that people (9).

(8) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *p.* 148. *Ed. Rhodoman. Plin.* l. vi. *c.* 32. *Hakluyt, Herbert, Moll, Atl. geogr. &c.*
(9) *Vid. Strab. Plin. Ptol. De la Croix, Moll, alioſq; geogr. ſup. laudat.*

SECT.

SECT II.

The antiqnity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. *of the* Mauritanians.

The antiquity of the Mauritanians.

a THAT the descendants of *Phut* first peopled *Mauritania*, as well as the tract between the *Triton* and the *Mulucha*, has been already observed from various authors. That the *Phœnicians* likewise planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the testimonies already produced. To which we may add, that from *Hirtius*, *Appian*, and *Dio*, as explained by *Aldrete*, it may be inferred, that the *Arabs* are to be ranked amongst some of the most antient inhabitants of this country. Their authority is supported by that of the *African* historians, or rather a tradition of the *Africans*, as we learn from *Leo* and *Marmol*. The *Mauritanians* bordering on the confines of *Gætulia*, particularly those in the neighbourhood of the *Pharusii*, who were probably intermixed with them, might have been the progeny of the b *Persians*, whom several authors of repute affirm to have settled here in very remote times. As the *Egyptians*, in the reign of *Ammon*, conquered the *Atlantides*, a nation seated on mount *Atlas*, we may look upon them likewise as progenitors of the antient *Mauritanians*. Should it be admitted, that any number of *Persians* ever fixed their habitations in so remote a region, 'tis likely, that they either attended *Hercules* in his *Libyan* expedition, as several writers assert, or formed part of the body of *Arabs* above-mentioned; for that they came by sea, in the manner related by *Sallust*, is utterly improbable. Be that as it will, that the *Pharusii* deduced their origin from the *Persians*, seems to be insinuated by the near resemblance of the word *Pharusii* to a name given the *Persians* in scripture, *viz.* פרס *Paras* (K), *Pharas*, c or *Pharus*; for it may be pronounced all these ways. This seems not a little to support the authority of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and others. As the *Persian* and *Indian* dominions were contiguous, it is no wonder we should find the antient *Mauri*, considered as the attendants of *Hercules*, called *Indians* by *Strabo*. According to *Leo*, some of the *Moors*, and other *Africans* in his time, believed themselves to be descended from certain tribes of *Sabæans*, a people of *Arabia Felix*, who were chased out of their native country either by the *Assyrians* or *Ethiopians*. Others, if we may credit the same author, gave out, that their ancestors were driven out of *Asia* by a powerful enemy, and pursued into *Greece*; from whence they made their escape into *Barbary*, leaving their pursuers in possession of the country they last abandoned: but this, he adds, d was to be understood only of the white nations inhabiting some parts of western *Barbary* and *Numidia*. *Marmol* relates from the *African* historians, that five tribes of *Sabæans* under the conduct of *Melec Ifiriqui* king of *Arabia Felix*, first spread themselves over some of the eastern parts of *Barbary*; and that *Tut*, the grandson of *Cham*, settled first in *Tingitania*, giving name to the *Tuteii*, a people of that region. The *African Tut*, we apprehend, must either be *Phut*, one of *Ham*'s younger sons, or *Lud*, his grandson. Nothing absurd is implied in the last supposition; for it appears, from the *Jerusalem Targum*, in conjunction with the sacred historian, that *Lud*, the son of *Misraim*, may be considered as one of the first planters of *Mauritania* [d].

Government.

It is generally imagined, that absolute monarchy prevailed in *Mauritania* from e the earliest ages, as well as in *Egypt* and *Numidia*. *Bocchar*, *Bocchus*, and *Bogud*, from what we find related of them by the *Roman* historians, seem to have governed here

[d] Univers. hist. vol. vii. c. 1. sect. 2, 3. Hirt. de bel. Afric. Appian. de bel. civil. l. 4: Dio, l. xlviii. I. Leo African. l. i. Marmol, l. i. c. 1, &c. Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 10. Plin. l. v. c 8. Strab. l. xvii. Sallust. in Jugurth. Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 132, 133. edit. Rhodoman. Est. c. i. ver. iii. Dan. c. vi. ver. 9. & ver 29. Targ. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. Aldret. l. iii. c. 24.

(K) It may not be improper, in order to strengthen what is here observed, to take notice, that פרסי *Pharsi*, a *Persian*, approaches very near the word *Pharusii*; especially if we give it a plural *Chaldee*, or *Syriac* termination. From the parts of Scripture in which the word is used, it appears pretty plain, that it was a *Persian* proper name; and from others, that the *Hebrews* called *Persia Elam*, and the *Persians Elamites* (10).

(10) *Nehem. c.* xii. *v.* 22.

here with an uncontroulable ſway; which is a ſufficient intimation, that their predeceſſors likewiſe were deſpotic. However, we muſt obſerve from *Appian*, that ſeveral tribes of *Moors*, whom he calls αὐλόνομοι, were governed by their own laws, or, at leaſt, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in oppoſition to that form of government, which was eſtabliſhed in the greateſt part of the country we are now upon. The independent *Arabs*, mentioned by Dr. *Shaw*, who are ſeated in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, and ſometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of *Morocco*, may probably be the poſterity of theſe free-born *Moors*. Be that as it will, moſt of the provinces of *Mauritania*, if not the whole region, were ſubject to one prince in the reign of the elder *Dionyſius*. This we learn from *Juſtin*, who ſays, that *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* nobleman, in order to attain the ſovereignty of *Carthage*, to which he then aſpired, had recourſe to the king of the *Mauri* for aſſiſtance. *Appian* inſinuates, that not only in *Numidia*, whilſt regal government flouriſhed there, but likewiſe in other neighbouring parts of *Africa*, and therefore probably *Mauritania*, ſeveral *reguli*, or heads of the *Kabyles*, as they now are called, were engaged in bloody wars one with another; which evidently implies, that they muſt have exerciſed a ſovereign power. Notwithſtanding which, the great figure the *Mauri* or *Mauruſii* made in *Africa*, that name extending even to the borders of *Africa Propria*, before the *Romans* grew formidable there, as appears from *Juſtin*, is a ſufficient indication, that moſt of them were united under one common head. The names *Mauritania Propria* or *Tingitania* received from thoſe of its kings, *viz.* *Boguadiana*, &c. clearly demonſtrate the vaſt extent of power they enjoyed. The form of government in uſe, from the remoteſt antiquity, amongſt thoſe nations that firſt ſent colonies hither, evinces the ſame thing; as does that of the antient *Numidians*, who agreed with their neighbours the *Mauruſii* in almoſt all points whatſoever [e].

Laws. That ſome of the *Mauritanians* had laws, or at leaſt certain political maxims and inſtitutions, which ſerved as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from *Appian*; but none of theſe have been conveyed down to us. Nay, the *Mauritanian* monarchs themſelves, however abſolute, might have had ſome immutable laws, to ſteer their political courſe by, as we find the *Medes* and *Perſians* had. *Appian*'s αὐλόνομοι, juſt mentioned, ſeem to ſuggeſt ſuch a thing, or, at leaſt, that laws were not intirely unknown in *Mauritania* [f].

Religion. *Neptune* ſeems to have been one of the principal objects of adoration in this country, which is a ſufficient proof, that the *Napthuhim* or *Nephthuhim*, of *Moſes*, extended themſelves into it; though the firſt ſeat of that people might probably, as *Bochart* and *Arius Montanus* imagine, have been in *Marmorica* and *Cyrene*. This deity and his wife *Neptys* might receive their names from hence, *Neptune*, *Neptys*, and *Napthuim*, ſignifying the king, queen, and people, of the ſea-coaſts. 'Tis certain, that the *Egyptians* called the exterior parts of the earth, promontories, and whatever bordered upon the ſea, and was waſhed by it, *Neptys*. The *Sun* and *Moon* likewiſe, in common with the other *Libyan* nations, they paid religious honours to. That they offered human ſacrifices to their gods, in imitation perhaps of the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, or ſome other antient nation, from whom their anceſtors came, is aſſerted by *Seneca*. From what *Nonnus* and others have advanced, it ſeems probable, that *Bacchus* was worſhipped by the *Mauritanians*, eſpecially as the *Indians* and *Arabs* adored him in a moſt particular manner. In ſhort, we are to form a notion of the *Mauritanian* religion from that of the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Perſians*, and *Carthaginians*, already deſcribed, as well as from that of the old *Arabs*, which we hope ſoon to give our readers a ſuccinct account of. What peculiarities, in this particular, the *Mauritanians* had, as doubtleſs they had ſome, have many ages ſince been buried in oblivion. However, it ſeems probable from *Mela*, that they either worſhipped *Antæus*, or paid divine honours to his ſhield [g]

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[e] Liv. l. xxix. c. 29. Sallust. in Jugurth. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Hirt. de bell. Alex. Strab. l. xvii. Dio, l. xli. & alib. Appian. in Libyc. lxvii. Plut. in Cæſ. in Pomp. in Anton. & alib. Justin. l. xxi. c. 4. Appian. de bell. civil. l. iv. Justin. ubi ſup. & l. xix. c. 2. Plin. ubi ſup. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv, c. 5. & c. 7. Aldret. ubi ſup. & l. iv. c. 20. Dr. Shaw in pref. p. 8, & alib. [f] Appian. in Libyc. lxvii. Est. c. i. ver. 19. & c. viii. ver. 8. Dan. c. vi. ver. 8, 12, 15. [g] Herodot. l. ii. Apollodor. paſſ. Pind. in Pyth. od. iv. Apollon. Argonaut. l. iv. Plutarch. de Iſid. Non. Dionyſiac. l. iii. v. 28. Gen. c. x. ver. 13. D. Hieronym. quæſt. Hebr. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. Plat. in Timæo, & in Crit. Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 233. Pamphus apud Pauſan. l. vii. c. 21. Plut. de Iſid. Dionys. Halicarn. ant. Rom. l. i. &c. Senec. in Octav. Non. in Dionyſiac. ubi ſup. & alib. Dionys. in perieg. v. 623. Herodot. l. i. Mel. l. iii. c. v. Vid. Aldret. & Newt. in chronol. paſſ.

Language.

a THE *Mauritanian* language undoubtedly differed from the *Numidian* in ſuch a manner only, as one dialect of the ſame tongue does from another; ſo that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the *Mauritanian* character, that ſeems to have been the ſame with the *Numidian*, thoſe letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. What has been juſt obſerved of the religion of the people we are now upon, *viz.* that it bore a near reſemblance and affinity to thoſe of the nations from whom the *Mauritanians* deduced their origin, will hold equally ſtrong with regard to their language. The tongue of the preſent *Kabyles* Dr. *Shaw* has given us a ſpecimen of, and poſſibly ſome traces of that of the antient *Moors* are ſtill remaining in it; but
b of this we are far from being certain. However, ſeveral words of the *African* vocabulary, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are deducible from the *Oriental* languages, whatever he may inſinuate to the contrary (L). The *Arabeſca*, at preſent ſpoken in *Fez* and *Morocco*, as well as over all other parts of *Barbary*, was not ſo much derived from the *Saracens*, who over-ran this vaſt tract, as the antient inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. The *Punic* tongue, not very remote from the *Arabic*, prevailed through that part of *Africa*, extending from the *Triton* to the *Atlantic* ocean, even to the time of St. *Auguſtin* h.

Cuſtoms.

1. THE *Mauritanians*, as well as the other *Africans*, from what *Hyginus* inſinuates, ſeem to have fought only with clubs, till one *Belus*, the ſon of *Neptune*, as that author
c calls him, taught them the uſe of the ſword. Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes this *Belus* to have been the ſame perſon with *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt*, who over-ran a great part of the then known world. 2. All perſons of diſtinction in *Mauritania* went richly attired, wearing much gold and ſilver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleanſing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely cloſe. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of diſconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The *Mauritanian* infantry, in time of action, uſed ſhields made of elephants ſkins, being clad in thoſe of lions, leopards, and bears, which they kept on both
d night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad ſhort lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewiſe of the ſkins of wild beaſts. They uſed no ſaddles, nor any accoutrements. Their horſes were ſmall and ſwift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were ſo much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of theſe horſemen was not much different from that of the foot above-mentioned, they conſtantly wearing a large tunic of the ſkins of wild beaſts. The *Phutæi*, of whom the *Mauritanians* were a branch, were eminent for their ſhields, and the excellent uſe they made of them, as we learn from *Homer*, *Xenophon*, *Herodotus*, and Scripture. Nay, *Herodotus* ſeems to intimate, that the ſhield and helmet came from them to the *Greeks*. 5. Notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, the poorer ſort of the *Mauritanians* never took care to manure the ground, being ſtrangers to the art of huſbandry, but roved about the country in a wild ſavage manner, like the antient *Scythians* or *Arabes Scenitæ*. They had tents, or *mapalia*, ſo extremely ſmall, that they could ſcarce

h HENDREICH. BOCHART. ALD ET. paſſ. SHAW's phyſical and miſcellaneous obſervat. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. and Tun. p. 288. & E. 52.

(L) The very learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* poſitively aſſerts, that there is no affinity *at all* betwixt what may be ſuppoſed to be the primitive words in the *Showiah*, as the preſent *African Kabyles* call their language, and the words which convey the ſame meaning in the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues. From whence he ſeems to infer, that this language bore no relation at all to any of thoſe that are now called the *Oriental* languages; and that it is difficult, if not impoſſible, *even* to form any conjectures about it. But that there is a poſſibility *at leaſt*, if not a good degree of probability, of deducing it from the eaſtern tongues, will beſt appear from the following *Showiahan* words:

1. *Akel*, *to ſee*, may naturally be deduced from חכל *hhacal*, red, coloured, &c. or עקל *Akal*, *he underſtood*, *perceived*, &c. 2. *Athrair*, *a mountain*, from אחר *Athar*, *a place*, and הר *har*, *a hill*. 3. *Allen*, *the eye*, from the *Arabic* article *al*, *the*, and עין *ein*, or *en*, *eye* 4. *Aman*, *water*, from מין *main*, or *man*, *waters*, and ה *ha*, *the*, i. e. המין *Hamain*, or *Haman*, *the waters*. 5. *Elkaa*, *the earth*, from the *Arabic* article *al*, *the*, and קוא *kaa*, *barren ſoil*. 6. *Aſſa*, *to-day*, from עשא *aſa*, or *aſſa*, *the time from noon to the next day-break*. As all the other *Showiahan* words we have examined are equally deducible from the *Oriental* languages, we doubt not but Dr. *Shaw*'s whole *Showiahan* vocabulary may be deemed of *Oriental* extraction (11).

(11) *Vid. Schind. lex. pent. & Gol. lex. Arabic.*

ſcarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, herbage, *&c.* which they frequently a
did eat green, without any manner of preparation; being deſtitute of wine, oil,
and all the elegancies, as well as many neceſſaries, of life. Their habit was the ſame
both in ſummer and winter, conſiſting chiefly of an old tattered, though thick, gar-
ment, and over it a courſe rough tunic; which anſwered probably to that of their
neighbours the *Numidians*, already deſcribed. Moſt of them lay every night upon
the bare ground, though ſome of them ſtrewed their garments thereon, not unlike
the preſent *African Kabyles* and *Arabs*, who, according to Dr. *Shaw*, uſe their *hykes*
for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the moſt approved reading of a paſſage
in *Horace* may be admitted, the *Mauritanians* ſhot poiſoned arrows, which clearly
intimates, that they had ſome ſkill in the art of preparing poiſons, and were excel- b
lent dartmen. This laſt obſervation is countenanced by *Herodian* and *Ælian*, who
intirely come into it, affirming them to have been in ſuch continual danger of being
devoured by wild beaſts, that they durſt not ſtir out of their tents or *mapalia* with-
out their darts. Such perpetual exerciſe muſt render them exceedingly ſkilful in hurl-
ing that weapon. 7. The *Mauritanians* ſacrificed human victims to their deities, as
the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, &c. did. This is not only probable from the autho-
rities produced in the *Carthaginian* hiſtory, but from the expreſs teſtimony of *Seneca*
and *Euſebius*. 8. As the other cuſtoms of the nation we are now upon coincide with
thoſe of the *Numidians* already related, for their farther ſatisfaction in this particular,
we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the *Numidian* hiſtory [i]. c

Arts. With regard to the arts and ſciences of the *Mauritanians*, we have not much
to ſay. The country-people were extremely rude and barbarous, as appears from
what has been juſt laid down. Thoſe inhabiting cities muſt undoubtedly have had,
at leaſt, ſome ſmattering in the literature of the ſeveral nations they deduced their
origin from. That the *Mauritanians* had ſome knowledge in naval affairs, ſeems
probable, not only from the intercourſe they had with the *Phœnicians* and *Cartha-*
ginians, as well as the ſituation of their country, but likewiſe from *Orpheus*, or
Onomacritus, who aſſerts them to have made a ſettlement at the entrance into *Colchis*,
to which place they came by ſea. Magic, ſorcery, divination, *&c.* from what has
been obſerved in the laſt ſection, they appear to have applied themſelves to in very d
early times. *Cicero* and *Pliny* ſay, that *Atlas* was the inventor of aſtrology and the
doctrine of the ſphere, *i. e.* he firſt introduced them into *Mauritania*. This, accord-
ing to *Diodorus Siculus*, gave riſe to the fable of *Atlas*'s bearing the heavens upon his
ſhoulders. The ſame author relates, that *Atlas* inſtructed *Hercules* in the doctrine
of the ſphere and aſtrology, or rather aſtronomy, who afterwards brought thoſe
ſciences into *Greece*. Some ſay, that *Neptune*, and others that *Atlas*, firſt fitted out a
fleet, and invented tall ſhips with ſails. Be that as it will, it is generally acknow-
ledged, that both *Neptune* and *Atlas* his ſon reigned in this country; for which
reaſon it cannot be denied probable, that aſtronomy, aſtrology, geography, geo- e
metry, navigation, *&c.* were known to ſome of the *Mauritanians* in early ages.
Let this be admitted, and it will almoſt neceſſarily follow, that a competent know-
ledge in hiſtory, chronology, *&c.* could not have been wanting amongſt them.
That ſome of them were not deficient in point of *genius*, is evident from the great
and illuſtrious figure the younger *Juba* made in the learned world, an account of
which will be given towards the cloſe of the *Mauritanian* hiſtory [k].

Power. Notwithstanding *Mela* repreſents *Tingitania* as a poor deſpicable country,
ſcarce deſerving any notice, yet *Strabo* aſſures us, that it was a rich and opulent king-
dom. The antients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the *Heſpe-*
rides here, ſeem to concur with him in that opinion. *Salluſt*, in particular, diſco-
vers himſelf to have entertained the ſame ſentiment, when he tells us how formidable f
Jugurtha's army was rendered by its junction with the *Mauritanian* forces; and *Dio*,
when he intimates, that *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania*, cauſed victory to declare in
favour of *Cæſar*, at the battle of *Munda*. We cannot well conceive it to have been
otherwiſe,

[i] Strab. l. xvii. Hom. paſſ. Herodot. in Melpom. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vi. Jer. c. xlv. ver. 9. Ezech. c. xvii. ver. 10. & c. xxxviii. ver. 5. Sallust. in Jugurth. Hygin. fab. cclxxv. Horat. l. i. od. 22. Herodian. paſſ. Ælian. l. xiv. c. 5. Senec. ubi ſup. Euseb. in orat. in laud. Conſtant. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. Theophan. in vit. Juſtinian. Shaw ubi ſup. p. 289, 290. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. c. i. ſect. ii. [k] Orpheus, vel Onomacritus, in Argon. ver. 741. Cic. in quæſt. Tuſcul. l. v. & de natur. deor. Statius in Theb. l. viii. Manil. l. iii. Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 4. Plin. l. ii. c. 8. & l. viii. c. 56. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Tzetz. hiſt. l. i. chil. 5. Plat. Pamph. Herodot. Pausan. Plut. ubi ſup. Aldret. l. iv. c. 14, & alib.

a otherwiſe, if we conſider its extraordinary fertility, the genius of its inhabitants for trade, the gold it abounded with, the bravery of its troops, and other inſtances of its power mentioned by writers of the beſt authority. The *Carthaginians* had generally ſome bodies of *Mauritanians* in their ſervice, which is a proof, that they were highly eſteemed by that famous republic. The name of *Mauri*, or *Mauruſii*, ſeems to have extended itſelf from the *Atlantic* ocean to the borders of *Africa Propria*, or, at leaſt, to the *Ampſaga*, as may be inferred from ſeveral authors: nay, it ſurvived thoſe of the *Maſſyli* and *Maſæſyli*, which muſt have been occaſioned by the ſuperior eminence of the *Mauritanian* nation, and conſequently is an additional argument in favour of what has been juſt advanced [l].

[l] Pompon. Mel. l. i. c. 5. Strab. l. xvii. Sallust. in Jugurth. Appian. de bel. civil. & in Hiſpan. Dio, l. xliii. Plin. ubi ſup. & alib. Vid. etiam Plut. in Syl. & in Mar. Cellar. l. iv. c. 5. Aldret. Bochart. Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. paſſ. & vol. vii. b. 4. c. 2. § 1.

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of the Mauritanians, *to the intire reduction of their country by the* Romans.

b THE accounts tranſmitted down to us by the antients of the moſt early tranſactions in *Mauritania* are ſo inveloped with fable, that 'tis impoſſible for us from thence to form any tolerable idea of them; though theſe accounts are ſo prolix, that they would fill a conſiderable volume. It will therefore be ſufficient, for the information of our readers, to give a conciſe relation of the principal of them, ſtripped as much as poſſible of fable, and as conſiſtent with itſelf as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, will permit it to be [m].

Accounts of the earlieſt tranſactions in Mauritania *little to be depended on.*

Neptune *and* Antæus *two of the firſt kings of* Mauritania.

THE two earlieſt princes of this country, except *Neptune*, mentioned by antiquity, were *Atlas* and *Antæus*. From ſeveral circumſtances, with which we are ſupplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that theſe were the ſame perſon.
c They were both of them the ſons of *Neptune*, who reigned over *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, and a great part of *Libya*; as may be naturally inferred from his having ſuch particular marks of diſtinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of thoſe regions. They both ruled with an abſolute ſway over a great part of *Africa*, particularly *Tingitania*. *Hercules* defeated and ſlew *Antæus* in the ſame war wherein he took the *Libyan* world from *Atlas*. Both *Atlas* and *Antæus* invaded *Egypt*, and contended with *Hercules* in the wars of the gods, and were both overcome by him. *Antæus*, as well as *Atlas*, ſeems to have been famed for his knowledge in the celeſtial ſciences. From whence, as well as from other conſiderations that might be offered, we may fairly conclude them to have been the ſame king of *Mauritania* [n] (M).

Sir Iſaac Newton's *opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived, probable.*

d *Antæus*, in his wars with *Hercules*, who ſeems to have commanded an army of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, behaved with great bravery and reſolution. Receiving ſeveral large reinforcements of *Libyan* troops, he cut off vaſt numbers of *Hercules*'s men. But that celebrated commander, having at laſt intercepted a ſtrong body of *Mauritanian* or *Libyan* forces, ſent to the relief of *Antæus*, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he and the beſt part of his forces were put to the ſword. This deciſive action put *Hercules* in poſſeſſion of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, and conſequently

[m] Hesiod Pind. Sophocl. Euripid. Mel. Strab. Plin. Apollodor. Cic. Hygin. Philostrat. Lucan. Apollon. Lucret. Senec. Stat. Mart. Ovid. Juven. Propert. Sil. Ital. Plut. Virg. Solin. Serv. Diod. Sic. Tacit. Euseb. Procop. Sallust. Flor. Oros. Ptol. Dio, Palæphat. Claudian. Alberic. Athen. Cæs. Germanic. in Arat. phænom. Juba apud Athen. omneſq; fere ſcript. antiq. paſſ. [n] Pind. Pyth. od. ix. Herodot. l. ii. & l. iii. Apollon. Argon. l. iv. Plat. in Timæo, & in Crit. Diod Sic. l. i. & l. iii. Pamphus apud Pauſan. l. vii. c. 21. Plut. de Iſid. Agatharc. apud Phot. Hygin. fab. cl. Lucian. de ſaltat. Aldret. l. iv. c. 9.

(M) The oblique caſes of the word *Atlas*, *viz.* *Atlantis*, *Atlante*, &c. are apparently compounded of the names *Atlas*, or *Atal*, i. e. *tall*, *lofty*, &c. and *Ante*, or *Antæus*. This is a preſumptive proof, that they both belonged to the ſame perſon, and conſequently, that *Atlas* and *Antæus* were the ſame king of *Mauritania*. The old nominative caſe in the *Greek* language, of all ſuch words, bore a near relation to the oblique caſes, though altered in proceſs of time. The word *Atal* anſwers very well to the ſtature of *Antæus*, according to *Pliny* and *Plutarch* (12).

(12) *Cumberl. in Sanch. p. 727. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Plut in Sertor.*

quently of all the riches in thoſe kingdoms. Hence came the fable, that *Hercules*, a finding *Antæus*, a giant of an enormous ſize, with whom he was engaged in ſingle combat, to receive freſh ſtrength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at laſt lifted him up in the air, and ſqueezed him to death; as likewiſe, that he took *Atlas*'s globe upon his own ſhoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the *Heſperides*, and made himſelf maſter of all the golden fruit there. *Bochart* thinks, that the fable alluded chiefly to naval engagements, wherein *Hercules*, for the moſt part, was victorious, though *Antæus*, from time to time, received ſuccours by ſea; till at laſt *Hercules*, coming up with one of his ſquadrons having a ſtrong reinforcement on board, made himſelf maſter of it; which rendered *Antæus*, for the future, incapable of making head againſt him. The ſame b
author likewiſe inſinuates, that the notion of *Antæus*'s gigantic ſtature, prevailing for ſo many centuries amongſt the *Tingitanians*, pointed out the ſize of the veſſels of which his fleets or ſquadrons did conſiſt; and that the golden apples, ſo frequently mentioned by the old mythologiſts, were the treaſures that fell into *Hercules*'s hands upon *Antæus*'s defeat, the *Greeks* giving the oriental word מאל, *riches*, the ſignification affixed to their own term μῆλα, *apples*. Biſhop *Cumberland* ſeems, with *Sanchoniatho* and the *Atlantian* theology in *Diodorus*, to allow *Atlas* to have been the ſon of *Ouranos*, i. e. according to him, *Noah*; and likewiſe to take for granted, with *Euſebius*, that *Antæus* was his ſon. But ſhould this be admitted, we muſt allow *Hercules*, and conſequently *Antæus*, to have been cotemporary with *Miſraim*; that c
the remoteſt weſtern parts of *Africa*, even thoſe bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, were then fully inhabited; and that they had, even for ſome time, then formed a powerful kingdom; *i. e.* the north-weſtern part of *Libya* made a conſiderable figure before *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence its firſt colonies were drawn, could in reality make any figure at all; nay, that thoſe countries, particularly *Egypt*, could ſend colonies into, and attempt the conqueſt of, almoſt the remoteſt regions, immediately after the firſt planters had ſettled there; abſurdities ſo glaring, that even none in *Cteſias* can exceed them! Beſides, if *Euſebius* eſpouſed this opinion, as he ſeems to have done, by his citation from *Diodorus*, provided we fall in with biſhop *Cumber-* d
land's explanation of *Sanchoniatho*, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf: for he aſſerts *Hercules* to have vanquiſhed *Antæus* about three hundred and ninety-three years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, as we find by conſulting his *Chronicon*. Now, allowing that event to have preceded the chriſtian æra twelve hundred years, which is higher than it has even been fixed by the followers of *Cteſias* and *Eratoſthenes*, both *Hercules* and *Antæus* muſt have lived betwixt ſeven and eight hundred years after the deluge; which, though much too early, in our opinion, muſt bring them down ſeveral hundred years lower than the age of *Miſraim*. The *Greek* mythic writers, particularly *Apollodorus*, will have *Atlas* to be the ſon of *Iapetus*, and grandſon of *Noah*, according to biſhop *Cumberland*; but this hypotheſis likewiſe, from what has been juſt advanced, muſt be acknowledged void of the leaſt ſhadow of probability. In fine, e
after the moſt diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheſes of hiſtorians and chronologers, relating to *Atlas* and *Antæus*, we find none ſo little clogged with difficulties as that of the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*. That illuſtrious author ſuppoſes *Ammon*, the father of *Seſac*, to have been the firſt king of *Libya*, or that vaſt tract extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean; that the conqueſt of this country was effected by *Seſac* in his father's life-time; that the *Libyans*, headed by *Neptune*, afterwards rebelled againſt *Seſac*, ſlew him, and then invaded *Egypt* under the command of *Atlas* or *Antæus*, the ſon of *Neptune*, *Seſac*'s brother and admiral; that *Hercules*, the general of *Thebais* and *Ethiopia* for the gods or great men of *Egypt*, after the death of *Seſac*, reduced a ſecond time the f
whole continent of *Libya*, having overthrown and ſlain *Antæus* near a town in *Thebais*, from that event called *Antæa* or *Antæopolis*; and laſtly, that the firſt reduction of *Libya*, by *Seſac*, happened a little above a thouſand years before the birth of *Chriſt*, as the laſt, by *Hercules*, did a few years under that period. Now, though we do not pretend to adopt every particular circumſtance of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s hypotheſis, yet we cannot forbear obſerving, that it appears undeniably plain from Scripture, that neither the weſtern extremity of *Libya*, nor even the other parts of that region, could poſſibly have been ſo well peopled before the time of *David* or *Solomon*, as to have ſent a numerous army to invade *Egypt*; ſince *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence the greateſt part of the anceſtors of the *Libyans* came, and which were much nearer

a nearer the place from whence the firſt diſperſion of mankind was made, could not themſelves have been greatly over-ſtocked with inhabitants any conſiderable time before the reign of *Saul*. And that ſuch an invaſion happened in the reign of *Neptune*, or at leaſt of his ſon *Antæus*, has been fully evinced by that moſt excellent chronologer °.

To what has been already offered on this head we may add, that the *Libyans* are not taken notice of by Scripture, as a nation of any ſtrength or power, till the fifth year of the reign of *Rehoboam* king of *Judah*, who was then invaded by *Seſac*. A body of *Libyan* troops attended that prince in this expedition; and therefore *Libya* muſt be conſidered as then newly become ſubject to him. About thirty years afterwards they made likewiſe ſomething of a figure; ſince in the fifteenth year of *Aſa*, b *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced to *Mareſhah* with an army of a million of men, of which the *Libyans* formed a conſiderable part. As this was but a ſhort time after the death of *Seſac*, and as *Zerah* muſt then have been maſter of *Egypt*, ſince otherwiſe he could not have marched his *Libyan* forces through that country, to attack *Aſa*'s dominions, it ſeems to us extremely probable from hence, in conjunction with what has been juſt obſerved, that *Libya* was annexed to the *Egyptian* monarchy by *Seſac*, and not before; as likewiſe, that *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſonchoſis*, muſt have been the ſame *Egyptian* prince with *Seſac*, ſince thoſe names denoted that conqueror who firſt reduced *Libya*, and formed the great *Egyptian* monarchy, according to profane authors. No mention is made of the *Egyptians* on this occaſion, ſince ſoon after c the death of *Seſac*, i. e. a little before the *Trojan* war, the *Ethiopians*, for a ſhort time, were maſters of *Egypt*, as appears from *Pliny* and *Herodotus*. If therefore all that vaſt tract, known by the name of *Libya*, was ſo inconſiderable, that it deſerved little or no attention, till the days of *Rehoboam* and *Aſa*, how obſcure muſt the country, called by the *Phœnicians Mauritania*, a ſmall part of it, have been in every age preceding *Seſac?* We may may therefore infer from hence, that *Antæus*, or *Atlas*, could not have lived much earlier than the age Sir *Iſaac* has aſſigned him; however early ſome particular colonies of *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, a ſea-faring people always intent upon diſcovering unknown countries, might have ſettled in the weſtern parts of *Africa*. However, we are far from inſiſting upon what is here advanced as true, d but only beg leave to ſubmit it, with all poſſible deference, to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers ᵖ.

A farther argument in ſupport of Sir IſaacNewton

THE ſentiment we would here recommend to the conſideration of the learned is alſo countenanced by *Virgil* and *Trogus Pompeius*, who hint the following remarkable particulars relating to it: 1. About nine hundred years before the commencement of the chriſtian æra, *Libya* was independent on *Egypt*, ſince the eaſtern, if not the weſtern, part of it, was governed by a king of its own, named *Iarbas*. This tallies extremely well with what Sir *Iſaac* has obſerved of the fall of the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammon* and *Seſac*; for, according to him, that empire was broke to pieces about the year before *Chriſt* 940. by the civil wars in the reign of *Amenophis*, e which, in a great meaſure, occaſioned the revolt of the nations upon the coaſts of the *Mediterranean* and *Euxine* ſeas. 2. The *Libyans* much nearer *Egypt*, a polite and civilized kingdom, than thoſe bordering on the *Atlantic* ocean, had only a few villages, conſiſting of ſmall huts, probably the ſame as the modern *Daſhkras*, mentioned by Dr. *Shaw*, when *Dido* arrived in *Africa*; though poſſibly *Utica*, built and inhabited by *Phœnicians*, might then have made a better figure. *Tingis* likewiſe, as it appears to lay claim to a more antient founder than *Antæus*, being on the ſea-coaſt, was perhaps a town of ſome note before the time we are now upon. Nay, as we have obſerved from *Procopius*, ſome parties of *Canaanites* might erect a caſtle there, though before that time, if any traces of a town were in being, it could only f have been an inconſiderable *Daſhkra*, or perhaps little better than a collection of thickets and caves of the earth. 3. The *Libyans*, even in and near the territory of *Carthage*, were a ſort of barbarians at *Dido*'s arrival there, living, in a manner, like wild beaſts, and ſtanding in need of *Dido*'s *Phœnician* followers to poliſh and civilize them. Theſe, and ſome other inferences, that might be drawn from the above mentioned authors, add no ſmall weight to what Sir *Iſaac* has advanced with regard to

Virgil *and* Trogus *countenance his opinion.*

Atlas

° Iidem ibid. & quamplurim. ex auctor. ſupra laudat. BOCH. Chan. l. ii. c. 24. & præfat. in Chan. EUSEB. in chron. ad num. 498, 835, &c. CUMBERL. in Sanchoniath. p. 327, & ſeq. & in orig. p. 265, 277, &c. NEWTON's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp. and of the Greeks, p. 99. Gen. c. xiv. & alib. Exod. c. i. Jud. c. i. NEWTON's chronol. of the Greeks, p. 185—191. ᵖ 2 Chron. c. xii. ver. 2. c. xiv. ver. 9. & c. xvi. ver. 8. MANETHO apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 110. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. NEWTON's chronol. p. 235—239. & alib.

Atlas or *Antæus*, as well as the rise and fall of the *Egyptian* empire; but this we a must supersede, as not so properly belonging to that branch of antient history, to which we are obliged at present to confine ourselves [q].

Nothing farther remarkable till the Roman *times.*

We find nothing worth relating recorded of the *Mauritanians* from the defeat of *Antæus* to the *Roman* times. *Livy* only tells us, that *Syphax*'s kingdom bordered upon the *Mauri*, which is nothing more than an implication, that such a nation did then exist. *Justin* indeed, from *Trogus*, intimates, that, in some of the earliest ages of *Carthage*, the *Mauri* were neighbours to the *Carthaginians*, and had some disputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of moment concerning that people. *Diodorus Siculus* likewise says, that in the interval between the overthrow the *Car-* b
thaginians received from *Gelon*, and the first *Punic* war, they had frequently *Mau-*
ritanian mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing farther relative to the nation we are now upon. Nor ought this to be wondered at, since we are informed by *Sallust*, that nothing of the *Mauri*, besides their name, was known to the *Romans*, so late as the *Jugurthine* war; and the most antient *Greek* writers scarce ever consi- dered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the *Libyans*. How *Boc-* *char*, king of *Mauritania*, lent *Masinissa* a body of troops to escort him to his do- minions, and what was consequent thereupon, our readers will find related at large in the *Numidian* history [r].

Plutarch insinuates, that the elder *Juba* pretended to be lineally descended from *Hercules*; but that biographer seems not to give overmuch credit to such a preten- c
sion. However, 'tis natural enough to suppose, that the person who obtained this country, upon the dissolution of the *Egyptian* empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Possibly *Bocchar*, and *Bocchus* father-in-law to *Ju-* *gurtha*, were of this family; since the affinity of names, and the country they go- verned, sufficiently intimate them to have been of the same family, and of the blood royal of *Mauritania*. Be that as it will, *Bocchus*, from the account *Sallust* gives us of him, seems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats, the *Romans* menaced and cajoled him into an infamous action, *i. e.* to deliver (N) his son-in-law *Jugurtha* into their hands, after the most solemn engagements to support him, and even a promise made to put *Sylla* into his power. *Jugurtha* indeed was a prince not d
only capable, but even guilty, of the most enormous crimes; but this will not vin- dicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of (O) *Bocchus*. What is here hinted at may be found related at large in some former parts of this work [s].

What happened to Bogud.

History is silent as to any farther particulars of the *Mauritanian* affairs, till the time of *Bogud* (P), who was cotemporary with *Julius Cæsar* and his adopted son *Octa-* *vius.*

[q] Virg. Æneid. i. Justin. l. xviii. c. 6. Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 722, 723. Newton, ubi sup. pass. Diod. Sic. pass. Sal-
[r] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 42. l. xxix. c. 30. & alib. Justin. l. xix. c. 2. & l. xxi. c. 4.
lust. de bell. Jugurth. Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 114.
[s] Plut. in Sertor. Liv. & Sallust. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 25, 26, 27.

(N) *Orosius* intimates, that *Bocchus* did not enter into an alliance with *Jugurtha* till after *Marius* had taken *Capsa*; which contradicts *Sallust* and *Plutarch*. He also describes the first general action betwixt the two *African* princes and *Marius*, which he affirms to have happened near *Cirta*, as the most bloody and dubious one the *Romans* were ever concerned in. The *Romans*, says he, after having been extremely harassed by the enemies parties, were attacked by their whole army, wherein was a body of sixty thousand *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* cavalry, whose horses raised such clouds of dust, that the heavens were thereby obscured; which, together with the shower of darts thrown on this occasion, turned the day into night. The battle was fought with such obstinacy, that it continued three days; neither had the *Romans* at last won it, being reduced to the last extremity by thirst, occasioned by the intolerable heat of the climate and season, had there not fallen a most seasonable shower of rain, which greatly refreshed them, rendered the handles of the *Africans* darts so slippery, that they could not throw them, and made their shields, covered with dried elephants skins, that imbibed all the water, so ponderous, that they could not use them; which of course determined victory to declare against *Bocchus* and *Jugurtha*. But as this relation, in many particulars, runs counter to *Sallust* and *Plutarch*, or rather seems to be a confused account of several actions mentioned by them, we shall leave our readers to give what credit to it they please (13).

(O) Either this prince, or another of the same name, undertook an expedition against the western or *Hesperian Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to that author, *Bocchus* found, in the country of these *Ethiopians*, some reeds of such an enormous size, that the largest joint of them would contain eight *chœnixes* of corn; which, together with some *asparagus* equally large, he sent as curiosities to his wife. What success attended this expedition, we neither find in *Strabo*, nor any other author (14).

(P) *Suetonius* informs us, that *Julius Cæsar* fell in love with *Bogud*'s queen *Eune*, or *Eunoe*, a *Mauritanian* lady. As he made both her and her husband presents of an immense value on this account, 'tis not improbable, that he enjoyed her by her husband's consent (15).

(13) *Oros. l.* v. *c.* 15. *Vid. & Flor. l.* iii. *c.* 1. (14) *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 569. (15) *Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c.* 52.

a *vius*. *Bogud*, in conjunction with *Publius Sittius*, not a little contributed to *Cæsar*'s great success in *Africa*, as has been already observed. In *Spain* likewise he enabled *Cæsar* to gain the ever-memorable victory at *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic. After that emperor's death he sided with *Antony* against *Octavius*; and endeavoured to make a diversion, in favour of the former, in *Spain*. But whilst he was employed in this expedition, the *Tingitanians* revolted from him, and, being supported by a body of *Spaniards*, in the interest of *Octavius*, and some of *Bocchus*'s troops, defeated him upon his return into *Africa*; which put *Bocchus* in possession of *Tingitania*. *Octavius*, or *Augustus*, afterwards confirmed this acquisition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of *Tingis* with the privileges of *Roman*
b citizens. *Bogud* was at last killed by *Agrippa* at *Methona*, as our readers will elsewhere find; and after *Bocchus*'s (Q) death *Tingitania* was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province t.

Augustus gave the younger *Juba*, a prince extremely in his favour, the two *Mauritaniæ*, together with part of *Gætulia*, some time after his marriage with the younger *Cleopatra*, instead of his father's kingdom, *i. e. Numidia*, which still remained a *Roman* province. 'Tis true, *Strabo*, as has been observed by Mr. *Bayle*, affirms, that *Augustus* restored *Juba* to the kingdom of his father, and moreover granted him the *Mauritaniæ*; but this geographer limits the *Roman* province and the kingdom of *Juba*, in such a manner, as shews, that *Numidia* belonged to the *Romans*. We must
c not omit observing here, that the translator of *Dio* has committed an egregious blunder, in his *Latin* version, which seems to have proceeded purely from inattention: *Cæsar*, says he, gave *Juba*, &c. IT *(i. e. Egypt)* and his father's kingdom; whereas *Dio* there affirms, *that* Cæsar *gave* (R) Juba HER, *(i. e, Cleopatra) and his father's kingdom*. That this observation, made first by Mr. *Bayle*, is indisputably true, appears sufficiently from hence, that this *Juba* was never king of *Egypt*. *Suidas* relates, that the younger *Juba* was whipped publicly when led in triumph; but this seems highly improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to support it. *Ptolemy* (S), his son by *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, surnamed *Selene*,

Augustus *gives the younger* Juba *the* Mauritaniæ, *and part of* Gætulia.

t STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. xli. HIRT. de bell. Afric. APPIAN, de bell. civil. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. ii. PLUT. in Pomp. & in Cæs. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. DIO, l. xliii, xlviii, xlix, l. STRAB. l. viii. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 289.

(Q) *Pliny* relates, that one king *Bocchus*, having fastened thirty men to stakes, in order to their being destroyed by the same number of elephants, ordered certain persons to irritate those animals; but that, notwithstanding all their efforts, they found it impossible to make them subservient to that prince's cruelty. The same author likewise mentions an *African* historian of this name; but whether or no he was of royal extraction, he tells us not (16).

(R) *Juba* had a noble education bestowed upon him at *Rome*, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned *Grecians*. He did not leave that city, till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he so won the hearts of all his subjects, who ever retained the most grateful sense of the felicity they enjoyed under him, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to *Pausanias*, erected a statue in his honour. He was extremely well versed in the *Assyrian*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Punic*, *African*, and *Latin* histories, as well as those of other nations. He wrote the history of *Arabia*; the antiquities of the *Assyrians* and *Romans*; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatise upon the herb *Euphorbia*, which he so called from his physician, who first discovered the many excellencies of it, in which he greatly celebrates its singular virtues; a piece concerning the source of the *Nile*; besides many other works ascribed to him by *Suidas*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant. *Pliny* intimates, that his learning rendered him more illustrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as asserting or confirming the most curious particulars. According to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Juba*, from some *Punic* authors, affirmed the *Nile* to have had its source in a high mountain of *Mauritania*. The abbé *Sevin* has favoured the world with a short dissertation on the life and writings of the younger *Juba*, wherein he has inserted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of *Rome* 776. or 777. may be inferred from *Strabo* and *Tacitus* (17).

(S) *Ptolemy*'s pedigree has been discovered by the following *Roman* inscription, communicated to Dr. *Shaw* by father *Ximenes*, which exhibits that of his father *Juba*:

REGI IVBAE REGIS
IVBAE FILIO REGIS
IEMPSALIS N. REGIS GAVD.
PRONEPOTIS MASINISAE
PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI
II VIR QVINQ. PATRONO
COLONI.

This inscription differs something from the authors who have supplied us with an account of *Masinissa*'s family in the *Numidian* history (18).

(16) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 5. *& l.* xvi. *c.* 40. (17) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 1. *& alib. pass. Plut. in Cæs. Suid. in voc.* Ἰόβας. *Athen. deipnosoph. l.* i. *Juba rex de Nili origine apud Ammian. Marcellin. l.* xxii. *Strab. l.* vi. *&* xvii. *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 5. *Vid. M. Bayle in Juba, & M. l'abbé de Sevin, en tom.* iv. *des mem. de l'acad. de belles lettres.* (18) *Athen. deipnosoph. l.* vi. *Dr. Shaw in excerpt. p.* 59. *vid. & R. Reineccium in hist. Jul. de famil. Lat.* xliii. *p.* 329. *& Univers. hist. vol.* vii. *p.* 138. *not.* (Z).

Selene, succeeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by *Caius*, either through a principle of avarice or jealousy, we may learn from *Suetonius* and *Dio*, as well as a former part of this history [u]. a

• Tacfarinas *raises troubles in* Africa, *but receives several defeats, and is at last kill'd.*

Tacfarinas, a native of *Numidia*, who had served among the *Roman* auxiliaries, a little before the third consulate of *Tiberius*, occasioned fresh troubles in *Africa*. At first he assembled a great number of barbarians, inured to robberies and all kinds of rapine, by the allurement of plunder; out of which he formed a considerable army, and disciplined it after the *Roman* manner. The gross of the army consisted of *Musulanians*, a powerful nation bordering upon the *Sahara*, still wild, and without towns, of whom *Tacfarinas* declared himself general. These were joined by a large body of *Mauritanians*, commanded by their general *Mazippa*, whom *Tacfarinas* had b found means to draw into the war. The *Cinithians* likewise, a nation by no means despicable, he forced to come into his measures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached *Mazippa* to make excursions, and harass the *Romans* by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. *Furius Camillus*, the *Roman* commander, advanced against the *Africans* with only a single legion, and what troops the allies could spare him. This he did in order to draw them to a general action, since they seemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their interest to protract the war. Though *Camillus*'s troops were but a handful, in comparison of the barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, posting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horse, on the right and left. He had no sooner made this disposition c than the barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed with great slaughter. However, the next year *Tacfarinas* renewed the war, making dreadful incursions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. He posted from place to place with such celerity, that none of the *Roman* detachments could come up with him. After he had committed many devastations, he surrounded a *Roman* cohort, commanded by one *Decrius*, an officer of distinguished merit, in a fort near the banks of the *Pagida*. The *Romans* behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were obliged to abandon the fort to the enemy, and betake themselves to flight. *Lucius Apronius*, *Camillus*'s successor, caused this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, d drawn by lot, in conformity to the antient custom, to be executed with a club. This rigour had such an effect, that *Tacfarinas*'s army was routed, and forced to raise the siege of *Thala*, by a squadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined *Tacfarinas* to resolve never for the future to attempt a siege, but to carry on the war in a desultory manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the *African* observed this method, he eluded all the efforts of the *Romans*; but withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, by the prospect of an immense booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by *Apronius Cæsianus* with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The dispute was neither long nor bloody; for the barbarians were soon overthrown, c many of them slain, and the rest obliged to disperse themselves in the *Sahara*. However, *Tacfarinas*, though often repulsed, still repaired his forces, and arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, as to send embassadors to *Tiberius*, threatening him with eternal war, if he and his army had not a proper settlement assigned them. *Tiberius*, incensed to the last degree at such unparallelled impudence, ordered *Blæsus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Africa*, to offer a general indemnity to the *Africans*, and to endeavour, by all means possible, to get *Tacfarinas* into his hands. *Blæsus*, in order to put an end to this war, made the following disposition of his forces: he detached *Scipio*, his lieutenant, to a post from whence *Tacfarinas* committed his depredations upon the citizens of *Leptis*, and then retreated amongst the f *Garamantes*; his son he sent to protect the territory of the *Cirtesii*; and between both he marched himself with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. These measures, with some others equally good, had the desired effect; for *Tacfarinas*'s forces were dispersed, his brother taken, and he obliged to hide himself in the desert. Notwithstanding which, a great body of *Mauritanians*, through *Ptolemy*'s indolence, having joined him, as likewise a strong rein-

[u] STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. liii. ad an urb. cond. 729. SUID. in voc. Ἰόβας. TACIT. an. iv. SUETON. in Caio, c. 26, 35. DIO, l. lix. PLUT. in Anton. SENEC. de tranquil. vit. P. NOR. cenotaph. PISAN. p. 235. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 478.

a reinforcement from the king of the *Garamantes* (T), he once more made head againſt the *Romans*. But *Dolabella*, having fortified the proper poſts, and executed the chiefs of the *Muſulani*, who were meditating a revolt, advanced againſt the enemy, who, he was informed, had taken poſt near the caſtle of *Auzea*. After a forced march he came up with them, and intirely defeated them, putting to the ſword *Tacfarinas* himſelf, with a vaſt number of his followers. A body of *Mauritanians*, king *Ptolemy* ſent to aſſiſt *Dolabella*, did not a little contribute to this victory, which, for ſome time, ſettled peace in the *Roman* provinces, *Mauritania*, and *Gætulia* w.

Ptolemy having been cut off by *Caius*, as related above, *Ædemon*, one of his freedmen, in order to revenge his death, aſſembled a body of forces in *Mauritania*. Mauritania *reduced to a* Roman *province.*

b *Caius* being ſoon after aſſaſſinated, his ſucceſſor *Claudius*, in order to diſperſe this corps, ſent thither a *Roman* army, which was the firſt that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the firſt campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the ſenate perſuaded *Claudius* to accept of triumphal honours for the ſucceſs of his arms in *Mauritania*. The following year, *Suetonius Paulinus*, the *Roman* general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount *Atlas*, and penetrated into *Gætulia*. *Sidius Geta*, who ſucceeded *Paulinus* in the command of the *Roman* army in *Africa*, gave *Salabus*, the *Mauritanian* general, two overthrows, and purſued him into the *Sahara*. Having been ſupplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of periſhing,

c *Geta* concluded a peace with *Salabus* upon his own terms. 'Tis probable, that by this treaty, *Mauritania* was delivered up intirely into the hands of the *Romans*; ſince we find it ſoon after divided into two provinces, the one called *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, from the city *Tingis*, and the other *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, from *Cæſar*, a ſurname *Claudius* had in common with the other *Roman* emperors. That prince appointed two *Roman* knights to preſide over theſe two provinces. Soon after the *Romans* routed a body of *Gætulians* that infeſted ſome part of *Numidia*, and thereby reſtored tranquillity to all their *African* dominions. 'Tis obſervable, that *Auguſtus* ſettled nine colonies, and *Claudius* three only, here; which, in a region of ſo vaſt an extent, could neither have ſufficient power thoroughly to ſubjugate the

d natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the *Romans* x.

w Tacit. an l. ii. iii. iv.

x Plin. l. v. c. 1. & alib. Dio, l. lx. Aldret. l. iv. c. 20.

(T) *Tacitus* intimates, that *Tacfarinas* drew together at this time a powerful army of *Africans*, by giving out, that the *Romans* were ſo embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon *Africa*; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might ſoon cut off all that remained there. The ſame hiſtorian alſo informs us, that before the general action here mentioned, *Dollabella* forced *Tacfarinas* to raiſe the ſiege of *Thubuſcum*, which he abandoned at his approach (19).

(19) *Tacit. an. l.* iv. *c.* 24.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of the Gætulians.

AS the limits of *Gætulia* have not beeen ſettled, either by *Ptolemy* or any of the other antient geographers, 'tis impoſſible for us to define them. From ſeveral authors it may, however, be inferred, that they were not always the ſame. In *Pliny*'s time the *Gætulians* poſſeſſed a conſiderable part, at leaſt, of *Tingitania*; the *Mauruſii* having been ſo extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not make head againſt them. *Virgil* affirms this people to have extended themſelves from the *Regio Syrtica* to the *Atlantic* ocean; and *Feſtus Avienus* ſeems to have fixed their eaſtern boundary not far from the weſtern confines of *Marmarica*. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and ſituation of their country can be drawn either from thoſe authors or *Strabo*, who only intimates the *Gætulians* to have been a large nation, taking up a conſiderable part of *Libya Interior*, and poſſeſſing ſome territories in the neighbourhood of the *Syrtes*, *Pliny* ſays, that *Gætulia* was terminated on *Limits of* Gætulia.

the

the south by the river *Nigris*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Nigir*, which, according to a him, separated it from *Ethiopia*. But notwithstanding the indefinite terms in which the antients have laid down this region, by comparing their several accounts and descriptions, we shall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the southern parts of *Numidia* and the *Mauritaniæ*; and by consulting the best observations of the moderns, that it could not have reached to any great distance in the *Sahara*. Dr. *Shaw* (A), in one place, seems to insinuate, that the proper *Gætulia* did not extend farther to the east than the meridian of *Siga*, i. e. about 0° 10′ E. of *London*, provided *Tackumbreet* be the antient *Siga*, as he imagines; since he there tells us, that the *Melanogætuli* and *Garamantes* occupied the tract behind *Numidia*, *Africa Propria*, and the *Regio Syrtica*, from that meridian to *Cyrenaica*: b whereas in another place he fixes some *Gætulian* tribes in the remotest part of the district of *Zaab*, and meridian of *Constantina*, above six degrees more to the eastward than *Siga*. Whether or no either of these seemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is so, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only observe, that *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, a province of the kingdom of *Morocco*, at the foot of mount *Atlas*, seems to have preserved some traces of the antient *Gætulia*. Could we lay any great stress upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of *Gætulia*; in which case Dr. *Shaw*'s first notion would have probability on its side. But, as the concurrent testimony of the antients favours the latter, we know not what to say. However, the ascertaining of the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a c matter of such importance, as to deserve any great regard. We shall therefore leave our geographical readers to chuse which of these notions they please, or to reject both of them, if they think proper [a].

Its towns, rivers, mountains, &c.

As the *Gætulians*, before the time of *Jugurtha*, led their flocks from pasture to pasture, living, for the most part, in tents, without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Some, however, *Virgil* insinuates there to have been, though his commentator *Servius* appears to be of a different opinion. *Philostratus* makes the *Gætulians* to have inhabited the interior part of mount *Abinna*, or *Abyla*, and consequently, by intermixing them with the *Mauri*, allows some of them to have dwelt in towns. *Pliny* also intimates, that the *Gætulians* in d his time were masters of a good part of *Masæsylia*; and *Apuleius* assigns them some districts, at least, of *Numidia Propria*; which testimonies, if admitted, evince the same thing. But *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* render it indisputable, when they mention the cities *Autolala*, *Talubath*, &c, as appertaining to the *Gætulians*. The principal tribes of proper *Gætulia* were the *Banniuræ*, *Darræ*, and *Antololes* (B), according to the last-mentioned geographers. 'Tis probable, that the *Baniuræ* bordered upon *Tingitania*, as the *Darræ* did upon the *Ethiopians* called *Perorsi* and the *Phurusii*. The *Autololes* seem to have been by much the most powerful, and to have spread themselves over that part of *Tingitania* bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean. Their capital city e *Autolala*, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it stood betwixt the *Subus* and the *Salathus*, the only two rivers of note, except the *Gir* and the *Nigir*, that watered *Gætulia*. Of *Talubath* nothing has been transmitted down to us by the antients, but the bare name. As the *Sahara* began not far from the southern foot of mount *Atlas*, this country was undoubtedly, for the most part, sandy and desert; however, it was interspersed with several fruitful spots. Mount *Sagapola*, eminent for nothing but its being the limit of *Gætulia* on the side of the *Melanogætuli*, and containing the sources of the *Subus* and *Salathus* above-mentioned, seems to have been the only mountain of any note in the region we

[a] Plin. l. v. c. 2. Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 40. & Serv. in loc. Philostrat. l. v. Strab. l. xvii. Festus Avien. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Agathem. geogr. l. ii. c. 5. Shaw ubi sup. p. 132. & 136. Leo African. part. ii. Marm. l. iii. c. 51.

(A) Dr. *Shaw* also tells us, that *Gætulia* extended into the desert or *Sahara*; which supposes that nothing but desert must be left to the direct southward of it. Therefore *Melanogætulia* and the country of the *Garamantes*, in conformity to the situation assigned them by the antients, must have lain E. S. E. of *Gætulia*, and consequently have begun in an eastern direction from it (1).

(B) *Pliny* says, that the *Vesuni*, or, according to some MSS. the *Nesuni*, were a branch of the *Antololes*, who, separating from their brethren, settled upon the borders of *Ethiopia*, and afterwards formed a distinct nation. *Orosius* informs us, that the *Antololes*, or, as the MSS. falsly have it, *Auloles*, were called, in his time, *Galaules* (2).

(1) *Shaw ubi sup. p.* 136. (2) *Plin. in loc. citat. Oros. l.* i. *c.* 2.

a we are now upon. As for the promontories, &c. we meet with none meriting any attention; though from *Pliny* it may be inferred, that the *Promontorium Solis*, and ſome ports already mentioned, might have been in a territory afterwards annexed to the proper *Gætulia*. The only curioſity here, deſerving a place in hiſtory, was the vaſt quantity of the purple-fiſh produced in that part of the *Atlantic* ocean waſhing the *Gætulian* ſhore, with which the rocks on this coaſt were frequently covered. The *Teladuſii*, *Soræ*, *Dryitæ*, *Elulii*, *Mazices*, *Nacmuſii*, and other obſcure nations, inhabiting either *Numidia*, or the confines of that country and *Gætulia*, in the time of *Ptolemy*, deſerve ſo little regard, that our readers will ſcarce expect a bare enumeration of their names. However, we muſt not omit obſerving, that as *Ptolemy* b places the *Pharuſii* to the north of mount *Sagapola*, they may be conſidered as a clan or canton of the *Gætulians*; eſpecially ſince *Pliny* affirms their diſtrict to have ſtretched itſelf out as far as the *Atlantic* ocean, and *Mela* makes them to have attended *Hercules* in his expedition againſt the *Heſperides*. 'Tis not therefore probable, that mount *Phruræſus*, near four degrees eaſt of the *Mulucha*, ſhould have been ſo denominated from the *Pharuſii*; except we will ſuppoſe this ridge of mountains to have been the eaſtern limit of that nation, and that they were ſo numerous and powerful as to have ſpread themſelves over a tract extending from thence to the *Atlantic* ocean. In ſuch a caſe we might, with Dr. *Shaw*, allow, that the inhabitants of mount *Phruræſus* were part of the *Pharuſii*. Perhaps this notion may be countenanced by *Mela* c and *Pliny*, when they intimate the *Pharuſii* to have been an opulent people in antient times, and to have bordered upon the *Nigritæ*, in the neighbourhood of the river *Nigir*, which, with *Ptolemy*, they make one of the boundaries of the *Gætulians*. The vicinity of the *Nigritæ* and *Pharuſii* is likewiſe taken notice of by *Dionyſius Afer* and *Strabo*.

The antiquity of the Gætulians.

ACCORDING to *Joſephus* and St. *Jerom*, *Chavilah*, or *Havilah*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, was the father of the *Gætulians*; for which reaſon we find them called *Evilæi*, or *Havilæi*. As it is well known, that *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, ſettled in *Arabia Felix*, and that from him his deſcendants there aſſumed the name of *Chaulotæi* and *Chaulaſii*, the ſame words with *Evilæi*, it cannot well be doubted, but that *Gætulia* was d firſt peopled from *Arabia Felix*, as has been already hinted. This likewiſe renders probable the authority of the antients, who aſſert, that the *Gætulians* intermixed themſelves with the *Perſians*, and that the *Pharuſii*, in particular, were of *Perſic* extraction; ſince *Perſia* and *Arabia* being in a manner contiguous regions, many *Perſians* probably attended ſome of the *Arabian* colonies paſſing into *Africa*, or, at leaſt, followed *Seſac* and *Hercules* in their *Libyan* expeditions. We find no obſcure traces of the *Daræ*, a *Gætulian* tribe above-mentioned, in *Leo* and *Marmol*, who deſcribe a province, bounded on the weſt by thoſe of *Gezula* and *Sus*, called *Dara*, correſponding nearly with the tract aſſigned that people by *Pliny*; and 'tis well known, that the *Darrhæ* are a nation of *Arabia Felix*, taken notice of by *Stephanus*, *Ptolemy*, and e *Pliny*; which may ſerve as an additional argument in favour of an early migration of *Arabians* into *Gætulia*. To which we may farther add, in ſupport of that migration, that, conſidering how remote *Gætulia* was from *Arabia Felix*, what a ſeries of ages had paſſed from the firſt plantations of colonies there to the moſt early occurrences of that country tranſmitted down to poſterity by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, what other nations were intermixed with the firſt migrating *Arabs*, *viz.* the *Perſians*, *Indians*, &c. the word *Gætulia*, or *Chetulia*, is no very ſtrange corruption of *Chavilah*, *Chevilah*, *Chavilath*, *Chevilath*, *Chavilat*, or *Chevilat*. Both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have remembered the river *Daras*, or *Darat*, which they ſay produced great numbers of crocodiles. If our readers ſhould be diſpoſed to allow the modern *Darodus*, f or *Darodt*, to be that river, as 'tis not improbable ſome of them may, they would be convinced, that *Ptolemy* hath not only placed his *Darat*, or *Daradus*, vaſtly too much to the ſouthward, but likewiſe made his *Mauritania Tingitana* to comprehend a great part of *Gætulia*, if not the whole country. 'Tis certain, that the names and ſituation of the provinces of *Gezula* and *Dara* render this not a little probable. The word *Dara* ſeems to ſignify a generation or habitation of ſhepherds, and is therefore very applicable to a tribe of *Gætulians*, who, as well as the modern *Darans* and *Gætulians*, had ſcarce any other poſſeſſions than their flocks. Both the name therefore and manner

[b] SALLUST in Jugurth. VIRG. & SERV. ubi ſup. APUL. in apol. PLIN. & PHILOSTRAT. ubi ſup. MEL. l. iii. c. 10. PTOL. ubi ſup. DIONYS. AF. v. 215. PRISCIAN. v. 200. STRAB. ubi ſup. SHAW ubi ſup. p. 135.

ner of life of this people plainly pointed out the nation from whence they deduced a their origin. Some antient authors related, that the *Tyrians* had, in very early ages, many cities here and in the neighbouring parts of *Libya Interior*, which were deſtroyed by the *Nigrites* and *Pharuſii*; but this notion is rejected as fabulous by *Strabo* [c].

Their government, &c.

The firſt *Gætulians*, according to the *Punic* hiſtorians, were ſome of the moſt antient inhabitants of *Africa*, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners, eſpecially ſuch as ever prevailed in a civilized ſtate. They lived upon the fleſh of wild beaſts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, taking up their lodging where-ever the night ſurpriſed them. Some of the *Pharuſii* or *Phauruſii*, at firſt, if any credit b
may be given to *Strabo*, lived in caves like the *Troglodytes*. But this ſtate of barbarity, *Salluſt* tells us, continued only till *Hercules* came amongſt them; which is a farther proof of what Sir *Iſaac Newton* has advanced with regard to the age of that hero; ſince, as we have lately obſerved, the *Gætulians* were far from being perfectly civilized in the time of *Jugurtha*, and therefore *Hercules* did not probably precede that age ſo long as the generality of the antient chronologers ſuppoſed. It is believed by ſome good authors, to whoſe ſentiments we pay a great deference, that the *Gætulians*, however rude and barbarous, at leaſt towards the *Roman* times, were under the direction of certain (C) phylarchs, or heads of *Kabyles*, as their ſucceſſors at this day are. However, if they had then any fixed or ſtated laws, we are now intirely c
ignorant of them. If they had any (D) cuſtoms likewiſe, different from thoſe of their neighbours the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, the knowledge of them has not reached us. As all the authors mentioning them are utterly ſilent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been the ſame with that of their neighbours already taken notice of, or with that of their progenitors the antient *Arabs*, which will hereafter be briefly deſcribed. *Leo* relates, that many of the antient *Africans* erected magnificent temples in honour of the *Sun* and *Fire*, which they worſhipped, wherein they had a perpetual fire; though others of them adored another planet. Probably the *Gætulians* were ſome of the former, as being partly deſcended from the *Perſians*, who profeſſed the *Magian* religion. Their language muſt undoubt- d
edly have born a near reſemblance to the antient *Arabic* and the other *Oriental* tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewiſe from the *Showiahan* vocabulary given us by Dr. *Shaw*, moſt, if not all, of whoſe words are eaſily deducible from the *Arabic*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or erudition in ſuch a country as *Gætulia*, and therefore will not ſuppoſe, that we have any thing to offer on that head here [d].

A brief account of the Gætulians *till the time of* Veſpaſian.

With regard to the tranſactions of this nation, we have not much to ſay. *Herodotus* and *Scylax* take no notice of the *Gætulians*, which renders it probable, that, when thoſe writers lived, they were very obſcure. The firſt authors that mentioned e
them were probably ſome of thoſe old hiſtorians from whom *Livy* extracted the materials for his work: ſince he gives us to underſtand, that a corps of them ſerved under *Hannibal* in the ſecond *Punic* war. That general, according to him, having taken and razed *Acerræ*, formed a deſign upon *Caſilinum*, and ſent a body of *Gætulians*, under the command of their general *Iſalca*, to attack it. *Iſalca* ſoon took poſt before the town, when, finding every-where a profound ſilence, and not obſerving a creature to appear, he imagined, that the gariſon kept themſelves ſtill within the town through fear; which encouraged him to attempt forcing open the gates: but he

[c] Joseph. & D. Hieronym. apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 9. Mel. Plin. Strab. ubi ſup. Dionys. Af. ver. 953. Festus Avien. ver. 1136. Aldret. ubi ſup. c. 10. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Leo African. lib. vi. Marm. l. vii. c. 9. Aldret. ubi ſup. c. 14.

[d] Strab. & Sallust. ubi ſup. Newton's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp. Aldret. ubi ſup. c. 31. p. 445. I. Leo African. ubi ſup. Shaw in excerpt. p. 52.

(C) *Strabo* calls theſe phylarchs kings, and tells us, that they ſo delighted in horſes, that amongſt them they brought up yearly an hundred thouſand colts. He likewiſe informs us, that theſe horſes, as well as the *Gætulian* larger cattle, had hoofs longer than thoſe of any other nation (3).

(D) One cuſtom, however, we muſt not paſs over here. *Lucan* ſeems to obſerve, that the *Gætulians* were mixed with their cattle in their *mapalia*, as Dr. *Shaw* relates of the *Bedoweens* in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis* at this day. The former author alſo inſinuates, that many of the *Gætulians* were carried about the country, with their *Penates*, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the antient *Scythians* (4).

(3) *Strab, l.* xvii. (4) *Lucan. l.* iv. *Shaw ubi ſup, p.* 288.

a he was repulſed by two *Prænestine* cohorts; who, ſallying out upon him, cut many of the *Gætulians* to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire, with great precipitation, to the *Carthaginian* army, which was advancing to ſupport them. Whether or no *Maſiniſſa*, who ſo greatly extended his conqueſts in *Africa*, ever ſubdued them, hiſtory informs us not; but we are aſſured by *Salluſt*, that his grandſon *Jugurtha* taught them to keep their ranks, and inſtructed them in military diſcipline. However, they ſerved that prince more by plundering the allies of the *Romans*, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had raiſed and diſciplined in *Gætulia* was eaſily routed by *Marius* near *Cirta*. That part of *Gætulia* under the dominion of *Juba*, for it does not appear that the whole country was ever ſubject to him, revolted
b to *Julius Cæſar*; but, that with *Numidia* it was reduced into a *Roman* province, we cannot poſitively affirm; eſpecially, ſince *Auguſtus* gave a part of *Gætulia*, probably this, with the *Mauritaniæ*, to the younger *Juba*, as an equivalent for *Numidia*, his father's kingdom, which, ſays *Dio*, had before put on the form of a province. Be that as it will, it was ravaged by *Sittius*, as has been already obſerved, when *Juba* had drawn all his forces out of it, in order to join the *Pompeians*; which might poſſibly occaſion the aforeſaid revolt. About the year of *Rome* 759. the *Gætulians* rebelled againſt king *Juba*, maſſacring all the *Romans* ſettled in his dominions, and committing moſt dreadful ravages in all the provinces ſubject to him. *Dio* aſcribes this defection to the reſentment of the *Gætulians*, who were extremely incenſed againſt
c the *Romans* for impoſing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under their government. But however this may be, *Cornelius Coſſus* gave them ſo complete an overthrow, that they were obliged to ſubmit upon the terms he thought fit to preſcribe. This was looked upon at *Rome* as ſo conſiderable an exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to aſſume the cognomen *Gætulicus*. Notwithſtanding which, this people ſo recovered themſelves, that in the elder *Pliny*'s time they had ſettlements in *Numidia* and *Tingitania*, as may be inferred from that author and *Philoſtratus*[e].

[e] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 18. Sallust. ubi ſup. Dio, l. xliii. ſub init. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Dio, l. lv. p. 567. ad A. U. C. 759. Plin. & Philostrat. ubi ſup.

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of the Melanogætuli, Nigritæ, *and* Garamantes.

d PTOLEMY places the *Melanogætuli*, or black *Gætulians*, between the mountains *Sagapola* and *Uſargala*, in a diſtrict ſouth-eaſt of *Gætulia Propria*, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river *Nigir*. They were a nation undoubtedly different from the *Gætulians*, and conſidered in that view by *Ptolemy*, though *Cellarius* inſinuates them to have been a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this, but likewiſe, that their progenitors were different from thoſe of the *Gætulians*. Of courſe therefore the *Daræ* ought not, as *Cellarius* imagines, to be looked upon as a clan of the *Melanogætuli*; nor does the ſituation of *Leo*'s *Daræ* above-mentioned quadrate with ſuch a ſuppoſition. Mount *Uſargala* is called by *Leo Guargala*, and by Dr. *Shaw Huergla*. The former of thoſe authors informs us, that near
e the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, ſome caſtles, and a great number of villages, whoſe inhabitants were very rich, as being adjacent to the *Agades*, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. *Ptolemy* ſays, that the *Bagrada* derives its ſtreams from ſome fountains on mount *Uſargala*; but the lateſt obſervations demonſtrate this to be a miſtake. The modern diſtrict of *Wad-reag* in the province of *Conſtantina*, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction, ſeems to correſpond with a part of the country of the *Melanogætuli*, according to Dr. *Shaw*. *Ma-jyre*, the neareſt of theſe villages to *Zaab*, a territory anſwering, as ſhould ſeem, to the ſouth-eaſtern part of *Gætulia*, is ten leagues to the S. of *El-Fythe*, the laſt village of *Zaab*. *Tum-marnah*, the next
f place of note, is ſix leagues to the weſtward of *Ma-jyre*, and twelve to the N. E. of *Tuggurt*, the capital of *Wad-reag*, and the *Tegort* of *Leo*. *Tuggurt* ſtands in a plain, without any river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as thoſe of the other

The Melanogætuli, *or* Nigritæ.

villages

villages of *Wad-reag*, being ſupplied with water by wells, dug a hundred, and ſome- a
times two hundred, fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourſe
to, their territory being in a manner deſtitute both of rivulets and fountains. They
dig through different layers of ſand and gravel, till they come to a fleaky kind of
ſtone like unto ſlate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyſs, called by
them *The ſea below-ground*. This ſtone is no ſooner broken through, than a flux of
water aſcends ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch abundance, that the perſon let down to per-
form the operation has ſometimes been overtaken and ſuffocated by it, though raiſed
up with the greateſt dexterity. The country likewiſe of the *Beni Mezzab*, ſituated
thirty-five leagues to the S. of the mountains of the *Ammer*, ſuppoſed to be a part
of the *Mons Phruræſus* of *Ptolemy*, the large village of *En-gouſah*, thirty leagues to b
the S. W. by W. of *Tuggurt*, and the populous city of *Wurglah*, with their de-
pendencies, even to the banks of the *Nigir*, our learned and ingenious traveller be-
lieves might have been included in *Melanogætulia*. As *Ptolemy* places the *Melanogæ-*
tuli next to the *Pharuſii* in a ſouthern direction, fixing his *Nigritian Ethiopians* in a
tract lying to the N. of the *Nigir*; and as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, ſeem to give
the *Nigritæ* exactly the ſame ſituation with regard to the *Pharuſii* and the *Nigir*, but
are quite ſilent as to the *Melanogætuli*; we cannot help thinking the *Melanogætuli*
and *Nigritæ* one and the ſame people. If this be admitted, it will appear extremely
probable, that their territories extended to the *Nigir*, and that they had ſome places
of note in thoſe places; ſince, according to *Ptolemy*, many towns ſtood not far from c
that river, of which the principal were *Peſſide*, *Saluce*, *Nigira*, *Thige*, *Cuphe*, *Tha-*
mondicana, and *Vellegia*. The moſt noted rivers of this country were the *Gir* and
the *Nigir*. The *Gir*, or, as it is now called in our beſt maps, *Ghir*, had its fountains
on mount *Phruræſus*, or, according to Dr. *Shaw*, the mountains of the *Ammer*. It
took its courſe through part of the *Sahara*, in a S. E. direction, ſome degrees to
the ſouthward of the tropic of *Cancer*. The ingenious traveller juſt mentioned believes
the modern *Wed Adge-dee* to be the *Gir* of *Ptolemy*, *Agathemerus*, and *Claudian*. But
the principal river of *Nigritia*, and one of the moſt famous in the world, is that
called by *Ptolemy* the *Nigir*, by the *Nigritians Wed*, or *Huid Nijar*, i. e. *The black*
river, and by the *Europeans* the *Niger*. This river, according to the beſt modern d
geographers, has its ſource near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of *Gorhan*, not
far from the confines of *Abaſſia*, or upper *Ethiopia*. It croſſes the whole region of
Nigritia in a weſtern direction, and, after being ſwelled by the acceſſion of ſeveral
rivers in its march, at laſt diſcharges itſelf into the *Atlantic* ocean. The *Negroes*
likewiſe call it the river of *Senegal*, and the *Arabs* the *Nile* of the *Nigritians*; this
laſt nation conſidering it as a branch of the *Nile*, or rather the *Nile* and the *Niger* as
two branches of the ſame river. According to *Pliny* and *Leo*, it overflows the ad-
jacent territories in the ſame manner as the *Nile*; which, if true, may be another
reaſon for the *Arabic* appellation. If any credit may be given to *Leo* and the
African hiſtorians, *Sabtecha*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, firſt peopled the *Sahara* betwixt e
the mountains of *Atlas* and *Nigritia*, and therefore probably *Nigritia* itſelf, or at
leaſt part of it. From the ſame author it appears, that the various *Nigritian* dialects
bear an affinity to the *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Egyptian* tongues; to which we may add,
and conſequently to the *Ethiopic*, which does not differ widely from them. As for
the cuſtoms, &c. of the people we are now upon, they muſt be reſerved for that
branch of the modern hiſtory to which they moſt properly belong. Our readers may
likewiſe there expect to find an accurate geographical deſcription and natural hiſtory
of this country, from the beſt obſervations that have been made; ſince it would be
abſurd to inſert them here, as the antients were ſo little acquainted with it. The
Carthaginians, however, had undoubtedly ſome knowledge of the *Nigritæ*, ſince it f
appears probable from *Frontinus* (A), that one part of their armies conſiſted of *Nigri-*
tian

(A) From the paſſage of *Frontinus* here referred to it is evident, that the *Carthaginians* had *Melano-gætulian* or *Nigritian* troops in their ſervice before the time of *Gelon*, and conſequently that they had ſome knowledge of the *Blacks* above five hundred years before the birth of *Chriſt*. This will enable us to account for a ſtrange phænomenon in antiquity, *i. e.* ſeveral antique coins with a *Negro*'s or *Nigritian*'s head upon them. One of theſe coins is to be found in the earl of *Pembroke*'s invaluable cabinet, and another in that of the reverend and learned Mr. *Wiſe*, *cuſtos archivorum*, and fellow of *Trinity-college*, in the univerſity of *Oxford*. That of my lord *Pembroke*, being well preſerved, is a moſt noble curioſity. Mr. *Wiſe* received his from one of the authors of this hiſtory, who had it from Mr. *Beſwick*, whoſe brother was for ſome time the *Britiſh* conſul at *Tripoly*, near which city it was found. As the *Carthaginians*

a *tian* troops. They uſed ſcythed chariots in their wars, and were armed after the manner of the weſtern *Ethiopians*, i. e. with bows and arrows of the ſame make, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to the ſame author, the *Pharuſii*, and therefore, probably, the *Nigritæ*, adjacent to them, travelled in caravans through the deſerts to *Cirta*, and kept open a communication with the *Mauruſii*, carrying with them bottles filled with water, tied to their horſes bellies, leſt they ſhould die of thirſt in the vaſt deſerts they were obliged to traverſe. From this paſſage it is undeniably clear, that theſe *Pharuſian* and *Nigritian* merchants muſt have lived at a vaſt diſtance from *Cirta*, and thoſe places of *Mauritania* to which they reſorted; a point that evinces the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*, to have held an early correſpondence with the an-
b tient *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and *Carthaginians* [a].

THE *Garamantes* were ſituated to the S. E. of *Gætulia*, and E. of the *Nigritæ*. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to aſcertain (B); though, from what the antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may preſume, that it extended to the borders of the (C) proper *Ethiopia*. That it conſiſted of many large territories, may likewiſe be inferred (D) from *Herodotus*, *Virgil*, *Feſtus Avienus*, and others. However, it was not of any very conſiderable breadth, according to *Strabo*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that part of the antient *Garamantes* ſpread themſelves over that tract comprehending the diſtricts of *Gad-demz*, *Fezzan*, and ſome of the more diſtant cities and villages of the kingdom of *Tripoli*. Be that as
c it will, the region we are now upon abounded with wild beaſts, and its moſt antient inhabitants were ſo ſavage, that they fled at the ſight of a perſon belonging to any other nation. They were at the ſame time intirely deſtitute of arms, and had not the courage to defend themſelves, if attacked; from which circumſtances 'tis apparent, that they induſtriouſly avoided all kinds of correſpondence with other nations. However, in proceſs of time they built towns, or rather *daſhkras*, the principal of which were *Garama*, the metropolis, near mount *Girgiris*, and the ſource of the *Cinypus*, *Debris*, and *Matelgæ*. They likewiſe aſſociated with the *Marmaridæ*, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the *Carthaginians*, *Arabs*, *Perſians*, and *Ethiopians*. This could ſcarce be avoided, if one branch of the *Cartha-*
d *ginian* commerce extended to thoſe remote countries by means of caravans, paſſing to *Carthage* from thence through the ſandy deſerts of the *Garamantes*; which we cannot think improbable. Though ſeveral arguments might be offered in ſupport of this opinion, we ſhall content ourſelves here with obſerving, as a ſtrong preſumption

The Garamantes.

[a] PTOL. l. iv. c. 6. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. l. iv. c. 8. ſect 2. p. 943. ed. Lipſ. 1732 STRAB. l. ii. & l. xvii. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. & c. 8. CLAUDIAN. l. i. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 10. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. I. LEO AFRICAN. & MARM. paſſ. Gen. c. x. v. 7. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. ut & ipſe ALFRAGAN. p. 36. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. i. SHAW, p. 58, 87, 136, & alib.

ginians had a communication with *Nigritia*, 'tis probable, that they ſent ſome of their artificers upon certain occaſions thither; and ſince they coined money in a very elegant manner, as above obſerved, we may conclude, that, upon ſome extraordinary event, either in *Nigritia*, or their own dominions, they ſtruck thoſe pieces. This will receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the country wherein Mr. *Wiſe*'s was dug up, which was ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; that nation being in poſſeſſion of all the maritime territories extending from their capital city to the borders of *Cyrenaica* (1).

(B) That the *Miſulani*, *Miſulami*, or *Muſulani*, were ſeated near the country of the *Garamantes*, or at leaſt not a very great diſtance from it, appears from *Tacitus*. But we can neither preciſely determine the ſituation of this *Numidian* tribe, tho' at the foot of mount *Andus*, nor that of many others, *viz.* the *Naſabutes*, *Mucuni*, *Tulenſii*, *Machuſii*, *Taladuſii*, &c. (2).

(C) *Virgil* joins the *Garamantes* with the *Indians*, only to denote, that they were both very remote nations, and that the *Roman* empire was to extend, or rather did extend, to the fartheſt parts; for they were not contiguous to each other, *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Perſia*, &c. lying between them. So *Horace*, when he would intimate, that the merchant traverſed the remoteſt regions for gain, ſays,

Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos:

where he is not to be underſtood as intending *preciſely* the *Indians*, but any nation at a vaſt diſtance from *Rome*. *Servius* and others confirm what we here ſuggeſt (3).

(D) We might here give our readers a catalogue of the names of towns and clans, ſaid to have appertained to the *Garamantes* by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; but as the ſituation of none of them can be defined, and nothing but their names has been tranſmitted down to us by thoſe authors, we think an inſertion of it intirely ſuperfluous. No rivers of note, belonging to the country of the *Garamantes*, except the *Cinyps*, or *Cinypus*, and the *Gir*, are taken notice of by the antients; nor do they mention any mountains in it, except thoſe called by *Ptolemy Girgiris* and *Vallis Garamantica* (4).

(1) *Frontin. ſtrat. l.* i. *c.* 11. *ex.* 18. *Univ. hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 721. *not.* (C). (2) *Tacit. annal.* ii. iii. iv. *Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup.* (3) *Virg. ecl.* viii. *& Æn.* vi. *Serv. in loc. Hor. l.* i. *ep.* i. (4) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup.*

ption of its truth, that, according to ſeveral authors, the *Garamantes*, *Perſians*, a and *Ethiopians*, ſupplied the *Carthaginians* with vaſt numbers of gems, which were almoſt invaluable. Notwithſtanding the cowardice of the moſt antient *Garamantes* mentioned by *Herodotus*, yet, in after-ages, their poſterity ſeem to have been of another diſpoſition, as may be collected from *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Feſtus Avienus*. Some of them roved about the deſerts of *Libya* in the ſame manner as their ſucceſſors the modern *Bedoweens* do at this day; whilſt others inhabited the (E) *daſhkras* ſcattered up and down theſe parched and unfruitful plains. The former lived very frugally in their *mapalia*, and ſupported themſelves by hunting, which ſometimes they continued to the winter ſolſtice; the wild beaſts being refreſhed by the copious rains which fell at that time, and affording them then excellent diverſion. Nay, accord- b ing to *Herodotus*, they hunted the *Troglodytes* themſelves, a barbarous nation living in caves under-ground, in vehicles, drawn by two pair of horſes, made for that purpoſe. *Nigritia*, and the country of the *Garamantes*, ſeem, for the moſt part, to have been peopled at firſt from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, and conſequently to have been the deſcendants of *Miſraim* and *Cuſh*, though we doubt not but ſome colonies of *Arabs* likewiſe ſettled here. It appears from ſome of the moſt perfect *Egyptian* mummies now remaining, that the features of the antient *Egyptians* much reſembled thoſe of the preſent *Negroes*; which is a proof, that the latter muſt have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore ſpoken in theſe regions bore a great affinity at firſt to the *Egyptian*, *Arabic*, and *Ethiopic*; and may at this c time, probably, be impure dialects of them. We have no farther particulars of moment relating to the religion of the *Garamantes*, than that they, in common with the *Arabs*, *Indians*, and *Ethiopians* (F), worſhipped *Jupiter Ammon* (G), repreſenting him, for the moſt part, with a ram's head, or, at leaſt, with ram's horns, and had a famous temple ſacred to him. *Pliny* mentions a ſurpriſing fountain near *Debris*, whoſe waters, from noon to midnight, grew extremely warm, but from thence to the ſun's next approach to the meridian were ſo cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongſt the *Garamantes*, the men making uſe of the women juſt as they fell in their way. At firſt they were governed by heads of tribes, or *phylarchs*, as the *Gætulians*, *Arabs*, &c. but afterwards monarchy ſeems to have taken d place amongſt them, as we learn from *Tacitus*. *Pliny* mentions a king of the *Garamantes*, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that reſiſted all who oppoſed them. Though *Ptolemy* aſſerts them to have been a large and powerful nation, extending themſelves from mount *Uſargala* to the lake or moraſs *Nuba*, yet we find ſcarce any of their affairs recorded in hiſtory. *Maſiniſſa* took refuge amongſt them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by *Syphax*, As the roads to their country from *Mauritania* were rendered impracticable by robbers, the *Romans* knew little of them, till after the expiration of the republic. *Lucius Cornelius Balbus* intirely ſubdued them, for which he had a triumph granted him by *Auguſtus*. However, by ſome means or other, they afterwards ſhook off the *Roman* yoke; ſince we are informed by *Florus*, that, ſome years after, *Coſſus* detached *Curinius* with a body of troops againſt them and the *Marmaridæ*; and by *Tacitus*, that the king of the *Garamantes* joined *Tacfarinas*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, againſt the *Romans*. After the

(E) *Herodotus* informs us, that in the country of the *Garamantes* there was a pillar, or rather mountain of ſalt, with a fountain iſſuing from the ſummit of it, and palm-trees covering the adjacent lands; that the natives firſt laid freſh earth upon the ſalt, and then ſowed their corn there; and that they bordered upon the *Lotophagi*, whom we ſhall preſently have occaſion to mention (5).

(F) The great veneration in which the nations here mentioned had *Jupiter Ammon*, as well as the form under which he was exhibited to public view in this temple, appears from the following lines of *Lucan*:

Ventum erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum
Inculti Garamantes habent: ſtat corniger illic
Jupiter, ut memorant, ſed non aut fulmina vibrans,
Aut ſimilis noſtro, ſed tortis cornibus, Ammon.

Non illic Libycæ poſuerunt ditia gentes
Templa, nec Eois ſplendent donaria gemmis,
Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atq; Indis unus ſit Jupiter Ammon.

Herodotus ſays, that *Ammon* was repreſented by an image with a ram's head, becauſe *Hercules* ſaw his ſtatue covered with the ſkin of a ram; and *Diodorus*, becauſe *Jupiter*, in all his wars, wore a helmet reſembling the head of that animal. But this repreſentation ſeems to have been rather an alluſion to the great numbers of ſheep produced in *Libya* (6).

(G) 'Tis intimated by *Virgil* and *Silius*, that *Iarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, was a deſcendant of *Ammon*, and that he reigned over this country. But the authors, from whom they extracted this notion, are now loſt (7).

(5) *Herodot. l.* iv. (6) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Lucan. l.* ix. (7) *Virg. Æn.* iv. *Sil. Ital. l.* i.

a the last defeat and death of *Tacfarinas*, they sent embassadors to *Rome* to appease the resentment of *Tiberius*; which we suppose was done by an absolute submission to him, since it appears probable, that the *Roman* empire extended on that side almost, if not intirely, to the northern bank of the *Nigir* [b].

As for the *Nubæ*, *Perorsi*, *Tarualtæ*, *Mimaci*, *Astacusi*, *Aroncæ*, *Dermones*, *Matites*, *Gongalæ*, *Nabathræ*, and many other obscure nations inhabiting that part of *Libya Interior* called by the antients the western *Ethiopia*, and extending from the *Nigir* to the *Line*, we have nothing to say of them; the old geographers having handed down to us only their bare names. However, it will be proper to observe, that the vast tract occupied by them comprehended the upper or proper *Guinea*, to-
b gether with the kingdoms of *Gago*, *Guber*, *Bito*, *Temian*, *Ouangara*, *Dauma*, *Biafara*, *Mujac*, *Medra*, and some districts of that of *Gorhan*. Hence it appears, that the antient *Nigritia* was but a part of the modern *Negroland*; and that in early times the *Nigritæ*, or *Negroes*, went by the general name of *Ethiopians*. As we find likewise the promontory *Soloës*, or *Soloentia*, situated in the country we are now upon, and several places to the south of it, taken notice of by *Hanno* in his *periplus*, we may conclude from hence, that the *Carthaginians* had a knowledge of the *Blacks* some hundred years before the destruction of their state by the *Romans*. That the *Greeks* also were not ignorant of them in the age of *Scylax*, may be inferred from that author; but as both he and *Hanno* stuffed their journals with fables, scarce any thing
c probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* have given us faint descriptions of the customs and dispositions of some few of their clans, which will hereafter be touched upon. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* were greatly in the dark with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the western *Ethiopians*; and *Strabo* only intimates, that, as scarce any intercourse had ever been kept up between them and the *Roman* empire, the accounts published of them, in his age, were little better than downright fictions. To insert therefore a collection of such idle tales, would be unbecoming an historian; since it could neither afford instruction, nor give any real entertainment, to the rational part of his readers [c].

[b] Herodot. l. iv. Virg. l. vi. & Serv. in loc. Lucan. l. iv. Festus Avienus. v. 320. Mel. l. i. c. 8. Tacit. annal. i. ii. iii. iv. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & Dalechamp. in loc. Petron. Arb. in Satyric. Vid. & Chr. Hendr. de Carthag. repub. l. ii. sect. 1. c 8. Sil. Ital. l. ii. & alib. Ptol. ubi sup. Plin. l. viii. c. 4. Flor. l. iv. c. ult. Leo African. & Marm. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 310, 341, & alib. Shaw ubi sup. p. 136. Gordon's essay towards explaining the hieroglyp. fig. on the copy of an ant. mum. belong. to capt. *Lethieullier*, p. 2. Lond. 1737. [c] Hanno Carthag. in peripl. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Strabo, Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Leo. African. Moll, Senex, Maxw. aliique recent. geogr.

CHAP. V.

The history of the Libyans *and* Greeks *inhabiting the tract between the borders of* Egypt *and the river* Triton, *comprehending* Marmarica, Cyrenaica, *and the* Regio Syrtica.

SECT. I.

The history of the Libyans *of* Marmarica.

MARMARICA, according to *Scylax*, *Pliny*, and *Agathemerus*, with whom *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* agree in the main, was bounded on the east and west by *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; on the south by the *Sahara*, or deserts of *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. After passing the *Glaucum Promontorium*, cape *Deris*, the port *Leucaspis*, and other inconsiderable promontories and harbours, just mentioned by the antient geograghers, we come to *Parætonium*, called *Ammonia* by *Strabo*, a city of considerable note. *Florus* styles this city and *Pelusium* the two horns

horns of *Egypt*; from whence it appears, that he looked upon *Marmarica* as part a
of *Egypt*, and *Parætonium* as a fortreſs of great ſtrength. The laſt article is confirmed by *Hirtius*, who ſeems to intimate, that he received ſome annoyance from it, though the gariſon could not hinder him from ſupplying himſelf with water. We learn from *Procopius*, that it remained for a long time diſmantled, but at laſt had its fortifications repaired by the emperor *Juſtinian*. At ſome diſtance from *Parætonium*, towards the frontiers of *Cyrenaica*, ſtood *Apis*, a town ſo denominated from the *Egyptian* deity of that name. *Pliny* relates, that it was famous on account of certain ſacred myſteries celebrated in it; which, in conjunction with the name, inſinuates vaſt numbers of the *Egyptians* and *Marmaridæ* to have reſorted hither, in order to pay their devotions to *Apis*. *Triſarchis*, *Zagylis*, and other places on the ſea-coaſts, enu- b
merated by *Ptolemy*, are ſo obſcure, that they merit no regard. The principal *Libyan* nations inhabiting this region were the *Adyrmachidæ* and *Ammonii*, as appears from *Scylax* and *Herodotus*. As for the *Zygritæ*, ſeated near the *Greater Catabathmus*, and the *Buzes*, lying more to the ſouth, they are rarely mentioned by the antients. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the chief towns of the former were *Azicis*, *Tuccitora*, and *Tachorſa*; and the capital of the latter *Thanuthis*. *Pliny* mentions the *Mareotæ* as a people ſeated near the *Adyrmachidæ*. Some authors ſeem to make the *Marmaridæ* a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the greater *Catabathmus*; but we are inclined to believe, that *Marmaridæ* was a name common to all the *Libyans* of *Marmarica*. If ſo, all theſe *Libyans* drank c
chiefly beer brewed at *Alexandria*; though ſometimes they uſed *Libyan* wine. The *Adyrmachidæ*, according to *Silius*, fought with an *enſis falcatus*, or ſcymetar; and, if *Scylax* may be credited, were ſeated not far from the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile*. *Ptolemy*, on the contrary, places them, in his *nome* of *Libya*, more remote from the ſea. It was a common cuſtom with their wives to wear a chain of braſs on each leg; to take great pains in dreſſing their hair; and if they happened to find a louſe, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they received, and then to ſpit it out again. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's preſence, that if any one of them pleaſed him above the reſt, he might lie with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the *Libyan* habit, from whence d
probably they derived their name, *Addermuch* in *Arabic* denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almoſt in all points with the *Egyptians*, which tallies with what has been already obſerved. The (A) *Ammonii*, ſo called from *Jupiter Ammon*, or *Ammun*, their chief deity, lay nearer *Cyrenaica*, and about ten days journey from *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* mentions a place named *Alexander's camp*, and the city of *Ammon*, as appertaining to this nation. *Arrian*, on the other hand, will not allow *Ammon* to have been a city; but ſays, that it was only the ſpot of ground on which the temple of *Ammon* ſtood. It ſeems probable from *Herodotus*, that the *Ammonii* were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and made war upon their neighbours; though part of their territories could be conſi- e
dered only as a barren ſandy deſert. *Pliny* makes the temple of *Ammon* fifteen days journey from *Memphis*, and mentions the *Ammoniac nome* of *Egypt*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that though the aforeſaid (B) temple was ſurrounded by a ſandy deſert, yet

(A) *Herodotus* affirms the *Ammonii* to have been originally a colony of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*; and that they ſpoke a language compoſed of words taken from both thoſe nations (1).

(B) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this diſtrict was fifty ſtadia ſquare, and that the inhabitants there enjoyed a perpetual ſpring. He likewiſe intimates, that within the firſt wall of the caſtle ſtood the palace of the antient kings of *Ammonia*; within the ſecond the *Gynæceum*, containing the apartments of the royal family; and within the third places for the houſhold troops to lodge in. He farther relates, that at a ſmall diſtance from the wall there was another temple of *Ammon*, ſhaded with fruit-trees, and having a fountain cloſe by it, called *Fons Solis*, from the ſurpriſing effects of the *Sun* upon its water. The image of *Ammon*, according to him, was adorned with emeralds, and other precious ſtones of great value, and gave reſponſes to thoſe who came to conſult the oracle in a ſingular and unuſual way; being carried about in a golden ſhip by eighty prieſts, who advanced to the place whither the god, by a nod, directed them, great multitudes of matrons and virgins at the ſame time celebrating his praiſes in ſongs compoſed after the manner of their country.

Diodorus alſo gives us to underſtand, that when *Alexander the Great* was introduced into the temple of *Ammon*, the ſenior vates addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: *God ſave thee,* MY SON, *and aſſume to thyſelf this title, which* AMMON *confers upon thee.* To whom, according to the ſame author, that prince replied: *I accept it, father; and, provided you'll enable me to conquer the world, I ſhall ever eſteem it as the greateſt honour to be called your ſon.* Upon which the prieſt approached the altar; and when the perſons lifting up the image, according to cuſtom, upon

(1) *Herodot. l.* ii.

a yet its proper diſtrict abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with fountains; that it had ſeveral ſtreets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a caſtle fortified with a triple wall, and near it a holy fountain, called the fountain of the *Sun*, ſince the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. *Pedonia*, *Pnigeus*, *Climax*, and other inconſiderable mediterranean towns, deſerve not the leaſt attention; nor are the ſmall iſlands on the coaſt, *Pedonia*, *Phocuſæ*, *Æneſipaſta*, *Ædonis*, or *Ædonia*, important enough to be deſcribed. We learn from *Herodotus*, that *Cambyſes*, having advanced to *Thebes*, in his way to *Ethiopia*, detached from thence a body of fifty thouſand men, to lay waſte the country of the *Ammonii*, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. But, after ſeve-
b ral days march over the deſerts, a ſtrong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the ſouth, at the time of their dinner, raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, and brought in ſuch a torrent upon them, that the whole corps was overwhelmed thereby, and periſhed. *Alexander the Great*, near two hundred years after, met with better ſucceſs in his journey to the temple aforeſaid. Authors are not intirely agreed whether the *Marmaridæ* are to be looked upon as *Libyans* or *Egyptians*; but the greateſt part rank them amongſt the former. Father *Calmet*, in particular, thinks, that *Marmarica* was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Lehabim*, the ſon of *Miſraim*, mentioned by *Moſes*. However, he believes, that the limits of the *Lehabim*, or *Lubim*, are not known, and conſequently, that they might have reached much farther than
c the borders of *Cyrenaica*; eſpecially, ſince almoſt the whole continent of *Africa* is ſometimes called *Libya*. If then the *Marmaridæ* were *Libyans*, what has been already delivered concerning the origin, religion, cuſtoms, *&c.* of the *Numidian* and *Libyan Nomades*, &c. will, in a great meaſure, hold true of them. Be that as it will, *Herodotus* aſſures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in moſt points of moment. Though therefore, in compliance with the general opinion, we have here detached *Marmarica* from *Egypt*, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was ſubject to the kings of *Egypt*, and conſequently ought to be conſidered as appertaining to that monarchy, for an account of the tranſactions of which it was the theatre, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the hiſtory of *Egypt*, as well as
d thoſe of the *Perſians*, *Macedonians*, and *Romans*, who ſucceſſively ſubdued this kingdom [a].

[a] Herodot. l. iv. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Polyb. in excerpt. 115. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. ſub fin. Plin. l. v. c. 5. & c. 6. Cæsar apud Hirt. in bell. Alex. Mel. l. i. c. 9. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Procop. l. vi. c. 2. Sil. Ital. l. iii. v. 278. Herodot. l. ii. c. 42. & l. iv. c. 181. & alib. Arrian. l. iii. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Acathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Calmet in voc. Libya.

SECT. II.

e

The hiſtory of Cyrenaica.

Limits of Cyrenaica.

CYRENAICA was bounded on the eaſt by *Marmarica*, on the weſt by the *Regio Syrtica*, on the north by the *Mediterranean*, and on the ſouth by the *Sahara*. In the geography of *Cyrenaica*, we find none of the antients inconſiſtent with themſelves but *Strabo*, who, almoſt in the ſame breath, aſſerts it to have extended as far as *Egypt*, and maintains that *Marmarica* lay betwixt thoſe two regions. The maritime towns *Darnis*, *Cherſis*, *Phycus*, *Aptungis*, &c. were of no great repute, and therefore we ſhall paſs them by; as likewiſe the promontories *Phycus* and *Zephyrium*, the ports *Parætonius*, *Nauſtathmus*, &c. with ſeveral other places of leſs note. The
f principal towns in this tract were *Cyrene* the metropolis, *Arſinoe* or *Teuchira*, *Berenice*, *Ptolemais* or *Barce*, and *Apollonia*, from whence the beſt part of it was named *Pentapolis*. *Adriane* or *Hadrianopolis*, ſo denominated from the emperor *Adrian*,

could

a ſignal given, moved forwards, the prieſt anſwered, *That the god had granted his requeſt.* He then inquired *whether any of his father's murderers had eſcaped juſtice?* To which the oracle cried out: *Expreſs thyſelf better, ſince no mortal can kill thy father; but all the murderers of* Philip *have been brought to condign puniſhment.* The pretended deity afterwards told him, *That the uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs he had met with was a full proof of his divine origin; and that he ſhould, for the future, ever continue to be victorious.* In this manner did the artful prieſts of *Ammon* ſooth *Alexander*'s vanity, and draw from him many valuable preſents; after which he returned with his army to the confines of *Egypt* (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvii.

could not vye with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no despicable a place. The castle *Diacherſis*, *Tower of Hercules*, port *Diarrhæa*, promontory *Boreum*, near the *Greater Syrtis*, deserve little attention; nor is any thing further to be said of *Automala*, or *Automalax*, than that it was a fortress of considerable strength upon the frontiers of the *Regio Syrtica* [b].

City of Cyrene.

The city of *Cyrene*, now called *Cairoan*, or *Corene*, stood at some distance from the sea, upon a spot of ground in figure resembling a table, according to *Strabo*. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as necessaries, of life. Its territory produced vast numbers of excellent horses, which probably made the *Cyreneans*, whether *Libyans* or *Greeks*, apply themselves to the study and practice of every thing relating to those animals, more than most other nations. *Berenice*, b *Teuchira*, *Ptolemais*, *Apollonia*, and *Adriane*, stood along the coast of the *Mediterranean*; and their inhabitants carried on a considerable trade. *Cyrene* derived its name from the fountain (C) *Cyre*, near which it was situated. *Bochart* deduces *Cyre* from the *Phœnician* קור *kur*, the radix of מקור *makur*, *fons*; which, considering that the *Carthaginians* assisted the *Greeks* in settling themselves here, and were acquainted with the country long before their arrival, is by no means improbable. We shall pass by here the religion, language, customs, *&c.* of the proper *Cyreneans*; since whatever has been said of their *Greek* ancestors, on each of these heads, is equally applicable to them [c] (D).

Nature of the soil, &c. of Cyrenaica.

Though a great part of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect desert, e yet there were some fruitful plains in both those countries. The inhabitants were very subject to fevers, which some have attributed to the insalubrity of the air. Except the *Lathon*, we find no considerable river of *Cyrenaica* taken notice of by the antients, and some of them have even fixed this in *Mauritania*. The *Montes Velpi* and *Anagombri* are the only mountains that seem to claim any relation to the country we are now upon; as the *Palus Paliuri* is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the *Hesperides* here, but others in *Mauritania*. The latter opinion appears to us the most probable, since it better corresponds with the word *Hesperides*, which imports a western situation; and therefore we have already taken notice of those gardens in the history of *Mauritania*. Some parts of *Cyrenaica* and d the *Regio Syrtica* were famous for the production of the *silphium*, a plant or shrub greatly celebrated by the antients. The *Libyans* looked upon the stalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant, as most precious; and consequently esteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. *Strabo* intimates, that the *Libyan* barbarians had destroyed almost all the roots of the *silphium* in their excursions before his time, which is confirmed by *Scribonius Largus*. *Pliny* relates it to have been so scarce in his age, that a stalk of it was presented to *Nero* as a singular curiosity; and yet, that the *laser*, a gum proceeding from the *silphium*, or *laserpitium*, as we find it sometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of *Severus*, may be inferred from *Galen*. *Aristotle*, *Aristophanes*'s scholiast. *Tzetzes*, *Hesychius*, e and *Suidas*, insinuate the figure of the *silphium* to have been struck on the *Cyrenean* coins; which is confirmed by many of them, that are still to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The *Carthaginians* carried vast quantities of the *laser* and *silphium* from *Charax*, a city near the confines of *Cyrenaica*, into their dominions, for which they supplied the *Cyreneans* with wine. This vegetable the *Cyreneans* offered to their first king *Battus*, whom they deified, looking upon it as the most valuable produce

[b] Herodot. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 38. p. 996. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 40. Suid. Steph. Byzant. Auct. fab. August. &c. [c] Strab. ubi sup. Pind. in od. ad Arcesilaum Cyren. Herodot. l. iv. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vi. Lucian. in encom. Demosth. Pausan. l. vi. p. 366. & alib. Alexis apud Athen. in deipnosoph. ut et ipse Athen. pass. Vid. etiam Casaub. animadvers. ad Athen. l. iii. c. 21. Max. Tyr. serm. vii. Marmol, l. viii. c. 10. Callimach. hymn. in Apoll. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(C) *Justin* says, that this *Cyre*, or *Cyra*, was a mountain, but at the same time intimates, that it abounded with fountains; which countenances *Bochart*'s etymon, as well as the notion we have followed (3).

(D) It may not, however, be improper to take notice of one particular custom of the *Cyreneans*, which seems to have been peculiar to them. When any person of distinction amongst them was invited to an entertainment, he brought a great number of friends, chariots, *&c.* with him (4).

(3) *Justin. l.* xiii. *c.* 7. (4) *Athen. deipnosoph. l.* xii. *sub init.*

produce of their country; for which reaſon we find it on the reverſes of ſeveral of that prince's coins. That *Cyrenaica* likewiſe abounded with a moſt rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by *Theophraſtus*. *Athenæus* relates, that the roſes, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the ſaffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted; and that in the time of *Berenice* a moſt charming ointment was made of the *Cyrenean* roſes. As for the *ſilphium*, great quantities of it were imported into *Greece*, and many other countries. The antients prepared it various ways, both for food and phyſic, as appears from *Athenæus* and *Hippocrates*, to omit many other authors d.

Principal nations of this tract.

The principal nations of this tract, or at leaſt contiguous to it, were the *Barcæi*, the *Pſylli*, and the *Naſamones*; the *Aſbyſtæ*, *Macatutæ*, &c. being too obſcure to merit any regard. *Barce* or *Barca*, the capital of the *Barcæi*, we find mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Scylax*, and *Ptolemy*; the two former of which make it to have occupied the ſame ſpot that *Ptolemais* afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It ſeems to have ſtood to the weſt of *Cyrene*, and had a port near the *Greater Syrtis*.

a As *Ptolemais* was a maritime city, it is moſt probable, that it ſtood by the port of the *Barcæi*, and not where *Barce* did; eſpecially, ſince that capital was an hundred ſtadia from the ſea, according to *Scylax*. *Herodotus* affirms *Barca* to have been built by the brothers of *Arceſilaus* III. king of *Cyrene*, above a generation before the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign; but we rather think, that it was of *Phœnician*, if not *Egyptian*, or *Libyan*, extraction; for *Barca* was a *Phœnician* name, well known in theſe parts of *Africa*, as appears from *Silius Italicus*, and others. *Servius* intimates the citizens of it to have come originally from *Carthage*, which would tempt one to believe, that *Barca*, *Dido*'s brother, who attended her into *Africa*, with ſome of his countrymen, ſettled here. It is evident from *Virgil* and *Silius*, that the *Barcæi* ſpread themb ſelves over ſeveral conſiderable parts of *Libya*; and from *Servius*, that their metropolis made the greateſt figure of any city in the region we are now upon, except *Cyrene*. St. *Jerom* confirms the laſt authorities, when he aſſerts this town to have been ſituated in a deſert; and its inhabitants, or at leaſt their deſcendants, to have diſperſed themſelves over ſeveral diſtricts lying as far to the weſtward as *Mauritania*, and the eaſtward as *India*. The *Barcæi* learned, ſays *Stephanus*, the art of managing horſes from *Neptune*, and of driving chariots from *Minerva*; which evidently points out their high antiquity. They agreed, in moſt particulars, with the other *Libyan Nomades* already mentioned. The modern kingdom and deſert of *Barca*, extending from *Egypt* to the confines of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, correſpond with the antient c *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica*; though they undoubtedly received their name from the *Barcæi*. This may be looked upon as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held amongſt the various nations of *Libya* e.

The *Pſylli* and *Naſamones*, according to *Pliny*, *Silius*, and *Lucan*, muſt have been ſeated near the *Greater Syrtis*; or behind the *Regio Syrtica* and *Cyrenaica*, if we chuſe to follow *Strabo*. The *Pſylli*, as *Herodotus* informs us, having once had all their reſervoirs of water dried up by the ſouth wind, advanced into the *Sahara*, in order to make war upon that wind; but it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of ſand, and all periſhed. After which tragical event, their neighbours the *Naſamones* annexed the territories they poſſeſſed to their own dominions. *Herodotus* repreſents the *Naſamones* as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for ſome ſingular cuſtoms then prevailing amongſt them. During the ſummer-ſeaſon, they left their cattle on the coaſt, and diſperſed themſelves over the plains of *Ægila*, in order to get the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewiſe they found an immenſe quantity of graſhoppers, which, having dried in the ſun, they pulverized, and infuſed them in milk. The liquor compoſed of theſe two ingredients was highly eſteemed by them, as a moſt pleaſant and rich kind of drink. They had many wives, which they uſed in public, like the

d Herodot. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Virg. Æn. iv. v. 480, & ſeq. Aristot. de Cyren. repub. Scribon. Larg. c. 16. Plin. l. xix. c. 3. & l. xxii. c. 23. Aristoph. ſchol. ad Plut. p. 92. Suid. Tzetzes, & Hesych. in Βάττου Σίλφιον. Galen. de temperant. l. iii. c. 3. ſimpl. medic. fac. l. viii. & de antidot. l. ii. p. 440. ed. Baſil. Catul. ep. 7. Dioscorid. l. iii. c. 97. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. xv. & alib. Theophrast. plant. l. iv. c. 3. Vid. etiam Casaub. animadverſ. in Athen. l. iii. c. 21. & Ezech. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſtant. num. ant. diſſert. vi.

e Herodot. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. l. i. Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 41. & Serv. in loc. D. Hieron. ep. 129. ad Dard. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Sophocl. in Electr. & alib. D. Bern. Aldret. de Africa, l. iii. c. 20. Reinec. hiſt. Jul. tom. ii. de repub. Carthag.

the *Massagetæ*, after having erected a staff for a mark. The bride, amongst them, a lay the first night with all the guests invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a present, which he had brought with him for that purpose. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the sepulchres of those who were generally esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons amongst them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their ancestors; where, after certain prayers, they fell asleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then happened to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually presented a cup of liquor; and if they had none, the parties took up some dust from the ground, which they put into their mouths. From some authors it appears, that the *Nasamones* were looked upon by the antients as little better than a great gang of b
robbers; since they made frequent incursions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a dreadful manner. We learn from *Philostratus*, that a people of the same name was seated in *Ethiopia*. The *Libyan* nations here mentioned possessed the countries they inhabited long before the *Greeks* built *Cyrene*[f].

Transactions of Cyrenaica *till subject to the* Romans.

Battus the *Theræan*, according to *Herodotus*, with a colony of his countrymen, settled first in *Platæa*, an island on the coast of *Libya*. From thence they removed to that part of the continent opposite to this island, and seated themselves in a delightful province, surrounded with agreeable hills, and watered by two rivers running on c
each side, called *Aziristus*. After six years residence here, the *Libyans* conducted them to *Irasa*, a most charming country to the west of *Aziristus*. In this region, near a fountain sacred to *Apollo*, they fixed their habitations, and built *Cyrene*, about the third year of the thirty-seventh olympiad, according to *Eusebius*. We find nothing farther remarkable related of *Battus* the first, except that he lost the stammering in his speech by the following accident. Being one day wandering alone in a desert place, he was surprised by a lion, which, unexpectedly rushing upon him, struck him with such terror, that he lifted up his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to some authors, so frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the same time delivered *Battus* from the impediment he before laboured under. d
His son, *Arcesilaus* the first, probably made no great figure, since history is intirely silent as to any particulars of his reign. *Battus* II. son to *Arcesilaus*, built the city of *Zoa*, and reigned forty years, and his son *Arcesilaus* II. sixteen; which is all that we know of them. *Battus* III. son to *Arcesilaus* II. surnamed *The happy*, being strengthened by the accession of a vast number of *Greeks*, who came to live under his government, defeated *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, in a great battle, near the fountain *Thestis* in *Irasa*. The victory was so complete, that scarce any of the *Egyptian* troops returned home; so that *Adicran*, a neighbouring *Libyan* prince, who had drawn *Apries* upon *Battus*, could not afterwards make head against the *Cyreneans*, nor consequently give them any obstruction in the possession of those territories they had before wrested from him. *Arcesilaus* III. the son of *Battus* III. succeeded him; whose brothers, on account of some disputes they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and, as *Herodotus* will have it, built *Barca*. Before that city was finished, they found means to excite *Arcesilaus*'s *Libyan* subjects to a revolt. However, he marched against them with an army, and pursued them into the eastern parts of *Libya*. But having there assembled a powerful body of forces, they came to a resolution to give him battle; which soon after they did, and totally routed him, cutting seven thousand of his men in pieces. *Arcesilaus*, in a short time after this disaster, was dispatched by his brother *Aliarchus*, who, in his turn was put to death by that prince's wife *Eryxo*. *Battus* IV. *Arcesilaus*'s son, surnamed *The lame*, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign *Demonax*, a *Mantinean* legislator, arrived at *Cyrene*; and, at the king's desire, introduced several alterations into the preceding form of government. *Arcesilaus* IV. son to the former prince, endeavouring to put the *Cyrenean* constitution upon its former footing, was driven by his subjects to *Samos*; his mother *Pheretima* at the same time escaping to *Salamis* in the island of *Cyprus*. *Euelthon*, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent presents, but found means to evade sending an army to reinstate her son in the possession of his dominions. *Arcesilaus* afterwards retired to *Barca*, having married the daughter

[f] Herodot. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Lucan. l. ix. v. 439, & seq. Sil. Ital. l. i. v. 438. Philostrat. l. vi. c. 12.

a daughter of *Alazar*, king of the *Barcæi*; but was aſſaſſinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time, *Pheretima* eſtabliſhed her authority at *Cyrene*; and, after her ſon's death, applied to *Aryandes*, the *Perſian* governor of *Egypt*, for aſſiſtance, to revenge *Arceſilaus*'s death, who, ſhe pretended, was murdered for his cloſe attachment to the *Medes*. She had ſome grounds for ſuch an application, ſince her ſon had put himſelf under the protection of *Cambyſes*, and acknowledged himſelf a tributary to him. *Aryandes* firſt ſent a herald to *Barca*, to demand whether the *Barcæi* had been guilty of the aſſaſſination of *Arceſilaus*; and, upon their acknowledging it, he ſent a land-army, commanded by *Amaſis*, and a fleet, under the conduct of *Badres*, to take vengeance of
b the aſſaſſins. The *Perſians* ſoon inveſted the city of *Barca*, and carried on the ſiege ineffectually for the ſpace of nine months. However, (E) at laſt they made themſelves maſters of it by treachery. *Amaſis*, after the reduction of *Barca*, put the city into the hands of *Pheretima*; who cauſed all the men concerned in the murder of *Arceſilaus* to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breaſts of their wives, which ſhe ordered to be cut off for that purpoſe. The place, by her conſent, the *Perſian* general gave up to his ſoldiers to be plundered; though he ſpared thoſe perſons who had been averſe to the aſſaſſination of *Arceſilaus*, and permitted *Pheretima* to put *Barca* into their hands. *Badres*, the *Perſian* admiral, had a ſtrong deſire, before his return to *Egypt*, to plunder *Cyrene*; but was prevented by *Amaſis*:
c The *Libyans* extremely haraſſed the *Perſians* in their march, cutting in pieces all the ſtragglers they met with, which muſt have been many, ſince they attended the enemy to the borders of *Egypt*. All the priſoners were ſent to *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, in whoſe reign thoſe tranſactions happened, who ſettled them in a diſtrict of *Bactria*, which was from them denominated *Barca*. *Pheretima* is ſaid afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms, which the hiſtorian looks upon as a puniſhment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the *Cyreneans*, and *Libyans* with whom they were intermixed, till the conqueſt of the *Perſian* empire, are not very remarkable in hiſtory. *Ariſtotle* gives us to underſtand, that in his time *Cyrene* was a republic; which ſeems to imply, that, upon the extinction of
d *Battus*'s line, *Demonax*'s form of government took place; tho' the *Cyreneans* might have been tributary to, or at leaſt under the protection of, the *Perſians*. It appears from *Salluſt*, that the people of *Cyrene* were free, when the contention happened betwixt them and the *Carthaginians* about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the *Macedonians* ſubdued *Egypt*, we find aſſerted by *Strabo*. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth olympiad, one *Ariſton* ſeized upon *Cyrene*, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were ſoon after compoſed, and all former acts of hoſtility buried in oblivion. *Alexander* had not been long dead, when *Thimbro* invaded *Cyrenaica*, overthrew the *Cyreneans*, and obliged them to buy a peace with five thouſand talents of ſilver, and half of their armed chariots. However, *Mnaſi-*
e *clus* a *Cretan*, one of his officers, afterwards ſpirited them up againſt him, forced him to abandon the port of *Cyrene*, and obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over him. Notwithſtanding which, *Thimbro*, bringing them to another general action, intirely defeated them, though he was ſoon after overthrown by *Ophellas*, and taken priſoner.

(E) *Herodotus* relates, that when the *Perſians* endeavoured to ſap the foundations of *Barca*, an artificer in braſs diſcovered their ſubterraneous approaches in the following manner: He carried a brazen ſhield round the city within the wall, and, applying it to the ground, heard no noiſe where the earth was ſolid; but when he came to the parts which were undermined, the ſhield rung. Upon which diſcovery, the beſieged fell to countermineing, killed all the *Perſians* they found in the mines, and diſmounted all the enemies engines of battery. *Amaſis* therefore, finding he could not take the city by force, had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: He opened a large trench in the night, which he covered with ſlight planks of wood, and threw a proper quantity of earth upon them; which rendered that part like the adjacent ground. Early the next morning, after a conference with the beſieged, he concluded a treaty with them upon the ſpot that was undermined, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the agreement ſhould continue "in force as long as the earth on which they ſtood "ſhould remain in the preſent condition; that the "*Barcæi* ſhould pay a competent tribute to the "king of *Perſia*; that the *Perſians* ſhould introduce no innovations into *Barca*." The *Barcæi* then opened their gates to *Amaſis*, upon the faith of this treaty. That general, finding himſelf maſter of the town, in order to free himſelf from the oath he had juſt taken, ordered the covering of the trench to be broken down, and afterwards treated the inhabitants in the manner here related (5).

(5) *Herodot. l.* iv. *ſub fin.*

priſoner. This victory rendered that general maſter of *Cyrenaica*, and he delivered a
it into the hands of *Ptolemy*. However, it ſeems probable, from what we have ob-
ſerved in the hiſtory of the *Carthaginians*, that *Ophellas*, by ſome means or other,
obtained the ſovereignty of this country. *Magas*, the brother of *Ptolemy Lagus*,
whoſe daughter *Ptolemy Philadelphus* married, reigned at *Cyrene* fifty years, as we
learn from *Agatharchides*. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from *Po-*
lyænus, who has tranſmitted to us an account of one of his ſtratagems. *Plutarch*
intimates, that *Nicocrates*, tyrant of *Cyrene*, being in love with *Aretaphila*, the wife
of one *Phædimus*, or, as *Polyænus* will have it, *Melanippus* the prieſt of *Apollo*, kill-
ed her huſband in order to enjoy her; and that ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till b
ſhe found an opportunity of deſtroying him; which ſhe at laſt did, and thereby de-
livered her country from ſervitude. But whether this laſt event happened before the
time of *Magas*, or afterwards, we are not given to underſtand. Be that as it will,
it remained under the kings of *Egypt*, till *Ptolemy Phyſcon* made it over to his baſtard
ſon ſurnamed *Apion*, who, in the year of *Rome* 658. left it by will to the *Romans*.
The ſenate, inſtead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their
own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants, thoſe who were moſt
potent in every diſtrict endeavouring to make themſelves ſovereigns of it. This
threw the kingdom of *Cyrenaica* into great confuſion; but *Lucullus* in a good mea-
ſure reſtored the public tranquillity, on his coming thither during the firſt *Mithri-* c
datic war. The deſcendants of thoſe (E) *Jews*, ſettled here by the firſt *Ptolemy*,
are ſaid to have greatly contributed to the diſturbances juſt hinted at. Be that as
it will, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the
form of a *Roman* province, which happened about twenty years after the death of
Apion, and ſeventy-ſix before the birth of *Chriſt*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time
Crete and *Cyrenaica* formed one *Roman* province. Upon a revolt *Cyrene* was ruined
by the *Romans*; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In proceſs of time it fell to the
Arabs, and at laſt to the *Turks*, who are the preſent poſſeſſors of it [5]. For ſome
of the principal learned men it produced, we ſhall refer our readers to the following
note (F).

SECT.

[5] Herodot. l. iv. Pind. Pyth. od, iv. & v. Pausan. in Phocic. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. Polyæn. l. ii. c. 28. ex. 1, 2. & l. viii. c. 38, 41. Pausan. in Attic. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l. xii. Plutarch. de virtut. mulier. Justin. l. xiii. c. 7. Callimach. in hymn. Solin. c. 30. Sallust. in Jugurth. Strab. l. xvii. Eustath. in Dionys. Euseb. in chron. ad an. 3. olymp. 37. p. 122. Plut. in Lucul. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Liv. epit. 70. Justin. l. 29. Eutrop. l. vi. c. 11. Univ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 31, 148, 291. & vol. vi. p. 804, 805, 806.

(E) Amongſt the deſcendants of theſe *Cyrenean Jews* may be ranked *Jaſon*, who wrote the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* in five books, of which the ſecond book of *Maccabees*, ſtill extant, is an abridgment; *Simon*, who carried our ſaviour's croſs; and others mentioned in the acts of the apoſtles (5).

(F) This country produced ſeveral perſons who made an illuſtrious figure in the republic of letters, amongſt the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. *Ariſtippus*, a diſciple of *Socrates*, and the chief of the *Cyrenaic* ſect. He lived about the ninety-ſixth olympiad, and the year of *Rome* 360. He was the firſt that took money of his ſcholars for teaching them philoſophy. He once ſent his maſter *Socrates* twenty *minas*; but that philoſopher refuſed it, ſaying, *God would not permit him to receive it*. *Xenophon* was an enemy to him; on which account he wrote a treatiſe againſt *pleaſure*, in order to expoſe him. *Theodorus* and *Plato* likewiſe were very ſevere upon him. He could adapt himſelf to all perſons, places, and times, and, without difficulty, act any part: which rendered him agreeable to *Dionyſius*. He went frequently to court, kept ſeveral miſtreſſes, and, amongſt the reſt, the famous *Lais*; and fared deliciouſly, in conformity to the principles of his philoſophy. When he was cenſured by an acquaintance for living too luxuriouſly, he ſaid, *That if it were not a good thing to feaſt and eat well, people would not practiſe it on their holy feſtivals*. He was extremely quick at repartees, as appears from *Diogenes Laertius*. He aſked a certain perſon, who reproached him for having had a ſumptuous entertainment, *Whether he would not have lived in as elegant a manner, if he could have done it for three oboli?* To which the other replied, he would. *Then*, ſaid he, *I find you are fond of money, and not I of pleaſure*. One time a fellow purſuing him with opprobrious and ſcurrilous language, and aſking him, *Why he made ſuch haſte away? Becauſe*, ſaid he, *thou art accuſtomed to give foul language, and I am not accuſtomed to hear it*. *Dionyſius* had once three harlots to wait upon *Ariſtippus*, out of whom he ordered that philoſopher to chuſe one; but he carried them all three off, ſaying, *That* Paris *had greatly ſuffered by preferring one goddeſs to another*. One deſired to know of him what he would have for educating his ſon; to whom he anſwered, *Five hundred drachmas. I can buy a ſlave*, anſwered the other, *for that ſum. Do ſo*, replied *Ariſtippus, and then you will have two*. He wrote three books of the hiſtory of *Libya*, which he dedicated to *Dionyſius*; and a volume conſiſting of twenty-five dialogues, compoſed partly in the *Attic*, and partly in the *Doric*, dialect. The principles of his philoſophy were theſe: The ſoul has two particular motions, or ſenſations, *viz.* pain and pleaſure; all pleaſures are alike; virtue is only ſo far to be eſteemed, as it conduces to ſenſuality

(7) *Act.* c. ii. v. 1. & c. vi. v. 9.

SECT. III.

The history of the Regio Syrtica.

Description of the Regio Syrtica.

a THE *Regio Syrtica*, ſo called becauſe the two *Syrtes* were the northern extremities of its eaſtern and weſtern limits, was bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the ſouth by the country of the *Naſamones* and the *Sahara*; on the eaſt by *Cyrenaica*; and on the weſt by *Africa Propria*. The tower of *Euphrantas*, and the town of *Charax* above-mentioned, were the principal maritime places in the neighbourhood of *Cyrenaica*, as *Auxiqua*, *Leptis Magna*, *Garapha*, *Abrotonum*, *Sabrata*, and *Tacape*, were on the ſea-coaſt betwixt the rivers *Cinyps* and *Triton*. As for *Geriſa*, *Iſcina*, *Amuncla*, *Sicapha*, *Muſta*, *Butta*, and ſeveral other obſcure mediterranean towns mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the *Itinerary*, we ſcarce ever find them taken notice of by any antient hiſtorian. The *Cinyps* of *Scylax*, however, ſeems to have been a city b of ſome repute. *Pliny* and *Herodotus* intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful diſtrict called *Cinyphe*, which, as well as the city above-mentioned, might have been ſo denominated from the river of the ſame name. To paſs by the *Samamycii*, *Damenſii*, *Nigbeni*, *Nycpii*, *Nigintimi*, *Muchthuſii*, and may other inconſiderable tribes recited by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the only nations of this country deſerving any regard were the *Cinethii*, *Gindanes*, *Macæ*, and *Lotophagi*. The *Cinethii*, or *Cinithii*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, ſituated behind the *Machyni*, about the *Leſſer Syrtis*, were a reſpectable nation, as we learn from *Tacitus*. The *Gindanes*, according to *Herodotus*, were

ſenſuality. For all the other particulars of his life, we muſt refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*. His name ſeems to confirm what ſeveral authors have ſuggeſted of the *Cyreneans*, viz. that they were famous for being good horſemen.

2. *Areta*, daughter to *Ariſtippus*, who preſided over the *Cyrenaic* ſchool after the death of her father.

3. *Ariſtippus* the younger, ſon to *Areta*, by whoſe inſtructions he became a famous philoſopher, and from thence was ſtyled *Metrodidactos*.

4. *Anniceris*, who reformed the *Cyrenaic* ſect, or rather founded another that was called the *Annicerian*.

5. *Callimachus*, a celebrated poet and hiſtorian, the ſon of *Battus* and *Meſatma*, and diſciple of *Hermocrates* the grammarian. He married the daughter of *Euphrates Syracuſanus*, and lived in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, being then the royal librarian. Several pieces we find aſcribed to him, tho' he was no voluminous author, it being a trite obſervation with him, *That a great book was a great evil*. The principal of theſe were: 1. A ſatirical poem upon his adverſary, whom he called *Ibis*. 2. Thoſe hymns which are ſtill extant. 3. Αἰτία, or a treatiſe upon the origin and cauſes of ſacred things, taken notice of by *Martial*. 4. A poem intituled *de coma Berenices*. *Suidas* mentions another *Callimachus*, nephew to this, as a tolerable poet; but 'tis generally agreed, that he did not make any great figure in the learned world.

6. *Eratoſthenes*, the ſon of one *Aglaus*, or, according to others, *Ambroſius*, a celebrated philoſopher and mathematician, in great favour at the *Egyptian* court. He was the ſcholar of *Ariſto* the *Chian*, *Lyſanias* the grammarian, and the poet *Callimachus*. He flouriſhed in the hundred twenty-ſixth olympiad, being about that time librarian to the king of *Egypt*. He firſt aſſerted the ambit or circumference of the earth to be two hundred and fifty-two thouſand ſtadia; on which account we find him ſtyled the *meaſurer of the earth*. Beſides his philoſophical pieces, he wrote ſome poems, ſeveral hiſtorical and aſtronomical tracts, a collection of dialogues, and ſome obſervations relating to comedy. He died at eighty one years of age.

7. *Carneades*, the ſon of *Epicomus*, or *Philocomus* and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the ſecond founded by *Arceſilaus*. He pretended to diſcover an uncertainty in the moſt evident notions, and was a grand ſtickler againſt the *Stoics*, attempting vigorouſly to confute *Chryſippus* one of their principal pillars. *Carneades* did not much apply himſelf to phyſic and natural philoſophy, but cultivated morals with particular diligence. His ſurpriſing eloqence made him feared by the *Roman* ſenate, during his reſidence at *Rome* with two other embaſſadors. Whilſt he was there, he is ſaid to have diſputed admirably well for juſtice one day, and the next againſt it. He gave himſelf up ſo intirely to ſtudy, that he neglected frequently all other things; inſomuch, that he ſometimes ſat at table, and forgot to eat, till rouſed from his thoughtfulneſs by his maid *Maliſſa*. According to *Diogenes Laertius*, he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, about the fourth year of the clxii. olympiad, though *Cicero* ſtretched his life to ninety; which makes it difficult to determine preciſely the time of his death. The former author ſays, that when *Carneades* underſtood, that *Antipater* had poiſoned himſelf, he did the like; and likewiſe makes an eclipſe of the moon to have then happened. He is ſaid to have written many letters to *Ariarathes* king of *Armenia*. For a fuller account of him we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to *Diogenes*, *Laertius*, *Cicero*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Valerius*, *Maximus*, and others.

8. *Cronus Apollonius*, the maſter of *Diodorus* the logician, whoſe name was aſſumed by his ſcholar (6).

(6) *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 576. *Diog. Laert. in Ariſtip. in Carnead. & alib. Poſidon. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* vii. *Suid. in* Ἐρατοσθένης, *in* Καλλίμαχος, *& alib. Schol. in Ariſtoph. ran. act* iv. *ſc.* 2. *Plut de placit. philoſ. adverſ. Stoic. & alib. Martial. l.* x. *Aul. Gell. l.* vii. *c.* 14. *& l.* xvii. *c.* 15. *Val. Max. l.* viii. *c.* 8. *Cic. in Academ. quæſt. l.* i. *in Tuſcul. quæſt. l.* v. *de orat. l.* ii. *& alib. Ouzelius in Aul. Gel. ubi ſup. Galen. in lib. de opt. docend. gen. ab Henric. Stephan. edit. an* 1562. *aliiq; ſcript. mult.*

were ſeated not far from the *Cinyps*; their wives wore as many borders on their a
gowns as they had lovers, and ſhe who had the greateſt number was the moſt eſteemed.
The *Macæ* bordered upon the *Garamantes*, and were a pretty potent notion. They
ſhaved their heads all over, except the middle of the crown, where they permitted
a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they
wore the ſkins of oſtriches inſtead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks
to the ſea-ſide, and in ſummer to the inland places near ſome fountain or river, for
the ſake of water, according to *Scylax*. They are called likewiſe by the antients
Macæ Cinyphii, and *Macæ Syrtitæ*, from their vicinity to the *Cinyps* and the *Greater*
Syrtis. But the *Lotophagi* were the moſt famous people of the tract we are now upon.
If we may believe *Scylax*, they extended themſelves almoſt from the *Greater* to the b
Leſſer Syrtis. That author calls them *Libyes Lotophagi*, and tells us, that the *lotus*
ſerved them both for meat and drink; from which circumſtance they derived their
name. *Pliny* ſays, that ſome authors called them *Alachroæ*, and that many of them
were found about the *Philænorum Aræ*. *Strabo* likewiſe affirms the country of the
Lotophagi to have extended from the *Leſſer Syrtis*, which he calls *Lotophagitis Syrtis*,
to the confines of *Cyrenaica*; and that this people were not ſenſible of the want of
water in the burning ſandy region they inhabited, ſince the root, ſtalks, *&c.* of the
lotus ſupplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food. *Homer* relates, that in
his time the iſland *Meninx*, on the coaſt of *Byzacium*, abounded with the *lotus*, and
was the chief ſeat of the *Lotophagi*; as alſo, that *Ulyſſes* touched here in his return c
to *Ithaca*. A good part of the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect deſert; but the other part
productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree and plant of the *lotus*.
Herodotus tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the ſame ſize with that of the
lentiſcus, but exceedingly ſweet like the date; as alſo that the *Lotophagi* made wine
of it. *Pliny* ſays, that the *lotus* was tranſplanted to *Italy*, but that its qualities were
pretty much altered by that tranſplantation. He likewiſe aſſerts its fruit to have
been of the ſize of a bean, and of the colour of ſaffron, when ripe; tho' he allows
this to have been different, according to the different degrees of maturity at which it
arrived. In *Africa* it reſembled that of a myrtle. The beſt ſpecies of this tree
produced a fruit without any kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard d
as a ſtone. The wine expreſſed from it taſted like mead, being extremely ſweet;
which quality it derived from the fruit itſelf, but would not keep above ten days.
The berries, bruiſed and mixed with wheat, the *Libyans* laid up in large veſſels,
which ſerved them for food. *Theophraſtus* and *Dioſcorides* make the plant *lotus* to
have reſembled a lilly, and repreſent it both as phyſic and food. Some of the mo-
derns think one ſpecies of it to have been the ſame as the *colocaſia*, or *faba Ægyptia*,
and the other as the *nymphæa Nilotica*. But though it might agree with theſe plants
in many particulars, yet that it differed conſiderably from them, is evident from
the figure of it, which we find on the reverſes of many antient *Egyptian* coins. Seve-
ral of theſe coins, ſtruck in the times of *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, ex- e
hibit the leaves, ſtalk, and fruit of the plant *lotus*, and conſequently give us a tole-
rable idea of it; however, the moderns can come to no certain concluſions concern-
ing either the plant or the tree. The principal river of this tract was the *Cinyps*,
which derived its ſtream from a fountain, or a hill, called *Zuchabari*, in the country
of the *Macæ*, and emptied itſelf into the *Sinus Syrticus*. The word *Zuchabari* in
Punic, *Phœnician*, or *Libyan*, ſignified the *hill of the Graces*, as we find it called by
Herodotus. The river *Cinyps*, according to *Bochart*, derived its name from the
great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief
mountains of the *Regio Syrtica* were *Gigius* and *Thizibi*, of which yet we find nothing
related but the bare names. The promontories *Hippus* and *Cephalæ* ſcarce deſerve f
to be mentioned. Of the iſlands appertaining to this country the moſt noted were
Meninx and *Cercina*; *Ptolemy*'s *Gaia*, *Pontia*, and *Miſynus*, being quite obſcure. The
iſland *Myrmex* more properly belonged to *Cyrenaica*, as it was not far diſtant from
the port of the *Barcæi*. *Pliny* makes *Meninx* (F), near the *Leſſer Syrtis*, to be twenty-
five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and further obſerves, that it had two towns,
viz.

(F) This iſland was called *Girba* about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name *Zerbi* or *Zarbi* (6).

(6) *Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 3.

a *viz. Meninx* facing the coaſt of *Africa*, and *Thoar* oppoſite to the *Leſſer Syrtis*. We find it named *Lotophagitis*, not only by the authors above-mentioned, but likewiſe by *Polybius* and *Eratoſthenes*. As for *Cercina*, it lay N. E. of *Meninx*, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the ſame name, and two moſt commodious harbours. Thus ſtands the geography of the *Regio Syrtica*, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of *Tripoli* ſeems at preſent to correſpond [h].

Its inhabitants ſubject to the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Cyreneans, Numidians, *and* Romans.

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other *Libyan Nomades*, whoſe hiſtory has already been given, we can ſay nothing of their antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, *&c.* (G) without being guilty of a b repetition. The tranſactions they were concerned in, before they became ſubject to *Carthage*, could not, we apprehend, have been very conſiderable. However, we believe them to have been ſubdued by the founder of the *Egyptian* empire, whom *Joſephus* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* take to be the ſame prince with *Seſac*. How long they remained ſubject to the *Egyptians*, hiſtory informs us not; but 'tis probable a corps of them formed part of *Zerah*'s numerous army, for the reaſons already offered. Part of the *Regio Syrtica* ſeems to have been under the dominion of the *Cyreneans* till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the *Carthaginians* mentioned by *Salluſt*; but when this happened, cannot be preciſely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, till it was wreſted c out of them by *Maſiniſſa*; for that it was wreſted out of them by that prince, appears clearly from *Appian*. In after-ages it met with the ſame fate as the reſt of his dominions, an ample account of which has been already exhibited to our readers in the hiſtory of the *Numidians* [i].

Some particulars relating to Libya *hitherto omitted.*

THUS have we gone through the hiſtory of all the principal *Libyan* nations, which, we may venture to aſſure our readers, has not been done by any other author. Some few particulars, however, relating to them, hitherto omitted, we muſt not paſs over in ſilence. *Herodotus* obſerves, that the *Libyans* in general went by the name of *Atlantes* or *Atlantides*, though at the ſame time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation; who, he tells us, curſed the *Sun* every day, as d he advanced towards the meridian, purſuing him with the bittereſt invectives, becauſe he conſumed both them and their country with his burning rays. From that author and *Diodorus* it likewiſe appears, that the *Atlantides* were ſeated upon, and in the neighbourhood of mount *Atlas*, which, from its height, the *Libyans* ſtyled the *pillar of heaven*, i. e. *the high* or *lofty pillar*; which evinces the *Libyan* language or languages to have been related to the oriental tongues. *Herodotus* alſo intimates, that no one of this nation did either eat fleſh, or was ever diſturbed in his ſleep by dreams; the laſt of which properties was probably the conſequence of the firſt. In the territories of the *Atlantides*, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped conſiderable advantages from ſeveral mines of ſalt, which was of two colours, *viz.* white e and purple. *Herodotus* farther ſays, that many of the *Libyans* built houſes of this ſalt, which, as no rain ever fell in thoſe parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered, with regard to the *Nigritæ*, we muſt beg leave to add, that they were known to the *Egyptians*, *Ammonii*, and *Cyreneans*, before the time of *Herodotus*. For that author, when in *Egypt*, learned from ſome *Cyreneans*, who had the relation from *Etearchus* king of the *Ammonii*, that five bold *Naſamonian* youths, ſent to make new diſcoveries thro' the deſarts of *Libya*, at laſt came to a city inhabited by men

h HERODOT. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. VIRG. Æn. i. v. 110. & Æn. iv. v. 41. LUCAN. l. i. v. 367. & l. viii. v. 184. SENEC. de beat. vit. c. 14. SCYLAX. CARYAND. in peripl. ANTONIN. itinerar. SALLUST. in Jugurth. CÆS. in civ. l. i. c. 38. DIONYSIUS CHARACENUS, ver. 480. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. l. v. & alib. PLIN. l. xiii. c. 17. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. v. 310. HELIODOR. l. x. p. 457. HERODOT. ubi ſup. THEOPHRAST. hiſt. pl. l. iv. c. 10. PLUT. de Iſid. p. 355, 378, & alib. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 92. THEOPHRAST. hiſt. pl. l. iv. c. 5. p. 87. DIOSCORID. l. iv. c. 114. SOLIN. exercit. p. 683. PLUTARCH. & IAMBLIC. apud. Triſtan. tom. i. p. 605. SEGUIN. num. ſelect. p. 121. EZECH. SPANHEM. de præſt. & uſ. num. ant. diſſert. vi. p. 301—308. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 52. LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 48. POLYB. l. is c. 39. ERATOSTHENES apud Plin. l. v. c. 7. HOMER. Il. I. v. 84. & alib. i SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. ed. Tol. Amſt. 1670. NEWT. in chronol. p. 70. Vid. etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. l. 4. c. 1. ſect. 3.

(G) From *Egypt* to the lake *Tritonis* the *Libyans* were breeders of cattle; ate fleſh, and drank milk; but abſtained from beef and pork, as well as the *Egyptians*. The women of *Cyrene* accounted it a crime to ſtrike a cow. For the cuſtoms, manners, and religion, of the *Libyans* inhabiting the country to the weſt of the *Triton*, we muſt refer our readers to *Herodotus* (7).

(7) *Herodot. l.* iv.

men of a low ſtature, by which ran a great river abounding with crocodiles, that *Etearchus* judged to be the *Nile*. This relation tallies extremely well with *Marmol*, who aſſures us, that the people ſeated on the northern bank of the *Nigir* are perfect dwarfs(H); and alſo ſeems to add ſome weight to the authority of the *Arabian* geographers, who make the *Nile* and the *Nigir* different branches of the ſame river, and aſſert the ſource of this river to be in *Ethiopia*. From hence we may deduce the probability of the *Negroes* being deſcended from the *Ethiopians*, and likewiſe the region of *Nigritia*'s being peopled very early, as *Leo* ſuggeſts. For the *Ethiopians* on the banks, or near the ſource, of the great river above-mentioned, obſerving how the adjacent grounds were fertilized by its inundations, as they increaſed, might follow it weſtward, every one ſtriving to be the firſt poſſeſſor of a great quantity of ſuch excellent ſoil, and therefore advance forward till the *Atlantic* ocean put a ſtop to any farther progreſs. If this be admitted, it will follow, that the *Blacks* are not ſo different from all the reſt of mankind as ſome are willing to ſuppoſe; that their deſcent from *Adam* is eaſy and natural, in oppoſition to what our modern infidels pretend; and that their colour is only an accidental conſideration. But theſe points will be fully diſcuſſed in that branch of the modern hiſtory which they will naturally fall under. The word *Libya* may be deduced either from the proper names *Lehabim*, *Lubim*, &c. above-mentioned, or from the *Hebrew laab*, with which the *Arabic lub* correſponds, ſignifying *dry*, *parched*, &c. or rather *a dry parched country*, &c. Such an appellation agrees extremely well with what the antients have related of *Libya*, and particularly the tract betwixt *Tripolis* and *Pentapolis*, which went by the names of *Xerolibya* and *Libya Propria*. Dr. *Hyde*, however, thinks that this word may be more naturally deduced from *labi*, *a lion*, or rather *a yellow*, *flame-coloured lion*, with which ſpecies of animals *Libya* was known to abound; or elſe from *lahab*, *a flame*, ſince the burning ſands of *Libya*, by the continual reflexion of a vaſt quantity of the ſolar rays, appeared, at ſome diſtance, to travellers like a flame. As theſe ſands were frequently ſo heated as to be almoſt in a ſtate of inflammation, we muſt own ſome regard due to ſuch an etymon. As for the word *Africa*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Afrikia*, which ſeems to have been unknown to *Herodotus*, *Ariſtotle*, *Strabo*, and the other moſt antient *Greek* authors, Dr. *Hyde* takes it to be the ſame with the *Phœnician* or *Punic* הברקה *Habarca*, *Havarca*, *Havreca*, &c. or אברקה *Avreca*, i. e. *The* BARCA, or *the country of* BARCA. This our readers will allow extremely probable, eſpecially ſince *Barca* was a moſt remarkable part of *Africa*, as above obſerved; and the *Romans*, who firſt brought the name of *Africa* into *Europe*, might not pronounce it exactly in the ſame manner as the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received it. The principal difficulty in this etymon will vaniſh, when we conſider, that the *Orientals* for the moſt part pronounced the ſecond letter of their alphabet like a V, and that nothing was more uſual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the firſt diviſion of the world was into two parts only, *viz.* *Aſia* and *Europe*, or the eaſtern and weſtern parts, *Europe* comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and *Africa*; which diviſion ſtill prevails amongſt many of the *Orientals*. This may not only be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewiſe from the words *Europe* and *Aſia* themſelves, the former importing *occidental* or *weſtern*, and the latter *half*. When that vaſt region now called *Africa* was firſt conſidered as a diſtinct part of the world, we cannot take upon us to determine; nor whether *Europe* and *Africa* were ever joined together by an iſthmus uniting *Spain* and *Mauritania*, as ſome authors ſuggeſt; nor laſtly, if this ſhould be admitted, when, or by what means, ſuch an iſthmus came to be deſtroyed, the *Nubian* geographer declaring this to have been effected by labour and art, and *Averroes* by an earthquake. The iſland *Cerne*, taken notice of by *Hanno* and *Scylax*, ſeems to have been ſomewhere on the coaſt of *Libya Interior*; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be diſcovered from the antients, who differ

(H) From the ſituation of the *Naſamones*, it is evident, that theſe youths muſt have approached the northern bank of the river, which the dwarfs here mentioned are ſaid to have inhabited. Now *Marmol* aſſures us, that on the ſouthern bank of the *Senegal* the inhabitants are large and luſty, but on the oppoſite ſide ſmall and puny; which laſt article, agreeing ſo well with *Herodotus*, almoſt demonſtrates the river here hinted at to have been the *Nigir* (8).

(8) *Marm.*

a differ widely amongſt themſelves with regard to its ſituation; which probably induced *Strabo* to deny the very being of it. We muſt own ourſelves likewiſe as much in the dark in relation to *Plato*'s iſland *Atlantis*, which he makes of a larger extent than *Aſia* and *Africa* together. Some of the moderns are diſpoſed to think, from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was that vaſt continent called now *America*; others, that it lay near the pillars of *Hercules*; and laſtly, others, that every thing related of it is to be conſidered as a downright fiction. Much may be ſaid in defence of each opinion; however, the firſt appears to us the moſt probable. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* affirms *Plato* on this occaſion not to have written fable, but a true hiſtory; and *Proclus* cites *Marcellus* an *Ethiopic* hiſtorian in defence of what that philoſopher
b has advanced concerning this iſland. *Crantor* alſo, *Plato*'s firſt interpreter, takes this relation to be a true hiſtory. That the iſland here under conſideration was not ſo near the *Streights* as ſome modern authors ſuppoſe, ſeems probable from *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the *Phœnicians* in early times ſailed beyond *Hercules*'s *Pillars*, along the *African* coaſt, and, there meeting with ſtorms and tempeſts, were carried to the remoteſt parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vaſt iſland at a great diſtance from *Libya*, and lying very far weſt. This place, continues the ſame author, had a fruitful ſoil, navigable rivers, *&c.* and, from the *Phœnicians*, the *Carthaginians* came to the knowledge of it. And in the ſame place he ſays, that the *Carthaginians* would not permit any other nation to ſettle in this new region, but
c reſerved it for themſelves, that, if ever they ſhould be driven from their native ſoil, they might have a place to retire to. *Ælian* brings *Silenus* expreſly aſſerting to *Midas*, that there was a vaſt continent beyond *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, which ought to be conſidered as iſlands ſurrounded by the ocean. Theſe, and other paſſages, that might be extracted from the antients, induced the learned *Perizonius* to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had ſome faint knowledge of *America*, derived to them either from the *Egyptian* and *Carthaginian* traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them [k].

[k] Herodot. l. ii. & l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. I. Leo African. Avicen. paſſ. Ælian. de animal. paſſ. RR, Kimchi, Aben-Ezra, & Jonas in Oſe. c. xiii. ver. v. Virg. Æn. l. iv. Lucan. l. i. Serv. in Virg. ubi ſup. Averroes apud Hieron. Vital. in voc. Terræmotus. Agathæmer. l. ii. c. 2. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. 1. Hyde in Peritſol, p. 13, 14, 15, 16. Plat. in Timæ. & in Crit. Strab. l. ii. p. 33. Polyb. & Corn. Nep. apud Plin. l. vi. c. 31. Hanno & Scylax in peripl. Diotim. apud Strab. ubi ſup. Ptol. l. iv. Ephorus apud Plin. ubi ſup. Lycophron. ſcholiaſt. adverſ. xviii. Eustath. in Dionyſ. verſ. 219. Diod. Sic. l. v. Crantor in Plat. ubi ſup. Marcell. apud Procl. Ammian. Marcellin. & Ælian. var. hiſt. l. iii. Bochart. Phal. iv c. 33. Jac. Perizon. in Ælian. ubi ſup.

CHAP. VI.

The hiſtory of the Ethiopians.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Ethiopia.

The proper Ethiopia where ſituated.

d SEVERAL of the antients gave the name of *Ethiopians* to all perſons either perfectly black, or of a very ſwarthy complexion. The *Arabs* therefore, and other *Aſiatics*, as well as a great number of *Africans*, came under this denomination. The *Africans* we find divided into the weſtern or *Heſperian Ethiopians*, and the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, ſituated to the E. of the former. The *Heſperian Ethiopians* inhabited that vaſt tract called *Libya Interior*, the hiſtory of whoſe principal nations we have already gone through. The eaſtern *African Ethiopians*, for ſo thoſe above *Egypt* may be properly ſtyled, were much better known to the antients than the others, by reaſon of their commerce with the *Egyptians*, and looked upon by them as the proper *Ethiopians*. Theſe are the people, whoſe tranſactions, from the ear-
e lieſt accounts of time, we are now to relate; which we hope to do in ſuch a manner

ner as will prove satisfactory to all, at least the most candid part of, our readers [a].

Limits and extent of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia then, or rather *Ethiopia Propria*, was limited on the north by *Egypt*, on which side it extended to the *Lesser Cataract*, and the island *Elephantine*; on the west by *Libya Interior*; on the east by the *Red Sea*; and on the south by a part of *Africa* unknown to the antients, but probably that including the modern kingdoms of *Gingiro*, *Alaba*, *Machida*, and part of *Adel* or *Zeila*. However, as the proper *Ethiopia* might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the sides of *Libya Interior* and *Libya Incognita*, we cannot pretend to fix, with any precision, its frontiers. Nevertheless it seems, for many ages at least, to have been the same tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abassia*, with part of *Adel* or *Zeila*; and consequently to have taken up seventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of *Cancer* to within six degrees of the *Line*. *Ludolphus* intimates, that the modern geographers, depending upon the authority of *Paulus Jovius*, have extended the southern limits of *Abassia* much farther; but at the same time that author rightly observes them to be guilty of a mistake. It is of no great consequence to our readers how this point stands, and therefore we shall not dwell any longer upon it [b].

Different names of Ethiopia.

The proper *Ethiopia* had various names given it by the antients. Sometimes they called it *India*, and its inhabitants *Indians*; which appellation they applied to many of the remotest nations, as we have observed in the history of the *Garamantes* (A). This country was likewise denominated *Atlantia* and *Ætheria*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, or, as *Hesychius* will have it, *Aeria*. It also went, in very early ages, under the name of *Cephenia*. But we apprehend it to have been most usually called *Abasene*, a word approaching very near, both in sound and signification, to the modern *Habash*, *Habesh*, or *Abassia*; the true etymology of which will be exhibited to our readers, when we come to the history of *Arabia* [c].

On

[a] Herodot. l. iii. & l. vii. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. Homer. apud Strabon. l. ii. ut & ipse Strab. l. i. & l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. iv. p. 524. Ptol. l. iv. Plin. l. v. c. 8. Vid. & Homer. Il. iv. v. 23. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8. sect. 3. [b] Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Ptol. ubi sup. Job. Ludolph. in hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 2. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 88, 89. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. [c] Plin. l. vi. c. 30. Herodot. Strab. ubi sup. Hesych. Agatharchides Cnidius de Mar. Rubr. l. i. c. 3. apud Phot. in bibliothec. p. 1323. Philostorgius apud Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4. aliique mult. Vid. etiam Le Grand. dissert. ii.

(A) *Bochart* thinks, that the *Garamantes* were a colony of the *Amantes* or *Hammanientes* of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, seated to the W. of the *Greater Syrtis*. This notion he grounds not only upon the neighbouring situation of those notions, but likewise upon the affinity of their names. For as גר *gar* signifies in *Hebrew to inhabit*, *Gar-Amante* might originally have denoted *The habitation* or *dwelling* of the *Amantes*; or rather גר *ger*, from the aforesaid verb, may be naturally supposed to have signified *colonus*, *advena*, &c. and then *Gar-Amante* will be equivalent to *One belonging to a colony of the* Amantes. The last nation that ingenious author likewise believes to have been the same with the *Ammonii* or *Amonii*, whose name, by an easy transposition of letters, intirely agrees with that of *Moses's Anamim* or *Anamæi*. Several things, according to him, concur to render this conjecture probable: 1. The *Anamim* in all likelihood deduced their name from the word ענם *Anam*, which might have denoted a *sheep* in the *Egyptian* language, as a word composed of the same letters did in *Arabic*. 2. According to some authors, the idol of *Jupiter*, in the territory of the *Ammonii*, was called *Ammon* from the *ram* that pointed out the spot of ground his temple was erected upon; and it is well known, that the *Ammonii*, in the opinion of the antients, were so denominated from *Ammon* or *Ammûn*, a name the *Egyptians* gave *Jupiter*. 3. That part of *Libya*, where *Moses* seems to place the *Anamim*, abounded with sheep, which supplied the natives not only with food, but cloaths, and agreed very well in situation with the country of the *Ammonii*. 4. The idol of *Jupiter Ammon* had either a *ram*'s horns, or a ram's head upon it; which seemed to point at the origin of the word *Anamim*. If we admit what *Bochart* has advanced on this occasion, the etymon of the name *Nasamones* or *Nasamon*, applied to a neighbouring people, may easily be discovered. For *Nasamon*, on this supposition, must be apparently the same as נשי אמון *Nase-Amon*, i. e. *Homines Amon* or *Ammonii*; and consequently the *Nasamones*, as well as the *Garamantes*, were a branch of the *Anamim*. That the *Garamantes*, in their own tongue, were styled *Gar-Amane*, *Ger-Amane*, or, by contraction, *Gar-Ame*, *Ger-Ame*, &c. appears from the name of their metropolis *Garama*, or, as the *Nubian* geographer intimates it to have been denominated in his time, *Germa*. This observation will go a good way towards confirming those ingenious conjectures which we have here inserted from the learned *Bochart*; especially, since *Herodotus* affirms that part of *Libya* adjacent to the country of the *Ammonii* to have been famous for the sheep it abounded with. These nations were nearly related to the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from the same *Herodotus* (1).

(1) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Hygin. Germanic. in Arat. Athenag in quint. Amor. Mel. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii, *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 5. *Solin. c.* 28. *Gen. c.* x. *v.* 13. *Geogr. Nub. clim.* ii. *par.* 1. *Boch. Phal. l.* iv. *c.* 30. *Golii nota ad Alfraganum, p.* 90.

a On the other hand, we find *Chaldæa*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, &c. ſtyled *Ethiopia* by ſome very good authors; nay, it muſt be allowed, that the antients called all thoſe countries, extending themſelves beyond each ſide of the *Red Sea*, indifferently *India* or *Ethiopia*. The eaſtern people at this day ſometimes name that kingdom *India*, which the *Europeans* call *Abaſſia*, particularly the *Perſians*, who, for the moſt part, give the appellation of *Siah Hindou* or *Hindi*, to an *Abaſſine* or modern *Ethiopian*. It appears from ſeveral authors, that the *Red Sea* itſelf went formerly under the name of the *Indian Sea*; and *Ludolphus* obſerves, that the antients denominated all thoſe nations under the *Torrid Zone*, whoſe names they were ignorant of, *Indians* [d].

Called in Scripture Cuſh.

b According to the *Jews*, the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgate*, and other verſions (B), *Cuſh*, when taken for a country in Sctipture, is always to be underſtood of the proper *Ethiopia*. This notion is ſupported by *Philo*, *Joſephus*, *Eupolemus* in *Euſebius*, *Euſtathius*, the author of the *Alexandrian* chronicon, and the concurrent teſtimony of the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers. Notwithſtanding which, *Bochart*, depending upon the authority of *Jonathan*'s *Targum*, and ſeveral plauſible arguments, affirms the land of *Cuſh* to have been ſituated in *Arabia*; and conſequently maintains, that *Cuſh* never in ſcripture denotes the proper *Ethiopia*. But neither of theſe opinions ought to be looked upon as ſtrictly true: for *Cuſh* is ſometimes in Scripture undoubtedly to be taken for the proper *Ethiopia*, as may be evinced not only by the great authorities above-mentioned, but ſeveral circumſtances likewiſe which evidently point at

c that country; and, on the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that ſome of the ſacred writers give the name of *Cuſh* to the whole peninſula of *Arabia*, or a part of it bordering upon the *Red Sea*, or both. When the prophet *Jeremiah* aſks his countrymen, *Whether the* Cushite *can change his ſkin?* he muſt be conſidered as having in his eye a proper *Ethiopian*. For the nation there pointed at was black, differing greatly in colour from the *Jews*; the prophet's queſtion being proverbial, of the ſame import with that common adage of profane writers, *to waſh the* Ethiopian *or* Blackmoor *white*. Now this cannot be underſtood of the *Arabs*, who were of much the ſame complexion with the *Jews*, as *Bochart* himſelf not only allows, but proves; but the *Abaſſines*, or proper *Ethiopians*, might eaſily and naturally have

d given occaſion to ſuch a proverb. In the book of *Iſaiah* we find *Egypt*, *Pathros*, and *Cuſh*, joined together, and conſequently *Cuſh* taken for *Ethiopia*. For it appears from various authors, and even *Bochart* himſelf, that the land of *Pathros* was either the upper *Egypt*, or a part of that country near the confines of *Ethiopia*; and therefore *Cuſh*, in this paſſage, muſt naturally refer to *Ethiopia*, ſince the region here denoted by that word was S. of the upper *Egypt*, and contiguous to it. In defence of

[d] Procop. Gaz. comment. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. Jos. Scalig in comp. eccleſ. Æthiop. Theodoret. in hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. i. c. 22. Le Grand ubi ſup. & I. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1.

(B) The eaſtern people affirm *Cuſh*, the ſon of *Canaan* and grandſon of *Ham*, to have had a ſon whoſe name was *Habaſchi* or *Haboſchi*, the father of the *Abyſſinians* or *Egyptians*, whom the *Perſians* call *Black Indians*. The *Hebrew* grammarians derive the word *Habaſchah*, which ſignifies *Ethiopia*, from *Habouſcha*, which denotes a people raiſed from a mixture of different nations, originally of different countries. According to *D' Herbelot* and others, the *Abyſſinians*, *Nubians*, and *Fungi*, are all comprehended under the word *Habaſch*. The inſpired writers are ſilent as to *Cuſh* the ſon of *Canaan*, and his ſon *Habaſchi*. We find mention made there only of *Cuſh*, the ſon of *Ham*, and his ſons *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and *Nimrod*. It is ſaid, that *Arabia Felix* went formerly under the name of *Ethiopia*, becauſe the *Abyſſinians*, who conquered it, poſſeſſed it for a long time. *Dhou-Iren* king of *Yaman* drove them from thence with the aſſiſtance of the *Perſians*. Some authors believe, that by *Cuſh* upon the river *Gihon* is meant only the antient country of the *Scythians* upon the *Araxes*. *Herodotus* intimates, that the firſt habitation this people had was upon the *Araxes*: and that, being forced from thence by the *Maſſagetæ*, they paſſed this river, and retired into the country of the *Cimmerians*. *Juſtin* makes the *Phaſis* and *Araxes* to be, as it were, the limits of the *Scythians* on the ſouth ſide. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that the *Scythians*, who were near *Media*, abode at firſt upon the *Araxes*, and that the *Sacæ* and *Maſſagetæ* are different branches of the *Scythians*. The words *Cuthei* and *Cutha*, whence ſome have deduced *Scythæ* or *Scuthæ*, are the ſame as *Cuſh*. The *Chaldees* generally put the *Tau* where the *Hebrews* uſe *Schin*, and therefore ſay *Cut* or *Cuth* inſtead of *Cuſh*. The *Cuthæans*, who came to and inhabited the country of *Samaria*, did originally belong to that part of *Media* which bordered upon the *Caſpian* ſea, and therefore muſt have appertained to the *Cuſh* we are ſpeaking of. There are very ſenſible footſteps of this name to be met with in various parts round about this country, as the diſtrict of *Cotacene*; the cities of *Citamum*, *Cotamana*, *Cyta*, *Cotaca*, *Cotamba*, *Cotæa*; the *Cotyi*, *Coſſæi*; river of *Ciſſa*, &c. (2).

(2) *D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p.* 409. *Gen. c.* x. *v.* 7, 8. *Herodot. l.* 1. *c.* 201. *& l.* iv. *c.* 11. *Juſtin. l.* i. *& l.* ii. *Diod. Sic. l.* xi. *p.* 355. *Ptol. paſſ. Valer. Flac. l.* vi. *v.* 693. *Steph. Byzant. Propert, ex emend. Scalig. l.* i. *el.* 1.

of our second assertion, several passages of Scripture may likewise be produced. a When the Lord threatened *Egypt* with utter desolation, he declared, *That* he *would lay it waste from the tower of* Syene *to the border of* Cush (C). Now that *the border of* Cush *and the tower of* Syene are intended here to represent two oppo- site limits of *Egypt*, cannot be denied; and that *Syene* was the *Egyptian* frontier on the side of *Ethiopia*, appears from *Pliny* and *Strabo*: therefore *Cush* evidently denotes *Arabia*, or at least that part of it adjacent to *Egypt*, which was diametrically oppo- site to the tower of *Syene*, and not *Ethiopia*, whose border extended to that tower. *Moses*'s wife *Zippora* was a native of *Cush*, and at the same time a *Midianite*; the prophet *Habakkuk* makes the territories of *Cushan* or *Cush*, and *Midian* or *Madian*, to have been the same; *Josephus*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Jerom*, mention a city of *Arabia* b on the coast of the *Red Sea*, called *Madian*; from all which we may infer, that part of *Arabia* at least goes sometimes in Scripture under the name of *Cush*. *Job* inti- mates, that *Cush* was famous for the excellent topazes it produced: now none of the antients have taken notice of the *Ethiopian* topaz; whereas *Pliny* relates, that the best topazes came from the *Arabic* island *Chittis* or *Chutis*, whose name seems to have been the same with *Cush* or *Cuth*; and *Agatharchides Cnidius*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, have likewise mentioned this island; therefore some of the sacred writers denominated at least part of *Arabia Cush*. *In that day*, says the Lord, *shall messengers go from me in ships, to make the careless* Cushites *afraid*, &c. which menace may be sup- posed more properly to point at the *Arabs*, whom the *Egyptians* and others visited in c ships on the *Red Sea*, than the *Ethiopians*, with whom they had a communication by land. But, to omit other passages that occur, both the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* might have very properly been styled *Cushites*, since the descendants of *Cush* formed a great part of both nations. Nay, that the *Arabs* themselves had the appellation of *Ethio- pians*, and *Asiatic Ethiopians*, clearly follows from what has been advanced by *Xe- nophon* and *Herodotus*. However, we cannot help thinking, that the antient *Hebrews* rightly looked upon the *Ethiopians* as the proper *Cushites*. For *Zerah*'s most formi- dable army consisted chiefly of *Cushites*, neighbours to the *Libyans*, i. e. the *Ethiopians*, of which people only he is called king by the sacred historian; though from Sir d *Isaac Newton*, and what we have already observed, it may be proved, that he was in possession of all the dominions of *Sesac*, i. e. *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Troglodytica*, *Arabia*, &c. The extremely numerous host he commanded adds great weight to this notion. *Pliny* intimates, that the *Ethiopians*, whom he distinguishes from the *Arabians*, were masters of *Egypt* not long before the destruction of *Troy*; which, considering that this

(C) Our readers will observe, that, out of com- plaisance to a great number of learned men, we have here given this text the most received interpretati- on; though we must own ourselves by no means in- clinable to come into it. The words in the original are, : ממגדל סונה ועד גבול כוש i. e. *From* Migdol to Syene *and the border of* Cush; or *From* Migdol *and* Syene, *and to the border of* Cush. If we admit the first of these translations, we must suppose an ellipsis of the preposition עד betwixt ממגדל and סונה, than which nothing is more frequent in the *Hebrew* Scripture; as may be inferred from *Deut*.c.xxxiii. ver. 17.*Mich*. c. vii. ver. 12. and many other passages enumerated by *Noldius*. If we prefer the latter, we must admit a suppression of the copulative ו before סונה, which is likewise extremely common in the original of the *Old Testament*, as appears from *Gen*. c. xxvii. ver. 33. *Cant*. c. viii. ver. 6. *Jud*. c. ix. ver. 2. and an infinite number of other instances produced by the same *Noldius*. Now *Migdol* is the proper name of a town about twelve miles from *Pelusium* on the *Nile* near the coast of the *Mediterranean*, and dia- metrically opposite to *Syene*; and of course, in conjunction with *Syene*, denotes the whole breadth of the land of *Egypt*, agreeably to the prophet's intention. This city we find mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah*, c. xliv. ver. 1. and c. xlvi. ver. 14. who joins it with *Tahpanhes*, or, as the *Greeks* called it, *Daphne*, and *Daphnæ Pelusiæ*, another city in the neighbourhood of *Pelusium*. This circumstance, in conjunction with the *Septua- gint*, which has there ἐν Μαγδωλῷ, *at* Migdol, and εἰς Μαγδωλὸν *in* Migdol, renders extremely probable the version of this passage, which we would pro- pose to the consideration of our learned readers. In the mean time, we cannot but own ourselves greatly surprised at *Cellarius*, who has with so much boldness insinuated, or rather affirmed, that the *Greek* interpreters have, in agreement with the *Vulgate*, translated the text at present under consideration ἀπὸ πύργου Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων. Whereas both the *Vatican* and *Alexandrian* MSS. of the *Septuagint* have it ἀπὸ Μαγδωλοῦ καὶ Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων. Which, together with the *Arabic* version expressing it *From* Migdol *and* Asuan *to the borders of* Ethiopia, seems to render indispu- table what is here advanced; and consequently, to evince, that this famous passage is so far from prov- ing *Cush* to point out *Arabia*, that, on the contra- ry, it evidently demonstrates that word sometimes to denote the proper *Ethiopia* (3).

(3) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 30. *Steph. Byzant. de urb. Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 8. *Vid. etiam Val. Schind. pentaglot. p.* 281. *& Christiani Noldii concord. particular. Ebræc-Chaldaic. cum. annotat. Joh. Gottfr. Ty- pii. Jenæ*, 1734.

a this period falls in with the time of *Zerah*, brings no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to what is here advanced [e].

We cannot therefore allow, that *Ludim* is the only name given in Scripture to the *Ethiopians*, as M. *Bochart* undertakes to prove. Moſt of the arguments he offers to evince this point are extremely frivolous, as our readers will find upon an examination of them, and the others not of any conſiderable force. But, ſuppoſing them to prove, that the word *Ludim*, in all places of Scripture he cites on this occaſion, is to be underſtood of the *Ethiopians*, which is the utmoſt that he could ever have pretended to; yet it will not follow from hence, that *Ethiopia* is never called *Cuſh* by any of the ſacred writers. Such as an aſſertion cannot be maintained, though it
b ſhould be granted, as we are willing to do, that part of the *Ludim* took up their habitations in *Ethiopia*. And yet ſeveral learned men have come into *Bochart*'s opinion [f].

Different nations of Ethiopia.

The antients believed the blackneſs of the *Abaſſines* or *Abyſſinians* to be occaſioned by the intenſe heat of their climate, and therefore called them *Ethiopians*. We find them likewiſe called *Ætherii* and *Aerii* by *Heſychius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Pliny* relates, that the *Blemmyes*, an *Ethiopian* nation ſeated near the borders of *Egypt*, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breaſts. This ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might poſſibly proceed from their having very ſhort necks; however, that ſome *Blemmyan* captives exhibited an extremely
c odd appearance at *Rome*, we learn from *Vopiſcus*. The *Nobatæ* inhabited one of the banks of the *Nile*, near the iſland *Elephantine*, having been removed thither from *Oaſis*, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repreſs the courſes of, the *Blemmyes*. Some authors refer the *Troglodytes* to *Egypt*, and others to *Ethiopia*; be that as it will, they were a very ſavage nation, living in caves, according to *Strabo*, feeding upon ſerpents, lizards, *&c.* and having a language conſiſting of no articulate ſounds, but reſembling the ſhrieking of bats, according to *Herodotus*. The *Nubians* we find juſt mentioned by the antients as a people of *Ethiopia*, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors aſſert the *Pygmies* to have been a canton of the *Troglodytes*, and others one of the *Nubians*; but 'tis generally agreed, that they had
d their ſituation not far from the *Ethiopic* ſhore of the *Red Sea*. *Nonnoſus* in *Photius* tells us, that they were extremely ſhort, black, and hairy all over. Moſt of theſe nations are repreſented by *Strabo* as inconſiderable, and little better than ſo many gangs of robbers. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Troglodytes*, including the *Pygmies* or *Pygmæi*, were ſtyled by the *Hebrews* סכיים, i. e. *Succhæi*, from סכה *ſucchah a den*; for that word ſignifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence it is natural to ſuppoſe the *Troglodytic* town *Succha*, on the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, mentioned by *Pliny*, the modern *Suaquem*, the ſeat of a *Turkiſh* baſhaw, deduced its name. In ſupport of this notion it may be obſerved, that the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* verſions render סכיים
e Τρωγλοδύται, *Troglodytæ*, a word derived apparently from τρώγλη, i. e. *a cave, den, paſſage*, &c. and rank this people among the *Cuſhites*, *Libyans*, and other nations, that formed the numerous army of *Seſac*. The *Aualitæ* or *Abalitæ* were ſeated near the *Abalitic* gulf, which is all that we have to ſay of them. *Agatharchides*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Agathemerus*, inform us, that the *Struthophagi*, who lived upon oſtriches as big as ſtags, were ſeated immediately to the ſouth of the *Memnones*. The *Acridophagi*, *Chelonophagi*, *Ichthyophagi*, *Cynamolgi*, *Elephantophagi*, *Rhizophagi*, *Spermatophagi*, *Hylophagi*, *Ophiophagi*, &c. derived their names from the locuſts, tortoiſes, fiſh, bitches milk, elephants, *&c.* they fed upon. The *Acridophagi* were very ſmall, ſwift, black, and ſhort-lived, the oldeſt of them not exceeding forty
f years of age. They uſed locuſts for food, with which they were plentifully ſupplied by certain winds that covered their country with them, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. As for the *Chelonophagi*, they covered their houſes with the ſhells of tortoiſes,

[e] Philo Judæus, Hieronym. Euseb. Eustath. Auct. chron. Alexandr. aliiq; apud Bochart. Phal, l. iv. c. 2. Eupolem. apud Euſeb. de. præp. Evang. l. ix. Jonath. Targ. in Gen. c. x ver. 6. & alib. Exod. ii. 16, 21. Num. xii. 1. Isai. c. xi. ver. 11. Jer. c. xiii. ver. 23. Ezek. c. xxix. v. 10. Habak. c. iii. v. 7. Job. c. xxviii. v. 19. Ezek. c. xxx. ver. 9. 2 Chron. c. xiv. ver. 9. & c. xvi. ver. 8. Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 7. Plin. l. v. c. 9. ex emend. P. Harduini. Strab. l. xvii. Joseph. apud Bochart. ubi ſup. Hieronym. apud Cellar. l. iii. c. xiv. Ptol. in Arab. Plin. l. xxxi c. 8. Agatharchides Cnidius, Diod. Sic. & Strab. apud Bochart. phal. l. iv. c. ii. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. & ſeq. l. vii. c. 69. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. vi. c. 1. Newton's chronol. p. 236. Herodot. l. ii. c. 110. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. P. Harduin. in chronol vet. teſt. p. 57.

[f] Bochart. phal. l. iv. c. 2. 6.

toiſes, and lived upon their fleſh. The *Ichthyophagi* occupied a maritime part of *Ethiopia*, bordering on the *Red Sea*, and not far from the frontiers of *Egypt*. As they lived upon all kinds of fiſh, large as well as ſmall, *Aben-Ezra* takes them to be the ציים *Tziim* of the pſalmiſt, to whom GOD gave the heads of *Leviathan*, under which name, according to that author, *Moſes* comprehends all fiſh of a vaſt ſize, for meat. This notion ſeems to receive ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from ſeveral circumſtances hinted at in the paſſage referred to. For the *Troglodytes* made their very bread of the fleſh of fiſhes dried in the ſun; the pſalmiſt is there ſpeaking of *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who were drowned in the *Red Sea*, and afterwards thrown upon the *Troglodytic* ſhore; *Tziim* properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, ſuch as was that of the *Troglodytes*; and other texts of Scripture, compared with this, not a little favour ſuch an opinion. They built their houſes of whale-bones and ſhells of fiſhes. The ribs ſerved for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their very cattle with fiſh. Some of them inhabited caves in mountains, formed by vaſt quantities of ſea-weed from time to time thrown on ſhore, and conſolidated by the force of the tide beating upon it, and perpetually bringing a freſh acceſſion of matter to it, together with the heat of the ſun. From this, as well as from what has been advanced by ſeveral authors, it appears, that the *Red Sea* was exceeding ſhallow at certain times; that it was covered with an immenſe quantity of this ſea-weed, which gave it a very green colour; and that from hence the *Hebrews* denominated it ים סוף *yam ſuph*, i. e. *The ſea of the weed*. The *Cynamolgi* kept great number of dogs, in order to hunt wild beaſts, and ſometimes fed upon bitches milk. *Pliny* fabulouſly relates, that they had dogs heads. The *Elephantophagi* ſeem to have had their ſituation in the ſouthern parts of *Ethiopia*, and deſtroyed elephants in a very dextrous manner, as will be related elſewhere. The *Rhizophagi* were ſeated not far from the conflux of the *Aſtaboras*, *Aſtapus*, and the *Nile*. Their territory abounded with moraſſes that produced a great number of canes, whoſe roots ſerved them for food. The *Spermatophagi* and *Hylophagi* formed two neighbouring cantons; the firſt of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in the ſummer, but the reſt of the year upon a ſweet plant with a ſtalk ſomething reſembling that of a turnep; and the latter, with their wives and children, upon the buds and tender ſhoots of trees. The *Hylogones*, neighbours to the *Elephantophagi*, lived for the moſt part in the woods, and generally ſlept on trees. Their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beaſts, we ſhall hereafter deſcribe. The *Pamphagi* uſed every thing indiſcriminately for food; and the *Agriophagi* fed upon the fleſh of wild beaſts. The *Ophiophagi* or *Serpent-eaters* inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from *Pliny*. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* or *Man-eaters*, mentioned by *Marcianus* and *Ptolemy*, ſeem to have been the *Cafres*, and not a people of proper *Ethiopia*. As for the *Gapachi*, *Ptoemphanes*, *Catadupi*, *Pechini*, *Catadræ*, and other obſcure *Ethiopic* tribes, we know nothing of them but the bare names. The number of nations inhabiting antient *Ethiopia* will not ſurpriſe us, when we have ſeen *Ludolphus*'s deſcription of the kingdom of *Abyſſinia* (D) [g].

THIS region did not abound in cities and towns of any conſiderable note.

Cities.

Auxume. *Auxume*, *Auxumis*, or *Axome*, the metropolis of *Ethiopia*, according to *Arrian* and *Nonnoſus* in *Photius*, undoubtedly was the ſame city as the modern *Auxuma*, or, as the *Abaſſines* call it, *Aſcum*. The noble palace, beautiful ſtructures, &c. this city was formerly ſo famous for, ſufficiently appear from the preſent remains of it. It ſtands

[g] HERODOT. l. iv. PHILOSTRATUS & CTESIAS CNIDIUS apud Phot. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de Mar. Rubr. l. iii. in excerptis PHOTH. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. & l. xvii. MEL. l. iii. c. 8. & alib. PLIN. l. vi. c. 24, 29, 30, & alib. paſſ. ARRIAN. in. peripl. Mar. Erythr. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. OLYMPIODORUS apud Photium, p. 112. PTOL. l. iv. c. 8. FLAVIUS VOPISCUS in Prob. c. 17. PROCOP. de bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 19. ZOSIM. l. i. c. 71. ANTONIN. itinerar. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. x. c. 4. DIONYS. AF. v. 220. CLAUDIAN. de Nil. v. 19. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 5. NONNUS Dionyſ. 17. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. in peripl.

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the *Hippophagi* or *Horſe-eaters* of *Agathmerus*, who were bounded on the ſouth by the northern borders of *Libya Incognita*; the *Macrobii*, a powerful nation, ſome of whom attained to the age of an hundred and-twenty years, according to *Herodotus*; the *Sambri*, not far from the *Nubian* city *Tenupſis* upon the *Nile*, all whoſe quadrupeds, even the elephants themſelves, were without ears; and the *Aſachæ*, a mountainous people continually imployed in hunting of elephants (4).

(4) *Herodot. l.* iii. *Agathemer. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 30.

a ſtands about forty-five *Portugueſe* leagues from the *Red Sea*, and in 14° 30′ N. lat. It looks now like a village, being almoſt totally ruined, and ſcarcely affording ſhelter to a hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be ſeen here the remains of a magnificent temple, which have ſupported themſelves againſt the injuries of time. The *Portugueſe*, who firſt viſited this country, called *Axuma* corruptly *Chaxumo* or *Caſſumo*. Behind the temple above-mentioned, which was an hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each ſide, and a double porch, with an aſcent of twelve ſteps, ſtand ſeveral obeliſks of different ſizes, and others have been thrown down by the *Turks*. Amongſt the rubbiſh is a great ſquare ſtone, on which appears ſome part of an antient inſcription, ſo effaced by time, that it is not legible,
b and nothing can be diſtinguiſhed except ſome *Greek* and *Latin* letters, and the word *Baſilius*. When the *Abaſſine* monarchs were formerly crowned here, they ſat on a throne of ſtone in the inner porch of the aforeſaid temple. *Pſelchis* or *Pſelcha*, and *Premnis*, through which *Petronius* marched in his *Ethiopic* expedition, ſtood upon the weſtern bank of the *Nile*, but their true ſituation cannot be diſcovered. *Napata*, where *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* reſided, was on the oppoſite bank, but in what direction it is to be ſought for, we cannot preciſely inform our readers. *Ptolemy* mentions two towns called *Premis* or *Primis*, one of which might poſſibly have been the *Premnis* of *Strabo*. The emporia or marts of *Malis*, *Mondus*, *Abalis*, *Moſylon*, *Coloe*, and *Opone*, probably made a good figure in antient times, though we have no particulars
c of moment handed down to us concerning them. *Petronius* reduced *Pſelcha*, *Premnis*, and *Napata*, in the above-mentioned expedition, razing *Napata*, and leaving a gariſon of four hundred men in *Premnis*, with proviſions for two years. *Pliny* mentions a city of the *Nubians* upon the *Nile* called *Tenupſis*, with which poſſibly either *Couxa*, *Nuvâla*, *Galva*, *Duncâla* or *Ielâc*, all placed by the *Nubian* geographer near the conflux of the *Nile* and the *Aſtaboras*, may correſpond. *Duncâla*, the *Dumcâla* of *Jacutus*, the *Dungâla* of *Leo*, and the preſent *Dongola*, the capital of the *Nubians*, all whoſe cities are ſeated upon the *Nile*, ſeems to bid the faireſt for it. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deſerve the leaſt attention [h].

Ethiopia, as appears from the beſt modern geographical deſcriptions of *Abaſſia*, *Mountains.*
d as well as the antients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note taken notice by the antients, except the mounts *Garbata*, and *Elephas* or *Phalangis*. Whether or no the mountains of *Tigre*, the higheſt of which is *Lamalmon*, beginning about two days journey from the *Red Sea*, anſwer to either of theſe, we ſhall not preſume to aſſert; though that they did, by the ſituation aſſigned them, ſeems not improbable. Be that as it will, the path over *Lamalmon*, whoſe aſcent is vaſtly ſteep and dangerous, is ſo narrow, that the perſon who gives way to another there falls headlong into an abyſs, and is irrecoverably loſt. Several provinces of *Abaſſia*, viz. *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder*, *Gojam*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, &c. are but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are thoſe of *Amhara* and *Samen*. The *Aorni*, as the *Abaſſines* calls them, are rugged rocks of ſuch an incredible height, that the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are but low hills in compariſon of them. *Curtius* relates, that the *Indians* called a famous rock in their country *Aornos*, as being above the flight of a bird; but that author miſtakes the etymology, ſince the word, from what has been here obſerved, cannot be looked upon as of *Greek* extraction. Amongſt the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of *Abaſſia*, ariſe ſteep and craggy rocks of various forms, ſome reſembling towers, others pyramids, *&c.* ſo even on the ſides, that they ſeem to be the effect of labour and art, inſomuch, that men, cattle, *&c.* are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of theſe rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, fiſh-ponds, *&c.* which very copiouſly ſupply the animals ſeated thereon with all the conveniencies of life. The moſt remarkable of theſe rocks is *Geſhen* or *Amba-Geſhen*, on the confines of *Amhara*, towards *Shewa*, prodigiouſly ſteep, in the form of a caſtle built of free-ſtone, and almoſt impregnable. Its ſummit is about half a *Portugueſe* league in breadth, and its circumference at the bottom near half a day's journey. The aſcent at firſt is eaſy, but afterwards ſo ſteep and rugged, that the *Abaſſine* oxen, which will otherwiſe clamber like goats, muſt be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of

[h] Strab. Mel. Plin. Arrian. Ptol. Marcian. Heracl. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſup. Nonnosus apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 90, 91. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. par. 4. Leo African. l. vii. c. ult. Francisc. Alvarez, c. xvii. & apud Golium, ubi ſup. I. Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 251, 252, & ſeq. Vid. etiam Ludolph. l. ii. c. 11. & Le Grand, diſſert. ii.

of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages amongſt ſhrubs and wild cedars, a with an allowance barely ſufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to *Kircher*, in the province of *Gojam*, a rock ſo curiouſly hollowed by nature, that at a diſtance it reſembles a looking-glaſs; and oppoſite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be ſo ſoftly whiſpered, but that it may be heard a great way off. Between many of theſe rocks and mountains are vaſt profundities or abyſſes, which appear moſt dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above-mentioned *Amba*, as *Amba-Salem*, *Amba-Geſhen*, *Amba-Dorho*, *Amba-Damo*, *Amba-Samet*, &c.

The climate of Ethiopia.

In ſo mountainous a region as *Ethiopia* the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where ſo many different ſeaſons may be found in ſo ſmall a compaſs. The *Ethiopic*, as well as the oppoſite, coaſt of the *Red Sea*, b together with thoſe low open places called by the modern *Abaſſines Kolla*, and the iſlands of this ſea, are intolerably ſcorched by the ſolar rays in the ſummer-ſeaſon; inſomuch, that *Gregory* the *Abaſſine* related the heat in the iſland of *Suaquema* or *Suaquena* to be ſo intenſe as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard *Indian* wax in a cabinet, and ſear a garment like red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; nay, according to *Tellezius*, the ſummer heats are milder in ſeveral diſtricts of *Abaſſia* than in *Portugal*; and even in *Samen* the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In ſome provinces of *Ethiopia* the winter is extremely ſevere, in others as warm as the ſummer in ſeveral parts of *Europe*. The *Ethiopians* have little or no ſnow, but only a ſmall ſort of hail that ſometimes covers the ground, c and at a diſtance looks like ſnow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempeſts that terrify both man and beaſt, which proceed from the exceſſive variety of air. *Ludolphus* thinks, that *Gregory*'s four ſeaſons, *Matzau*, *Tzadai*, *Hagai*, and *Cramt*, are in reality but three, *i. e.* the ſpring, which begins on the twenty-fifth day of *September*; the ſummer, conſiſting of two parts, the firſt called *Tzadai*, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of *December*, and the ſecond denominated *Hagai* in the *Abaſſine* tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of *June*; and laſtly, *Cramt*, or winter, which concludes the *Ethiopic* year. The climate here in general is ſo healthy, that 'tis no uncommon thing for the natives to arrive at an hundred years of age; however, towards the beginning of the ſpring, that is to ſay, d in the months of *September* and *October*, an epidemic fever ſometimes makes great havock amongſt the inhabitants of *Tigre* [k].

The days and nights in *Ethiopia*, as lying betwixt the tropic of *Cancer* and the *Line*, are for the moſt part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are generally ſpeaking ſalubrious and pleaſant; but the atmoſphere over the plains, for want of them, ſtagnates, and becomes unwholſome. The wind *Sendo*, however, is far from being beneficial to the *Abaſſines*. It is a whirlwind ſo impetuouſly violent, that it throws down all before it, and therefore in ſome reſpect may ſeem to anſwer its name, which in the *Amharic* dialect ſignifies a ſerpent or ſnake. *Gregory* told *Ludolphus*, that it might be ſeen, and repreſented an immenſe ſerpent, whoſe e head moved on the ground, and the body erected itſelf in curls and windings up to the ſky. The ſoil in thoſe parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vaſt quantity of grain, pulſe, and fruit. Metals likewiſe, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a ſurpriſing variety of animals, it abounds with; but theſe our readers will expect a deſcription of in another place. We find it aſſerted by the beſt authors, that the *Abaſſines* have ſometimes two, and ſometimes three, harveſts in a year. They neither ſow nor mow for the ſake of their cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual diſtillation of moiſture from the mountains, producing graſs in great abundance, and covering the fields with a moſt beautiful verdure thro' all the different ſeaſons of the year. Though they have moſt delicious grapes, and f honey is very cheap amongſt them, yet they almoſt entirely confine themſelves to malt liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in ſome part of *Europe* [l] (D).

Of

[i] Strab. l. xvii. Agathemer. geogr. l. ii. c. 15. Ludolph. l. i. c. 6. Curt. l. viii. P. Balthazar Tellez. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup ut & ipſe Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. paſſ. Le Grand, diſſert. ii. Athan. Kirch. in muſurg. univerſ. t. iii. l. ix. c. 6. [k] Nonnosus apud Phot. n. 3. p. m. 2. Gregor. Abassin. apud Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 5. [l] Strab. l. xvii. Greg. Abass. ubi ſup. PP. Hieronym. Lup. Balthaz. Tellez. Alphons. Mendez. & Job. Ludolph. paſſ.

(D) This appears from what the young *Abaſſinian* told the learned gentleman hereafter mentioned at *Jeruſalem*, and receives ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Thoſe authors affirm this liquor to have been extracted from millet, as well as barley, and in flavour and excellency to have equalled wine (5).

(5) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *Strab. l.* xvii.

a Of all the rivers, that water *Ethiopia*, the moſt famous is the *Nile*, which has its ſource in that country. Many of the antient geographers, and in particular *Ptolemy*, placed the fountains of this river beyond the *Line*, on ſome mountains which they called *the mountains of the moon*. But the moderns, particularly the *Portugueſe*, have diſcovered this to be a miſtake. What they have advanced on this head has been in a great meaſure confirmed by *Gregory* the *Abaſſine* in a letter to M. *Ludolphus*. According to that curious perſon, the ſpring-head of the *Nile* firſt appears in a tract called *Secut*, upon the top of *Dengla*, near the frontiers of *Gojam*, to the W. of *Bagemdra*, *Dara*, the lake of *Tzana*, and *Bada*. From thence it takes its courſe towards *Ambara*, leaving *Gojam* on the right, and *Bagemdra* on the left. Having
b paſſed the limits of *Ambara*, and in ſuch a manner ſurrounded the kingdom of *Gojam* as always to leave it on the right, it waſhes the confines of *Waleka*, and then approaches the fartheſt bounds of *Magara* and *Shewa*. Then, running between *Bizama* and *Gonga*, it comes into the country of the *Chankalas*; from whence, winding to the right, and gradually leaving the weſtern climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of *Sennar*. But before its arrival there, it is greatly increaſed by the acceſſion of two large rivers from the eaſt, *viz.* the *Tacaza* falling out of *Tigre*, and the *Guangua* deſcending from *Dambea*. After taking a view of the kingdom of *Sennar*, it moves to the borders of *Dongola*, and ſo to the kingdom of *Nubia* (E); from hence, turning to the right, it reaches at laſt a region called *Abrim*, where its
c ſtream becomes unnavigable by reaſon of the cliffs and rocks, and ſoon afterwards enters *Egypt*. The travellers therefore from *Sennar* and *Abaſſia*, after having croſſed *Nubia*, leave the *Nile* to the E. and croſs upon camels a deſert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing elſe but ſand, is to be ſeen. From *Abrim* it continues its courſe to *Rif* or *Upper Egypt*, where the above-mentioned travellers again come up with it; and, after having traverſed the kingdom of *Egypt* in a northern direction, empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* near *Alexandria*. Father *Payz*, who viewed the fountains of the *Nile* himſelf, adds, that the ſource of this river conſiſts of two round ſpring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is quaggy and marſhy; that, however, the water does not iſſue out
d from thence, but from the foot of the hill, about a muſquet-ſhot from whence, towards the eaſt, the river begins to flow; that, winding then to the north about the fourth part of a *Portugueſe* league, it receives another river, and a little farther two more from the eaſt, ſoon after which it enlarges itſelf with the addition of ſeveral other ſtreams; and laſtly, that about a day's journey farther it ſwallows up the river *Jema*, and, after flowing twenty *Portugueſe* leagues in a weſtern direction, turns to the eaſt, and plunges itſelf into a vaſt lake (F). 'Tis remarkable, that all the rivers of *Ethiopia*, at any conſiderable diſtance from the ocean, except the *Hanazo* riſing in *Hangota* or *Angote*, and the *Hawaſh* or *Aoaxe* running through the kingdoms of *Dawara* and *Fatagara* or *Fategur*, flow into the *Nile*. The *Eteſian* winds contribute
e little or nothing to the inundations of the *Nile*, though ſome authors have falſly imagined the contrary, nor the ſnow melted from the *Ethiopian* mountains, according to others, as *Seneca* and *Ludolphus* have fully evinced. But the prodigious maſs of waters flowing from all parts, and proceeding from the immoderate ſhowers with

(E) 'Tis obſervable, that *Gregory* here diſtinguiſhes the kingdom of *Sennar* from that of *Nubia*, though at preſent they are looked upon to be the ſame. However, in our opinion, *Gregory*'s authority is ſuperior to that of *Pomet* and the miſſionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends. We find no mention of *Sennar* in any of that numerous tribe of oriental and other authors cited by the excellent *Golius*, in his incomparable notes upon *Alfraganus*, though they take notice both of *Nuba* or *Nubia*, and the country of the *Fungi*; therefore it ſhould ſeem probable, that *Sennar* is only a part of *Nubia*, or elſe a kingdom different from it. The *Nubian* geographer intimates, that in his time, the city of *Somna*, probably *Sennar*, was an inconſiderable place, and its diſtrict or territory diſtinct from the kingdom of *Nuba* or *Nubia*. *Ludolphus* makes the modern kingdom of *Sennar* to be the ſame with the country of the *Fungi*, and a part of the antient *Nubia* (5).

(F) This is probably the lake of *Tzana*, through which the *Nile* paſſes, ſtill preſerving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the ſouth, it waſhes on the left hand the principal kingdoms of *Abaſſia*, viz. *Bagemdra*, *Ambara*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, *Damota*, &c. and takes along the rivers of thoſe countries, *viz.* the *Baſhlo*, *Tzohha*, *Kecem*, *Jema*, *Roma*, and *Woncit*. Then on the right hand ſurrounding *Gojam*, and ſwelled with the *Muga*, *Abaja*, *Aſwari*, *Temei*, *Gult*, and *Tzul*, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the weſt, leaves *Abaſſia* upon the right, and runs in a northern direction through ſeveral thirſty nations, and ſandy deſerts, in order to fertilize *Egypt* with its inundations (6).

(5) *Geogr. Nubienſ. clim.* i. *par.* 3. *ſub fin.* *Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l.* i. *c.* 2. (6) *Greg. Abaſ. apud Ludolph. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 122, 123, *& ſeq.*

with which the countries under the *Torrid Zone* are washed, when the sun returns into a
the winter signs, undoubtedly occasions them. *Juba* makes the *Nile* to have had
its source in *Mauritania*, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which runs coun-
ter to fact, as well as most other authors who have treated of this river. Perhaps
he might extend the southern parts of *Mauritania* as far as the *Niger*, which agreed
almost in all points with the *Nile*, as just observed; and therefore mistake the latter
for the former, which he might falsly imagine had its rise in *Mauritania*, because
it ran by the borders of that region. *Strabo* countenances this opinion, when he in-
timates, that the rivers in the southern parts of *Mauritania* abounded with animals
and vegetables like those produced in and about the *Nile* (G). The modern *Abassines*,
tho' they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the *Nile* deduces its source, are far b
from being perfectly acquainted with the course of that river after it leaves them. How-
ever, the constant and antient tradition amongst them is, that near a certain mountain,
at some distance from the city of *Sennar*, it divides itself into two streams, one of which
runs to the westward, and forms the river *Niger*, and the other in a northern direction
takes its course through *Egypt*. This we learn from the *Nubian* geographer, who
at the same time intimates, that the channel running to the east of this mountain,
watering *Nubia* and the land of *Egypt*, is divided in the *Lower Egypt* into four parts,
three of which fall into the *Syrian* sea, and the other discharges itself into a salt-lake
near *Alexandria*. 'Tis probable, that the separation of these two streams is caused
by some rocky mountain meeting the river above-mentioned, and splitting it into c
two channels. *Leo Africanus* adds great weight to the authority of the *Nubian* geo-
grapher, when he assures us, that the *Nile* flows through the region of the *Nigritæ*.
The *Abassines*, according to *Gregory* above-mentioned, say that the *Niger* separates
from the *Nile* in the country of *Dongola*; that the greatest flow of water passes into
Egypt; and that the other stream, descending towards the region of *Elway*, at last
throws itself into the *Atlantic* ocean. All which seems to be confirmed by what we
have lately observed from *Herodotus*, and by *Pliny*, when he assures us, that the *Nile*
and the *Niger* agree in colour and taste of water, produce the same sort of reed, the
same sort of paper, the same sort of animals, and increase, as well as overflow, at
the same seasons. If the above-mentioned particulars be admitted, it seems possible d
for the king of *Abassia* either so to stop up the fountains of the *Nile*, or so to divert
the course of the river proceeding immediately from thence, that *Egypt* should not
be overflowed; which would prove the total ruin of that kingdom. This receives
some accession of strength from *Elmacinus*, who relates, that the khalif *Mustansir*
sent *Michael* the patriarch with magnificent presents to the *Abassine* monarch, to pre-
vail upon him to open the channel that conveyed water to *Egypt*, which for some
time had been stopped. His petition that prince immediately granted. The con-
sequence of which was, that the *Nile*, which had before greatly failed, rose three
yards in one night, and rendered the land of *Egypt* as capable of cultivation as ever.
This has induced some authors to assert, that the grand signor pays an annual tribute e
to the king of *Abassia*, that his *Egyptian* subjects may enjoy all the advantages of the
Nile's inundations which their ancestors have done. *Gregory*, cited above, intimated
to *Ludolphus*, that he had heard from some *Abassines* of undoubted veracity, that
near the *Cataracts* of the *Nile* the land to the east was a perfect plain; and that, by
only opening a passage through one mountain for that river, it would flow rather that
way than into the *Mediterranean* through (H) *Egypt*. However, we must own our-
selves far from being certain as to this point; though a gentleman of most profound
erudition, and unexceptionable authority, has informed us, that he met with a young
Abassinian at *Jerusalem*, who intimated to him, that such a kind of notion still pre-
vailed

(G) 'Tis not improbable, that the *Segelmessa* was one of these rivers mentioned by *Strabo*; since, according to the *Nubian* geographer, it nearly resembled the *Nile*, in almost all particulars: nay, we are told, that the river *Sus* at present fertilizes all the adjacent country by its inundations, as the *Nile* does *Egypt*, which adds no small weight to the authority of *Strabo* (7).

(H) It is observable, that the kings of *Abassia* are still persuaded, that the keys of the *Nile* are in their hands, and that they can, when they please, change its course, as the king *Tekilmanout* threatened the bashaw of *Cairo* towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incensed at the assassination of the sieur *Du Roule* a *Frenchman* at *Sennar*, threatened the bashaw with his resentment, in case an immediate stop was not put to such flagrant violations of the law of nations; telling him, that he could make the *Nile* the instrument of his vengeance, since God, by placing in his hands the fountains, passage, and increase of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (8).

(7) *Geogr. Nubiens. Moll, De la Croix*, &c.

(8) *See the sequel to father Lobo's voyage to Abassinia.*

a vailed amongſt his countrymen. The preſent *Ethiopians* call their part of this river *Abawi*, though in the old *Ethiopic* language we find it ſtyled *Gejon* or *Gewon*, probably by an ancient miſtake from the *Greek* word Γεὼν, *Geon*, or *Hebrew Gihon*, *Gen.* ii. 13. ſince ſome authors have imagined that river to be the *Nile*. The prophets *Jeremiah* and *Iſaiah* give the river we are now upon the name of *Sihor* or *Sichor*, i. e. *The black river*, from the colour of its water, as the *Greeks* did that of *Melas*, and the *Latins Melo*, for the ſame reaſon. And, agreeably to this notion, *Virgil* ſays:

Et viridem Ægyptum *nigra fœcundat arena,*
Et diverſa ruens ſeptem diſcurrit in ora
Uſque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis. VIRG *Georg. l.* iv. *v.* 291—294.

Dionyſius Afer and *Stephanus Byzantinus* ſay, that the *Ethiopians* denominated that part of this river running through their territories *Siris*, which is evidently the ſame as *Sihor*; but that, as ſoon as it reached *Syene*, it received the name of (I) *Nile*. Beſides the *Nile*, the antient geographers mention two other rivers, called *Aſtaboras* and *Aſtapus*, meeting near the iſland or peninſula *Meroe*, and joining the *Nile* ſoon after. As theſe rivers had their ſources to the eaſt of the *Nile*, the firſt deducing its ſtreams from the lake *Coloe* in the diſtrict of *Amaza*, and the other from ſome fountains betwixt
c the mounts *Garbata* and *Elephas* not far from the *Aualitic* gulf, we muſt ſubmit it to our readers, whether the modern *Tacaza* and *Mareb*, conſidering the ſituation and direction aſſigned them by the modern geographers, do not intirely correſpond with them. *Pliny*, *Heliodorus*, and *Strabo*, mention a third conſiderable river falling into the *Nile*, whoſe name they do not intirely agree in; but as it has been omitted by ſeveral of the antient geographers, and eſpecially by *Ptolemy*, who had the beſt means of informing himſelf as to the truth of every particular relating to it, we ſhall ſuperſede

(I) To what has been ſaid of the *Nile* we ſhall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch *Alphonſo Mendez*. "The *Nile*, ſays he, receives ſeveral rivers, the "moſt remarkable of which are the *Baxilo* or *Bachilo*, which divides the kingdoms of *Bagemeder* "or *Bagemdra* and *Amhara*; the *Gulcem*, which "bounds the ſame kingdom of *Amhara* and *Oleca*; "the *Maleck* and *Auguer*, which, having joined "their ſtreams, water the countries of *Damot*, *Narea*, *Bizamo*, the *Gafates*, and the *Gongas*. The "*Tacaza*, called by the antients *Aſtaboras*, hath "three different ſources near the mountains, which "ſeparate the two kingdoms of *Angote* or *Angota* "and *Bagameder*; it runs towards the weſt thro' "the deſert of *Oldeba*; then, entering *Dambar*, falls "into a large bed of ſands; and afterwards, having "croſſed part of the kingdom of *Decan*, diſcharges "itſelf into the *Nile*. 'Tis ſaid, that beſides croco"diles and river-horſes, there are in this river abun"dance of torpedoes, which immediately benumb "the arm of any man that touches them. The "*Mareb*, riſing two leagues from *Debaroa*, falls, "after a long courſe, from a rock thirty cubits in "height, and ſinks under-ground; but in the win"ter it runs through many other provinces, and "by the monaſtery of *Aileluja*, and then loſes it"ſelf. The army, when they invaded theſe re"gions, dug into the ſand, and found under-ground "both good water, and excellent fiſh." To which we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin a ſhort deſcription of the courſe of the *Nile*, as delivered to us by the beſt modern geographers ſince the time of *Gregory* and *Ludolphus*. It ariſes in the kingdom of *Gojam*, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of *Dambea* or *Tzana*; afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of *Bagemeder*, or, as *Gregory* calls it, *Bagemdra*; then, ſtill running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of *Amhara*; from whence, continuing its motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of *Oleca*, betwixt which and *Amhara* it receives a conſiderable river, as it did before the *Bachilo* on the confines of *Amhara* and *Bagemdra*. From the kingdom of *Oleca* it moves to that of *Choa* in the ſame direction, and from thence by *Debra* through *Galla*, and the kingdom of the *Cafates*, to that of *Gonga*. Afterwards it viſits the country of the *Changalas*, N. E. of *Gonga*. From thence in a northern direction it flows to the city and kingdom of *Sennar*; and then to *Corte* or *Corti* in *Nubia*, through the deſert of *Bahiouda* N. W. from *Sennar*. Betwixt *Sennar* and *Corti* it paſſes by *Barbar*, near which is a *Cataract* N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the W. and reaches *Corte*. *Kaniſe* W. of *Corte* next receives a viſit from it; and then *Dongola* N. of *Kainſe*. Continuing its courſe N. E. it arrives at the *Greater Cataract*; and afterwards takes its leave of *Nubia* near the *Leſſer Cataract*. Laſtly, having traverſed *Egypt* in a northern direction, it diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral mouths into the *Mediterranean*. We could not diſpenſe with being thus particular, in relation to the ſource and courſe of a river the moſt celebrated of all others taken notice of by antiquity, on account of the vaſt advantages accruing from its inundations to the countries through which it paſſed; eſpecially ſince the antients ſought after the cauſes of theſe inundations, and the head of this river, in vain (9).

(9) *Alphonſ. Mendez apud Le Grand, diſſert.* iii.

ſuperſede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to ſay of the a rivers of *Ethiopia* (K) [m].

Lakes, promontories, ports, &c.

We find no remarkable fountains and lakes in *Ethiopia* beſides the ſources of the rivers above-mentioned, except the lake of *Pſeboa* above *Meroe*, that of *Tzana* being, as far as we can collect from the old geography, unknown to the antients. The principal promontories were, *Baſium*, *Mnemium*, *Aſpis*, *Saturni promontorium*, *Moſylon*, *Dire*, *Zengiſa*, *Noti Cornu*, *Praſum*, and *Raptum*, the laſt of which was inhabited by *Cannibals* or *Anthropophagi*. But the three laſt capes ſeem rather to have belonged to the *Cafres* or *African* barbarians than the proper *Ethiopians*. The chief ports and empories of *Ethopia* were thoſe of *Adulis*, *Mondus*, *Opone*, *Moſylon*, and the principal city of the *Aualitæ*, ſeated upon the *Red Sea*. From their country into theſe places the *Arabs* b imported fruit, corn, wine, cloaths, *&c.* and exported from thence to *Ocelis* and *Muſa*, oppoſite harbours in *Arabia*, ſpices, caſſia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and ſeveral other (L) commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortreſs of *Sabid*, probably the *Sabat* of *Ptolemy*, now in a ruinous condition. The moſt noted iſlands appertaining to *Ethiopia* were *Meroe*, if that ſhould not rather be deemed a peninſula, the *Sporades* of *Agatharchides*, *Aſtratæ*, *Ara Palladis*, *Gythitis*, *Myronis*, *Daphnine*, *Magi*, *Acanthine*, *Iſis*, *Mondus*, and *Menuthias* (M) *Meroe* contained a large tract, together with a very conſiderable city, its metropolis, of the ſame name. *Joſephus* informs us, that its original name was *Saba*, but that *Cambyſes*, c from his ſiſter, afterwards called it *Meroe*; which ſeems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, tho' it does not appear from *Herodotus*, that this prince penetrated ſo far into *Ethiopia*. *Timoſthenes*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*'s admiral, related, that the city of *Meroe* was ſixty days journey from *Syene*. *Eratoſthenes* made this diſtance ſix hundred and twenty-five miles; *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* five thouſand ſtadia, which agrees with *Eratoſthenes*; *Artemidorus* ſix hundred miles; and *Seboſus* computed ſixteen hundred miles from the fartheſt or moſt northern part of *Egypt* to this famous town. But, according to *Pliny* (N), the road between *Meroe* and *Syene* was diſcovered in the reign

[m] Greg. Abass. apud Ludolph. & ipſe Ludolph. in hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. Mel. l. i. c. 9. & alib. Strab. l. xvii. & alib. Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. Herodot. l. ii. c. 34. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. i. Plin. l. v. c. 9. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Plutarch. Incert. Auct. Theophylact. Diod. Sic. Aristid. Dio. Strab. Heliodor. Theodoret. de increment. Nil. Virg. georg. l. iii. Dionys. Af. v. 223. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Isai. c. xxiii. v. 3. Jer. c. ii. v. 18. Heliodor. Æthiopic. l. x. Ptol. l. iv. Ennius. apud Serv. in Æn. i. Senec. quæſt. natural. l. iv. c. 2. Solin. c. 27, 43. Plin. l. v. c. 8. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. Georg. Elmacin. in hiſt. Saracen. Leo African. l. i. c. 7. PP. Pays & Tellez. apud Ludolph. l. i. c. 8. Alf. d'Albuquer. comment. in Tellez. par. 4. c. 7. Athan. Kirch. in ſupplement. prod. & lexic. Copt. p. 524. c. 2. Is. Voss. de orig. Nil. & flumin. Vid. & Le Grand. diſſert. iii.

(K) We muſt not omit obſerving, that as the advantages afforded the fields in other countries by the rains are derived from the rivers in *Ethiopia*, the places perfectly dry in winter are overflowed in ſummer. Several of theſe rivers do not empty themſelves into the ſea, as in other regions, but are ſucked up in the ſand; ſo that it is more difficult to diſcover their mouths than the ſources of other ſtreams (10).

(L) 'Tis remarkable, that moſt of theſe commodities have for a long time failed in *Ethiopia*, as the *lotus* and *ſilphium* in *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; but *Arabia* and *India* ſufficiently ſupply the *European* merchants with them (11).

(M) To which we may add the iſland in the great lake of *Pſeboa*, ſometimes occupied by the *Libyans*, and at other times by the *Ethiopians*, juſt as ſucceſs attended their reſpective arms, according to *Strabo*. From the ſituation that author aſſigns this lake, in conjunction with what we ſhall offer concerning *Meroe* in note (N), our readers may poſſibly be induced to believe, that the preſent lake of *Tzana* or *Dambea* is the *Pſeboa* of the antients (12).

(N) The computation we find in *Pliny* is as follows: From *Syene* to *Hiera* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Tama* ſeventy-five miles; from thence to the borders of the *Ethiopians* called *Euonymites* an hundred-and-twenty miles; from thence to *Acina* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Pitara* twenty-five miles; from thence to *Tergedus* an hundred and ſix miles; from thence to *Napata* eight miles; and laſtly, from *Napata* to the city of *Meroe* three hundred and ſixty miles.

What part of *Sennar* or *Abaſſia* anſwers to *Meroe*, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. The Jeſuits have pitched upon the kingdom of *Gojam*, as being almoſt encompaſſed by the *Nile*, and conſequently a peninſula, as *Meroe* was thought to have been by ſome of the antients. But M. *Ludolphus* has intirely overthrown this notion, by proving, amongſt other things, that nothing related of *Meroe* by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, is applicable to *Gojam*; *Meroe* being nearer *Egypt*. Beſides, as that learned author obſerves, had *Meroe* been *Gojam*, and the antients had known that country, they muſt conſequently have known the ſource of the *Nile*; which we find they did not. *Voſſius* believes the city *Baroo* or *Baroa*, ſituated in 16°. 22'. N. lat. where the *Bahrnagaſh* generally reſides, to correſpond with the capital of *Meroe*. As this opinion depends upon the ſuppoſition, that the preſent *Mareb* or *Morvba* is the *Aſtaboras* of the antients, which muſt be admitted, it ſeems to have ſome appearance of truth. Mr. *Senex*'s map of this country, which to us appears

(10) *Ludolph. in præfat. ad hiſt. Æthiop.* (11) *Bochart. ubi ſup.* (12) *Strabo. l.* xvii.

a reign of *Nero* to be eight hundred and ſeventy-four *Roman* miles long. The *Nubian* geographer does not differ greatly from ſome of theſe computations; for he intimates, that travellers are generally above two months in traverſing *Nubia*, or that vaſt tract lying betwixt the confines of *Egypt* and *Abaſſia*. We find, that when *Ethiopia* was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the city of *Meroe* made a prodigious figure, inſomuch that, if ſome of the antients may be credited, it could ſend into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, and contained four hundred thouſand artificers, though in *Pliny*'s time it was but a ſmall town. Several queens of this part of *Ethiopia*, called *Candace*, that having for a conſiderable number of years been a ſort of ſurname to them, held their reſidence here. *Strabo* makes it to have
b been ten thouſand ſtadia from *Alexandria*, and the capital of *Ethiopia*. As the other iſlands are in a manner obſcure, they merit no regard; only it may be proper to obſerve, that *Hardouïn*, *Bochart*, and *Salmaſius*, believe *Madagaſcar* to be the antient *Menuthias*, though *Iſaac Voſſius* takes it to have been the ſame with that iſland which the moderns call *Zanzibar*. How far either of theſe notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to ſay; neither is it of any conſequence to our readers which of them, or whether either of them, is ſo [n].

THE principal curioſities of this country are, 1. The rocks called *Amba-Dorho*, *Curioſities* or *the rock of the hen* above-mentioned. 2. The ſolid gold found on the banks of ſeveral rivers about the ſize of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by *Pliny*, with which
c the provinces of *Damot* and *Enarea* are ſaid to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold mines ſome parts of it are ſo famous for. 4. The mountains of ſalt in a diſtrict upon the confines of *Tigre* and *Angota*, called *the land of ſalt*. In the mountains the ſalt is ſoft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being expoſed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red ſalt mentioned by the patriarch *Alphonſo Mendez*, and ſaid to be indued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral *ſtibium*, called in the *Ethiopic* tongue *cuehel* or *cohol*, which is produced in ſeveral provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the modern hiſtory of *Abyſſinia* [o] (O).

SECT.

[n] HERODOT. l. ii. c. 29. STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. ii. c. 73. & l. vi. c. 29, 30. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. AGATHARCHID. CNID. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. ubi ſup. PTOL. ARRIAN. MARCIAN. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi ſup. DIOSCORID. l. i. ÆTIUS, tetrab. i. ſerm. 2. c. 156. SERAPION ex emend. Cl. Bocharti. PLIN. l. xii. c. 15. SIMEON SETHUS & GALEN. apud BOCHART. phal. l. ii. c. 23. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 878. BOCHAT. Chan. l. i. c. 37. GOLII notæ in Alfraganum, p. 89. HARDUIN. ad Plin. vi. c. 31. Voss. ad Mel. p. 303. ATHAN. KIRCH. in Oedip. Ægypt. ſynt. i. c. 7. p. 57. LUDOLPH. ubi ſup. c. 8.
[o] STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. apud Ludolph. ut & ipſe LUDOLPH. l. i. c. 6, 7.

pears the moſt accurate of any that has been hitherto publiſhed, ſeems to point out the tract anſwering to the antient *Meroe*. We find there a ſort of peninſula with many of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of *Meroe* handed down to us by the antients. This peninſula is formed by the *Rahd*, the *Nile*, the *Goze*, the *Mareb* or *Moraba*, the *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, and a river compoſed of theſe three laſt, which unites its ſtream with that of the *Nile* in near 18°. N. lat. The chief places ſeated on the *Nile* in this peninſula are *Chanedi*, *Ghenedetoul*, *Garri*, *Helfaia*, *Cotragne*, *Nogué*, and *Habkharas*; upon the *Rahd Enbulbul and Geſen*; and upon the conflux of the *Moraba* and *Tacaza* the city of *Derkin* or *Dequin*: which we mention in order to give our readers a better idea of the tract we have in view. Now the peninſula of *Meroe* reſembled a ſhield, and was three thouſand ſtadia long, and one thouſand broad, according to *Strabo*; it was likewiſe ſurrounded on the weſt by the *Nile*, and on the eaſt by the rivers flowing into it. *Solinus* ſays, that *Meroe* was formed by the *Nile*, and ſix hundred miles from the ſea; and *Mela*, as corrected by *Salmaſius*, pretty nearly agrees with him. *Pauſanias* intimates, that the *Nile* entered a great lake beyond *Meroe*, which it paſſed through, and traverſed the whole country of *Ethiopia*. The rivers *Aſtapus* and *Aſtaboras*, i. e. the *Tacaza* and *Moraba*, joined the *Nile* above *Meroe*, i. e. the city of *Meroe*. All which particulars, as well as ſeveral others ſuggeſted by *Pliny*, *Timoſthenes*, *Seboſus*, *Eratoſthenes*, and the *Nubian* geographer, in the paſſages here referred to; conſidering the many turnings and windings of the *Nile*, are more applicable to the peninſula at preſent under conſideration, than any other part of *Sennar* or *Abaſſia* that can be aſſigned for this purpoſe. From the ſame chart, and the authors it is deduced from, we muſt allow it probable, that Mr. *Senex*'s river *Rahd*, ariſing out of *Dambea* eaſt of the *Nile*, is the *Guangua* of *Gregory*; as alſo that the *Goze*, *Mareb* or *Moraba*, and *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, may be reputed the *Aſtoſabas* or *Aſtuſapes*, *Aſtaboras*, and *Aſtapus*, of the antients. Some modern writers ſeem inclined to believe, that the *Mareb* of the preſent *Abaſſines* anſwers to the *Aſtuſapes* of the antients, though we have here ſuppoſed the *Gozi* to be that river (13).

(O) To theſe curioſities we may add the gold mines near the coaſt of the *Red Sea* mentioned by *Agatharchides*, which, according to that author, alſo produced the fineſt and whiteſt marble in the world (14).

(13) *Pauſan. Eliac. poſter. Joſeph. antiquit. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *Strab. l.* xvii. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 29. *Jeſuit. Voſſ. & Ludolph. apud Le Grand, diſſert.* ii. (14) *Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l.* v. *c.* 10. *apud Phot. p.* 1339. *Vid. etiam Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 8.

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.

Antiquity of the Ethiopians.

IT appears from what has been advanced in the former section, that the sacred writers did not always apply the name of (P) *Cush* to one particular country. They sometimes understood by it that region watered by the *Araxes*, which was the seat of the antient *Scythians* or *Cuthites*; and sometimes that country on the eastern shore of the *Red Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*. In some passages likewise they seem to have had in view the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, or at least the greatest part of that peninsula. But, notwithstanding what has been offered to the contrary by many persons of vast erudition, we cannot help believing, that it most usually and properly denoted the tract situated above the *Upper Egypt*, comprehending the modern kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abassia*. In order to evince the probability of such a notion, we shall not only beg leave to refer our readers to the remarkable passages already cited on this occasion, but likewise observe, that the prophets *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, make the *Cushites* neighbours to the *Libyans*; which can only hold true of the proper *Ethiopians*. The psalmist also foretold, that Cush *should stretch out her hands to* God; and the prophet *Zephaniah*, that *the suppliants of the* Lord, *from beyond the rivers of* Cush, *even the daughter of his dispersed, should bring* his *offering*: both of which predictions seem clearly to point at the eunuch baptized by *Philip*, who came to worship at *Jerusalem*; since, as he was treasurer to queen *Candace*, it can scarce be doubted but that he and his retinue brought a valuable *offering* or donation with them; and since *Candace* was queen of the proper *Ethiopia*, or at least the peninsula of *Meroe*, a considerable part of it, as we learn from *Pliny* and *Strabo*. The words *Cush* and Αἰθίοπες, therefore, in the texts here referred to, must be understood of the territories and people of the proper *Ethiopia*. *Ezekiel* propheſied, that the *Egyptians* from *Migdol* to *Syene* should fall by the sword; which not a little supports the interpretation of a famous text already given in favour of our present opinion. King *Ahasuerus* in *Esther* reigned from the *Indies* to *Cush*, that is to say, as far as the modern *Abassia*; since *Scythia* or *Arabia* cannot be there meant as being contiguous to *Persia*, and *Herodotus* intimates *Darius Hystaspis* to have received tribute from the nations bordering upon proper *Ethiopia*. *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Judith* sent embassadors to *Gesem*, and as far as the frontiers of *Ethiopia*: probably the kingdom so called to the south of *Egypt*. In fine, many of the most remarkable passages of Scripture, understood, for above a century past, of *Arabia* or part of it, may well enough be interpreted of the proper *Ethiopia*, as is acknowledged by *Calmet* himself. It is therefore but reasonable to conclude, that *Cush* the eldest son of *Ham* was the great progenitor of the *Ethiopians* P.

A body of Arabs *crossing the streights of* Babal-Mandab *passed into* Ethiopia.

HOWEVER, most authors are agreed, that many of the early descendants of *Cush* settled first in the land bordering on the east side of the *Red Sea*, moving gradually from thence to the southern extremity of *Arabia*; and afterwards, by means of the easy passage over the streights of *Bab-al-Mandab*, transplanted themselves into *Ethiopia*. According to *Eusebius*, this migration happened whilst the *Israelites* were in *Egypt*; but *Syncellus* places it in the time of the *judges*. The *Arabian Cushites* were antiently called *Abaseni*, and made up a great part of the *Sabæans* or *Homerites*, as may be inferred from several authors. The *Ethiopians* went under the same name, agreed in many points with the *Arabian Cushites*, and were believed by most of the *Asiatic* nations in *Josephus*'s time to have had the same origin. *Diodorus Siculus*, it must be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign customs; though he asserts, that in several things

P Jer. c. xlvi. v. 9. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 4. 5. & c. xxxviii. v. 5. Dan. c. xi. v. 43. Nah. c. iii. v. 9. Psal. lxviii. v. 31. Zephan. c. iii. v. 10. Act. c. viii. v. 27. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 6. Esth. c. i. v. 1. & c. viii. v. 9. Herodot. l. iii. Judith, c. i. v. 9. Vid. etiam Strab. l. xvii. & Plin. l. vi. c. 29.

(P) Sometimes in Scripture the word *Cush* comprehends both *Arabia* and the proper *Ethiopia*, as in *Ezek.* c. xxxviii. v. 5. Persia, Cush, *and* Libya *with them; all of them with shield and helmet:* i. e. *Persia, Arabia, Ethiop, Libya*, &c. Compare also *Ezek.* c. xxx. v. 5. with *Jer.* c. xxv. v. 20, 24.

things they corresponded with the *Egyptians*. However, notwithstanding what is advanced by that historian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already suggested, that part of *Cush*'s posterity moved gradually along the western shore of the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, which, by this means, was tolerably well peopled, when the *Arabian Cushites* first found their way into it. The great difference of, at least a considerable body of, the *Abassines*, from the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, the situation of the kingdom of *Midian*, where some of the earliest *Cushites* probably seated themselves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both sacred and profane, tend to evince the justness of such a conclusion. *Bochart* believes some traces of *Obal*, or, as the *Arabians* pronounce it, *Aubal*, one of *Joktan*'s sons, to be
b discernable in the empory *Abalites*, the *Abalitic* gulf, &c. and consequently, that some of the children of *Eber*, after having insinuated themselves into *Arabia Felix*, migrated into *Ethiopia*. Some of the *Ludim* likewise might find a passage into this country, though undoubtedly the bulk of them moved towards the *Atlantic* ocean; since, as *Moses* intimates them to have been the first branch of *Misraim*'s issue, they in all likelihood pushed forwards towards the main land of *Africa*. The *Ethiopians* therefore might very well vye with the *Egyptians*, and even be deemed superior to them, in point of antiquity, since *Cush* their great ancestor was the eldest son of *Ham*. They might likewise have been esteemed of equal antiquity with the *Arabians*, since from the kingdom of *Midian* the *Cushites* penetrated both into the southern
c parts of the peninsula of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopia*. The communication betwixt *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as well as the proximity of blood of *Cush* and *Misraim*, introduced that similitude of manners observable amongst their respective inhabitants, which we shall soon have occasion to take notice of [q].

Pliny relates, that *Ethiopia* was antiently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he insinuates that of *Meroe* to have been the most powerful and flourishing. But whether these were independent on one another, or under one supreme head, he no-where informs us. Be that as it will, as all the old oriental governments were absolute, and the *Abassine* princes, known to the *Europeans* since their first intercourse with *Abassia*, have been despotic, there is no reason to doubt, but that the kings of
d *Ethiopia* always ruled with an (Q) uncontroulable sway. If we admit the *Ethiopian* tradition, that a long series of princes descended from *Solomon* reigned in the country we are now upon, it can scarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the *Hebrew* monarch knew no bounds. It appears from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, that some *Ethiopic* nations were governed always by queens, whose common name was *Candace*, as that of the *Egyptian* kings was *Pharaoh*, *Ptolemy*, &c. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us to understand, that a good part of *Ethiopia* was composed of several elective monarchies (R), the heads of which were chosen out of their priests; and that all these princes made the laws of their respective kingdoms the basis of their government. However, as the same author remarks, that every new king, imme-
e diately after his election, was worshipped as a god, and considered as invested with the supreme authority by Divine Providence, though he had a particular regard to the laws and customs of his country through the whole course of his administration, we may

Government of the Ethiopians.

[q] Euseb. in chron. geogr. Syncell. in chronograph. Uranius apud Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Ptol l. iv. Procop. Gaz. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. Jos. Scalig. in comput. eccles. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii. Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 7. Diod Sic. l. iii. & alib. Hieronym. quæst. Hebr. in Genes. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & l. ii. c. 23. Gen. c. x. v. 13. Herodot. l. ii. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. iii. & alib. Job. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1. Le Grand, dissert. ii.

(Q) This seems likewise in some measure to appear from the constitution of the present kingdom of *Abassia*. The king's authority there is so unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with justice proprietor of any thing, nor doth any man, when he sows his field, know that he shall reap it; for the king may bestow the fruits upon whom he pleases, and all the satisfaction the former possessor can hope for is, that some man be appointed to bring in the estimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimbursement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the present owner, whom he presumes to have more interest than the person dispossessed (16).

(R) Though the present kingdom of *Abassia* be so far hereditary, that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of chusing out of the royal family whom he pleases for a successor, which, if he omits it, is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king, whom they judge most capable of so high an office. If this was the custom formerly, as does not appear improbable, it might easily have given occasion to this account of *Diodorus*, who cannot be supposed to have received an exact information of the customs, laws, and constitution of *Ethiopia* (17).

(16) *Le Grand, dissert.* v.

(17) *Idem ibid.*

may look upon them all as arbitrary monarchs. The extraordinary honours paid them leave no room to doubt, that they were the interpreters of these laws, and consequently made them subservient to their will; neither does this interfere with their conferring rewards, and inflicting punishments, according to the laws, that is, the political decisions and determinations, of their ancestors, since some of the most arbitrary governments in the world now do the like. But after all, the *Greeks* knew very little of the *Ethiopians*; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relating to them. *Sesostris* and *Zerah* must undoubtedly be considered as princes bearing an absolute sway over the dominions they governed, of which the proper *Ethiopia* was a part. The surprising conquests made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, in order to the reduction of a powerful neighbour, seem to set this point beyond dispute [r].

Laws. ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, the laws of *Ethiopia* agreed in substance with those of *Egypt*. This, continues the same author, the *Ethiopians* accounted for by asserting, that *Egypt* was first peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of *Egypt* to have been at first, for a considerable period, intirely covered with water, and afterwards raised gradually, so as to become inhabitable, by the fresh accession of mud the *Nile* brought every year out of *Ethiopia*. This is likewise confirmed by *Herodotus*, who affirms *Egypt* to be *the gift of the* Nile, and that the whole region, except the territorry of *Thebes*, in the time of *Menes* was one continued morass. However, he mistakes the *Ethiopians* to have been civilized by the *Egyptians*, and to have learned the customs and manners of that people, so late as the reign of *Psammiticus* I. which, considering what has been already advanced, will not easily be admitted for truth. Yet some customs and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might possibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a complete enumeration of the particular laws, or political maxims, that prevailed antiently in *Ethiopia*; but the following seem to have been some of the principal of them. 1. Several tribes of *Ethiopians* looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their priests. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of *Ethiopia*, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the established order of succession amongst some *Ethiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his sister's son (S) mounted the throne; and in case the female branches of the royal family failed of issue, they chose the most beautiful and valiant person amongst them for king. 4. It was esteemed a most enormous crime in any person capitally convicted to attempt making his escape into a foreign country. *Diodorus* relates, that a criminal condemned to die having once meditated a flight out of *Ethiopia*, after the sign of death had been sent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who thereupon strangled him with a garter, he not offering the least resistance, lest an indelible stain should thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to dispatch (T) himself, whenever he received a message from the priests of *Meroe*, the most revered of any in *Ethiopia*, with an intimation, that the gods commanded him, for the good of his subjects, to do so. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his

[r] PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 3, 4. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup. HERODOT. APOLLON. RHOD. APPOLLODOR. PAUSAN. HYGIN. LUCAN. aliique mult. pass. 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. c. xiv. v. 9. & c. xvi. v. 8. Vid. etiam. NEWT. chronol. of the empire of Egypt.

(S) We are informed by *Plutarch*, that a certain *Ethiopian* nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The same author, however, *judiciously* observes, that all the high posts were filled with men. Possibly the modern kingdom of *Zendero*, governed always by an elected monarch, who is said to resemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correspond with this nation. 'Tis certain *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pliny* stile the animal now called a baboon *cynocephalus*, from the resemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated *cyon* or dog by *Plutarch* was an ape or baboon; especially since the *cynocephalus* was produced only in *Ethiopia*. However, this we can only propose to our readers as a conjecture (18).

(T) This vast power the priest enjoyed till the time of *Ergamenes* king of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who, being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of *Æsculapius*, where they resided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the sword. After this he made several regulations, and in a manner new-modelled the public worship of the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (19).

(18) *Plutarch. adverf. Stoic. Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 54. *Fernand. & Tellez. apud Joh. Ludolph. in hist. Æthiop. l.* i. *c.* 6. (19) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii.

a his domeſtics were forced to wound and maim themſelves juſt in the ſame manner. 7. At the king's death, all his houſhold ſervants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indiſpenſable cuſtom, killed themſelves, this being looked upon as the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their ſincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the *Ethiopic* clans above *Meroe* on both ſides of the *Nile*, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninſula, and the parts of *Ethiopia* nearer *Egypt*, elected the moſt induſtrious ſhepherds to preſide over them; others beſtowed the kingdom upon the moſt opulent perſons they could find, imagining them the moſt capable of ſupplying with their riches the wants and neceſſities of the people *.

Religion. *Jupiter Ammon*, according to the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, ſeems to have been
b the principal object of religious worſhip in *Ethiopia*, though the natives (U) paid likewiſe divine honours to *Iſis*, *Pan*, *Hercules*, *Æſculapius*, and others, whom they conſidered as the greateſt benefactors to mankind. In ſhort, if theſe authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the *Egyptians*, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering their vicinity to, and intercourſe with, that people. However, *Diodorus* aſſures us, that ſome of them were atheiſts, who looked upon the ſun, by reaſon of his ſcorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern *Abaſſines*, the *Ethiopians*, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of them, adhered zealouſly to the law of *Moſes*, from the time of *Solomon* to their converſion to chriſtianity. According to this tradition, the
c queen of *Sheba*, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the ſouth, and who ruled over at leaſt a powerful nation of *Ethiopia*, had a ſon by *Solomon* named *Menilehec*, who was educated at that prince's court, and inſtructed there in the law of God through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of *Ethiopia*, and ſent home to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom, at the deſire of ſeveral eminent *Iſraelites* and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced there his father's religion, which continued amongſt his ſubjects and their poſterity till the time of St. *Athanaſius*. What regard is to be paid to this tradition, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; ſince the learned are not a little divided in their ſentiments concerning the ſituation of the kingdom of *Sheba*, whoſe queen had an interview with *Solomon* at his own
d court. St. *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, cardinal *Baronius*, *Suarez*, *Lorinus*, *Pineda*, *Bochart*, and the *Arabs* in general, fix her reſidence in *Arabia-Felix*. The laſt call her *Belkis*, and affirm her to have been the daughter of *Hod-Had* king of the *Homerites*. On the other hand, the *Abaſſine* nation, *Joſephus*, *Origen*, St. *Auſtin*, the learned *Hugo Grotius*, the patriarch *Alphonſo Mendez*, the fathers *Balthaſar Tellez* and *Joan Dos-Santos*, have placed this celebrated princeſs in *Ethiopia*. We have not room to infert here the arguments offered on both ſides in defence of their reſpective opinions; but ſhall, however, obſerve, that the kingdom of *Abaſſia* ſeems to anſwer better the queen of *Sheba*'s country, according to our Saviour's deſcription of it, as being more to the ſouth of, and more remote from, *Judæa*, than *Arabia*.
e To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that ſome perſons of diſtinction amongſt the proper *Ethiopians* were of the ſame religion with the *Jews*, or nearly ſo, in the apoſtolical age, ſince queen *Candace*'s treaſurer (W), baptized by *Philip*,

* Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Herodot. l. ii. c. 5. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Nic. Damascen. in excerptis Valeſii, p. 518.

(U) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ethiopians* valued themſelves upon their being the firſt nation that had a religious eſtabliſhment. They believed, that for this reaſon, adds he, their ſacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than thoſe offered by any other people. Which notion, continues *Diodorus*, *Homer* himſelf ſeems to countenance, when he introduces *Jupiter*, attended by the other gods, as preſent at an anniverſary ſacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the *Ethiopians*. In order to reward their tranſcendent piety, according to the ſame author, the gods never ſuffered them to be conquered by any foreign prince, *Cambyſes*, *Semiramis*, &c. failing in their attempts upon them. But in this, as well as in many other points, he was egregiouſly miſtaken, as will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory (20).

(W) Father *Calmet* and others ſuppoſe this eunuch to have been one of theſe proſelytes which the *Jews* call *a proſelyte of the gate*, already by us deſcribed. But we muſt own, that this notion ſeems to us not a little improbable, ſince thoſe were only confined to an obſervance of the ſeven fundamental laws of natural religion injoined by *Noah* to his poſterity immediately after the flood, according to the opinion of the *Jews*, whereas we find this man peruſing, and conſequently not unacquainted with, the writings of the *Old Teſtament* peculiar to the natural *Jews*. Beſides, that a treaſurer or prime miniſter of the queen of *Ethiopia* ſhould take ſo long a journey as that from *Meroe* to *Jeruſalem* purely to worſhip God, and offer an oblation to him, there, ſeems very ſtrange, if he was ſuch a mungrel-convert as *the proſelytes of the gate were*, who, for the moſt part,

(20) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *ſub init. Vid. & Lucian. de Jup. Trag. p.* 697. *Ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par.* 1615.

Philip, went with an offering to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip GOD there, and was not unac- a
quainted with the writers of the *Old Teſtament*; which cannot, we apprehend, be ſaid with ſo much propriety of the *Arabians*. This ſeems to us a ſort of proof, that the *Moſaic* law was held to be of divine inſtitution in *Meroe*, and the other parts of *Ethiopia* dependent on it, even a conſiderable time before the birth of our Saviour, if not as early as the age of *Solomon*; and conſequently adds ſome weight to the arguments of thoſe writers, who have aſſerted, that the queen of *Sheba* came out of *Ethiopia*. It likewiſe renders the authority of *Joſephus* preferable to that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus*, notwithſtanding what M. *Bochart* has advanced. For, if any regard was paid to the law of *Moſes* in *Meroe*, before chriſtianity made its ap- b
pearance in the world, we cannot account for this better, than by allowing, with the *Abaſſines* and authors above-mentioned, that this peninſula was the queen of *Sheba*'s country, that her ſon introduced ſome knowledge of the public worſhip of the *Hebrews* there, and conſequently, that its metropolis was called *Sheba* or *Seba* before *Cambyſes*'s reign, as *Joſephus* aſſerts, and not built by that prince, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus* will have it. Be that as it will, this appears to have been a prevailing notion amongſt ſome of the *Jews* and *Greeks* in *Joſephus*'s time, and *Herodotus* was then cited to ſupport it, however his text, or that of *Joſephus*, may be now corrupted; ſince the latter hiſtorian cannot fairly be ſuppoſed ſo profligate and abandoned a writer, as to impoſe a known falſhood and forgery upon the world, as *Bochart* aſſerts him to have done. However, it muſt be owned, that *Strabo* ſuggeſts the people of *Meroe* in c
his time to have adored *Hercules*, *Pan*, and *Iſis*, with another foreign god. But *Strabo*'s authority in this point cannot overturn what is inſinuated by Scripture: nay, he ſeems to be a little inconſiſtent with himſelf, ſince in the ſame breath he aſſures us, that the *Ethiopians* in general acknowledged an immortal God, whom they conſidered as the firſt principle of all things, and a mortal god, who had no name. Such a notion might eaſily be formed by remote nations, who knew very little of the *Ethiopians*, upon ſuppoſition that ſome of them for a certain period worſhipped the true God, and held the memory of *Moſes* in the higheſt veneration. Far more abſurd things than theſe the *Greek* and *Latin* writers related of the *Jews*, with whom they had a more immediate communication; and therefore we ought not to be ſurpriſed at their tranſmitting to d
us ſo imperfect an account of the religious tenets of the *Ethiopians*; tho' it ſhould be acknowledged, that, during a certain interval, they agreed in the main with thoſe of the *Jews*. The author laſt cited likewiſe informs us, that the *Ethiopians* ranked in the number of their deities all their moſt eminent benefactors, and thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth. The ſun, according to him, the people under conſideration in the moſt early times ſo highly adored, that they reputed thoſe to be atheiſts who curſed him at his riſing, as ſome ſuch there were inhabiting the *Torrid Zone*, becauſe he forced them to ſhelter themſelves from his intenſe heat in moiſt and marſhy places. For this reaſon the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave the *Sun* the name of the *Ethiopian Jupiter*. The *Ethiopians* themſelves called him *Aſſabin* or *Aſſabinus*, as we learn from *Pliny*. e
They conſecrated likewiſe to him the cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous ſhrub, which grew in their country. The prieſts only were allowed to gather that harveſt, which they always uſhered in with ſacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and ſheep, beginning the work that followed before ſun-riſing, and finiſhing it before his ſetting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a ſpear, which was never uſed but on that occaſion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the ſame place that which fell to the ſun; and forthwith, ſay *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Theophraſtus*,

part, if not always, reſided in *Judæa*. It is therefore much more probable, eſpecially as ſcarce any inſtance can be produced of ſo eminent a perſonage's being ever found amongſt the reſiding proſelytes abovementioned, who were, generally ſpeaking, people of no figure, much leſs of one who expoſed himſelf to the various dangers of ſo long a journey purely to worſhip God at *Jeruſalem*, that this *Ethiopian* had been trained up in a religion not very different from that of the *Jews*. Nay, as he was a perſon of ſuch power and authority at the *Ethiopian* court, it can by no means be deemed unlikely, that the eſtabliſhed religion of *Meroe* at that time pretty near reſembled the *Jewiſh*. This appears to be in ſome ſort confirmed by the prophet *Zephaniah*, who ſeems evidently to predict the converſion of the eunuch under conſideration, and even to inſinuate, that he came to *Jeruſalem* with an offering from queen *Candace* herſelf, ſince nothing is more likely, than that ſhe was *the daughter of his diſperſed beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, that ſhould bring his offering*; which, if admitted, muſt be allowed no mean proof of what we would here ſuggeſt; but this, as well as every thing dependent upon it, muſt be left to the determination of our learned and judicious readers (21).

(21) *Act.* c. viii. *v.* 27, 28. *Zeph.* iii. *v.* 10. *Calmet*, *Prideaux*, *aliiq*; *mult.*

a *phraſtus*, if the diviſion had been performed with equity, the ſun's portion took fire of itſelf, and was conſumed (X). This ceremony ſeems to have been common to both the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, and the *Sabæans* ſeated in *Arabia Felix*. *Banier* believes the *Ethiopians* to have had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the *Egyptians*; that they worſhipped the moon under the name of *Iſis*, and univerſal nature under that of *Pan*. We doubt not, but this may be true; eſpecially, ſince they, in all likelihood, at firſt worſhipped the planets, or ſome of them, in common with the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, and likewiſe paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings, as did thoſe nations together with the *Mauritanians*. Among thoſe princes deified by this laſt people were the famous *Juba*, and *Verſotina*, who was
b probably either one of their queens, or ſome other woman of the firſt diſtinction, ſignalized by her glorious actions. The *Ethiopians* of *Meroe*, according to *Herodotus*, in his time, worſhipped *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, and had an oracle of *Jupiter*. Some *Ethiopian* nations offered ſacrifices to *the Day*, which they eſteemed as a god, according to *Lucian*. An antient tradition prevails amongſt the *Abaſſines*, that the firſt *Ethiopians* adored a monſtrous ſerpent, called in their language *Arwe-midre*; but this ſavours ſo much of fable, that our readers will probably think it deſerves little regard [t].

In a country of ſo vaſt an extent as *Ethiopia*, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that no ſmall variety of languages, at leaſt of dialects, muſt have prevailed. The moſt antient of theſe was undoubtedly that called by the
c learned the *Ethiopic*, into which the holy Scripture was formerly tranſlated, and in which all the books of the *Abaſſines*, both ſacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly reſembles the *Chaldee*; but, according to *Ludolphus*, who ſpent above ſixty years in the ſtudy of it, it bears as great an affinity to the *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, and approaches nearer ſtill to the *Arabic*, from which to him it ſeems immediately to be derived. In ſhort, there is ſo perfect an agreement betwixt them, that whoever underſtands the one, may, without any difficulty, if we will credit him, make himſelf maſter of the other; nay, he aſſerts, that a competent knowledge of the *Hebrew*, or any other of the oriental tongues, will enable a ſtudent ſoon to make a very laudable progreſs in the *Ethiopic*. As many
d *Hebrew* (Y) roots, and genuine ſignifications of *Hebrew* words, are ſtill preſerved in

Language.

[t] Herodot. l. ii. Strab. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Plin. l. xii. c. 19. Solin. c. 31. Lucian. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. ed Bourdelot. Lut. Par. 1615. Theophrast. de plant. Lactant. l. i. c. 15. Tertullian. apol. c. 24. Minut. Fel. in Octav. Greg. Abass. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 2. Banier, l. vi. c. 9. Joseph. Orig. August. Cyprian. Epiphan. Cyrill. Alexandr. Baron. Suarez. Lorin. Pined. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 3. Pocock. ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 59. Joseph. ant. l. ii. c. 5. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. vi. c. 2l. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 26. & alib. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 6. Golii notæ in Alfraganum, p. 87. Diod. Sic. & Steph. Byzant. apud Bochart. ubi ſup. Act. c. viii. v. 27. Georg. Horn. hiſt. philoſoph. l. ii. p. 132, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1655. Alphons. Mend. Balth. Tellez, & Jo. Dos-Sant. apud Le Grand. diſſert. vii. Vid. & Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 3.

(X) For our part we are apt to believe, that the prieſts ſecretly conveyed ſome coals under the heap that was allotted to the Sun; and that thoſe coals kindled ſome moments after, preciſely at the time of their retiring. Such pious frauds have been, and ſtill are, uſed in countries whoſe religion utterly diſclaims frauds and impoſtures of any kind whatſoever, in order to ſerve ſuch a turn as theſe prieſts of the Sun had in view: witneſs the liquefaction of the blood of St. *Januarius* at *Naples*, &c.

(Y) Of this we ſhall beg leave here to produce two inſtances: 1. The *Hebrew* lexicographers derive the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* word *Adamah, earth*, from אדם *red*, pretending the earth to be of a red colour, from whence it receives that denomination. But *Kimchi* takes no notice of this derivation in his collection of *Hebrew* roots; and how ſmall a part of the earth, in compariſon of the whole, is red, no naturaliſt ſtands in need of being informed. This etymon therefore is at beſt *mal-à-propos*. But the *Ethiopic* language ſuggeſts to us a much more proper one, when it propoſes to our view the word *Adamah* ſignifying *beautiful, elegant, pleaſant*, &c. from whence if we deduce the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician Adamah, Earth*, it will not be remote from the κόσμος of the *Greeks*, though that ſeems to have had a more extenſive ſignification. Upon this ſuppoſition, *Adam* derived his name not from a certain fictitious redneſs, but from the beauty and perfection of his nature, being, as it were, the maſter-piece of the creation. And agreeably hereto the *Ethiopians* to the word *Adam* always annex the idea of ſomething perfect and beautiful. Nor is it improbable, that the city *Admah* or *Adamah*, before it was deſtroyed with *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, ſeated upon the banks of the *Jordan*, compared to *the garden of the* Lord, was ſo denominated from the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation. 2. The word מלאך *Malach*, an *Angel* or *Meſſenger*, is not to be deduced from the *Arabic Malaka, poſſedit, dominatus eſt*, &c. for that is not ſufficiently appoſite, but from the *Ethiopic Layka, miſit, legavit*, &c. Nay, ſometimes the roots of *Arabic* words themſelves are to be ſought for in the *Ethiopic*: ſo in the *Alcoran* the apoſtles are called *Hhawwâri*, whoſe origin cannot be diſcovered in the *Arabic* lexicons, ſince it certainly comes from the *Ethiopic Hawyra, ivit, inceſſit*, &c. than which nothing can be more ſuitable to the office of an apoſtle. Our readers will find this point more fully diſcuſſed by the learned *Ludolphus*, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer them (23).

(23) *I. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l.* i. *c.* 15. *& comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 202—208. *Vid. etiam Sim. Ockleii introd. ad Ling. p.* 159, 160. *Cantabrigiæ*, 1706.

in the *Ethiopic*, which would be ſought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the eſteem of all who diligently apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures. Beſides, 'tis impoſſible to come at a thorough knowledge of the *Abaſſine* affairs, this being the language in which all their hiſtories, and other treatiſes, are penned, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The pureſt dialect of this tongue was that uſed in the kingdom of *Tigre*, where *Axuma*, the reſidence of the old *Ethiopian* kings, was ſeated. Here it continued till the failure of the *Zagean* line; after which, a *Sewan* prince aſcending the throne, the *Amharic* dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffuſed itſelf over the whole empire. However, the language ſpoken in *Tigre* at preſent comes the neareſt to the old *Ethiopic*; which ſtill remains its priſtine dignity, not only in their books, but alſo in their divine worſhip, as alſo in their kings letters patents, commiſſions, and all other public acts whatſoever. Father *Tellez* informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as kingdoms and provinces in *Abaſſia*: nay, that there were different dialects in one and the ſame kingdom. As the language of *Tigre* is at preſent deeply tinged with the antient *Ethiopic*, ſo thoſe of moſt of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the *Amharic*; though they conſiderably differ one from another. The people of *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder* uſe a dialect peculiar to themſelves; thoſe of *Hangota*, *Ifata*, *Gojam*, and *Shewa*, one common to them all; the *Gafatas* have many *Amharic* words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be underſtood by any of the other *Abaſſines*; in the kingdom of *Dambea* a language is ſpoken very different from both the *Amharic* and *Ethiopic*; the dialect of *Gonga* agrees with that of *Enarea*, though it does not bear a near reſemblance to any of the others in *Ethiopia*. But we ſhall entertain our readers with a more particular account of all theſe, as well as thoſe of the *Gallans*, *Agawi*, *Chankalas*, &c. when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Abaſſia* [u].

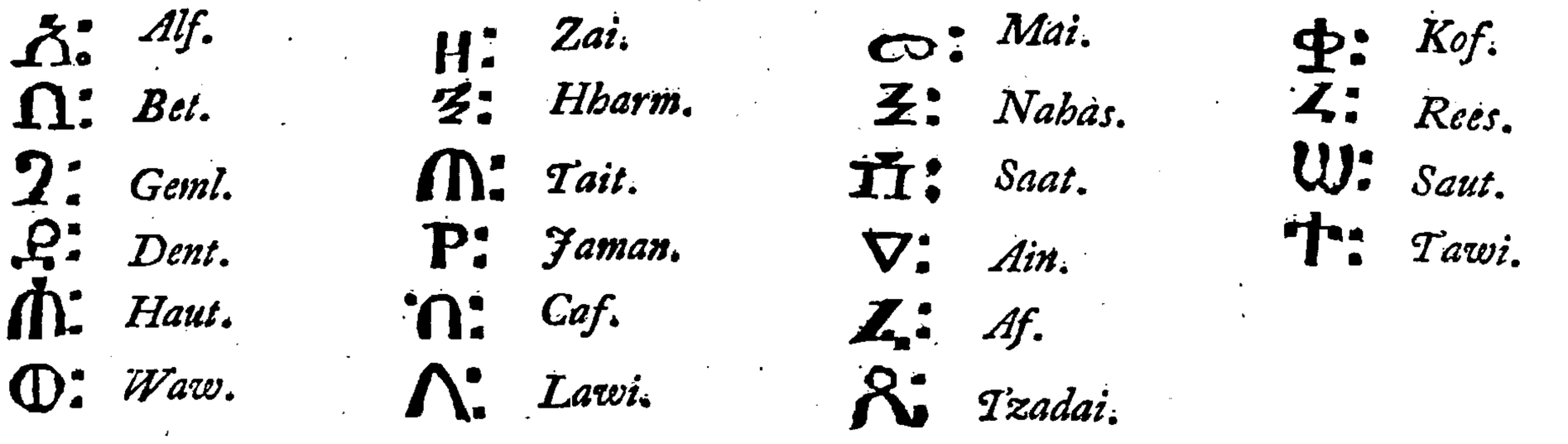
Letters: As it will be expected, that we ſhould ſay ſomething of the letters, or (Z) alphabetic characters,

[u] Mariani Victorii inſtitutiones linguæ Æthiop. Romæ, 1552. Wemmer. inſtitut. grammat. Æthiop. Jo. Potken. pſalter. Æthiop. Brian. Walton. in introd. ad lect. linguar. Oriental. Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 15. ut & Balthaz. Tellez. apud Ludolph. ibid. Vide etiam Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 60. Francofurti ad Mænum, 1691.

(Z) We are informed by *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Ethiopians* had antiently hieroglyphic characters as well as the *Egyptians*. Thus amongſt them a hawk ſignified any thing that made a quick diſpatch, that bird in ſwiftneſs exceeding moſt others; the crocodile denoted malice; the eye the maintainer of juſtice, and the guard of the body; the right-hand, open, repreſented plenty; and the left, cloſed, a ſecure poſſeſſion of property, &c. But whether the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians* firſt in reality hit upon this way of writing cannot certainly be known, though *Diodorus* attributes the invention of it to the latter. 'Tis not improbable, that the people of all nations at firſt recorded their conceptions by tracing out the images of things in a coarſe manner, which was gradually improved into hieroglgyphics, as in ſome meaſure appears from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans*, the antient character of the *Chineſe*, and from what we find related of the *Scythians* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Euſtathius*, and *Herodotus*.

Theſe hieroglyphic characters, according to the ſame *Diodorus*, were not only underſtood by the prieſts, as amongſt the *Egyptians*, but likewiſe by all the people, as well as the alphabet here mentioned. However, it does not appear from that author, as M. *Fourmont* ſeems to aſſert, that the *Ethiopic* alphabet was made up of theſe hieroglyphic characters; nor indeed can this be allowed very probable, the letters of an alphabet being eſſentially different from *even* the characteriſtic marks deduced from hieroglyphics. The laſt repreſent things, ideas, or even whole conceptions, in the ſame manner as the antient and modern characters of the *Chineſe*, whereas the former are expreſſive of ſounds. In ſhort, though we ſhould allow it an eaſy tranſition from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans* to the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, as well as from the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics to the characteriſtic marks of the *Chineſe*, which *Du Halde* demonſtrates to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet we cannot ſee how the invention of an alphabet muſt as naturally ſucceed theſe marks. There is, it muſt be owned, a ſufficient reſemblance between the *American* and *Egyptian* hieroglyphies and the *Chineſe* characters; but theſe all ſeem intirely foreign to alphabetic letters, and in reality do not bear the leaſt relation to them. As an affinity between all theſe is the point neceſſary to be proved, in order to evince a gradual and eaſy deſcent from picture-writing to letters, ſome better argument ought to be offered in ſupport of it, than a ſuppoſition extremely precarious, if not plainly falſe, and which, if true, would be little to the purpoſe. Now, that the notion of the *Ethiopic* alphabet's being made up of hieroglyphics is ſuch a ſuppoſition, evidently appears from what we have juſt hinted, as well as from the antient alphabet of that nation exhibited by *Ludolphus*; and yet the very learned and ingenious Mr. *Warburton* has in fact offered only this hypotheſis, on M. *Fourmont*'s authority, to prove the connection between an alphabet and hieroglyphics. How far, therefore, all novel opinions, founded upon the truth of ſuch a connection, are to be depended upon, we leave our readers to judge. *Diodorus* indeed, in the ſame place, intimates, that the forms of the *Ethiopic* letters (τύποις) reſembled various animals, parts of human bodies, artificers tools, &c. But that this is not to be underſtood of alphabetic letters, but hieroglyphics, follows from what he immediately ſubjoins: "For their *writing* (ἡ γραμματικὴ) is "expreſſive of the ſubject, not by a compoſition "of

a characters, of the nation we are now upon, which naturally fall under this head, our readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here the antient *Ethiopic* alphabet, as given us by the learned *Job Ludolphus* in his excellent hiſtory of *Ethiopia*.



From comparing theſe letters with the old oriental alphabets taken from antique coins, inſcriptions, &c. by *Læſcher*, and conſulting what we have already obſerved in our account of the *Carthaginian*, it may perhaps not ſeem abſolutely improbable, that ſome of them were derived from the old *Aſſyrian*, *Phœnician*, *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, &c. characters. The number of the letters likewiſe in this alphabet, and the names of ſeveral of them, tend to evince the ſame thing, though *Ludolphus* believes
c them to have been invented by the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* themſelves, and to be much older than even the *Cuphic* character of the *Arabs*. 'Tis remarkable, that the *Abaſſines* have no grammar; and, that when *Gregory* was ſhewn the uſe of one, he could not forbear breaking out into a ſort of exclamation, crying out, *Thanks to* God! as though ſome ſecret of great importance had been diſcovered to him. We muſt not forget obſerving, that the *Ethiopians* both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Orientals*; which looks like an indication, that their alphabet was not of the ſame extraction with that of the *Arabs*. But for a farther account of the antient *Ethiopic* letters, as well as language, we muſt beg leave to refer the curious and inquiſitive part of our readers to *Ludolphus*'s *Ethio-*
d *pic* hiſtory, commentaries, and grammar, which are generally allowed to be the beſt pieces of their kind extant [w].

Cuſtoms.

The *Ethiopians*, as has been already obſerved, agreed in ſeveral points with the *Egyptians*, though they had many cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves, ſome of which were very ſingular and uncommon. As we have not time at preſent to expatiate upon all ſuch cuſtoms to be met with in hiſtory, we muſt content ourſelves with touching upon ſome of the principal of them. 1. The *Ethiopian Ichthyophagi* differed from other nations in ſeveral particulars. By ſtopping up the paſſages of certain caverns on the coaſt of the *Red Sea* with ſtones, they encloſed vaſt numbers of large and ſmall fiſhes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and
e ſerved them for food. The women and children employed themſelves in throwing on ſhore thoſe of a leſſer ſize, whilſt the men ſecured the ſharks, ſea-calves, con-

gers,

[w] Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 1. gram. Æthiop. ed Lond. 1661. & comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 34, 555, 556, 562, & alib. paſſ. Vide etiam Val. Ern. Loescher. de cauſ. ling. Hebr. p. 201, 224, & alib. ad Francof. & Lipſiæ, 1706. & Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 701, 702.

" of ſyllables, but by the ſignification of certain " images delineated, and a metaphorical application " of it impreſſed on the memory by exerciſe. For, " they *write* (γράφεσι) a hawk, a crocodile, a ſer- " pent, a part of the human body, as an eye, a " hand, the face, &c. A hawk ſignifies with them " diſpatch, becauſe this bird in celerity exceeds al- " moſt all others, &c." Nay, he here expreſly aſſerts, that the *Ethiopic* letters were the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, and conſequently allows, that they could not be alphabetic characters: this paſſage, therefore, which ſeems to have miſled M. *Fourmont*, is ſo far from proving the *Ethiopian* alphabet to have conſiſted of hieroglyphic characters, that it ſtrongly intimates the contrary.

Heliodorus ſays, that the *Ethiopians* had two ſorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the *regal* reſembled the *ſacerdotal* characters of the *Egyptians*. *Diogenes Laertius*, from *Thraſyllus*, alſo informs us, that *Democritus* wrote two books, the one of the *ſacred letters* of the *Babylonians*, the other of the *ſacred letters* of the city of *Meroe*. M. *Fourmont* believes, that moſt of the eaſtern nations likewiſe had a ſacerdotal alphabet (24).

(24) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Herodot. l.* iv. *Diog. Laert. in vit. Democrit. ſegm.* xlix. *l.* 9. *Heliodor. Æthiop. l.* iv. *Clem. Alexandrin. ſtrom. l.* v. *p.* 567. *Euſtath. in Hom. Iliad.* vi. *v.* 168. *Athanaſ. Kirch. China illuſtrata, p.* 227. & *Oedip. Egypt. theat. hieroglyphic. p.* 12. & *alib. Le Comte, nouv. memoires ſur l'état préſent de la Chine, tom.* i. *p.* 256. *Amſt.* 1698. *Du Halde, tom.* ii. *p.* 227. *M. Fourmont, Reflections crit. ſur les hiſt. des anc. peup. tom.* ii. *p.* 500, 501. *à Paris*, 1735. *Joſ. Acoſt. l.* vi. *c.* 10. *Madr.* 1608. *Purchaſ. pilgr. par.* iii. *p.* 1065, 1066. *Gemell. Carer. del mond. tom.* vi. *c.* 6. *p.* 37. *Warburton's divin. legat. of Moſ. demonſtrat. vol.* ii. *par.* 1. *ſect.* 4.

gers, monſtrous lobſters, &c. with which the aforeſaid ſea abounded, killing them a
with ſharp goats-horns, and rough ſtones broken off the rocks. Theſe they expoſed
to the ſolar rays in ſtone pots turned towards the ſouth, where the fleſh was ſoon
ſeparated from the bones by the intenſe heat. The latter they applied to the uſe
already mentioned, and boiled up the former with the ſeed of *paliurus*. The maſs
formed by theſe two ingredients was at firſt liquid, and of a reddiſh colour; but,
being ſpread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the ſun, it became hard
and ſavoury. This they commonly fed upon; but when any inundations happened,
that they could not for ſeveral days together approach the ſhore, they were con-
ſtrained to eat ſhell-fiſh, ſome of which were ſo large, that they weighed four minas.
If theſe at any time failed, they found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to the b
bones, though deſtined for another uſe, which preſerved them till the ſea ſent them
their uſual ſupplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in ſuch immo-
derate quantities, that they were ſcarce able to breathe. They ſeemed not to utter
any articulate ſounds, and conſequently to be void of a language. Some of them,
according to *Agatharchides*, never drank at all, living only upon raw fiſh. Theſe,
continues the ſame author, might have been deemed perfect ſtoics, as being never
ruffled or diſcompoſed by the violence of any prevailing paſſion. However barba-
rous their neighbours might take them to be, they had the art of teaching the *phocæ*
or ſea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to aſſiſt them in catching other
fiſh. Several clans of them lived in ſuch caves as we have deſcribed in the former c
ſection; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bear-
ing fruit like a cheſnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a ſort of cano-
py, whereby, together with the pleaſant breezes coming from off the ſea, they were
ſheltered from the ſcorching rays of the ſun; and laſtly, others fixed their habita-
tions in certain inacceſſible hollows, ſurrounded with high precipices and the ſea.
The *Ichthyophagi* for the moſt part enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of health, but few
of them attained to old age, as above obſerved. They carried their dead to the
ſea-ſhore, where they lay expoſed till the return of the tide, which carried them off;
ſo that, as they fed upon fiſh in their life-time, they after their death in return af-
forded thoſe animals a repaſt. 2. The *Chelonophagi* above-mentioned did not only d
uſe the fleſh of tortoiſes for food, but likewiſe covered their huts or cottages with
the ſhells of thoſe animals. As both in ſize and figure theſe ſhells reſembled a ſmall
fiſhing-veſſel, the *Chelonophagi* alſo uſed them as boats on ſome occaſions. They
had a particular manner of ſurpriſing this fiſh, which we find deſcribed from *Aga-
tharchides* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 3. Another *Ethiopic* canton lived upon fiſh of the
cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the ſhore by chance. When they
were preſſed by a famine, they devoured the bones of thoſe creatures, whoſe fleſh at
other times ſuſtained them. 4. The *Ethiopian Rhizophagi*, after they had waſhed the
roots of the canes growing in marſhy ground, bruiſed them, and prepared them by
the heat of the ſun, fared deliciouſly upon them. This canton was greatly infeſted e
by lions, which came out of the deſerts in vaſt numbers, and had quite depopulated
the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous
ſize annually expelled them from thence. At the ſame time, the *Rhizophagi*, in order
to avoid theſe gnats, retired towards the moraſſes, which greatly contributed to
their preſervation. 5. The *Hylophagi* were people of ſuch ſurpriſing activity, that
they ſkipped from one tree to another like birds. They always went naked, lived
upon the young ſhoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarrel-
led about their reſpective habitations. On theſe occaſions they fought with clubs,
after the manner of the *Libyans*, which ſometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe
of *Ethiopians*, watching an opportunity, killed leopards, buffaloes, &c. after they f
had drunk ſo copiouſly, that they were ready to burſt, with clubs burnt at one end,
ſtones, darts, &c. in the manner deſcribed by *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus Siculus*.
They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not ſuffer them
to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another *Ethiopic* nation had two very parti-
cular ways of taking elephants, hinted at by us above, for a full deſcription of which
our readers muſt have recourſe to the authors laſt mentioned. 8. The *Struthophagi*
had ſeveral arts and devices to take oſtriches, on which they fed. That animal
defended itſelf againſt them with ſtones, which it threw out of its feet, in this re-
ſpect reſembling a ſling, with great violence. The *Struthophagi* of the ſkins of
theſe oſtriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The *Acrido-* g
phagi

a *phagi* had a deep valley in their country, of many furlongs extent, which they took care to fill with wood, and other combuſtible materials; and when the ſouth wind drove vaſt numbers of locuſts thither, ſet them on fire, the ſmoak ſuffocating all thoſe animals. Such infinite numbers of locuſts were deſtroyed on theſe occaſions, that the ground for ſome leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people under conſideration ſeaſoned with ſalt, produced moſt copiouſly in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholſome food; for the *Acridophagi* (Z) did not exceed the age of forty years, and at laſt died in a miſerable manner. They were devoured by winged inſects of different ſpecies, of a ſtrange and ugly form, expiring for the moſt part in exquiſite torture. Poſſi-
b bly the air itſelf, as well as the locuſts, might have greatly contributed to ſo uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The *Cynamolgi*, ſeated in the ſouthern parts of *Ethiopia*, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt (A) *Indian* oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongſt them. 11. The nations placed ſtill more to the ſouth, according to *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus*, lived the life of ſavages, if not that of the worſt of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the *Cafres* were not unknown to the antients, and conſequently that they had ſeen more of the ſouthern parts of *Africa* than the moderns imagine. 12. The above-mentioned authors inform us, that the greateſt part of the *Troglodytes* (B) in their manner of life nearly reſembled the *Libyan Nomades*, that
c they were divided into tribes, and that all of theſe were under one ſupreme head. This confirms what we have elſewhere obſerved of the form of government antiently prevailing in *Numidia* and *Mauritania*. 13. The *Troglodytes*, during the time of the *Eteſian* winds, drank a liquor compoſed of blood and milk boiled up together. In the ſummer months they lived about the moraſſes with their flocks, where they frequently fought for convenient paſtures. The old and infirm cattle always ſupplied them with food, for which reaſon they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving thoſe denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than a few beaſts ſkins, with which they covered only their loins. 14. They held all their old women in the higheſt veneration, inſomuch
d that, in their moſt bloody conteſts, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themſelves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired; and, if upon an admonition from a friend they refuſed to do this, they might be ſtrangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to deſire life, when a perſon was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one amongſt them was ſeized with an incurable diſtemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpatch him. Their dead they carried to the top of ſome hill, where they firſt covered them with ſtones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So void were they of a ſenſe of compaſſion, that the ceremony of burying the deceaſed in
e this manner was one of their moſt celebrated diverſions. 15. The *Ethiopians* made uſe of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and ſeveral other weapons (C), in their wars, which they managed with great ſtrength and dexterity. 16. Circumciſion (D) was a rite obſerved amongſt them, as well as the *Egyptians*, from very early antiquity, though which of theſe nations firſt received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The *Ethiopian*

(Z) *Plutarch* mentions a tribe of *Ethiopians* that were very ſhort-lived, the oldeſt amongſt them ſcarce ever exceeding the age of thirty years. Theſe were probabaly the *Acridophagi* of *Agatharchides Cnidius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny* (25).

(A) The antients ſometimes included the weſtern and proper *Ethiopia*, as well as *Arabia*, under the name of *India*.

(B) We are informed by *Strabo*, that all the different ſpecies of cattle theſe *Ethiopians* took with them from place to place were extremely ſmall. Their dogs were likewiſe very little, but vaſtly fierce. Some of theſe *Ethiopians*, or at leaſt the neighbouring cantons, lived chiefly upon barley and millet; which ſerved them both for meat and drink. They alſo uſed butter and fat inſtead of oil. Their kings had divine honours paid them, and never appeared in public, in order the more greatly to attract the veneration of their ſubjects (26).

(C) The *Megabari*, a canton, as ſhould ſeem, of the *Troglodytes*, fought with clubs, and carried before them round ſhields made of raw ox-hides; many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (27).

(D) We have obſerved in a former note, that *Herodotus* is not intirely conſiſtent with himſelf in what he ſays of circumciſion, as a rite practiſed in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; which muſt undoubtedly not a little contribute towards invalidating his authority in this particular. But, waving this conſideration,

(25) *Plut. de placit. philoſophor. l.* iii. *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 776.

(26) *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 565. *ed.* 1587.

(27) *Diod. Sic.*

Ethiopian soldiers tied their arrows round their (E) heads, the feathered part of a which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out like so many rays, which formed a kind of crown. These arrows were extremely short, pointed with sharp stones instead of iron, and dipped in the *virus* of dragons, or some other lethiferous poison, insomuch, that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they shot these arrows were four cubits long, and required so much strength to manage them, that no nation could make use of them but the *Ethiopians*. According to several authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or showers of these arrows. Many tribes of the people now under consideration, particularly the *Blemmyes*, had wonderful skill in using the weapons here mentioned, b taking aim so well, and hitting the mark so exactly, that some of the antients imagined every individual of them to have had four eyes. The *Ethiopians* retreated fighting in the same manner as the *Parthians*, discharging vollies of arrows with such dexterity and address whilst they were retiring full speed, that they terribly galled the enemy. It appears from *Scylax*, *Horace*, and *Ælian*, that the *Mauritanians* and *Blacks*, or western *Ethiopians*, were likewise very expert archers, and shot poisoned arrows; and the same thing has been observed of their posterity by the epitomizer of *Edrisi*, or, as he is more usually called, the *Nubian* geographer. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immense size, which may be deemed a farther proof of their vast bodily strength. 19. The *Macrobian* or long-lived *Ethiopians* fed for the most c part upon roasted flesh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years. 'Tis said, that this longevity was principally owing to a rich and fragrant fountain, rendering their bodies smooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfuming them with the odour of violets, wherein they frequently bathed themselves. 20. These *Ethiopians* looked upon brass as the most valuable of metals, and had gold in such little esteem, that they fettered their prisoners with golden chains. 21. They dried the bodies (F) of their ancestors, and laid thereon a covering of white plaster, on which they drew a picture as nearly resembling the deceased as possible, and inclosed the whole in a case of crystal, according to *Herodotus*. *Diodorus* also affirms, that they kept the bodies of the friends and relations in their d houses,

when he asserts circumcision to have prevailed ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning*; amongst the *Egyptians*, *Colchi*, and *Ethiopians*, he cannot be supposed to mean, that they received it from their first ancestor. For in such a case it must have passed from him to the *Philistines*, who were likewise his descendants; which all, who pay the least regard to Scripture, will allow to be false. That expression, therefore, must either import indefinitely, that it had been observed in *Egypt* from time immemorial, or from some period near the beginning of the great *Egyptian* empire formed by *Amenemes* and *Sesac*, about the reign of *Solomon*, one of the greatest and most powerful princes of his age, and in alliance with *Egypt*, between five and six hundred years before *Herodotus* wrote his history. And here in fact several learned men have placed the introduction of this institution into *Egypt*. Besides, what has been advanced by *Herodotus*, in the point before us, seems to be founded on a mistake, as may be inferred from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Those authors, who probably followed him, believed, or at least pretended to believe, the *Hebrews* to have derived the rite of circumcision from *Egypt*, because they were originally a colony of the *Egyptians*, and consequently agreed with them in all their customs and manners, in both their sacred and civil institutions. But, as nothing can be more false than such a notion, not the least regard is due to what they have advanced upon a supposition of its truth. That the *Samaritans* or *Cuthæans*, whom *Herodotus* calls *Syrians* of *Palestine*, should declare to him, that they received circumcision from the *Egyptians*, must be attributed to their hatred of the *Jews*. As for *Herodotus*, he was frequently imposed upon most egregiously by the *Egyptians*, especially in points relating either to the antiquity of their monarchy, or those customs they had in common with other nations. Their excessive vanity would not permit them to speak the truth, when they imagined it would reflect the least honour or glory upon any of the neighbouring states. For which reason, as well as others that might be offered, and particularly because it seems to us diametrically opposite to Scripture, we cannot pay any regard to the sentiment of those authors, who either deduce circumcision originally out of *Egypt*, or make the *Hebrews* to have borrow'd it of the *Egyptians* (28).

(E) Before they took any arrows from their heads, in order to begin a general action, they had a particular kind of dance, as we learn from *Lucian*. But how such a custom came first to be introduced amongst them, or what they intended by it, has not been intimated by any antient author (29).

(F) In another place the same *Diodorus* observes, that when the corps came from the embalmer's, the very eye lashes, brows, and features, were so well preserved, that the whole form of the body was invariably retained, and the original effigies or likeness known. Wherefore, continues he, many of the *Egyptians* kept the bodies of their ancestors within magnificent depositories, in order to behold the complete images of those who had been dead perhaps many ages before they themselves had been born. There they not only saw the lineaments of their faces, but also the make of their bodies; all which they contemplated with great delight (30).

(28) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 36, 37, & 104. *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 14. *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 824, *edit. Is. Casaub.* *Gen. c.* x. *v.* 13, 14. 2 *Sam. c.* i. *v.* 20, & *alib. Vid. etiam Agarchid. Cnid. in excerptis Photii, p.* 1358. *Clem. Alex. strom. l.* i. *p.* 354. *c.* 15. *edit. Potter. Cotelerii not. in Barnab. epist. c.* 9. & *Suid. in voc.* Ψῶλος. (29) *Lucian. de saltat. p.* 505. *ed. Lutet. Par.* 1615. (30) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 8.

houſes, within caſes of glaſs, not thinking it right, that the knowledge of the features, and the likeneſs of their dead relations, ſhould be concealed from their ſurviving kindred, or that they ſhould be forgotten by their poſterity. *Herodotus* adds, that the dead were clearly ſeen through the cryſtal above-mentioned, emitting no ill ſcent, nor being at all diſagreeable to the eye, ſince they perfectly reſembled the perſons when alive: They were kept, continues the ſame author, a whole year in the houſes of their neareſt relations, who, during that term, honoured their manes with ſacrifices and firſt-fruits of all kinds: after which they carried them out, and placed them upright round the parts adjoining to their cities. 22. Other *Ethiopic* cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and ſwore by their
b manes, as has been before related of the *Naſamones*; and laſtly, others threw them into the river, looking upon this as the beſt ſort of burial that could poſſibly be allotted them. 23. Some of the *Ethiopian* had no regular meals, or ſtated times of eating, but always refreſhed themſelves when hunger and thirſt prompted them thereto. 24. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* lived upon human fleſh, as we learn from *Philoſtratus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*. This ſeems fully to evince, that the *Cafres*, and conſequently the territories they inhabited, were known to the antients, though we find ſcarce any thing in the old geographers concerning them *.

Arts, &c.

As the *Ethiopians* agreed with the *Egyptians* in moſt of their laws, their ſplendid funerals, the (H) deification of their princes, the ſeveral colleges of prieſts, circum-
c ciſion, and in fine moſt of their ſacred and civil inſtitutions, 'tis highly probable, that the ſame arts, ſciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed amongſt both nations. Nay, this ſeems to be expreſly aſſerted by *Diodorus Siculus*, when he informs us, that not only the ſame kind of ſtatues, but likewiſe the ſame hieroglyphic figures and characters, were uſed in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; ſince it is generally allowed, that thoſe were the repoſitories of the *Egyptian* wiſdom and literature. It muſt be owned, that an ingenious modern writer *roundly* affirms, that no nation beſides the *Egyptians* continued to write with marks after the invention of letters? all others immediately dropping their hieroglyphics on the diſcovery of that more commodious method, becauſe the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics *only* contained any wiſdom
d or learning. But theſe ſeem to be aſſertions not only arbitrary and precarious, but plainly falſe, as appearing both incapable of proof, and diametrically oppoſite to what *Diodorus Siculus* has advanced from the beſt authors who had written before his time of the nation we are now upon. Nay, that they had perſons amongſt them eminent for their wiſdom, may be inferred from a writer cited by *Photius*; and that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in moſt points of importance, ſeems to have been the general ſentiment of the *Romans* as well as the *Greeks*, as is implied by *Feſtus*, when he calls them *Ægyptini*. *Homer* alſo celebrates both their wiſdom and religion, when he makes *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, to attend their entertainments. That they even were inſtructed in ſeveral branches of literature by
e *Moſes* himſelf, *who was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians*, may be collected from *Artapanus* in *Euſebius*, *Joſephus*, and others. But, waving all other proofs and authorities that might be offered in favour of the point here inſiſted upon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that a nation ſo near *Egypt*, the centre of learning and po-

liteneſs

* Diod. Sic. l. iii. Herodot. l. ii. l. iii. l. vii. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. c. 12.—31. apud Phot. p. 1343—1360. Strab. l. xvii. & alib. Xenoph. Ἀνάβασ. l. iii. Heliodor. Æthiopic. l. ix. & alib. Vet. auct. apud Suid. Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Philostrat. l. vi. c. 12. & apud Phot. p. 1015. Plin. l. vi. c. 29, 30. Solin. c. 30. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 9. Marcian. Heracleot. p. 42. Cyril. in Eſai. l. ii. Claudian. l. i. & alib. Vid. & lib. Hebr. Baal Aruc. Theophrast. hiſt. plant. l. ix. c. 15. & alib. Homer. Iliad. x. v. 93. Scylax Caryand. p. 12. Ælian. de animal l. vi. & l. xiv. c. 5. Hor. l. i. od. 22. Ætius in tetrab. iv. ſerm. 1. c. 34. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 1. Joan. Tzetz. c. i. l. 8. 1220. Joan. Geometr. hym. ii. See alſo the Univerſal hiſtory, vol. vii. in the hiſtories of *Numidia* and *Mauritania*.

(H) *Diodorus* relates, that the *Egyptians* learned the cuſtom of deifying their kings from the *Ethiopians*. Nay, according to him, the *Egyptians* derived ſtatuary, and even their letters themſelves, from the ſame ſource. This author alſo obſerves, that the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* prieſts, as well as kings, wore caps, wreathed round with ſerpents called aſps; by which was intimated, that every perſon guilty of treaſon would as certainly ſuffer death, as if he had been bit by that poiſonous animal (32).

(32) *Diod. Sic. l. iii. ſub. init.*

liteneſs in very early ages, with which the *Ethiopians* always kept open a communi- a
cation, and ſo potent as this appears from hiſtory in moſt remote times to have been, could not avoid arriving at a very laudable degree of (I) knowledge both in the liberal arts and ſciences, and thoſe termed mechanical [y].

Character of the Ethiopians.

THE *Ethiopians* were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewiſe ſurpaſſed moſt other nations in beauty, and largeneſs of ſize, to which a proportionable degree of ſtrength was generally annexed. For which reaſon *Herodotus* intimates, that the *Macrobii* conferred the royal dignity upon the moſt beautiful, large, and ſtrongeſt perſon they could find amongſt them. Both they and the *Arabians* had an invincible averſion to mice, as we learn from *Plutarch.* If the modern *Abaſſines* reſemble their anceſtors, they were well-ſhaped, of a gene- b
rous diſpoſition, and exceeding quick parts. Upon the ſame ſuppoſition, ſome of them muſt have been free, chearful, humane, forgivers of injuries, and great lovers of (K) juſtice. According to various authors, the proper antient *Ethiopians* were, for the moſt part, perfectly black, as we find their poſterity at this day, tho' ſome particular cantons were white, called by *Pliny*, *white Ethiopians*. 'Tis probable they were pleaſed with their natural colour, and preferred it to thoſe of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the preſent *Abaſſines* are terrified at the ſight of an *European*, as much as ours are at that of a *Negro*; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions of, or bordering upon, that colour. Others relate, that in ſome provinces of *Abaſſia* the people are of an c
olive-colour; that in general they are born white, with a black ſpot upon their navel, which in a ſhort time after their birth ſpreads over their whole body; and that, being tranſported into *Europe*, they become white at the ſecond or third generation. *Gregory* the *Abaſſine* informed *Ludolphus*, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddiſh hue, but in a ſhort time turned black. Their women are ſtrong and luſty, and bring forth with little pain, as uſually happens in the warmer climates. When they are in labour, they kneel down upon their knees, as the *Hebrew* women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife. Many, if not all, of theſe particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the antient *Ethiopians*, who, from what is obſervable in their poſterity, ſeem to have been likewiſe very patient of labour, d
capable of bearing the greateſt fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Laſtly, from *Herodotus* compared with the relations of ſome modern authors, 'tis not unlikely, that they died purely of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the ſword, or were devoured by wild beaſts, as *Salluſt* has obſerved of the antient *Africans* [z].

CHAP.

[y] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. WARBURTON's divine legat. of Moſ. demonſtrat. vol. ii. par. 1. p. 157. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 104. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. PHILOSTRATUS TYRIUS de vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. viii. cod. 44. apud Phot. p. 30. FEST. in voc. Ægyptin. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. ARTAPAN. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. iv. Act. c. vii. v. 22. Vide etiam HOMER. Iliad. A. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in ſtrom. alioſque auctor. paſſ. [z] Excerpt e vit. Pythag. apud. Phot. p. 1319. HERODOT. l. iii. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. PLUT. de invid. & od. P. BALTHAZAR TELLEZIUS, & GREG. ABASS. apud Job. Ludolph in hiſt Æthiop. l. iii. c. 14. ut & ipſe LUDOLPH. ibid. IS. VOSSIUS de orig. Nil. &c. POMPON. MEL. & SOLIN. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. P. AUGUSTIN. CALMET. dict. bibl. in voc. *Æthiopia*, &c. SALLUST. in Jugurth.

(I) *Lucian* makes the *Ethiopians* to have excelled all other nations in wiſdom and literature. According to him, they invented aſtronomy and aſtrology, and communicated thoſe ſciences, as well as many other branches of learning to the *Egyptians*. As their country was very fit for making celeſtial obſervations, ſuch a notion ſeems not intirely groundleſs; though ſcarce any particulars of their knowledge have reached us (33).

(K) *Pauſanias*, when he diſtinguiſhes the proper *Ethiopians* from thoſe bordering upon the *Mauri* and *Naſamones*, remarks, that the people of *Meroe*, as well as the other neighbouring *Ethiopians*, were eminent for their love of juſtice. This obſervation was probably truer than what he ſubjoins to it, *viz.* that the *Ethiopians* had no other river but the *Nile*; though, as all other rivers join the *Nile*, this is no unpardonable miſtake. However, the accounts he had received of the country inhabited by that people were not over-accurate; as we may collect from his confounding the *Ethiopian* ox or bull with the rhinoceros, and other inſtances that might be produced (34).

(33) *Lucian. de aſtrolog. p.* 549, 540. *& in fugitiv. p.* 1011.

(34) *Pauſan. in Bæotic. in Attic.* 62, 63.

CHAP. VII.

The history of the Ethiopians, *to the usurpation of the* Zagæan *family, which commenced about the year of Christ* 960.

Where the first kingdom of Cush *was situated uncertain.*

a WE have already observed, that not only the vast tract stretching from the southern limits of *Egypt* to *Libya Incognita*, and the peninsula of *Arabia*, as well as one part of it on the coast of the *Red Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*, but likewise *Susiana*, called by the *Orientals Khuzestân*, and the country watered by the *Araxes*, the seat of the antient *Scythians*, went under the denomination of *Cush* amongst the *Asiatic* nations, and *Ethiopia* amongst the *Greeks*. Where *Cush* himself settled immediately after the desperson, authors are far from being agreed; some placing him in *Susiana* or *Khuzestân*, others in *Arabia Felix*, and others in that district near the confines of *Egypt*, called in Scripture *the land of* Midian *or* Madian. Possibly some of his descendants might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here b mentioned; but 'tis probable, that the greatest body of them advanced towards *Arabia* and *Egypt*, since the posterity of *Elam* the son of *Shem* repleniished, in all likelihood, most of the provinces of *Persia*, and particularly *Elymais* contiguous to *Susiana* or *Khuzestân*. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, the land of *Midian* went by the name of *Cush* before the age of *Moses*, when, 'tis natural to suppose, the country washed by the *Araxes* was but thinly peopled, and even scarce known. That the children of *Cush* should have migrated in the most numerous parties into *Arabia*, and particularly that part of *Yaman* bordering upon the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, as well as the country afterwards called the land of *Midian*, has the greatest appearance of truth, since these seem to be the most commodious situations for throwing large c colonies of *Cushites* into the proper *Ethiopia*, as well as the inland parts of *Africa*. To support farther the conjecture offered to the consideration of our readers here, it may be observed from various authors, that a good part of the upper *Egypt* was possessed by the *Cushites* in the most early ages, and that the city of *Cos*, *Kûs*, or *Kûsh*, situated upon the *Nile* in that country, confounded by some with the famous *Thebes*, took its name from *Cush* the father of the *Ethiopians*. The *Arabs* call *Ethiopia* not only *Habash*, from *Habash* the supposed son of *Cush*, but likewise *Cush* or *Couscb*, in like manner as the *Hebrews*. The first kings of this country we have no account of, that deserves the least regard. 'Tis probable, that several princes reigned here at the same time, before any of the great empires d were formed as in *Egypt*. Some of the modern *Abassians* pretend, that one *Arwe* was the first king of *Ethiopia*, but relate nothing memorable of him, only that he was assassinated by one *Angab*, who afterwards ascended the throne, and was succeeded by *Sabanut*, *Gedur*, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous history of *Tzagaxus*, and what we find on this head in *Jerome Vecchietti*, not the least degree of credit is due to them. The present king of *Ethiopia*, or emperor of *Abassia*, is styled by his subjects *Negus*, i. e. *king*; but, as the governors of provinces are sometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *Negusa Nagast Zaitiopia*, i. e. *king of the kings of* Ethiopia[a].

Moses *conquers* Ethiopia.

It may be inferred from some authors, that the *Ethiopians* possessed *Thebais* before *Moses*'s time, and consequently that they were a powerful nation from the remotest antiquity. According to these authors, they made an irruption into the *Lower Egypt* whilst *Moses* was there, and penentrated as far as *Memphis*. Having defeated the *Egyptians* in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate destruction Whereupon the *Egyptian* gods, being consulted, ordered their votaries to put a *Hebrew*

[a] Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 162, 163, 164, &c. Dan. c. viii. v. 2. Ptol. Asiæ tab. 5. Bochart. Phal. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 25. Joseph. antiquit. l. xii. c. 13. Hyde de relig. vet. Persar. p. 80, &c. Num. c. xii. v. 1. Calmet, in atr. *Cush & Æthiopia*. D'Herbel. biblioth. Oriental. in voc. *Hubas*. Abulfed. Yacut. aliique apud Golium, in not. ad Alfragan. p. 101. Newton's chronol. p. 201, & alib. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 274, 409, &c. Vid. catal. in hist. fab. Tzagaxi, Hieron. Vecchietti, c. 39 & Job. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 1, 2, &c.

brew at the head of their forces, and then march againſt the enemy. The king, in a purſuance of this order, prevailed upon *Moſes* to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. *Moſes*, being veſted with an unlimited power to act as he ſhould think proper for the good of his maſter's ſervice, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the *Nile*, in conformity to their expectations, but to puſh through ſome mediterranean provinces, greatly infeſted with ſerpents of an enormous ſize, towards *Meroe* the capital of *Ethiopia*, he was obliged to have recourſe to the following ſtratagem, in order to ſave his men: He filled many cheſts or paniers, made of the *Egyptian* plant *papyrus*, with vaſt numbers of the *ibis*, an *Egyptian* bird, that had a natural antipathy to ſerpents of all kinds, b and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with thoſe animals, he let out his birds, which deſtroyed all of them they met with, and opened a paſſage for the *Egyptian* forces. *Moſes* therefore, without any difficulty, ſurpriſed the *Ethiopians*, gave them a total defeat, and at laſt ſhut them up in *Meroe*. But this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the *Nile*, the *Aſtapus*, and the *Aſtaboras*, which ſo ſurrounded it, that it was almoſt impoſſible for an army to approach it. However, *Moſes*'s good fortune interpoſing, he found means to make himſelf maſter of it. The king of *Ethiopia*'s daughter, obſerving from the walls *Moſes*'s bravery in repulſing ſeveral ſallies of the beſieged, and being charmed with his ſucceſs, fell deſperately in love with him, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends c ſhe could confide in, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided he would ſwear to marry her. This overture, continue the ſame authors, *Moſes* complied with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married her. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and ſeverity, firſt plundering them, and then putting moſt of them to the ſword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, razed or diſmantled all the places of ſtrength, and conſequently rendered the *Ethiopians* for a long time incapable of making head againſt the *Egyptians*, he returned home with great glory. *Cedrenus* intimates that this war laſted ten years [b].

The Abaſſines *believe their kings to be deſcended from* Solomon *and the queen of* Sheba.

The *Abaſſines* are firmly perſuaded, that the celebrated queen (A) of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, reigned over the proper *Ethiopia*. They have d a hiſtory of her written at large, but interſperſed with various fables. The ſubſtance of it is as follows: *Makeda*, for according to them that was her name, receiving an account from *Tamerin* an *Ethiopian* merchant, of the ſurpriſing power and wiſdom of *Solomon*, took a journey to *Jeruſalem* to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of moſt magnificent preſents. After ſhe had been inſtructed at *Jeruſalem* in the worſhip of the true God, ſhe returned home, and within the ſpace of a year brought forth a ſon begotten by *Solomon*, who named him *David*; but he was called by his mother and her ſubjects *Menelech*, or *Menilehech*, that is, *another ſelf*. He received his edu- e cation at *Solomon*'s court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and *Iſraelites* of diſtinction, and particularly *Azariah* the ſon of *Zadoc* the high prieſt. By the Aſſiſtance of theſe *Hebrew* attendants he eſtabliſhed the religion, profeſſed by his father, in *Ethiopia*, where it continued till that kingdom embraced chriſtianity. The *Arabs* and *Abaſſines* have given the princeſs above-mentioned ſeveral names, as *Makeda*, *Belkis*, *Balkis*, or *Bulkis*, *Negheſta Azeb*, i. e. *queen of the ſouth*, as we find her ſtyled by our Saviour, and the *Ethiopic* verſion, *&c.* The *Abaſſines* pretend, that their kings are deſcended in a right line from *Menelech*, and even moſt of the noble families in *Abaſſia* at this day trace their reſpective pedigrees up to *Solomon* [c].

This tradition clogged with ſome abſurdities, though not to be deemed entirely falſe.

That this tradition is clogged with ſome abſurdities, will appear to any one who conſiders it with the leaſt attention, though at the ſame time it muſt be allowed, as hinted above, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. *Ethiopia* is f more

[b] Eupolem. & Artapan. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. 4. Joseph. antiquitat. l. ii. c. 10, Georg. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 48. ed. Pariſ. 1647. [c] Ludolph. ubi ſup. c. 3. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. p. 6. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 296. D'Herbelot. bibl. Oriental. ſub voc. *Balkis*. Le Grand, diſſert. vii. Matt. c. xii. ver. 42.

(A) *Joſephus* ſays, that the queen of *Sheba* governed *Egypt* as well as *Ethiopia*; but as this notion runs counter to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and profane antiquity, we ſhall not ſcruple to reject it (1).

(1) *Joſeph. antiquit. l.* viii. *c.* 6.

a more to the ſouth of *Judæa* than the territory or kingdom of *Saba* in *Arabia Felix*, and conſequently ſeems to bid fairer than that country for the dominions of that princeſs whom our Saviour calls *the queen of the ſouth*. *Ethiopia* is ſtyled the remoteſt part of the habitable world by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has ſaid of the queen of *Sheba*, viz. that *ſhe came from the uttermoſt parts of the earth*, than *Arabia* poſſibly can do. Nor can it be deemed a ſufficient reply to this argument, that *Arabia Felix* was the uttermoſt part of the earth in reſpect of *Judæa*, ſince it was bounded by the *Red Sea*; for that not only *Egypt*, but even *Ethiopia*, regions beyond that ſea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the *Jews*, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indiſputably clear. Laſtly,
b from what has been ſuggeſted above, it appears no improbable conjecture, that *Judaiſm* was not only known in a part at leaſt of *Ethiopia*, but likewiſe nearly related to the eſtabliſhed religion there, at the beginning of the apoſtolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be underſtood as pretending to determine the reſidence of *the queen of the ſouth*; eſpecially ſince ſo much may be ſaid for *Arabia*, as well as the country we are now upon. After all, theſe two opinions, ſo contrary in appearance, may be made conſiſtent without great difficulty; ſince 'tis agreed, that *Arabia* and *Ethiopia* have antiently born the ſame name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the *Arabs*
c and *Ethiopians* had the ſame origin, and very conſiderable numbers of the *Abaſeni* tranſplanted themſelves from *Arabia Felix* into *Ethiopia*, as already obſerved; which ſeems ſufficient to make appear the intercourſe that has formerly ſubſiſted between the *Cuſhites* or *Ethiopians* of *Aſia* and *Africa* [d].

Ethiopia *reduced by* Seſac.

But whether our readers will think proper to fix the queen of *Sheba* in *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, whether they will admit or reject the hiſtory of that princeſs and her ſon given us by the *Abaſſines*, it ſeems clear from Scripture, that the *Ethiopians* were ſubject to *Seſac*, either in *Solomon*'s time, or ſoon after his death. For, that the *Cuſhites* mentioned in the paſſage here referred to, were the proper *Ethiopians*, appears from their being joined with the *Lubim* or *Libyans*, who likewiſe ſerved in the army of that prince. This, it muſt be owned, is a ſtrong proof, that *Seſoſtris* and *Seſac* were
d the ſame perſon, in conformity to what *Joſephus* aſſerts, ſince we read not in Scripture of any *Egyptian* but *Seſac* that was maſter of *Ethiopia*, and ſince *Herodotus* poſitively aſſerts, that *Seſoſtris* alone, of all the *Egyptian* monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country. But further, as the Scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of *Egypt* before *Seſac*, it is in the higheſt degree probable, that he was the firſt who extended his conqueſts in ſo wonderful a manner as we find the antients have related of *Seſoſtris*; ſince, had ſuch great atchievments been performed ſooner, the ſacred hiſtory would undoubtedly have given us ſome hint of them, eſpecially as the *Hebrews* had ſuch an intercourſe with the *Egyptians* almoſt from the remoteſt antiquity. The ſilence therefore of Scripture in this particular is an argu-
e ment of no ſmall force in favour of what *Joſephus* has advanced relating to the identity of *Seſoſtris* and *Seſac*. Nay, we will venture to affirm, that it tends ſtrongly to evince the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammenemes* and *Seſac*, to have been the firſt great empire that ever was formed. For the high, and even incredible, antiquity of the *Aſſyrian* empire depends only upon the authority of *Cteſias*, not the leaſt hint, in ſupport of ſuch antiquity, being viſible in Scripture; on the contrary, it plainly appearing from thence, that it was founded by *Pul*, about two hundred years after the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Seſac*. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the ineffectual labours of ſo many learned men to vindicate the notorious falſhoods of *Cteſias*, or, which is the ſame thing, of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors who copied from
f him, no one, who has the leaſt regard for Scripture, can poſſibly imagine any *Egyptian* monarch of great note to have flouriſhed before *Seſac*, or *Aſſyrian* before *Pul*. This notion has been ſet in the ſtrongeſt light by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, but oppoſed by many ingenious and learned men. However, as theſe learned men ſeem not to have duly attended to what Sir *Iſaac* has advanced, and as it has been that illuſtrious author's misfortune to have his works at firſt miſunderſtood, though they have afterwards ſhone out with a double luſtre, we ſhall beg leave to make a general remark upon the moſt conſiderable writers, who have endeavoured to overthrow his ſyſtem

[d] Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Strab. l. xvii. p. 564. ed. 1587. Matt. c. xii. v. 42. Cosmas. Ægyptius. in Chriſtian. opin. de mund. l. ii. p. 138, 139. Euseb. comment. in Eſai. c. xliii. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. c. 6. ſect. 2. Le Grand & Ludolph. ubi ſup.

ſyſtem of chronology, which to us ſeems nearer the truth than any other. We do not pretend to adopt every particular ſentiment advanced in this noble piece, and therefore ſhall not offer an anſwer to all the objections urged againſt it; nor indeed, were we ſo diſpoſed, would the nature of the work we are at preſent engaged in render this practicable [e].

Sir Iſaac Newton *miſrepreſented.*

Sir *Iſaac* allows, that before the time of *Ammon* or *Ammenemes* the father of *Seſac*, there were ſeveral kings in *Egypt*, and even adopts what *Manetho* has written of the kings of the *Lower Egypt*; only he contends, that the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt* were not united under one prince before the reign of *Ammon*. And how does this contradict Scripture, which takes notice only of the kings of *Miſraim*, or that part of the *Lower Egypt* bordering upon *Arabia* and *Paleſtine*? Nay, does he not ſuppoſe the truth of the moſt early Scripture-accounts of *Egypt*, by referring to the book of *Geneſis* on ſeveral occaſions, by deducing from thence ſeveral facts corroboratory of his ſyſtem? Does he not intimate, that the lower part of *Egypt* was governed by a ſeries of kings from the remoteſt antiquity, even from the firſt invention of corn there, to *Joſhua*'s invaſion of *Canaan*; that the people of this country worſhipped the prince at the head of this ſeries, who taught them to make bread, after his death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction? And can any thing better tally with Scripture, or rather be more firmly founded upon it, as well as conſonant to all profane antiquity, than this obſervation? Nay, does he not offer it as his opinion, that this prince reigned in the *Lower Egypt* as early as the firſt plantation of it, and therefore might, for ought that appears to the contrary from him, or rather as he ſtrongly inſinuates, be *Miſraim*? To what purpoſe then have we been troubled with ſo much empty jangling, and outcries againſt him, as though he had attacked the authority of Scripture, by denying the being of that antient kingdom in the *Lower Egypt* ſo frequently mentioned by the ſacred hiſtorian? In ſhort, moſt of thoſe perſons, who have ſo groſly miſrepreſented Sir *Iſaac* in this particular, have been either profeſſed infidels, or ſuch as ſecretly favouted infidelity; or laſtly, ſuch as have implicitly ſwallowed the abſurdities of *Cteſias*. But from theſe our great author is neither to expect candour nor impartiality. He has ſo effectually overthrown that romantic antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, which the *Egyptian* prieſts endeavoured to palm upon the world, and which ſo long has been one of the laſt reſources of infidelity, that all our modern deiſts, as well as their ſecret abettors, muſt of courſe declare againſt him: and thoſe perſons, who are ſo hardy as to attempt in earneſt the reconciliation of *Cteſias* with Scripture, are, in our opinion, not only *capable* of oppoſing what Sir *Iſaac* has offered in defence of his ſyſtem, but all the mathematical demonſtration that ever appeared in the world [f].

Some of the principal objections againſt him conſidered.

But it is ſaid, that Sir *Iſaac* makes *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac* to have introduced inſtruments of war, the exact diſtribution of property, *&c.* amongſt the *Egyptians*; which is not only contrary to Scripture, but likewiſe to what we have juſt advanced. And was there then no other country called *Egypt* but the land of *Miſraim* mentioned by *Moſes* in the firſt book of the pentateuch, or rather did that kingdom include all the tract the *Greeks* called *Egypt*? No, this cannot be maintained; ſince that country is known not to have contained all the *Lower Egypt*, much leſs the *Lower* and *Upper Egypt* united; and it may be as well known, by peruſing Sir *Iſaac* with a proper attention, that both theſe united were the *Egypt* governed by *Seſac*. That prince, therefore, might have introduced the things enumerated by our great chronologer, for ſo we ſhall not ſcruple to call him, notwithſtanding the cavils of his adverſaries, into ſome parts of the *Upper Egypt*, or ſeveral ſavage diſtricts not far from the weſtern coaſt of the *Red Sea*, and civilized the inhabitants, though a kingdom had ſubſiſted in the *Lower Egypt*, whoſe members had been tolerably poliſhed before the reign of *Seſac*, from the age of *Miſraim*. Theſe points are by no means incompatible, and therefore nothing to the prejudice of Sir *Iſaac*'s ſyſtem of chronology can be inferred from the ſuppoſed diſagreement of them. On the contrary, as the *Troglodytes*, appertaining partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Ethiopia*, remained in a ſtate of barbarity many ages after *Seſac*, 'tis no ſuch improbable notion, that before his time ſeveral other tribes inhabiting the *Upper Egypt* might be as rude and barba-

rous

[e] 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. Herodot. Diodorus Siculus. Plin. Joseph. Justin. Dionys. Perieg. Strab. Apollon. Rhod. Pausan. Lucan. aliique ſcriptor. quamplurim. apud Newton. in chronol. paſſ. 2 Kin. c. xv. ver. 19. 1 Chron. c. v. ver. 26.

[f] Newt. of the empire of *Egypt*, and chronol. of the *Greeks*, paſſ.

a rous ſome of the antients repreſented them. But it is farther urged, that Sir *Iſaac* makes *Ammon* and *Seſac* to have been the great gods of the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, known amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the names *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Dionyſus*, *Bacchus*, &c. which runs counter to the whole ſtream of antiquity, and withal contradicts Scripture; ſince *Apis*, *Serapis*, i. e. *Jupiter*, was worſhiped by the *Egyptians* before the exodus of the *Iſraelites*, the golden calf being ſet up by that nation in the wilderneſs in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. Now, that the firſt king of that very antient monarchy in the *Lower Egypt*, ſo frequently mentioned by *Moſes*, was deified for the reaſon already aſſigned, and worſhipped in the ox or calf, is expreſly aſſerted by *Sir Iſaac*; and therefore we may moſt rationally account for the *Iſraelites* paying
b divine honours to the golden calf from him, without having recourſe to the worſhip of *Apis*. For although this worſhip, in ſeveral particulars, reſembled that of a more antient deity, even the firſt king of the land of *Miſraim*, it does not from thence follow, that this deified prince was the *Egyptian Apis*. One ſtrong preſumption, that theſe two pagan divinities were really different, is, that the god *Mnevis* ſeems more properly to correſpond with the founder of the kingdom of *Miſraim* than *Apis*. For *Mnevis* (B) was kept at *Heliopolis*, and conſequently held in the higheſt veneration there, whereas *Apis* reſided at *Memphis*. Now *Heliopolis* was much more ancient than *Memphis*, being the city *On*, whoſe prieſt's daughter *Joſeph* married, as appears clearly from the Septuagint. It was likewiſe nearer the confines of *Paleſtine* and
c *Arabia* than *Memphis*, nay, it ſeems to have been in the very land of *Goſhen* or *Geſen*, where the *Iſraelites* dwelt immediately before the exodus; on which accounts the principal deity there muſt bid fairer for the moſt antient deified prince above mentioned, and that repreſented by the *Iſraelitiſh* golden calf, than any other. Which ſingle obſervation, excluſive of many others that might be offered, ought to be deemed a full refutation of the point ſo confidently advanced in this objection. Again, we are told, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* invalidates the authority of Scripture, when he intimates alphabetic letters not to have been received in *Egypt* before the time of *Ammon* the father of *Seſac*, that is, in ſome part of *David*'s reign. But how does this appear? Does the Scripture ſay any thing of the Alphabetic Characters of *Egypt* before
d that period, either directly or by implication? And if not, how can ſuch a notion in any manner affect Scripture? We cannot, therefore, but own our ſelves greatly ſurprized at the conduct of a very learned and ingenious author, who charges this opinion with being contrary to Scripture, and, in ſupport of that charge, quotes the following paſſage ——"As to the preciſe time of the invention of the *Egyptian* letters, IT "CAN NEVER BE SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT"——"However, that letters (in "*Egypt*) were very early, we have *clearly* ſhewn above, as well from other circum- "ſtances as from this, that the invention of them was given to their gods." Now 'tis remarkable, that theſe circumſtances no where appear; and that the other paſſage referred to, in order to ſupport what is here advanced, only takes notice of *writing*,
e which, it is well known, in the earlieſt times always conſiſted of hieroglyphic characters. As for the origin of arts and ſciences in the land of *Miſraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt* all that we can ſay of it is, that it preceded the age of *Moſes*, who, as St. *Stephen* himſelf, under the actual influence of the Holy Ghoſt, informs us, was learned in all the wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. But what a progreſs literature had then made there we cannot pretend to ſay. 'Tis not improbable, that the art of onirocritic, or interpretation of dreams, aſtrology, including ſo much of the ſimple elements of aſtronomy as contained the knowledge of the true ſyſtem of the world, ſome maxims of civil

(B) That *Mnevis* and *Apis* were different deities, or rather repreſentatives of different deities, appears from hence, that the *Egyptians* held the latter in much higher veneration than the former. The worſhip of *Apis* ſeems to have been not only univerſal in *Egypt* but likewiſe common to moſt of the nations of *Arabia*, *India*, and *Ethiopia*; whereas the chief divine honours paid *Mnevis* did not extend much farther than the diſtrict of *Heliopolis*, if they were not abſolutely confined to that place. Now this is eaſy to be conceived, nay perfectly rational, upon Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s principles; for he ſuppoſes that *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac* was the firſt prince in poſſeſſion both of the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, &c. and that he civilized ſeveral nations; whereas he believes the antient kingdom of *Miſraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt*, to have been of no larger an extent than we have already hinted. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſeems plainly to give *Mnevis* the preference to *Apis* in point of antiquity; and the notion he appears to eſpouſe will be rendered probable, not only by what we here advance but likewiſe by a careful and diligent compariſon of the authors here referred to with one another (2).

(2) *Herodot. l.* iii. *Strab. l.* xvii. *Plut. de. Iſid. & Oſirid. Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 46. *Ælian. hiſt. animal. l.* xi. *c.* 9. *Univ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 206.

civil policy, with certain theological notions, made up the greateſt part of it. But a
we cannot collect from hence, that they knew even ſo much of the principles of aſtronomy and geometry, as to underſtand the art of navigation before the time Sir *Iſaac* mentions; nor that any of the arts or ſciences which he intimates began to flouriſh amongſt the *Egyptians* about the reigns of *Ammon* and *Seſac*, were cultivated there to any great purpoſe before that period. But admitting, that the *Egyptians* of the land of *Miſraim*, before the reigns of the princes above-mentioned, were as learned and polite as Sir *Iſaac*'s adverſaries would inſinuate, which yet is utterly improbable, it will not follow, that the *Upper Egypt*, *Libya*, &c. had then any great pretenſions to learning and politeneſs; and therefore every thing advanced upon that
ſuppoſition, which is almoſt the ſum of what has been offered againſt Sir *Iſaac*'s b
ſyſtem of chronology, deſerves not the leaſt attention. In fine, moſt of thoſe gentlemen, who have oppoſed this excellent piece, ſeem to have confounded the kingdom of *Miſraim* with that *Egyptian* empire which arrived at its laſt perfection in the days of *Seſac*, if not with *Libya*, *Troglodytica*, and other barbarous countries over-run and civilized by that prince. And not only ſo, but they have conſidered ſome of his notions as detached from others, with which, in reality, they have a cloſe connection; have attacked ſeveral points without informing their readers what he has urged in defence of them; have attempted an anſwer to ſome of his weaker arguments without touching upon thoſe of greater ſtrength; laſtly, have never taken
a full ſurvey of the ſyſtem, but only fallen upon ſome of thoſe parts they thought c
the moſt liable to exception, and, from a ſuppoſed refutation of them, collected the falſity of the whole. However, 'tis not our buſineſs here to enter into a nice diſcuſſion of all the particulars relating to this controverſy, nor to examine every cavil levelled at a work, the main part of which, we believe, will, ſooner or later, meet with a general good reception from the learned world. For, with regard to ſome particular ſentiments in it, learned men will always think differently of them, as has been the fate of ſeveral parts of the moſt excellent productions in all ages. As ſuch a digreſſion merited a place in ſome part of this work, and comes in naturally enough here, we hope it will be pardoned, if not favourably received by our readers.——
But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory [f]: d

Hiſtory of Ethiopia, *to the ſecond expulſion of the ſheperds.*

WE have already obſerved, that *Seſac* ſubdued and reigned over *Ethiopia*. After his death a civil war ſeems to have broke out in *Egypt*, which Sir *Iſaac Newton* believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopians*. But about ten years afterwards, continues the ſame illuſtrious author the *Ethiopians* drowned *Seſac*'s ſucceſſor in the *Nile*, and ſeized upon *Egypt*. With that kingdom *Libya* alſo fell into their hands, which will enable us to account for the numerous hoſt with which *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced againſt *Aſa* king of *Judah*. However, *Aſa* overthrew that army, conſiſting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and diſperſed it in ſuch a manner, that *Zerah* could never afterwards rally his ſcattered forces. Upon which, the people of the *Lower* e
Egypt revolted from the *Ethiopians*, and, being ſuſtained by a body of two hundred thouſand *Jewiſh* or *Canaanitiſh* auxiliaries, forced *Memnon* or *Amenophis*, king of that nation, to retire to *Memphis*. 'Tis probable, that the *Egyptians*, under the conduct of their chief prieſt *Uſorthon*, *Oſorchon*, *Oſarchor*, or *Oſarſiphus*, followed their blow; ſince, after *Memnon* had turned the courſe of the (C) *Nile*, built a bridge over that river, and fortified the paſs there, he retreated with great precipitation into *Ethiopia*. However, about thirteen years after this diſgrace, he and his young ſon *Rameſſes* returned at the head of a powerful army and drove the above mentioned *Jews* or *Phœnicians* out of the *Lower Egypt*; which action the *Egyptian* writers called the
ſecond

[f] Idem. ibid. PLIN. l. viii. c. 46. HERODOT. l. iii STRAB. l. xvii. AMMIAN. MARCELIN. l. xxii. PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. WARBURTON's divine legat. of Moſ. demonſtr. vol. ii. par. i. p. 275, 138, 124, 60.

(C) This famous river, we ſuppoſe, by way of eminence, was called the *Nile*, i. e. *the river*, *the torrent*, &c. for that the word נחל *Naal* or *Nil* imports. Amongſt the *Orientals* the vowels were nearly related to one another, and conſequently a permutation of them frequent; and that the letter ח in ſome words, had not formerly ſo much as the force even of a note of aſpiration, is evinced by *Bochart*. Νεῖλος and *Nilus*, therefore, are only נחל with a *Greek* and *Latin* termination (3).

(3) *Val. Schind. pentaglot. p.* 1104. *Bochart. Phal. l.* i. *c.* 1.

a ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds, as we learn from the aforeſaid illuſtrious author, in conjunction with *Manetho* [g].

We are told by *Cedrenus*, a writer of good authority, that, about fifty years after *Cecrops* the firſt king of *Athens* began to reign, there happened a deluge in *Ethiopia*; but what damage the inhabitants of that country ſuſtained on this occaſion, he informs us not. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were ſufficiently felt, ſince otherwiſe it would not have merited the notice of any hiſtorian. As *Cedrenus* follows the technical chronology of *Eratoſthenes*, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not diſpoſed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot take upon us ſo much

b as to conjecture [h]. *A deluge in Ethiopia.*

From ſeveral hiſtorical facts, Sir *Iſaac* renders it extremely probable, that *Menes*, *Memnon*, and *Amenophis*, were the ſame perſon; that the *Ethiopian* prince, who went by theſe names, was the ſon of *Zerah*; and that he died in a very advanced age (D), about ninety years after the death of *Solomon*. According to the ſame incomparable writer, the city of *Memphis*, called in Scripture *Moph* and *Noph*, as likewiſe *Menoph* or *Menuf* by the *Arabian* hiſtorians, derived its name from that of this prince, who either built it, or firſt fortified it, to prevent *Oſarſiphus* from entering *Ethiopia*. The *Argonautic* expedition happened in the reign of *Amenophis*, according to the principles of the ſyſtem we have at preſent in view. Some *Greek* authors relate, that

c he aſſiſted king *Priamus* with a body of *Ethiopian* troops. After his deceaſe, his ſon *Rameſſes* aſcended the throne of *Ethiopia*, who built the northern portico of the temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*. *Mæris*, his ſucceſſor, adorned *Memphis*, and fixed his reſidence there, near two generations after the *Trojan* war, upon the ſame principles. *Cheops*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*, were the three next kings, the laſt of which was ſucceeded by his ſiſter *Nitocris*. Then came *Aſychis*, in whoſe reign both *Aſſyria* and *Ethiopia* revolted from *Egypt*; which thereupon was again divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms. *Gnephactus* governed one of theſe, and reſided at *Memphis*; but his ſon *Bocchoris* was ſlain by *So* or *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian*, who made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*. As all the principal atchievements of theſe monarchs, tranſmitted

d down to us by ſacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the hiſtory of *Egypt*, we have almoſt intirely paſſed them over here. However, we muſt not omit informing our readers, that, in the twenty-ſecond year of *Bocchoris*'s reign, *Africanus* has fixed the commencement of the æra of *Nabonaſſar* [i]. *Continued to the time of* Sabacon.

Sabacon, or *So*, as he is called in Scripture, ſoon after the reduction of *Egypt*, entered into an alliance with *Hoſhea* king of *Iſrael*; which induced that prince to attempt ſhaking off the yoke of the *Aſſyrians*; but his efforts proving unſucceſsful, a period was put to the kingdom of *Iſrael* by *Shalmaneſer*, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of *Nabonaſſar*. According to *Herodotus*, *Sabacon*, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquiſhed *Egypt*, and retired into *Ethiopia*. But, according to *Afri-*

e *canus*, he reigned only eight years in *Egypt*, and died in the ninth year of *Hezekiah* or twenty ninth of *Nabonaſſar*. The former author likewiſe informs us, that *Sethon*, whom ſome take to be the *Sevechus* of *Manetho*, his ſucceſſor, advanced to *Peluſium*, with a powerful army, againſt *Sennaccherib* king of *Aſſyria*, whom he was enabled to defeat by a vaſt number of mice, which devoured the ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings of the *Aſſyrians*; and that, to perpetuate the memory of ſo ſurpriſing an event, the ſtatue of *Sethon*, which he ſaw, had a mouſe in its hand. As a mouſe was the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* ſymbol of deſtruction, this ſeems to intimate, that he overthrew the *Aſſyrians* with a great deſtruction. Sir *Iſaac Newton* therefore believes, that *Sethon*, in conjunction with *Tirhakah*, either *king* of the *Arabian Cuſhites*, or a relation of

f *Sethon*, and his viceroy in the *Proper Ethiopia*, ſurpriſed and defeated *Sennacherib* betwixt *To the death of* Sethon.

[g] Newt. ubi ſup. 2 Chron. c. xiv. ver. 8—15. Maneth. apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. Diod. Sic. l. i. Herodot. l. ii. & Æschyl. apud Newt. in chronol. p. 238. [h] Geo. g. Cedren. hiſt. compen. p. 83. Pariſ. 1647. [i] Newt. ubi ſupra, p. 235—247. Herodot. l. ii. Diod. Sic. l. i. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. Hellan. apud Athen. deipnoſ. l. xv. African. apud Syncel. p. 74. Euseb. in chron. 2 Kin. c. xvii. ver. 4. Iſai. c. xix. ver. 13. Hoſ. c. ix. ver. 6. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 261, 262, &c.

(D) That this prince attained to an extreme old age is intimated by *Philoſtratus*, when he affirms *Memnon* to have reigned five ages or generations in *Ethiopia*. He alſo gives us to underſtand, that the *Ethiopians*, ſome of them he means, were longer-lived than any other nation; which ſeems to agree with *Herodotus*. But when he relates, that the proper *Ethiopians* were originally of *India*, and expelled that country for an aſſaſſination of one king *Ganges*, he deſerves not the leaſt credit 4)

(4) *Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l.* iii. *ſub init.* *Megaſthenes apud Strabon. & Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 17.

betwixt *Libnah* and *Peluſium*, making as great a ſlaughter amongſt his troops, as if a
their bow-ſtrings had been eaten by mice. This may be rendered conſiſtent enough
with the Scripture-account of the blow received by *Sennacherib*, as we have elſewhere
obſerved. The *Egyptian* prieſts computed three hundred and forty-one generations,
or eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monar-
chy and prieſthood, to the time when *Sethon* aſcended the throne of *Egypt*. The
prieſts, during that period, as they pretended, had ſucceeded one another, without
interruption, under the name of *Piromis*, an *Egyptian* word, ſignifying a *good* and
virtuous man. *Herodotus* intimates, that *Sennacherib* was king of *Arabia*, as well as
Aſſyria; which, if admitted, will prove, that *Tirhakah* preſided over the *Proper*
Ethiopia, and not *Arabia*, as ſome learned men have ſuppoſed. If this be allowed, b
it will ſtrengthen, in ſome ſort, the conjecture we have already propoſed to the con-
ſideration of the learned, *viz.* that *Tirhakah* was no other than *Sabacon*, who had
before confined himſelf to *Ethiopia*, and left the *Egyptian* crown to *Sethon*. However,
as this notion muſt be owned to be clogged with ſome difficulties, and even abſurd,
upon the principles of thoſe, who make *Tirhakah* ſucceſſor to *Sethon*, we ſhall leave
our readers to believe as much or as little of it as they pleaſe [i].

And from thence to the reign of Xerxes.

From this time, to the ſeventy-eighth year of *Nabonaſſar*, we hear little of the
kingdom of *Ethiopia*, which was then ſubjugated by *Eſar-haddon* king of *Aſſyria*.
Many enormous cruelties he committed both there and in *Egypt*, as had been predicted
by the prophet *Iſaiah*; and governed both thoſe countries three years, that is, till the c
time of his death, which happened in the year of *Nabonaſſar* 81. But then the *Ethio-*
pians, revolting from the *Aſſyrians*, aſſerted their independency, which they maintained,
though a monarchy diſtinct from *Egypt*, till the days of *Cyrus*, who, from *Xenophon*,
ſeems to have been maſter of *Ethiopia*, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of it. However,
ſoon after the deceaſe of that prince, they withdrew themſelves from their ſubjection
to the *Perſians*, ſince we find his ſon *Cambyſes* engaged in a fruitleſs expedition againſt
them. *Herodotus* ſays, that, before he undertook this expedition, he ſent an embaſſy
made up of the *Ichthyophagi*, as underſtanding the language of that nation, to the
king of the *Macrobii*, or long-lived *Ethiopians*. The true end of this embaſſy was d
not ſo much to cultivate a good underſtanding with that prince, as to learn the
ſtrength and condition of his kingdom; though, in order to conceal his deſign, he
ſent him a purple robe, bracelets of Gold, an alabaſter box of rich ointment, a veſſel
of palm-wine, and other magnificent preſents. But the *Ethiopian* was too acute not
to penetrate the *Perſian* monarch's views on this occaſion, and therefore frankly told
the *Ichthyophagi*, that he was no ſtranger to their errand, and that, if *Cambyſes* enter-
tained any ſentiments of equity, he would never deſire another prince's territories,
nor to reduce to a ſtate of ſervitude a people, who had never injured him. "How-
"ever, added he, give him this bow from me, and tell him, that he may think of
"invading the country of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*, when his ſubjects can thus eaſily e
"draw it; and that, in the mean time, he ought to thank the gods, that they
"never inſpired the *Ethiopians* with a deſire of extending their dominions beyond the
"limits of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the em-
baſſadors: after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, What
it was, and how made? And being ſatisfied in both theſe particulars, he could not
forbear obſerving, "That the robe was a proper emblem and repreſentation of the
"deceitful prince who wore it." All the other preſents likewiſe, except the wine,
he deſpiſed, preferring the iron chains of the *Ethiopians*, which, he ſaid, were far
ſtronger, to the golden bracelets, *&c.* of the *Perſians*. However, he owned, that
the wine excelled any liquor produced in *Ethiopia*, and intimated, that the *Perſians*,
ſhort-lived as they were, owed moſt of their days to ſo noble a cordial. When he f
heard that a good part of their food was bread, he ſaid, He was not at all ſurpriſed,
that a people, who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the *Macrobian*
Ethiopians. As for what *Herodotus* relates of the table of the ſun in this country, it
ſavours ſo much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of
hiſtory to take notice of it. *Cambyſes*, being extremely incenſed at the anſwer
brought by the *Ichthyophagi* from the *Ethiopian*, in a mad irrational humour, imme-
diately began his march towards his frontiers, though he wanted all manner of pro-
viſions.

[i] 2 Kin. c. xviii. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Plut. African. Syncel. ubi ſup. Joseph. antiquit. l. x. c. 1. 2 Chron. c. xxxii. Iſai. c. xxxvi. 2 Kin. c. xix. Iſai. c. xxxvii. Newt. chronol. p. 254, 255. Univ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 261, 262, & p. 893, not. (V), & p. 894.

a viſions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. This at laſt introduced ſuch a famine amongſt them, that the ſoldiers were obliged to eat one another; ſo that, not being able to traverſe the vaſt ſandy deſerts of *Ethiopia*, he found himſelf conſtrained to return, firſt to *Thebes*, and afterwards to *Memphis*, with the loſs of a great part of his army. But, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable, he would have met there with a warm reception, ſince, by the acceſſion of a large body of *Egyptians* in the reign of *Pſammitichus*, the *Ethiopians* muſt have been very formidable; for we learn from *Herodotus*, that two hundred and forty thouſand *Egyptians*, poſted in different places by that prince, to guard the (E) frontiers on the ſides of *Arabia*,
b *Aſſyria*, *Lybia*, and *Ethiopia*, having not been relieved within the ſpace of three years, deſerted to the king of *Ethiopia*, who placed them in a country diſaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take poſſeſſion of their lands. He alſo informs us, that, in the *Egyptian* language, they were called *Aſmak*, i. e. *thoſe who ſtand on the left-hand of the king*; as likewiſe, that they civilized the *Ethiopians*. But the laſt article we can ſcarce give any credit to, ſince, from this very hiſtorian himſelf, and *Africanus*, it appears, that the *Ethiopians* were maſters of *Egypt* at leaſt eighty years before the time of *Pſammitichus*; and therefore might have learnt every thing the *Egyptians* could teach them before, if they were not, from the earlieſt ages, in all particulars as wiſe as that people. Sir *Iſaac Newton* inſinuates, that *Cam-*
c *byſes* conquered *Ethiopia*, as well as *Egypt*, about the year of *Nabonaſſar* 223. or 224. But this, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from *Herodotus*, nor any other good author. Poſſibly *Ethiopia*, like *Egypt*, might have had ſeveral collateral princes, whom the antients, through miſtake, placed in continual ſucceſſion; which could not but occaſion many blunders and errors in the hiſtory of that kingdom. However, *Herodotus* aſſerts, that *Cambyſes* reduced ſome of the provinces of *Ethiopia* contiguous to *Egypt* in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned; and that they, together with the *Troglodytes*, ſent an annual preſent to the *Perſian* monarch, conſiſting of two chœnixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largeſt ſize, even to his time. But
d though the *Perſians* ſubdued not only theſe provinces, but likewiſe that part of *Libya* bordering upon the weſtern confines of *Egypt*, and carried their arms as far as the city of *Cyrene*, yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vaſt tract, comprehending the kingdoms of *Sennar*, *Abaſſia*, and other countries, anſwering to the proper *Ethiopia* of the antients, we cannot help thinking at leaſt very improbable [k].

Xerxes *has a body of eaſtern and weſtern* Ethiopians, Libyans, *&c. in his army.*

AMONGST the various nations that compoſed the numerous army, with which (F) *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, *Herodotus* ranks the *Ethiopians*. He mentions on this occaſion

[k] Iſai. c. xix. ver. 23. c. xx. ver. 4, 5. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 856. HEROD. & AFRICAN. ubi ſup. XENOPH. in Cyropæd. HERODOT. l. iii. NEWT. chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.

(E) *Herodotus*, in the paſſage here referred to, makes *Elephantis* or *Elephantine*, and *Daphnæ Peluſiæ*, oppoſite boundaries or frontiers of *Egypt*, and places both of them on the borders of *Ethiopia*. This ſeems to point out the true tranſlation of a text in *Ezekiel*, rendered in our verſion—*I will make the land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from the tower of* Syene, *even unto the border of* Ethiopia; which ought to be tranſlated, either as we have formerly done it, or in the following terms; *I will make the land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from* Migdol to Syene, *even to the border of* Ethiopia: for if we ſuppoſe *Migdol* and *Syene*, or, as *Herodotus* aſſerts *Elephantine* and *Daphnæ Peluſiæ*, to be oppoſite frontiers of *Egypt*, and both on the confines of *Ethiopia*, then we may look upon the words *from* Migdol *to* Syene as a parentheſis, and equivalent to the following words, *to the border of* Ethiopia. Such a tranſlation will render the paſſage exceeding obvious and clear, and is ſupported by a vaſt number of ſuch parentheſes to be met with in the old teſtament (5).

(F) *Herodotus* informs us, that *Xerxes* had not only eaſtern and weſtern, or *Aſiatic* and *African*, *Ethiopians* in his army, but likewiſe *Lybians*. The eaſtern or *Aſiatic Ethiopians*, he tells us, anointed one part of their bodies with a ſpecies of *gypſum* or plaſter, and another with *minium* or red-lead, immediately before they came to a general action. The *Libyans*, from his account of them, ſeem to have been negroes, who by *Diodorus Siculus* are called *Ethiopians*. That author gives us the following deſcription of them: "They are, ſays he, flat-faced, "exceeding fierce and cruel, in their manners re"ſembling beaſts, extremely wicked, and have friz"zled hair. Their bodies are naſty and loathſome, "their voice ſhrill, and their diſpoſition ſuch as ren"ders them incapable of being civilized. Some of "them carry ſhields made of the raw hide of an ox, "and ſhort lances, in their wars; others uſe darts "forked at the ends, together with bows four cubits "long, out of which they diſcharge their arrows by "the help of their feet. When their ſhafts are ſpent, "they fall on with clubs. Their women likewiſe, "till they arrive at a certain age, take on in the "ſervice; and many of them hang a braſs ring at "their lips. Some go always naked, ſheltering them"ſelves from the ſcorching rays of the ſun with "whatever falls in their way. Several cover their "*pudenda* with ſheep-tails; and others apply beaſts "ſkins

(5) *Ezek. c.* xxix. *ver.* 10. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* vii. *p.* 182, *not.* (C)

ſion two ſorts of that people; the eaſtern, who had their abode in *Aſia*, and were a
looked upon as *Indians*, from whom they differed only in their hair and language,
and the weſtern or *African Ethiopians*. The former carried the ſame arms as the
Indians, wore for helmets the ſkins of horſes heads, the ears and manes whereof
ſerved them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the ſkins of cranes for
ſhields, and had long hair. The *Africans* were armed with darts lighted at one end,
covered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was *Maſanges*,
the ſon of *Aorizus*, a perſon doubtleſs of great diſtinction amongſt them. Nothing
remarkable of the nation we are now upon occurs from this period to the diſſolution
of the *Perſian* empire, though it is probable, matters, with reſpect to them, all along
remained in the ſame ſituation; that is to ſay, the *Ethiopian* provinces contiguous to
Egypt were ſubject to the *Perſians*, and the others in a ſtate of independency, either
ſo little known, or made ſo inconſiderable a figure, as not to deſerve the attention of b
any celebrated hiſtorian[1].

Ptolemy Euergetes *penetrates into* Ethiopia.

It does not appear, that *Alexander the Great* ever undertook an expedition againſt
the *Ethiopians*, though, when he conſulted the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, one of the
firſt inquiries he made was after the ſources of the *Nile*, and, having afterwards
encamped at the head of the river *Indus*, which he imagined to be that of the *Nile*,
was overjoyed at his ſucceſs. But *Ptolemy Euergetes*, one of his ſucceſſors in *Egypt*,
having a paſſionate deſire, in common with ſome of the greateſt men of antiquity,
to diſcover the fountains of the *Nile*, with this view carried his arms into *Ethiopia*.
The particulars of this enterprize we find no-where related in hiſtory, though that c
he penetrated to the fartheſt parts of this region, and ſubdued moſt, if not all, the
powerful nations ſeated in it, appears from an inſcription (G) preſerved down to us
by

[1] Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 264.

" ſkins to that uſe. Laſtly, it is not uncommon
" amongſt this people to wear a garment about
" their loins made of human hair, the ſheep in this
" country carrying no fleeces at all. They feed, for
" the moſt part, upon the tender ſhoots of trees,
" the roots of canes, the *lotus* and *ſeſamus*, together
" with another ſpecies of fruit produced in marſhy
" places. Many alſo live upon fowl, which, being
" excellent archers, they kill in vaſt numbers; but
" moſt of them uſe fleſh, milk, and cheeſe, for their
" ſuſtenance." As *Diodorus* intimates many of theſe
to have been ſeated in the heart of *Africa*, as well
as on both ſides of the *Nile*, and expreſly calls them
Blacks, we doubt not but he had the negroes here
in view, as well as ſome of the proper *Ethiopians*;
nay, as he ſeems to join together *the heart of* Africa
and both ſides of the Nile, and the deſcription he gives
of the *Blacks* on both ſides of the *Nile* agrees, in moſt
particulars, with the preſent *Blacks*, poſſibly ſeveral
of our readers may be induced to infer from hence,
that, in the age of *Diodorus*, the *Niger* and the *Nile*
were believed to have been branches of the ſame
river. Be that as it will, the paſſage here referred
to by no means diſcountenances ſuch a notion;
which adds ſome weight to what has been already
advanced in the hiſtory of the *Melanogætuli* and *Ni-
gritæ*, as our readers will find, by conſulting it (6).

(G) *Eleſbaan*, king of the *Axumites* or *Ethiopi-
ans*, ordered *Aſbas*, governor of *Adule*, to ſend him
a copy of this inſcription. This happened about the
beginning of *Juſtin*'s reign, juſt before *Elesbaan*
undertook the expedition againſt the *Homerites*, which
will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years
before our author wrote the piece here referred to.
Asbas employed *Coſmas*, and one *Menas*, a merchant,
who afterwards became a religious at *Raithus*, or,
as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Rhaptus*, poſſibly the *Rauſo* of
Coſmas, to take him an exact copy of it, and there-
fore we may depend upon the relation the former
has given us: " At the entrance, ſays he, into the
" weſtern part of the city, facing the road to *Axu-
" ma*, ſtood a chair of white marble, conſiſting of
" a ſquare baſe, a ſmall thin column at each angle
" of this baſe, with a larger wreathed one in the
" middle, a ſeat or throne upon theſe, a back, and
" two ſides. Behind this chair there was a large
" ſtone three cubits high, which had ſuffered conſi-
" derable injury from time." This ſtone and the
chair contained a *Greek* inſcription, part of which
imported, " that *Ptolemy Euergetes* had penetrated to
" the fartheſt parts of *Ethiopia*; that he ſubdued
" *Gaza*, *Agame*, *Sigue*, *Ava*, *Tiamo* or *Tziamo*, *Gam-
" bela*, *Zingabene*, *Angabe*, *Tiama*, *Athagaos*, *Calaa*,
" *Semene*, *Laſine*, *Zaa*, *Gabala*, *Atalmo*, *Bega*, the
" *Tangaitæ*, *Anine*, *Metine*, *Seſea*, *Rauſo*, *Solate*,
" the territory of *Rauſo*, and ſeveral other king-
" doms; that amongſt the nations he reduced were
" ſome inhabiting mountains always covered with
" a deep ſnow; and others ſeated upon ridges of
" hills, from whence iſſued boiling ſtreams, and
" craggy precipices, who all therefore ſeemed
" inacceſſible; that having finally, after all theſe con-
" queſts, aſſembled his whole army at *Adule*, and
" ſacrificed to *Mars*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter*, for his
" great ſucceſs, he had dedicated this chair or throne
" to *Mars*." It may not be improper to remark
here, that *Gaza* ſeems to correſpond with *Gheeza*,
a name of the Kingdom of *Abaſſia*, in uſe amongſt
the natives at this day; that *Agame* and *Ava*, ſeem
to be the ſame with *Agamia* and *Afa*, two prefec-
tures of the preſent kingdom of *Tigre*; that *Tiamo*
or *Tzamo*, and *Tiama*, anſwer to *Tzama* in the
kingdom of *Tigre*, and *Tzama* in that of *Bageneder*;
that *Athagaos* muſt agree with one of the two re-
gions called *Agao*; and that *Semene* is undoubtedly
the country now denominated *Samen* or *Semen*.
This, to omit other proofs, that might be offered,
is no contemptible argument in favour of the autho-
rity of *Coſmas Indicopleuſtes*. For a full account of
every thing relating to this inſcription, publiſhed firſt
by

(6) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 69, 70, 71. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *ſub. init. Univerſ. vol.* vii. *p.* 167.

a by *Cosmas Ægyptius* (H), or, as some call him, *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, which he copied upon the spot in the time of the emperor *Justin* I. It is probable, however, that he abandoned these conquests, since henceforth we find nothing of moment concerning any branch of the proper *Ethiopians* in the writings of the antients, till the days of *Augustus*[m].

Petronius *forces queen* Candace *to sue for peace, which is granted her by* Augustus.

About the year of *Rome* 732. when *Ælius Gallus* had drawn most of the *Roman* forces out of *Egypt*, in order to invade *Arabia*, *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia*, or rather of the kingdom of *Meroe*, made an irruption into the province of *Thebais* with a numerous army. According to *Dio*, *Candace* herself headed her troops in this expedition; which seems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, when he intimates, that she was a b lady of uncommon bravery and resolution. At first she met with great success; ravaged all the country as she advanced, took *Syene*, *Elephantine*, and *Philæ*, the *Egyptian* frontiers on the side of *Ethiopia*, without opposition, and made three *Roman* cohorts, garisoned therein, prisoners of war. But receiving intelligence, that *Petronius*, the governor of *Egypt*, was in full march to attack her, she retired into her own dominions. The *Roman* general pursued the *Ethiopians* as far as *Pselcha*, from whence he sent a deputation to the queen, to know the reason of the late hostilities, and to demand all the prisoners, as well as a restitution of all the effects, particularly the statues of *Augustus*, carried off from the cities above-mentioned. But *Candace* not sending a satisfactory answer, and seeking only to gain time, *Petronius* immedic ately attacked the *Ethiopian* army, consisting of thirty thousand men, tho' his scarce amounted to ten thousand, in the neighbourhood of *Pselcha*. As the *Ethiopians* were, for the most part, only armed with poles, hatchets, *&c.* and intirely undisciplined, he gained an easy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others dispersed in the adjacent deserts, and others swam to a neighbouring island of the *Nile*, few crocodiles infesting that part of the river, by reason of the rapidity of the torrent. Soon after this victory, *Pselcha* surrendered to him; and one of his detachments brought off the corps, that had escaped to the aforesaid island, in

Diod. Sic. Arrian. Quint. Curt. aliiq; de reb. gest. Alexand. Cosm. Ægypt. topograph. Christian. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. Job. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. Le Grand. dissert. iii.

by *Leo Allatius*, and afterwards by *Berkelius*, *Spon*, and *Montfaucon*, we must refer our readers to the learned Dr. *Chishul* (7).

(H) *Cosmas* informs us, that from *Alexandria* to the *Cataracts* were thirty stations; from the *Cataracts* to *Axuma* thirty more; and from thence to the fartherst part of *Ethiopia* producing frankincense, and contiguous to the ocean, called *Barbaria*, fifty stations. Near *Barbaria* lay the country known by the name of *Sasus*, according to the same author, which was likewise reputed one of the remotest regions in *Ethiopia*.

The *Barbarians*, says *Cosmas*, imported various sorts of sauces, frankincense, cassia, and other commodities, the produce of their territory, into the country of the *Homerites*, separated from them by the streights of *Bab al Mandab*. They supplied likewise the *Persians* and *Indians* with the same commodities. The sea beyond *Barbaria* our author calls the *Zingian* ocean, and intimates, that *Sasus* abounded with gold-mines. Every other year the king of *Axuma* sent several persons of distinction to *Agau*, to traffick with the natives for gold; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended them. They brought with them cattle, salt, and iron, to barter for the gold. Upon their arrival there, they fixed themselves on a certain spot of ground, killed and cut in pieces several oxen, which they exposed, together with the salt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of these then approaching with small ingots of gold, which they called *Tancharas*, laid down one or more of them, as they pleased, upon the piece of the ox, salt, or iron, they had a mind to purchase, and then retired to a place at some distance. The proprietor, seeing this, took the gold, if he thought it sufficient, and went away; and the person who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the *Axumite* or *Ethiopian*, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other observing, either made an addition to what he had before deposited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found necessary, as being strangers to each others language; and it was generally finished in five days. This journey the *Axumites* commonly performed in six months time, and were longer in going than returning, by reason of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, since several gangs of robbers sometimes attacked them upon the road, especially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the *Nile* were in this district, and as the rivers, they found themselves obliged to pass, were greatly swelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that season could intercept them. By the violence of those rains, continuing three months, many small torrents became rivers, that emptied themselves into the *Nile*. This method of trading is still used in various parts of *Africa*, as appears from several modern relations, which it is needless here to produce. We must not omit observing, that the district of *Agau*, mentioned by *Cosmas*, is undoubtedly the country of the *Agaus* taken notice of by father *Pays*, the name of both these provinces being the same, and the source of the *Nile* being placed in both of them by these authors (8).

(7) *Cosm. Ægypt. in topograph. Christian. A. D.* 545. *script. p.* 140, 141, 142, 143. *Paris.* 1706. *Chish. antiquitat. Asiat. p.* 73—88. *Lond.* 1728. *Vide & Ludolph. PP. Tell. Mend. Pays, &c. pass.* (8) *Cosm. Ægypt. ubi sup. p.* 138, 139, 140. *P. Pays apud Le Grand. dissert.* iii.

in which were ſeveral of queen *Candace*'s general officers. At *Pſelcha* he reviewed a his forces, and, finding them in good condition, advanced to *Premnis*, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, which he made himſelf maſter of. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the *Roman* general marched to *Napata*, were *Candace* held her reſidence, which he took, and deſtroyed. Her ſon, however, found means to make his eſcape. The queen herſelf had retired to one of her caſtles at ſome diſtance from *Napata*, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herſelf not in a condition to make head againſt the *Romans*, ſhe thought proper to make overtures for an accommodation. But *Petronius* by reaſon of the exceſſive heats and a want of proviſions, ſoon b finding himſelf obliged to return to *Alexandria*, the conferences were broke off. After the departure of *Petronius*, *Candace* beſieged *Premnis*, where the *Romans* had left a garriſon of four hundred men; but, being ſoon forced to raiſe the ſiege, ſhe diſpatched embaſſadors a ſecond time to treat of a peace with the *Roman* general, who ſent them with an eſcort to *Auguſtus*. That prince, whom they found at *Samos*, gave them a moſt gracious reception, and granted their miſtreſs a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condeſcenſion may be attributed to the rich preſents thoſe miniſters carried with them. *Pliny* intimates, that the kingdom of *Meroe* had been governed by queens for ſeveral preceding generations, who all went under the name of c *Candace* [n].

Hiſtory of Ethiopia *continued to the aſcenſion of our bleſſed Saviour.*

THOUGH *Auguſtus* reſtored all the towns taken by *Petronius*, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from *Gadace*, yet the *Romans* now looked upon themſelves as maſters of *Ethiopia*. They complimented *Auguſtus* on the great glory he had acquired, in ſubduing a country unknown even to his great predeceſſor, which finiſhed the reduction of *Africa*. Hence we find, on the reverſe of one of that prince's medals ſtruck this very year 732. three globes, denoting undoubtedly the complete conqueſt of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, the three large continents or parts of the ancient world. However, this ought to be conſidered as nothing more than an inſtance of the *Roman* vanity, ſince not only the *Ethiopians*, but ſeveral other nations, had hitherto preſerved their liberties. No material d alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of *Meroe*, which ſeems to have been the *Ethiopia* known to the *Romans*, happened either during the remainder of *Auguſtus*'s reign, or that of his ſucceſſor *Tiberius*, queens ſtill continuing to govern there, as we learn from Scripture. But that the chriſtian religion was introduced into *Meroe* about the nineteenth or twentieth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, has been believed by ſome writers of good authority. Theſe writers make the eunuch baptized by *Philip* the deacon to have converted his royal miſtreſs, after his return home, to the chriſtian faith. St. *Luke* calls that princeſs *Candace*; from whence ſome have inferred, that ſhe e was the ſame queen of *Ethiopia* mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*. But as the interval betwixt the invaſion of *Ethiopia* by *Petronius*, and the converſion of the aforeſaid eunuch, was a term much longer than kings uſually reign, and as the former author remarks *Candace* to have been an appellation common to the ſovereigns of *Meroe*, we are, by no means, inclinable to come into ſuch an opinion. Several of the fathers thought, that the eunuch's name was *Candace*; which muſt certainly be deemed a miſtake: for that this word either ſignified ſovereign authority, or at leaſt was a title peculiar to the royal family of *Meroe*, the teſtimony already produced ſeems to put beyond all doubt [o].

And from thence to the reign of Diocleſian.

LITTLE after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the *Ethiopians*. *Ælius Spartianus* relates, that the emperor *Heliogabalus* frequently con- f fined his moſt intimate friends for whole nights together with little old *Ethiopian* women, by way of diverſion, ſaying, that theſe women were the moſt beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of Chriſt 220. there was an intercourſe betwixt the *Roman* empire and the *Ethiopians*. *Probus*, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition againſt the *Blemmyes*, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of *Thebais*, vanquiſhed them, and ſent many of them priſoners to *Rome*. What occaſioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the *Blemmyan* captives graced *Probus*'s triumph, and exhibited ſuch an odd appearance, as greatly aſtoniſhed the *Romans*, we learn from *Vopiſcus*.

[n] STARB. l. xvii. p. 820. DIO. l. liv. p. 524, 525. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. SEXT. AUR. VICT. epit. de vit. & mor. imperator. Romanor. ſub. init. [o] DIO, ubi ſup. Comes FRANSISC. MEDIOBARB. BIRAG. in numiſm. imp. Rom. congeſt. ad A. U. C. 732. p. 32. edit. Mediolan. 1730. Act. c. viii. ver. 27. CALMET. in voce *Candace*. ANASTAS. SINAIT. l. vi. EUTHYM. in pſal. lxii. GREG. NAZ. in ſanct. baptiſm.

a *Vopiscus.* Towards the close of the third century that nation ah that of *August* in people inhabiting the banks of the *Nile* near the *Upper Egypt*, com*ts.* The word depredations upon the *Roman* territories, and the adjacent part of *Thebais* the *paradise* bably on this account, but thinly peopled, the emperor *Diocletian* found his *nout*, or, in those parts scarce sufficient to maintain the garrisons placed there to repre. those courses of the *Ethiopians.* He therefore assigned the *Nobatæ* lands in the *Roman* dorrear nions and gave both them and the *Blemmyes* a considerable annual sum, to desist from their former practices; but, notwithstanding their solemn assurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the *Roman* subjects to the time of *Justinian*, according to *Procopius.* That prince did not treat them with such lenity as they had met with from
b *Diocletian*, for this laste mperor did not only grant them the favour above-mentioned, but likewise transplanted some of them to an island in the *Nile* near *Elephantine*, gave them the use of the (I) temples there in common with the *Romans*, and ordered priests to be selected from them all to officiate therein, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them. But *Justinian* ordered *Narses*, the commandant of the garrison in *Philæ*, to demolish the temples of the barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to *Byzantium*; which he did accordingly. That *Diocletian* built the fortress of *Philæ*, and gave it that name, from the friendship and union, which, he imagined, the measures he had taken would occasion betwixt the *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* settled there, as we find
c advanced by *Procopius*, can by no means be allowed, since this very fortress was in being, and called by the same name, in the days of *Strabo. Procopius*, in agreement with *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, asserts *Elephantine* to have been thirty days journey from *Axuma*, or, as he calls it, *Auxomis.* The same author also affirms, that, before the reign of *Diocletian*, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire on that side extended so far into *Ethiopia*, that they were not above twenty three days journey distant from this capital °.

Nothing material to be met with in history concerning the Ethiopians, *from the reign of* Diocletian *to the time of St.* Athanasius.

We find nothing worthy of observation recorded of the *Ethiopians*, from the reign of *Diocletian* to the time of their conversion to christianity, which was but a short interval, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The modern *Abassines* inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of *Bazen*, a prince of the *Solomonean* line, and
d the twenty-fourth from *Menilehec*, surnamed *El Hakim*, i. e. *the wise*, or *son of the wise*, above-mentioned. They likewise enumerate thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, betwixt him and *Abreha* and *Atzbeha*, or *Abra* and *Asba*, who sat upon the throne when *Frumentius* carried the light of the gospel into *Abassia. Frumentius*, acording to some, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. *Matthew*, who had applied himself to the conversion of the *Nubians*, a nation before disposed for the reception of christianity by the eunuch of *Candace*, who had already sown in their minds the first seeds of that religion. These St. *Matthew*, continue the same authors, took care to cultivate, and raise to fruit, tho' he could not reach *Abassia.* The planting of the christian faith in that country was reserved for the age
e of St. *Athanasius* patriarch of *Alexandria*; of which great event *Rufinus* and others have given us the following relation P:

Ethiopians *or* Abassines *converted by* Frumentius.

Meropius the philosopher, a native of *Tyre*, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffick, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy. This man, after having wandered over all *India*, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels, and, touching at an island in the *Red* sea, was eithet cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. *Frumentius* and *Ædesius*, or as the *Abassines* will have it, *Fremonatus* and *Sidracus*, (for so were his kinsmen called) falling into the hands of the barbarians,
f were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his person, and advanced them. Their talents and industry procured them such distinguishing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in *Frumentius* a greater capacity,

° Ælius Lampridius in Heliogab. Flavius Vopiscus in. Prob. Procop. de bel. Perf. l. i. c. 19. Strab. l. xvii. Cosmas Ægyptius in topograph. christian. l. ii. p. 138, 139, 140. edit. D. Bern. de Montfauc. Paris, 1706. P Rufin. l. i. c. 9. Socrat. l. i. c. 19. Sozom. l. ii. c. 24. Theodoret, l. i. c. 23.

(I) *Procopius* says, that the barbarians worshipped the *Sun*, *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Priapus*, and other pagan deities. It likewise appears from him, that they offered human sacrifices to their Idols. Their religion was probably the same, or nearly so, with that of the *Romans*; which had the *Nobatæ and Blemmyes* been people of any principles, might have greatly contributed to the keeping up a good correspondence between them (9).

(9) *Procop. in loc. laudat.*

city, he made him his treaſurer, and *Ædeſius* his butler; in which poſts they behaved themſelves with ſo much applauſe, that, upon the king's death, which followed ſome time after, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her ſon, would not grant either of them permiſſion to leave the kingdom, as they deſired. On the contrary, ſhe left the management of public affairs intirely to *Frumentius*, who made uſe of this new authority to bring the people under his inſpection to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Contracting an acquaintance with ſome chriſtian merchants, either trading to or ſettled in *Abaſſia*, who ſometimes came to that iſland, he granted them great privileges, and places to aſſemble in for public worſhip. This firſt excited in the *Abaſſines* a deſire to be inſtructed in the principles of chriſtianity; which induced *Frumentius*, after having got the queen's leave to take a journey to *Alexandria*, in order to inform St. *Athanaſius* of the diſpoſition of that people. The patriarch hereupon conſecrated him biſhop of *Axuma*, and about the year of our Lord 335. ſent him to propagate the chriſtian religion in *Ethiopia*. Soon after his arrival there, he baptized vaſt numbers of the *Abaſſines*, ordained deacons and preſbyters, built churches, and in ſhort gained an aſſent to the divine truths of the goſpel in almoſt every part of that vaſt region. The *Ethiopic* book at *Axuma*, held in the higheſt veneration by the *Abaſſines*, agreeing in the main with this relation, as well as ſeveral *Greek* and *Latin* authors of good repute, it muſt deſerve the greateſt regard. That *Adad* or *Aidog*, therefore, king of the *Axumites*, firſt introduced chriſtianity into *Ethiopia* about the fifteenth year of the emperor *Juſtinian*, after an unparalell'd defeat given the king of the *Homerites*, in conſequence of a vow made before the engagement, as ſome have not ſcrupled to aſſert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at leaſt the court and nobleſſe, afterwards relapſed into paganiſm, according to an oriental author of ſome note; and embraced again the chriſtian religion, at the command of *Aidog*, about the fourth year of the emperor *Juſtin*, *an. Ch.* 521. for the reaſon juſt aſſigned. A full and minute account of this memorable tranſaction may be drawn from the extracts of ſeveral *Syriac* writers, to be met with in the learned M. *Aſſemanus*'s *bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*[q].

Abra *and* Asba *refuſe to admit* Arianiſm.

Abra and *Aſba*, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre, are greatly celebrated by the *Ethiopian* hiſtorians. The harmony that reigned betwixt them was ſo ſingular and uncommon, that it almoſt became a proverb in *Ethiopia*. *Conſtantius* the emperor made uſe of many expedients to introduce *Arianiſm* into the country we are now upon, but without effect. He ſent embaſſadors to thoſe kings, in order to prevail upon them to put *Frumentius* the biſhop of *Axuma* into the hands of *George* the *Arian* biſhop of *Alexandria*, ſubſtituted in the place of *Athanaſius*, who was forced to quit that ſee, and retire to a place of obſcurity. But they refuſed to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines as well as perſon with an unſhaken reſolution, notwithſtanding *Philoſtorgius* falſly affirms an *Arian* biſhop to have been ſettled at *Axuma*. So mild and amiable was his conduct amongſt them, that they called him *Abba Salamah*, *the pacific father*. The *Copts* and *Abaſſines* have a notion, that one *Tacalhaïmanout*, a ſaint or *Abaſſine* monk, deſcended from *Sadok* the high prieſt in the days of *David* and *Solomon*, attended *Abba Salamah* into *Ethiopia*, to demonſtrate to the people there the neceſſity of baptiſm, they having till that time practiſed (K) circumciſion. The

[q] Idem ibid. Theophanes ad an. incarnat. ſecund. Alexandrin. 535. Simeon epiſc. Beth-Arſamen, apud Cl. Aſſeman. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 359. & ſeq. ed. Romæ, 1719. Cæs. Baronii annal. ad an. 523. vol. vii. Ludolph. hiſt. Æhiop. l. iii. c. 2. Vide & not. Cl. Asseman. ubi ſup.

(K) Authors are divided in their ſentiments in relation to the origin of circumciſion amongſt the *Abaſſines*. Some maintain, that this inſtitution was introduced amongſt them by *Moſes*; others, that they received it from *Menilehech* the ſon of *Solomon*. Which of theſe Opinions is true, or whether either of them be ſo, we ſhall not pretend to determine. That it was not in uſe among the *Arabian Cuſhites* before the time of *Moſes*, appears from Scripture. One ſtrong preſumption againſt *Herodotus*'s notion, that the *Egyptians* firſt practiced circumciſion, is, that this author has not told us how, or when, that nation came firſt to admit ſo painful a rite; whereas the Scripture is expreſs in both thoſe particulars, with regard to the origin of it amongſt the *Hebrews*. *Grotius* has evinced, from a multitude of different authors, that God in commanding *Abraham* to uſe the rite of circumciſion, meant it a mark of covenant between his poſterity and the Creator; and that every other nation, practiſing it, learned it either from him or his deſcendants. The firm perſuaſion of the *Abaſſines* is, that they derived it from the *Hebrews*. We may perhaps ſay ſomething of the circumciſion of women, when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Abaſſia* (10).

(10) *Exod. c.* iv. *Hugo. Grot. in Gen. & alib. Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 269, *& alib. Vid. & Calmet. diſſert. de circum. &c.*

a The twenty-fourth day of the month *Mesri*, corresponding with that of *August* in the *Julian* calendar, is celebrated as the festival of this saint by the *Copts*. The word *Tacalhaïmanout* is *Ethiopic*, and, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, signifies *the paradise of the Trinity*. But *Ludolphus* gives us to understand, that this *Tacalhaïmanout*, or, as he calls him, *Tecla Haimanout*, that is, according to his interpretation of those words, *the plant of faith*, restored the monastic way of life in *Ethiopia* about the year of Christ 600. and lived till *A. D.* 630. The *Abassines* believe, that he spoke in his cradle, and wrought several miracles in his infancy; as also, that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by *Cyril* metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Benjamin* patriarch of *Alexandria*, of the *Jacobite* sect. *Gonzales* relates, that
b he first converted the *Ethiopians* to christianity, by destroying a serpent before worshipped amongst them; which, if admitted, will bring him to the age M. *D'Herbelot* assigns him. Be that as it will, next to *Gabra-Menses-Keddus* (L), i. e. *the servant of the Holy Ghost*, in honour of whom they kept holy-day once every month, he was the most celebrated saint in *Ethiopia*. *D'Herbelot* farther informs us, that *Claudius* king of the *Abassines* sent the life of this saint written in *Ethiopic* to *Gabriel* the ninety-fifth patriarch of *Alexandria*, which is at this day to be seen in the royal library at *Paris*, num. 796. under the title of *Saïrat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaïmanout* [r].

The Ethiopians *conquer the* Homerites.

History scarce supplies us with any memoirs relating to *Ethiopia* from the reign of *Constantius* to the time of the famous *Elesbas* or *Elesbaan* king of *Ethiopia*, called *Caleb*
c by the *Abassines*, who seems to have been the same prince with *Adad* or *Aidog* above-mentioned. This conqueror having made up matters with *Xenodon* or *Axenodon*, an *Indian* prince, with whom, according to *Simeon Beth-Arsamensis*, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the *Homerites* or *Sabæans* in *Arabia Felix*, after having vanquished in battle the impious *Dunawas*, *Dunaan*, or *Dhu Nowas*, the last king of that people, who was of the *Jewish* religion. *Elesbaan* had some time before declared war against the king of the *Homerites*, for massacring certain christian merchants, and vowed most solemnly to become a christian, in case he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and stripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Christ, in pursuance of the vow already made, and placed a christian prince upon the throne of the *Homerites*; after whose death, which
d happened in winter, when the *Ethiopians* could not transport (M) a body of forces into *Arabia*, *Dunnaan* found means to seize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent persecution of the christians, upon whom he exercised unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given us by various authors. St. *Aretas*, in particular, and many others, he caused to be burnt in the city of *Nagra*. This induced the *Alexandrian* patriarch to invite, by letters, *Elesbaan* to carry his arms into *Arabia*, in defence of the christians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the most exquisite tortures (N). *Elesbaan* embraced the occasion, and was favoured by God

[r] Joannes As. episc. apud Dionys. patriarch. in bibl. Orient. Asseman. ubi sup. Philostorg. l. iii. Pagius ad an. 541. num. 6. & alib. Ludolph. ubi sup. c. 33. & in comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479. ut & in calend. Æthiop. ibid. N°. 51. p. 436. Le Grand, dissert. ix. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tacalhaïmanout*, p. 834, 835. à Paris, 1697. Vid. etiam Gonzal. apud Ludolph. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 479.

(L) *Gabra-Menses-Keddus* lived only upon herbs, and used for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all worldly pleasures and delights in the utmost contempt. He subdued lions and dragons, according to the *Abassines*, who still preserve many fabulous traditions concerning him. One of these is, that he had a conference with the ever-blessed Trinity, and our Saviour, at which he gave several answers too blasphemous to be mentioned (11).

(M) One of the most noted ports of the *Ethiopians* on the *Red Sea* was *Adule* or *Aaulis*, twenty stadia from the city of that name, and twelve days journey from *Auxomis* or *Axuma* the capital of *Ethiopia*. The *Greek* writers of the latter ages denominated the *Ethiopians* in general *Axumites* from the name of this city, as we learn from *Nonnosus*, *Procopius*, and others. *Adule* was the great mart for the commodities of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, &c. to which the merchants of those countries constantly resorted. Besides the wares already mentioned, those merchants exported from thence vast numbers of *Ethiopian* slaves, who, by this means, were dispersed over a great part of the world (12).

(N) It appears from *Simeon Metaphrastes*, *Theophanes*, *Simeon Beth-Arsamensis*, *Alphonsus Mendesius*, and others, that this *Caleb* or *Eleshuan* was a prince of great sanctity, and as such the church of *Rome* has honoured him with canonization. M. *Ludolphus* informs us, that father *Tellez* observed a surprising agreement betwixt the *Ethiopic* and *Latin* writers, with regard to the life and actions of *Elesbaan*. To which we may add, that M. *Assemanus* has likewise exhibited to our view the harmony betwixt *Metaphrastes* and *Beth-Arsamensis*, in relation to the conduct and great atchievements of the same prince. But

(11) *Poet. Abas. & Sandoval. apud Job. Ludolph. in comment. ad histor. Æthiopic. p.* 291, 292. *ut & ipse Ludolph. ibid.* (12) *Ptol. in geogr. Æthiop. Nonnosus apud Phot. Procop. de bell. Persic. l.* i. *c.* 19. *& alib. Geo. Cedren. ad an.* 15. *imp. Justinian. Cosm. Egypt. ubi sup.*

God with an intire victory (N), which gave the *Abaſſines* (O) the poſſeſſion of *Arabia Felix* till the time of *Abd al Motalleb* grandfather of *Mohammed*. *Abrahah Ebn al Sabah al Aſhram* was the governor of *Yaman*, under the king of *Abaſſia*, whoſe puniſhment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the *Koran*. He brought, ſays the author of that book, an army with a great number of elephants to the ſiege of *Mecca*; upon which came a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder, upon him. Each of theſe birds had a ſtone in its beak, which it dropped with ſuch violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but, according to ſome, purſued the viceroy into his maſter's dominions, where one of theſe fowls let its ſtone fall upon his head, and killed him [s].

That Atzham *king of* Ethiopia *embraced* Mohammedaniſm, *not probable.*

The *Mohammedan* writers generally agree, that *Atzham*, or *Aſhamah Ebn Abbar*, the *Najâſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, during *Mohammed*'s miſſion, did not only take under his protection a conſiderable number of *Mohammed*'s friends, who were driven out of *Hejaz* by the *Koreiſh*, but likewiſe became a convert to the new religion of that impoſtor. This converſion, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Bâki*, happened in the ſecond year of the *Hejra*; though it is placed ten years higher by *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius*. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly *Selden* and *Colomeſius*. But the abſurdities with which *Abdo'l Bakides*'s narration, which by a very able *Oriental* critic ſeems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, is ſtuffed, and the abſolute ſilence of the *Ethiopians*, as well as thoſe authors who have written the hiſtories of the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and the *Saracens*, on this head, will not permit us to come into ſuch an opinion. That *Atzham*, all his biſhops, preſbyters, monks, *&c.* ſhould allow that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that *Mohammed* was this prophet; that the *Abaſſine* biſhops and preſbyters, by citing it to the *Najâſhi* in favour of *Mohammed*, ſhould admit for genuine a paſſage of the New Teſtament not to be found there; and, to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the ſight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the *Koran*, they ſhould all burſt out into a flood of tears, and be in the ſoreſt affliction; in ſhort, that they ſhould be converted to *Moſlemiſm* by the Goſpel itſelf; theſe, we ſay, are ſuch glaring abſurdities, as can be ſwallowed by none but a moſt bigotted *Mohammedan*. And ſuch a train of remarkable effects muſt have followed a king of *Ethiopia*'s embracing *Moſlemiſm*, that the above-mentioned hiſtorians could not have omitted taking notice of it; nay, the *Mohammedan* writers themſelves would undoubtedly have recorded many tranſactions, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch an event, which we find they have not ſo much as touched upon, had their prophet converted the king of *Ethiopia*, even before the *Arabs* themſelves. It is to to us, therefore, matter of great ſurprize, that the very learned M. *Ludolphus* ſhould run himſelf into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of *Abdo'l-Bakides* and *Abulfeda* with regard to the introduction of *Moſlemiſm* into *Ethiopia*. The ſpirit with which the *Koran* was written, that is, a lying ſpirit; the genius

[s] Niceph. Callist. & Cedren. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. Nonnosus apud Phot. Simeon Metaphrastes apud Surium, p.943, & alib. paſſ. Joannes As. epiſc. Theophanes & Simeon epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. apud Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 364—385. Procop. de bel. Perſic. l. i. c. 20. Pagius ad an. 523, & alib. Lambecius, l. v. p. 133. Vid.etiam not. eruditiſſ. Cl. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. 381—385. Al Koran Mohammed. c. 105. & Le Grand, in diſſert. ix.

But we ſhall be more particular and explicit on this head, in the hiſtory of the antient *Arabs*, whoſe country was the theatre of thoſe atchievments (12).

(N) This happened in the reign of the emperor *Juſtin*, probably about the ſeventh or eighth year of it, *A. C.* 524, or 525. and not, as *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* ſeem to intimate, 522. or 523 (13).

(O) *Procopius* attributes this famous exploit to *Helleſtæus*, *Elesbaan*'s ſon, whom he calls king of the *Axumites*, and is followed herein by cardinal *Baronius*. But as this notion has been overthrown by *Ludolphus*, as ſo noble an action ſeems more agreeable to the high encomia paſſed upon *Eleſbaan*, than the reign of his ſon, of whom the *Abaſſine* hiſtorians ſay but little, and as *Metaphraſtes* and *Beth-Arſamenſis* poſitively affirm *Eleſbaan* (that prince who embraced chriſtianity after the victory obtained over a former king of the *Homerites*) to have taken vengeance on *Dunaan*, we cannot but declare ourſelves of another opinion (14).

(12) *Sim. Metaphraſt. apud Surium, tom.* v. *p.* 943. *& alib. paſſ. Procop. Evagr. Theophan. Cedren. Simeon epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. a iique apud Joſeph. Simon. Aſſeman. in biblioth. Oriental. tom.* i. *p.* 359—385. *Alphonſ. Mendez. & Balth. Tellez. apud Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 232. (13) *Vid. not. Cl. Aſſeman. ad Sim. epiſc. Beth-Arſamenſ. in bibl. Orient. p.* 365. (14) *Procop. de bel. Perſic. l.* i. *c.* 20. *Baron. ann.* 523. *num.* 30. *Sim. Metaphraſt. p.* 939. *& ſeq. Sim Beth-Arſamenſ. apud Aſſeman. bibl. Orient. tom.* i. *p.* 381—385. *Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l.* ii. *c.* 4 *Vide & MS. Græcor. Menelog. apud Lambecium, l.* v. *p.* 133.

a nius of the *Mohammedan* writers, not only with the worſt kind of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, but likewiſe addicted to romance and fiction in points attracted from religion; theſe, we ſay, in conjunction with what has been juſt offered, amount to little leſs than a demonſtration, that this ſtory was invented by the *Moſlems*, purely with a deſign to do honour to *Mohammed* and the *Koran*. For which reaſons we ſhall make no ſcruple to reject it intirely, with father *Marracci*[t].

Their hiſtory to the uſurpation of the Zagæan *family extremely ſhort.*

Gabra-Meſkel, ſucceſſor to *Eleſbaan*, according to the *Ethiopian* poet ſo often cited by *Ludolphus*, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions; though we have no particulars of his conqueſts. His ſubjects, however, enjoyed the ſweets of peace a good part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of
b his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. *Procopius* gives us to underſtand, that the emperor *Juſtinian* entered into an alliance with him; but what hereupon enſued, we no-where find. The ſame author alſo relates, that even in *Gebra-Meſkel*'s time the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* were ſo little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they croſſed the ſtreights of *Bal al Mandab* in rude veſſels, conſiſting of nothing but planks or boards faſtened together with ropes. This ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for ſhipping, their maritime provinces affording them ſcarce any thing of this kind, and the *Romans* being obliged, by a particular law, not to tranſport any naval ſtores into *Ethiopia*. Next to this pious king, for as ſuch he is deſcribed by the *Abaſſines*, one *Conſtantine* aſ-
c cended the throne, and after him one *Freſenna*, whoſe name imports *good fruit*. During the (P) interval between *Freſenna* and *Delnoad*, who reigned about the year of the chriſtian æra 960. the *Ethiopian* hiſtory is ſo barren, as not to ſupply us with one article meriting any great regard. About this time the uſurpation of the *Zagæan* family commenced, the cauſe of which will hereafter be fully explained[u].

[t] Poet. Æthiop. apud Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 4. ut & ipſe LUDOLPH. ibid. Vid. & PROCOP. de bel. Perſic. l. i. c. 9. [u] ABULFEDA in vit. Mohammed. p. 24, 25, 26, 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1723. EBN. SHOHNAH. ABDO'L-BAKID. in hiſt. Habeſſin. par. 2. c. 2. & c. 3. AL-JANNABIUS in vit. Mohammed. Al Koran MOHAMMED. c. 19. c. 29 & c. 30. AL-WAKEDIUS apud ABDO'L-BAKID. ubi ſup. SELDEN. de ux. Hebraic. p. 553, & alib. COLOMES. in obſervat. ſacr. JOB. LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiopic. p. 223. & p. 284, & alib. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS in prodrom. par. i. c. 2. p. 45. edit. Patavii, 1698. Vid etiam Cl. GAGN. in Abulfed. ubi ſup.

(P) We are told, that about *A. D.* 836. *Ethiopia* groaned under the complicated miſeries of war, peſtilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in ſight of the enemy. The *Abaſſines*, continues this author, attributed theſe evils to the violence and indignities offered *John* the metropolitan ſent them by *James* the fiftieth patriarch of *Alexandria*. A knot of the nobility had before caballed againſt this prelate, and, after bringing others over to their party, driven him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above-mentioned perſuaſion, he was recalled and re-eſtabliſhed. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, raiſed new perſecutions againſt the *Abuna*, and left him only the choice of being circumciſed, or leaving the kingdom. *John* choſe to undergo circumciſion, and, being ſtripped in order to the operation, had upon him, by a ſingular miracle, ſay the *Copts* and *Abaſſines*, evident tokens that he had been circumciſed on the eighth day. We muſt here obſerve, that as the church of *Abaſſia* acknowledges that of *Alexandria* as its mother, it is ſubject to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty of electing its own biſhop. This ſubjection is as antient as the converſion of the *Abaſſines* to chriſtianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which they held in equal eſteem with the ſacred writings. The particular canon here hinted at will be inſerted when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Abaſſia* (15).

(15) *Le Grand, diſſert.* viii. c. 9.

CHAP. VIII.

The history of the Arabs, *and their antient state, to* Mohammed.

SECT. I.

Description of Arabia.

Many authors have taken great pains to give an accurate geographical description of Arabia.

THE independency moſt of the *Arabs* maintained to the downfal of the *Roman* empire, and the ſurpriſing conqueſts they made under *Mohammed* and his ſucceſſors, rendered their country ſo famous, that 'tis no wonder many authors ſhould have taken ſuch pains to give an accurate deſcription of it. *Ptolemy* ſeems to have laboured this point more than any other: *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, with many more of the antients, in their accounts of *Arabia*, are likewiſe pretty prolix. But the *Arab* writers themſelves have been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular and minute, both in their hiſtorical and geographical relations; which would have met with a more general eſteem, had not the *Arab* genius, ſo ſtrongly tinctured with enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, and conſequently inclined to fable and romance, ſo eminently diſplayed itſelf through almoſt every part of thoſe compoſitions[a]. b

Whence Arabia *ſo called.*

Arabia, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable part of it, was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives *Arabah*; which name it ſtill retains. However, we find it frequently ſtyled by their hiſtorians *Gjazîrah* or *Jezîrat al Arab*, the peninſula of the *Arabs*, *Belad al Arab*, the region of the *Arabs*, *Diyar al Arab*, the provinces of the *Arabs*; and, by many of the *Orientals*, *Arabiſtân*. Amongſt ſome of the *Syriac* writers it ſeems to have gone under the appellation of *Cuſhatha*, and ſometimes in Scripture that of *Cuſh*, as we have already obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Ethiopians*. *'Al-Motarezzi*, in the book *Mogreb*, derives the name *Arabah* from *Arbah*, a diſtrict of *Tehâma*, where *Iſhmael* dwelt, or, according to *Safioddin*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*; and *'Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebî*, in *'Abu'l-Fedah*, from c *Ya'rab*, the ſon of *Kahtân* or *Joktan*, and grandſon of *Eber*. But thoſe bid the faireſt for truth, who deduce it from a *Hebrew* original; the word *arab* or *ereb* having ſeveral ſignifications very favourable to ſuch a conjecture. For it imports, *the weſt*, *a mixture*, and *merchandize*, or *traffick*. Now that the weſtern part of *Arabia* was at firſt called ארץ ארב *ereiz arab* or (A) *ereb*, the weſtern country, may be deemed highly probable from hence, that its eaſtern provinces are denominated in Scripture ארץ קדם *eretz kedem*, the land of the eaſt. Which if we admit, from ארב *arab* naturally and eaſily flows *Arabah*. This notion ſeems the leſs liable to exception, as *Moſes* himſelf ſtyles the weſtern *Arabia Arabah*; which goes a good way towards evincing, that, from its ſituation, it firſt received that name. Afterwards the *Iſhmaelites*, who were d poſſeſſed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word *Arabah* along with them, and applied it to the whole peninſula. Some, however, think, that this tract might have aſſumed the name we are now conſidering, from that mixture of different tribes, which, they pretend, formed by the *Arab* nation. In ſupport of this opinion it is alledged, that in Scripture the *Arabs* are termed *a mingled people*, and that the antients enumerate many nations inhabiting *Arabia*. But, as the paſſage of Scripture here hinted at does not appear neceſſarily to denote the *Arabs*, as the various names given by the antients to the different clans of this region do not abſolutely

[a] Ptol. in Arabia, edit. Oxon. 1712. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. i. l. xvi. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 27, & alib. Abulfed. deſcript. Arab. edit. Oxon. 1712. Vid. etiam Steph. Byzant. in voce Χαράκμωβα, & Huds. in præfat. ad vol. iii. geograph. vet. Græc. min. Oxon. 1712.

(A) From hence, by the inſertion of an epenthetic N, comes the word *Erembi*, the name of a nation mentioned by *Homer* and *Strabo*. *Homer*'s ſcholiaſt and *Bochart* intimate, that the *Erembi* were the ſame people with the *Troglodytes*; though they likewiſe allow, that they might have been a branch of the *Arabians*. For a more ample diſcuſſion of this point, we muſt refer our readers to *Bochart* (1).

(1) *Hom. Odyſſ.* Δ. *v.* 85. *& ſchol. in loc.* *Strab. l.* i. *Bochart. Phal. l.* iv. *c.* 2. *& c.* 29.

abſolutely imply, that all thoſe clans had a different original, and as the beſt *Arabian* hiſtorians aſſert all their countrymen to be ſprung from two ſtocks only, perhaps our readers will allow a greater degree of probability to the former etymon. Laſtly, others deduce the name *Arabah* from the third ſignification of ערב above-mentioned, becauſe the *Arabs* in very early ages took their principal delight in merchandize or traffick; the gold, frankincenſe, myrrh, jewels, ſpices, and many other valuable commodities, either the natural produce of their country, or brought thither from *India*, prompting them thereto. Now, though it cannot be denied, that this carries a good appearance of truth, and that the facts on which it is founded are clear and inconteſtable; yet, as the moſt antient names of places ſeem chiefly to have been
b taken, either from thoſe of the firſt planters of colonies, builders of cities, &c. or ſome circumſtance in the ſituation, we are inclined to adhere to the etymon ſuggeſted by the firſt ſignification of ארב *arab*. The ſacred hiſtorian calls the territory, where the deſcendants of *Joktan* ſettled, *Kedem*, *the eaſt*; which renders it probable, that in his time the name *Arabah* was not known there. This is ſufficient to invalidate what has been advanced in the point before us by *'Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebî*, which depends only upon an *Arabian* tradition, that can by no means ſtand in competition with Scripture. Neither ought we to be cenſured for deducing the moſt noted name of *Arabia* from the *Hebrew* tongue: for, that *Moſes* uſes this very name, has been already obſerved; that in early ages the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages were the
c ſame, ſeems to be acknowledged by the *Arabs*, when they make themſelves the deſcendants of *Eber* and *Abraham*, the two great anceſtors of the *Hebrews* [b].

The largeſt extent of Arabia.

Arabia, taken in its largeſt extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-third and ſeventy-eighth of longitude. The greateſt length, or a line drawn from a point on the coaſt of the *Red Sea* about 1° 25 S. of the tropic of *Cancer* to the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greateſt breadth, that is to ſay, the diſtance from the northern extremity of the deſerts of *'Al Jazira* to the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the weſt by *Paleſtine*, part of *Syria*, the iſthmus of *Suez*, and the *Red Sea*, called by the *Arabs* the *Sea 'Al-Kolzom*; on
d the eaſt by the *Euphrates*, the *Perſian* gulph, and bay of *Ormuz*; on the north by part of *Syria*, *Diyar-Becr*, *Irâk*, and *Khûzeſtân*; and on the ſouth by the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, and the *Indian* ocean. It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of *Syria* and *Diyar-Becr*; and, by reaſon of the proximity of the *Euphrates* to the *Mediterranean*, may be looked upon as a peninſula, and that one of the largeſt in the world [c].

Its proper limits.

But the limits of the proper *Arabia* are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the iſthmus, which runs from *Ailah* to the head of the *Perſian* gulph, and the borders of the territory of *Cûfa*; which tract of land the *Greeks* nearly comprehended under the name of *Arabia the happy*. Here the *Arabs* have been ſettled
e almoſt ever ſince the flood. The eaſtern geographers make *Arabia Petræa* to belong partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Shâm* or *Syria*; and *Arabia Deſerta* they call the *deſerts* of *Syria*. But as the *Arabs* have for many ages reduced theſe two provinces or kingdoms, either by ſettlements or continual incurſions, the *Turks* and *Perſians* at this day include them in *Arabiſtân*. The antients in like manner aſſigned different limits to this vaſt peninſula. *Pliny* extended it as far as the borders of *Commagene*, the north part of *Syria*, on account of the many *Arabian* colonies planted there by *Tigranes*; and *Xenophon* included in it the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia*. But *Ptolemy* who gives us a more accurate deſcription of *Arabia*, determines its dimenſions differently from thoſe authors. According to him, the city of *Phara*, between the *Elanitic* and *Heroopolitan* gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the weſtward of this city near the diſtrict of *Heroopolis*, was its boundary on the ſide of *Egypt*. On the weſt

[b] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 78. & alib. Cl. Gagnier in not. ad Abulfed. geogr. Arab. ſub init. Cumberl. Phœn. hiſt. Sanchoniath. p. 367. ed. Lond. 1720. Ebn Said Al-Magrebi apud Abulfed. hiſt. cap. 4. Pocock. ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. 33. Al-Motarrezzi in lib. *Mogreb*. Alfirauzabadius, & Safioddin. apud Cl. Pocock. ibid. Gagn. diatrib. de Arabum & Arabiæ nomin. ſect. 1. Buxtorf. Schindl. aliique lexicograph. Hebr. Gen. c. xxv. v. 6. job. c. i. v. 3. jud. c. iv. v. 3. Deut. c. ii. v. 8. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. & 3. Jer. c. xxv. v. 20, 24. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 5. Diod. Sic l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. & alib. Ptol. in Arab. R. Saadias in veſ. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. Joc. ubi ſup 39. Greg. Abulfarag. p. 159. Gen. c. xxxvii. v. 25. Dionys. Perieg. v. 927, &c. Boch. præf. ad Chan. Gen. c. x. v. 30. [c] Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79, &c. Abulfed. in deſcript. Arab. paſſ. ut & Atwal, Kanun, Rasm, ibid.

weſt it was terminated by *Paleſtine*, part of *Syria*, the confines of *Egypt*, and the *Arabian* gulph; on the north by the *Euphrates*, from the city of *Thapſacus*, near the borders of *Palmyrene*, to the diſtrict of *Idicara* in *Babylonia*; on the eaſt by the *Chaldæan* mountains, and the *Perſian* gulph; and on the ſouth by the *Erythræan* ſea. The ſame ſituation and extent, or nearly ſo, are aſſigned it by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Conformably to the ſentiment of the *Arabs*, this region may be deem'd a peninſula, whether we conſider it as anſwering to the name of *Arabia* in its moſt uſual ſenſe, or as it is variouſly deſcribed by the antients, or, laſtly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almoſt intirely by the *Euphrates*, the *Perſian* gulph, the (B) *Sindian*, *Indian*, *Red Seas*, and part of the *Mediterranean* [d].

The firſt diviſion of Arabia.

The firſt diviſion of the peninſula of the *Arabs* was into *Kedem* and *Arabah*, as we learn from Scripture. *Kedem*, or the land of *Kedem*, comprehended the *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Deſerta* of *Ptolemy*, whoſe limits and extent we ſhall ſoon define from that geographer. *Arabah* anſwered to that country called, from *Petra* its metropolis, *Arabia Petræa* by *Ptolemy*; *Arabia Citerior*, from its ſituation in reſpect of *Italy*, by *Pliny*; and *Arabia Vetus* by *Stephanus* and *Procopius*, according to *Ortelius*. *Moſes* ſeems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a preciſion worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the ſouth it reached to the ſea of *Suph*, or the *Red Sea*; on the weſt to *Paran* and *Tophel*; on the north to *Laban*, *Hatſeroth*, and *Di-Zahab*, that is, to the borders of *Syria*; and on the eaſt to *Kadeſh Barnea*, eleven days journey from mount *Horeb*. As *Arabah* imports the weſt, ſo *Kedem* does the eaſt; and theſe ſignifications agree with the ſituations of thoſe regions. The *Arabic* verſion makes *Kedem* to extend as far as *Rekem* or *Petra*, which runs counter to ſome other authors. In one paſſage *Moſes* apparently comprehends *Chaldæa* under the name of *Kedem*; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The firſt inhabitants of *Arabah*, or the weſtern *Arabia*, were the *Caſluhhim*, deſcenced from *Miſraim*, the *Caphtorim*, and the *Horites*, who occupied mount *Seir*, before they were expelled from thence by *Eſau* and his poſterity. Afterwards *Iſhmael* and his deſcendants ſettled here; and laſt of all the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*. As for *Kedem*, or the eaſtern *Arabia*, it was firſt peopled by the ſons of *Joktan*, who are reputed the genuine *Arabians*; though in proceſs of time the *Iſhmaelites* ſpread themſelves over this country. That ſome of the *Cuſhites* alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of part of it in early times, has been already obſerved. The children of *Abraham* by his concubine *Keturah* likewiſe contributed towards repleniſhing it with inhabitants, as appears from the ſacred hiſtorian [e].

Ptolemy *the firſt who divided it into three parts.*

Ptolemy ſeems to be the firſt who divided the peninſula we are now upon into three parts. Theſe he termed *Arabia Petræa*, *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Arabia Felix*; and ſince his time that diviſion has generally prevailed. In order, therefore, to give our readers a ſuccinct idea of every one of theſe provinces, we ſhall purſue the method he has obſerved, and deſcribe them upon the plan he has laid down [f].

Arabia Petræa.

Arabia Petræa on the eaſt was contiguous to *Syria* and *Arabia Deſerta*; on the weſt to *Egypt*, or rather that neck of land ſeparating *Africa* from *Aſia*, called at this day the iſthmus of *Suez*, and the (C) *Heroopolitan* gulph; on the north to *Paleſtine*, the lake

[d] Diod. Si. Strab. Plin. ubi ſup. Xenoph. in ἀναβάσ. l. i. Ptol. in Arab. Atwal, Kanun, Rasm, Abulfed. Gol. &c. ubi ſup. [e] Gagnier ubi ſup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. c. ii. ver. 8. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 6. Job. c. i. ver. 3. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. Plin. l. v. c. 11. & l. vi. c. 34. Strab. ubi ſup. Procopius. Stephanus Byzant. & Ortelius apud Gagn. ubi ſup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. Ptol. ubi ſup. Arab. verſ. Jud. c. vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33. Gen. c. xxix. ver. 1. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. iv. ſub init Gen. c. x. ver. 26—31. c. xxxvii. v. 25. & c. xxv. ver. 1—19. Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. vi. [f] Ptol. in Arab.

(B) *Sind* or *Sindia* is that large tract comprehending all thoſe countries between *India*, *Carmania*, or *Sigiſtân*. On the ſouth it is waſhed by the ſea, which from thence is called the *Sindian* ſea, contiguous to the bay of *Ormuz* and the indian ocean. Its metropolis is known by the name of *Manſoura*, according to the eaſtern writers. The *ſindon* of the antients was ſo denominated from *Sindia*, where it was produced in vaſt quantities. The *Arabs* believe the people of this region to be the poſterity of *Cham* (2).

(C) The *Heroopolitan* gulph received its name from the city of *Heroopolis* bordering upon it. This gulph, the weſtern arm of the ſea *Al-Kolzom*, is the *Yam Suph*, or *Yam Souph*, *The weedy ſea*, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. *Shaw* ſuppoſes it to have been ſo called from the variety of *algæ* and *fuci*, that grow within its chanel, and, at low water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the ſea-ſhore. If this be admitted, the word סוּף *ſouph* has not been rendered ſo properly *flags* by our tranſlators, *Exod.* c. ii. *ver.* 8. *Iſa.* c. xix. *ver.* 6. nor *junci*

(2) *Strab. paſſ, Abulfed. apud Schult. ubi ſup. Gol. in lex. & ad Alfragan. p.* 77.

a lake *Asphaltitis* and *Cæle-Syria*; and on the south to *Arabia Felix*. This tract was for the most part uncultivated, the greatest part of it being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here-and-there with some fruitful spots. *Petra*, its metropolis, seems to have been denominated by the *Hebrews Se'ah*, both which words were of the same import in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages. St. *Jerom* intimates, that among the *Syrians* it went by the name of *Rekem*, and was the same town that we find in Scripture styled *Joktheel*. *Josephus* calls it *Arke* and *Arakeme*, which *Bochart* takes to be equivalent to *Rekem*, as being only that word with an article prefixed. *Petra* was the chief fortress of the *Idumæans*, *Edomites*, or *Nabathæans*, as already observed, and derived its name from its rocky situation. It was accessi-
b ble only by one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. (D) Authors, however, differ with regard to its situation. It was seated in a plain full of gardens, and watered with fountains, but surrounded with rocks, according to *Strabo*. *Pliny* speaks of it almost in the same terms. He says, the *Nabathæans* inhabited the city of *Petra*, situated in a plain of about two thousand paces over, watered by a river, and encompassed by inaccessible mountains. But that it stood upon a steep rock, in a very dry and barren country, is intimated by *Dio*; with whom *Herodian* and the *Nubian* geographer in some sort agree. For the former describes the capital of the *Agareni* as standing upon the point of a very high mountain; and the latter represents the
c city of *Petra* as consisting of houses dug or cut out of a rock. As great a diversity of opinions, in this particular, prevails amongst the moderns. Some think, that the city of *Karak*, or *Krak*, lying on the confines of *Arabia* and *Syria*, inclining towards the north, is the antient *Petra*. According to them, this *fortress*, for that the word signifies in the *Syriac* and *Chaldee* tongues, answers to the *Characha* in the *Maccabees*, the *Karkaa* in the book of *Joshua*, the *Charac Moab* or *Charac Moba* of *Ptolemy*,

cus or *juncetum* by *Buxtorf*. The same worthy gentleman relates, that whilst the surface of the sea is calm, such a diversity of *madrepores*, *fuci*, and other marine vegetables, presented itself to the eye, that it is natural to take those plants for a forest, under water, agreeably to what we find observed by *Pliny*. It may not be improper farther to remark, that the *Yam Souph* was likewise denominated *Yam Edom*, or *the sea of* EDOM, by the antient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it. For the sons of *Edom*, having possessed themselves of those parts, from their father *Edom*, called the gulph we are now upon *the sea of* EDOM. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, rendered *Yam Edom* improperly ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, *The Red Sea*, mistaking the word *Edom* for an appellative. However, they seem to have been well apprised, that this name was not derived from any redness peculiar to the territory bordering upon *the sea of* EDOM; since many of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors expressly assert, that this sea was so denominated from one king *Erythras*, who could be no other than *Esau* or *Edom*. Though there are several thickets of the arundinaceous plants, at some small distances from the immediate banks of the *Yam Souph*, yet none are observed either upon them, or growing out of the sea; which is an additional argument in favour of Dr. *Shaw*'s notion. The castle and garison of *Adjeroute* are supposed to occupy at present the spot of ground on which the antient *Heroopolis* stood (3).

(D) It will be found difficult enough to determine the situation of *Petra*. *Strabo* places it three or four days journey from *Jericho*, and five days journey from the forest of *Palm-trees*, which was upon the *Red Sea*. *Pliny* makes it to be six hundred miles distant from *Gaza*, and an hundred twenty-five miles from the *Persian* gulph. But *Reland* and *Cellarius* think, that the numbers have been changed, and that the true reading in the last author is an hundred twenty-five miles from *Gaza*, and six hundred miles from the *Persian* gulph. *Eusebius* places *Theman* five miles from *Petra*, *Carcaria* a day's journey from the same city, and *Elath* or *Aialah* ten miles to the east of it. Some geographers believe, that there were more than one *Petra*. St. *Athanasius* distinguishes two, one in *Palestine*, and the other in *Arabia*. The paraphrasts *Jonathan* and *Onkelos* also represent *Rekem* and *Petra* as two different cities. *Josephus* mentions *Petra* and *Rekem* in the country of the *Amalekites*, near which *Aaron* died, and *Petra* in the land of the *Midianites*, though he seems to confound those two places. *Petra*, the capital of *Arabia Petræa*, is appropriated to *Palestine* by the author of the antient *Notitia ecclesiastica*, being the metropolis of what was called the *Third Palestine*. *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom* also extend *Palestine* as far as the *Red Sea*, to *Elath*; so that with them it comprehended *Idumæa*, and *Arabia Petræa*. But those countries were looked upon as distinct from *Palestine* in all the ages preceding *Eusebius*. Lastly, father *Calmet* supposes the *Petra* called *Selah* by *Isaiah*, and the author of the book of *kings*, to have been seated in the land of *Moab*, or the eastern part of *Idumæa*, and afterwards named *Joktheel*; whereas the other, called *Rekem*, was, according to him, situated in the south *Idumæa*, or *Arabia Petræa*, or the country of the *Amalekites*. The same author, together with M. *Tillemont*, also believes, that the *Petra*, ineffectually attacked by *Trajan*, which *Dio* had in view, appertained to *Mesopotamia*, and consequently was different from the city we are now upon (4).

(3) *Shaw's geograph. observat. in Egypt, Arabia Petræa*, &c. *p.* 342, 386, 387, *& alib. Exod. c.* x. *v.* 19. *c.* xiii. *v.* 18, *&c. Strab. l.* xvi. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 23. *Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Agatharchid. Cnid. edit. Oxon. p.* 2. *Q. Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 9 *& l.* x. *c.* 1. *Philostrat. l.* iii *c.* 15. *Arrian. in rer. Indicar. libro p.* 579. *edit. Blanc. Prid. connect. of the hist. of the Old and New Test. vol.* i. *p.* 10, 11. *ed.* 2. (4) *Strab. Plin. Joseph. Dio, in loc jam laudat. Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iii. *c.*14. *Reland. Palæst. l.* iii. *p.* 927, 928. *Vid. etiam SS. Script. pass. P. August. Calmet. in voc.* Petra, *ut & D. Tillem, in Traj. art.* xxiv. *p.* 204.

Ptolemy, and the *Charakmoba* of *Stephanus*. Others make this city to be the ſame a with *Hagr* or *Hejr* the capital of a diſtrict in the kingdom of *Hejaz*. And, laſtly, others believe *Errakim*, or *Arrekeh*, a town in a northerly direction from *Hagr* near *Krak* or *Carach*, to correſpond with the *Petra* of the antients. None of theſe notions ſeems remote from truth; though, by the aſſiſtance of *'Al-Makrîſi*, *Bohadin*, and the *Nubian* geographer, ſuch reaſons have been aſſigned for the laſt, as we think, cannot eaſily be anſwered [g].

Towns in Arabia Petræa.

It cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a barren region ſhould abound with large and populous cities; and therefore moſt of thoſe places, whoſe names have been tranſmitted down to us by *Ptolemy*, muſt be conſidered as inſignificant and obſcure. The principal towns appertaining to *Arabia Petræa*, taken notice of by Scripture, beſides thoſe b already mentioned, were *Paran*, *Duma*, *Diblathaim*, *Dibo*, *Nebo*, *Bethmeon*, *Karioth* or *Kirioth*, *Nemrim*, and *Pithom*. *Paran*, the *Phara* of *Ptolemy*, that gave name to a famous deſert adjoining to it, was three days journey to the eaſt of *Elath*. *Duma* ſtood upon mount *Seir*, and, from what the prophet *Iſaiah* intimates, was probably a place of ſome conſideration. *Diblathaim*, *Dibo*, *Nebo*, *Bethmeon*, *Kirioth*, and *Nemrim*, from ſeveral paſſages in the Old Teſtament, appear alſo to have been places of ſome note, though their ſituation cannot from thence be aſcertained. *Heroopolis*, on the weſtern extremity of the *Arabian* gulf, is by ſome ſuppoſed to be *Pithom*, built by the *Iſraelites* for *Pharaoh*, during their ſervitude in *Egypt*, and the *Patumos* or *Patumon* of *Herodotus*. Be that as it will, it is certain the *Septuagint* and *Coptic* c verſions countenance ſuch a ſuppoſition, the one rendring *Goſhen Heroopolis*, and the other *Pethom*. The generality of the antient geographers have ranked this city amongſt thoſe belonging to *Egypt*; but *Herodotus* was of another opinion. *Haura*, *Zathag* or *Zatha*, and *Zize*, three modern places of this country, correſpond tolerably well with the *Auara*, *Zanaatha*, and *Ziza* of *Ptolemy*; but as for *Lyſa*, *Gypſaria*, *Geraſa*, and moſt, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer, ſcarce any footſteps or traces of them are now to be ſeen [h].

Nations of Arabia Petræa.

The moſt conſiderable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Nabatæi* or *Nabathæans*, the *Cedrei* or *Kedareni*, and the *Agareni* or *Hagareni* (E). Of theſe the *Iſhmaelites* were the moſt potent, if they did not com- d prehend all the reſt. The *Nabathæans* and *Kedareni* apparently deduced their names from *Nebaioth* and *Kedar*, the ſons of *Iſhmael*, and conſequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the *Iſhmaelites*, or in all reſpects as the ſame nation with them. It is probable the deſcendants of *Midian*, one of *Abraham*'s ſons by *Keturah*, ſeated themſelves in the neighbourhood of the *Iſhmaelites*; ſince we find the ſame people called in Scripture *Iſhmaelites* and *Midianites*. Amongſt the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deſerta*, at leaſt the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of *Arabes*, and *Nabatæi*, *Nauatæi*, or *Nabatæ*. They extended themſelves, according to St. *Jerom*, from the *Red* ſea to the *Euphrates*; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated *Nabatæna*; nay, ſo numerous were the *Nabathæans*, that we find them mixed with the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and people of *Moab*. The *Cedrei* or *Kedareni* and *Chanclei*, ſeem to have been two tribes of them, the former of which *Cellarius* places near the nor- e thern

[g] Idem ibid. Dr. Shaw's phyſical obſervations, &c. or an eſſay towards the natural hiſtory of Arabia Petræa, p. 377, 378, & ſeq. Joſ. c. xv. v. 3. 2 Maccab. c. xii. v. 17. Diod. Sic. l. xix. Strab. l. xvi. Joseph. antiq. l. iv. c. 4, 7. & l. xiv. c. 9, & alib. paſſ. Euseb. & Hieron. in Arkem. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in *Arab. Petr.* Steph. Byzant. de urb. in voc. Χαράκμωβα. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785, 786. Herodian. l. iii. p. 528. Athanas. epiſt. ad monach. Sharif al Edrisi, clim. iii. par. 5. Ptol. l. 5. c. 17. Calmet. in dict. bibl. voc. *Petra*. Jud. c. xi. ver. 3. 2 Mac. c. xii. ver. 17. Euseb. onomaſt. urb. & loc. ad voc. Πέτρα. 2 Kin. c. xiv. ver. 7. Ism. Abulfed. in Arab. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96, 97. Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. Bohadin. apud Cl. Schult. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. ut & ipſe Schultens. ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 309, 310. Vide etiam Gul. Tyr. l. xxii c. 2. & 5. Bern. Thesaur. de acquiſ. ter. ſanct. Ebn Hawkal apud Abulfed. & Alb. Schult. ubi ſup. in voc. *Caracha*. [h] Ptol. ubi ſup. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Hieronymus apud Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 344. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. Num. c. x. ver. 12. Iſai. c. xv. ver. 2. & c. xxi. ver. 2. Jer. c. xlviii. Exod. c. i. ver. 11. LXX. in Gen. c. xlvi. ver. 28, 29. & Interp. Ægypt. ibid. Guil. Bonjour. in monument. Coptic. ſect. 21. Herodot. l. ii. c. 158. Vide Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 1. par. 1. ſect. 7. & chart. geograph. Arab. a Sen. & Sal. ed.

(E) To theſe we may add the inhabitants of the wilderneſs of *Mabon*, called in Scripture *Mehunim*, who bordered upon *Gerar* and *Pharan*, and conſequently were ſeated in the neighbourhood of *Egypt*. For a further account of this people, our readers may have recourſe to the firſt volume of the *univerſal hiſtory* (5).

(5) 2 *Chron. c.* 26. *ver.* 7. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 829. *not.* (G).

a thern confines of *Arabia Felix*. The *Midianites* made a ſettlement behind the *Elanitic* gulf, and incorporated themſelves with the *Cuſhites*. If the *Hagareni* did not correſpond intirely with the *Iſhmaelites*, they muſt have been nearly related to them. *Kimchi* inſinuates, that they were originally the children of *Hagar* by an *Arab*, after ſhe had left *Abraham*; but others rather apprehend they aſſumed their name from the ſtony region they inhabited. *Cellarius* thinks, that at firſt they muſt have been but an obſcure people, though neither *Trajan* nor *Severus* could reduce their metropolis, according to *Dio*. Their territory bordered upon the land of *Moab*, as may be inferred from Scripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon, were abſorbed in that of *Saracens*, which continued famous for ſeveral centu-
b ries over the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the world. It is obſervable, that the *Jeruſalem Targum* ſtyles the *Iſhmaelites Saracens*. That the *Arraceni* of *Pliny* were the *Saraceni* of *Ptolemy* and *Dioſcorides*, may be evinced by ſeveral arguments: 1. The ſame proper name has frequently an S and a vowel for its initial letters in different authors; as Ἀλμυδησσὸς and Σαλμυδησσὸς, Ἀνδράκοπλος and Σανδράκοπλος, Ἀξιτανία and Σξιτανία, Ταπιράτης and Σιασιράτης, Ἀρδιαῖοι and Σαρδαῖοι, *Elana* and *Selana*, *Sannitæ* and *Amnitæ*, &c. 2. *Ptolemy* aſſigns the ſame ſituation to the *Saraceni*, that *Pliny* does to the *Arraceni*. 3. They had both the ſame origin, and deduced their names from that of the ſame city. This will more evidently appear from the account we ſhall give of the *Saracens* in the following ſection [i].

Some remarkable places of Arabia Petræa.

c BEFORE we leave *Arabia Petræa*, our readers will expect us to touch upon the following remarkable places. 1. The town of *Colzum* or *Kolzom*, giving name to the ſea adjoining to it, the *Clyſma*, as may be ſuppoſed, of *Ptolemy*, which ſtood on the weſtern extremity of the *Red* ſea, near the ſpot where the preſent city of *Suez* was erected, and not far from the ancient *Heroopolis*. Betwixt this place and *Elath* or *Ailah* was *Eziongeber*, a celebrated port in the reigns of *Solomon* and *Jehoſaphat*, called afterwards *Berenice*. 2. The promontory of *Phara* or *Paran*, betwixt the *Heroopolitan* and *Elanitic* gulfs, on which ſtood the town of the ſame name. 3. The wilderneſs of *Sur*, extending from *Paleſtine* to the *Arabian* gulf, ſo celebrated in ſacred writ. 4. The deſert of *Sin*, which the *Iſraelites* entered into after they had left that of *Sur*.
d 5. The wilderneſs of *Sinai*, which the ſame nation traverſed after the former. 6. That of *Paran*, terminated by *Kadeſhbarnea*, on the confines of the land of *Canaan*. 7. That of *Zin*, contiguous to the ſouth-weſtern part of *Idumæa*, and terminated by *Kadeſh*. This may poſſibly have been the wilderneſs or ſolitude of *Kadeſh* or *Cades*, mentioned by the Pſalmiſt. 8. The mounts *Caſius* and *Sinai*, both which were in *Arabia*, according to St. *Paul*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. 9. The ſeveral ſtations of the *Iſraelites* here, on their march to the land of *Canaan* from *Egypt*, viz. *Zalmona*, *Phunun* or *Fenon*, *Oboth*, *Jim*, *Abarim*, &c. 10. *Adra*, in the northern part of *Arabia Petræa*, an epiſcopal ſee, over which *Proclus* preſided at the council of *Chalcedon*, according to *Lucas Holſtenius*. 11. *Eluſa*, which, according to the *Jeruſalem Targum*, ſeems
e to have correſponded with *Sur*, and likewiſe the ſeat of a biſhop. 12. *Boſtra*, twenty-five miles from *Adra*, a town of this region greatly honoured by *Trajan*, and called alſo *Philippopolis*, from the emperor *Philip*, ſurnamed *Arabs* by *Aurelius Victor*. 13. *Moca*, a city taken notice of by a medal of *Antoninus Pius* as governed by its own laws. We ſhall paſs over in ſilence here every thing relating to the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites* or *Idumæans*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*, though ſettled in *Arabia Petræa*, ſince they have been already treated of at large in the firſt volume of this hiſtory [k].

Arabia

[i] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. & iii. OVID. metam. l. i. ver. 61. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. v c. 11. l. vi. c. 28. & l. xii. c. 17. EPIPHAN. hæreſ. ix. 1 MACC. c. ix. ver. 35. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. ubi ſupra. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 18 & c. xxxvii. ver. 25, 27. HIERONYM. in loc. Hebr. & alib. Pſal. lxxxiii. ver. 6. & KIMCHI in loc. DIO, ubi ſup. & alib. EUSEB. in voc. *Madian*. PROCOP. de Bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 17, 19. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. peripl. Sin. Arab. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & alib. paſſ. CELLAR. geog. ant. l. iii. c. 14. TARG. HIEROSOL. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. Is. CASAUB. in comment. ad Strab. p. 32. col. 2. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 8, 9, & alib. [k] GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 88, 144, 145. PTOL. HIERONYM. CELLAR. &c. ubi ſup. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 7, 14. c. xx. ver. 1. c. xxv. ver. 18. Exod. c. xv. ver. 22. c. xvi. ver. 1. c. xvii. ver. 1. c. xix. ver. 1. Num. c. x. ver. 12 c. xiii. ver. 3, 4. c. xxxii. ver. 8. Deut. c. ix. ver. 23. Num. c. xxxiv. ver. 4. Joſ. c. xv. ver. 3. Deut. c. xi. ver. 8. 1 Kin. c. ix. ver. 26. c. xxii. ver. 49. c. xiv. ver. 22. 2 Chron. c. xxvi. ver. 2. MEL. l. iii. c. 8. & ISAAC. Voss. in loc. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. & alib. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi ſup. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 344. AUR. VICT. TARG. HIEROSOL. & LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, apud Cellar. ubi ſup. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xiv. c. 27. ed. Valeſ. Num. Antonin. Pii apud Patin. aliiq; num. ant. apud Cellar. in loc. citat.

Arabia Deserta.

Arabia Deserta was bounded on the north by the *Euphrates*, which, bending its course easterly, separated it from *Mesopotamia* (F); on the west by *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia Petræa*; on the east by *Chaldæa* and *Babylonia*, or more precisely by a ridge of mountains dividing it from those countries; and on the south by *Arabia Felix*, from whence it was likewise disjoined by several ranges of hills. The *Cauchabeni*, according to *Ptolemy*, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the *Euphrates*, as the *Batanæi* did that upon the confines of *Syria*. The *Agubeni* and *Rhaabeni* were placed more southerly, towards the frontiers of *Arabia Felix*; and by the *Persian* gulf the *Orcheni*. Under the *Cauchabeni*, near the borders of *Babylonia*, the *Æsitæ* had their habitation; and above the *Rhaabeni* the *Masani*. In the interior part the *Agræi* were seated; and in the mountainous region, near *Chaldæa*, the *Marteni* or *Martini*. All these nations, or rather tribes, except the *Æsitæ* and *Agræi*, were very obscure; but those deserving some regard, a word or two concerning them may not prove unacceptable to our readers [l]. a b

The Æsitæ.

Bochart supposes the *Æsitæ* to have inhabited that tract, where the holy and patient *Job* was seated. He believes, that *Ptolemy* wrote Αυσίται *Ausitæ*; and that *Uz* the son of *Nahor*, settling here, gave name to the whole district. This notion it must be owned, as well as the emendation that supports it, is not void of a good degree of probability; for the septuagint version renders *in the land of Uz* ἐν χώρᾳ Αὐσίτιδι, *in the land of the* Ausitæ; and *Haran* or *Charræ* where *Terah*'s family resided, was on the opposite bank of the *Euphrates*, and consequently in the neighbourhood of this place. Add to this, that the *Chaldæans* and *Sabæans* are represented as *Job*'s neighbours in Scripture; which circumstance agrees extremely well with the country of the *Ausitæ* or *Æsitæ*, as being contiguous to *Chaldæa*, and having, according to *Ptolemy*, a city called *Sabe* situate in it. Further, *Buz* was *Nahor*'s second son; and we find, adjoining to this territory, a district called *Busitis*, of which *Elihu*, one of *Job*'s friends, was a native; and another of them came from *Tema* or *Thema*, a town of *Arabia Deserta*, not very remote from hence: which considerations, as well as several others that might be offered, render it not a little probable, that *the land of Uz*, and *the territory of the* Ausitæ or *Æsitæ*, were one and the same country [m]. c

The Agræi.

The *Agræi* lay more westerly, and even close upon the skirts of *Arabia Petræa*; which possibly may have induced some learned men to call them *Agaræi*, and make them the same people with the *Hagareni* above-mentioned, whom we have placed in *Arabia Petræa*. If this be admitted, they must have possessed a good part of *Arabia*, and been much more powerful than *Cellarius* is willing to allow them. Be that as it will, it is certain *Pliny* in the same passage takes notice of the *Agræi* and the city of *Egra* or *Agra*; that, in the cabinets of the curious, antique (G) coins have been discovered, with the words ΖΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΕΥΣ, Jupiter *of* Agra, or Jupiter *the protector of* Agra, upon them; and lastly, that the situation the *Oriental* geographers assign *Hagr*, a name not very remote from *Agra*, quadrates well enough with such a supposition. But as it is not a matter of any great moment whether the *Agræi* and *Hagareni* were the same people or not, whether their territories were extensive, or confined within narrow bounds, we leave our readers to take which side of the question they please [n]. d e

It

[l] Ptol. ubi sup. [m] Bochart. Phal. l. ii. c. 8. LXX. in Job c. i. Ptol. & Cellar. ubi sup. Frid. Spanhem. in Jobi hist. p. 50. Gen. c. xxii. ver. 21. Job. c. xxxii. ver. 2. &c. [n] Jacob. de Barry apud Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. ubi sup. Moham. Alfrag. in clim. ii. astronom. c. 9. ut & Gol. in loc. & lex. Arab. Vide etiam not. ad Christ. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592. & Abulfed. in Arab.

(F) It appears from *Strabo*, that all the *Arab* tribes bordering on *Mesopotamia*, from their way of life, were by the *Greeks* and *Romans* denominated *Arabes Scenitæ*. That roving people, whom some authors make the same with the *Saracens* and *Nabathæans*, dispersed themselves over several parts of *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Felix*, as well as through almost every district of this barren province (6).

(G) That the coins here mentioned belonged to this city, seems plain, not only from the legend they exhibit, but likewise from the workmanship, taste, and manner of them, since they agree intirely with those of the cities in the neighbourhood of *Palestine*. They prove therefore *Pliny*'s text to have been corrupted, and that his present *Egra* was originally *Agra*. That *Jupiter* should have been honoured with such an appellation, will not appear strange, when we consider the *Diana Ephesia*, *Apollo Delphicus*, *Apollo Clarius*, &c. of the antients (7).

(6) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 526. *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 24. & 16. & *l.* vi. *c.* 28. *Vide etiam Chr. Cellar. geogr. antiq l.* iii. *c.* 14. *p.* 586, 587, 594. (7) *Jacob. de Barry apud Hadrian. Reland. Palæst. tom.* ii. *p.* 933, & *seq. Vide etiam Plin. Macrob. &c. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *p.* 592.

Some curious particulars relating to Arabia Deſerta.

a It is very well known, that the antient *Ituræans*, *Edomites*, *Nabathæans*, people of *Kedar*, and other nations ſettled in *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deſerta*, led, for the moſt part, a wandering life, like their poſterity the preſent *Bedoweens*, without houſes, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greateſt part of both theſe provinces or kingdoms was a loneſome, deſolate wilderneſs, no otherwiſe diverſified than by plains covered with ſand, or mountains conſiſting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, unleſs ſometimes at the equinoxes, refreſhed with rain. The few vegetables therefore, which they produced, muſt have been ſtunted by a perpetual drought, and the nouriſhment afforded them by the nocturnal dews ſufficiently impaired by the intenſe heat of the ſun in the day. Throughout the ſandy deſarts
b were found huge mountains of ſand formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceaſed in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were ſo very rare in theſe parts, that it is no wonder they ſhould have occaſioned ſo much ſtrife and contention. However, notwithſtanding the natural ſterility of the tract we are now upon, thoſe vaſt plains of ſand above-mentioned were here-and-there interſperſed with fruitful ſpots, which appeared like ſo many little iſlands ſurrounded by an immenſe ocean, as has been obſerved by *Pliny*. Theſe being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and moſt excellent fruits, the *Arabs*, with their flocks, encamped upon ſome of them, and, having conſumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the
c cuſtom of the *Bedoweens* at this day. Such fruitful ſpots were likewiſe frequent in *Libya*, and by the *Egyptians* called *Auaſes* or *Abaſes*, as we learn from *Strabo*. The barren part of *Arabia Felix*, bordering upon the *Red* ſea, was, in like manner, interſperſed with ſuch *Abaſes*; which probably gave name to the *Abaſeni*, a nation ſettled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of theſe croſſing the ſtreights of *Bab-al-Mandab*, paſſed into *Ethiopia*, which from them received the denomination of *Abaſſia*. This, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. *Ludolphus*, appears to us much more likely, than that either the *Arabs* or *Ethiopians* ſhould have been called *Abaſſines*, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation; for the very notion of ſuch a mixture is repugnant to the whole ſtream
d of *Oriental* antiquity, and even to the ſacred writings themſelves, as our readers will eaſily collect from ſeveral paſſages of this hiſtory. It is certain the *Nubians* (H) a people inhabiting part of *Libya Interior*, abounding with *Abaſes* and *Ethiopia*, went antiently under the appellation of *Abaſeni*; which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of *Arabia Felix* itſelf ſhould be called *Abaſene*, is not to be wondered at, ſince it might as well derive this name from *Arabia Petræa*, as it did from thence that of *Arabah* or *Arabia*; for that *Arabia Petræa* was ſtyled *Abaſene*, appears from *Herodian* and *Dio*, who have given an account of *Severus*'s expedition into this country, in conjunction with a coin of that emperor, having on the reverſe the word ΑΒΑΣΗΝΩΝ, exhibited by *Goltzius*. And this takes off the whole
e force of the objection offered by M. *Ludolphus* againſt the etymon of *Abaſene* or *Abaſſia* here propoſed °.

Towns of Arabia Deſerta.

THOUGH *Ptolemy* has handed down to us a large liſt of the towns appertaining to *Arabia Deſerta*, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing obſervations, that

° HEROD STRAB. MEL. PLIN. &c. paſſ. SHAW. ubi ſup. STRAB. l. ii. & alib. CASAUB. in Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. PLIN. l. v. c. 25. Voyage au camp du Grand Emir par le chevalier D'ARVIEUX, paſſ. Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121, 123, &c. SCALIG. in comput. eccleſ. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 192, 193. BALTH. TELLEZIUS. l. i. c. 2. p. 5. J. LUDOLPH. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 50, 51, 52. NONNOSUS apud Phot. HESYCH. in voc. Νῶβαι-Πυγμαῖοι. ARISTOT. hiſt animal. l. viii. c. 12. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. l. iv. c. 8 GEORG. ELMACIN. hiſt. Sar l. i. c. 17. DIO, ubi ſup. HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. HUBERTUS GOLTZIUS in theſaur. rei. antiquar. p. 217. edit. Antuerp. 1618.

(H) That the *Nubians* were a branch of the antient *Ethiopians*, appears from *Ariſtotle*, *Ptolemy*, and others; and that the *Ethiopians* were nearly related to the *Egyptians*, after conſulting *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, no one can doubt. The *Ethiopic* and *Egyptian* languages therefore, in early ages, muſt have been, in a manner, the ſame; which likewiſe may be immediately collected from the aforeſaid authors. *Auaſes* or *Abaſes* therefore was probably an *Ethiopic* as well as an *Egyptian* word. Now, that the *Arabic* tongue antiently agreed with the *Ethiopic*, cannot well be denied, ſo uncommon an affinity betwixt them remaining to this day; ſo that *Auaſes* or *Abaſes* may be conſidered likewiſe as a word uſed by the antient *Arabs*. Theſe points add great weight to the conjecture here propoſed (8).

(8). *Herodot. l.* ii. *Strab. l* xvii. *Dio. Sic. l.* iii. *Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. l.* viii. *c.* 12. *Ptol. l.* iv. *c.* 8. *Heſych. in voc.* Νῶβαι-Πυγμαῖοι. *Steph. Byzant. de urb. Suid. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Vide etiam Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 29. *Elmacin. hiſt. Sar. l.* i. *c.* 17. *& Bochart. Phal. l.* ii. *c.* 23. *l.* iv. *c.* 26, *&c.*

that few of them were places of any great repute. That geographer makes *Thapſacus* on the *Euphrates*, a city of ſome note on account of the bridge over which *Alexander* and *Darius* marched their reſpective armies, its frontier on the ſide of *Meſopotamia*; but *Pliny* and *Stephanus* think this town belonged to *Syria*. Near the mountains ſeparating *Arabia* from *Chaldæa* ſtood *Themma*, *Thema*, or *Tema*, ſo called from *Thema* or *Tema* the ſon of *Iſhmael*, and mentioned in various paſſages of Scripture; for the *Iſhmaelites* extended themſelves from the land of *Havilah* near the *Euphrates* to the confines of *Egypt*. *Seba* was upon the borders of *Arabia Felix*, and founded probably by *Seba Abraham*'s grandſon; ſince all that patriarch's children by *Keturah*, according to *Moſes*, moved towards the eaſt. *Gadirtha*, *Auzara*, *Audattha* or *Adittha*, *Balatæa*, *Pharga*, *Belgnæa*, and the other antient cities ſituated along the banks of the *Euphrates*, have long ſince diſappeared; unleſs we will allow ſome traces of *Audattha*, or *Adittha*, and *Balatæa*, to be ſtill viſible in the modern *Haditha* and *Balladoc*. *Ammæa*, *Idacara*, and *Jucara*, towards the *Perſian* gulph, are equally obſcure; except the preſent *Al-Kere* ſhould be thought to bear ſome reſemblance to the two latter. *Salma*, *Calathuſa*, *Arrade*, *Tedium*, *Odagena*, *Luma*, *Dumætha*, &c. in the mediterranean parts; *Artemita* and *Abæra* on the ſkirts of *Arabia Felix*; *Thauba*, *Erupa*, *Alata*, *Aurana*, *Choce*, *Barathena*, &c. to the northward, never probably made any conſiderable figure. However, that ſome memory of *Salma* ſeems at this day to be preſerved in mount *Salma*, of *Dumætha* in *Dawmat-al-Jandal*, of *Aurana* in *Auran*, and of *Alata* in *Aladi*, we think, cannot well be denied [p]. a b c

Arabia Felix. *Arabia Felix* was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms juſt deſcribed; on the ſouth by the *Erythræan* ſea; on the eaſt and weſt by part of that ſea, together with the *Arabian* and *Perſian* gulphs. In ſhort, it pretty nearly anſwered to that tract, which is looked upon as the proper peninſula of the *Arabs* by the *Oriental* geographers. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which well enough correſponds with the diviſion of the proper *Arabia* into five provinces by the eaſtern writers. Theſe provinces are *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tehâmma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*; to which ſome add *Bahrein*, as a ſixth. But the more exact make this a part of *Irâk*, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with *Strabo*. However, others reduce them all to two, *Yaman* and *Hejaz*, the laſt including the three provinces of *Tehâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. The principal nations taken notice of by the antients as ſetled here were the *Sabæi*, *Gerræi*, *Minæi* or *Minnæi*, *Atramitæ*, *Maranitæ*, *Catabani*, *Aſcitæ*, *Homeritæ*, *Sapphoritæ*, *Omanitæ*, *Saraceni*, *Nabathæi*, *Thamydeni*, *Bizomenæ*, &c. As the limits and ſituation of theſe nations cannot be determined with any manner of preciſion, we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in the particular geopraphy of the *Happy Arabia* [q]. d

The Sabæi. The *Sabæi* ſeem to have poſſeſſed a very conſiderable territory in the ſouthern and beſt part of this peninſula. Their country was greatly celebrated amongſt the antients for the vaſt quantity of frankincenſe it produced. *Saba* or *Sabæ*, its metropolis, according to the antient geographers, ſtood upon a hill, at no very conſiderable diſtance from the *Red Sea*, being a large, opulent, and ſtrong city. It was defended by a caſtle, and, has been ſuppoſed by many learned men, together with the *Arab* nation in general, the reſidence of the queen of *Sheba*. However, provided we allow the modern *Mâreb*, in the province of *Hadramaut*, to correſpond with the antient *Saba*, this laſt muſt have been ſeated more to the ſouth, and near the coaſt of the *Erythræan* ſea, or, as it is now called, the *Indian* ocean. And that the modern *Mâreb* anſwers to *Saba*, muſt be admitted at leaſt extremely probable from *Pliny*, who, together with *Strabo*, mentions *Mariaba* or *Meriaba*, the ſame words apparently with *Mâreb*, as the capital of the *Sabæi*, but is intirely ſilent as to the city of *Saba*. According to the eaſtern geographers, the town of *Mâreb* or *Mârab* is ſomething above three days journey from *Sanaa* the capital of *Yaman*, in an eaſtern direction. From the ſame authors it alſo appears, that *Saba* was originally the name of a diſtrict, as well as a city, which could only be deemed a ſmall part of the kingdom of *Yaman*. But that this diſtrict ſhould have been always confined to the province of *Hadramaut* or *Shibâm*, if not a part of it, as they ſeem to inſinuate, cannot be allowed; ſince frankincenſe, for the production of which the territory of e f

the

[p] Ptol. ubi ſup. Arrian. l. i p. 116. & l. iii. p. 168. Strab. l. xvi. Plin, l. v. c. 24. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Vid. etiam chart. geograph. Arab. a Sen. Sal. &c. ed. Strab. l. xvii. p. 1129. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Agatharch. Cnid. Mel. Plin. Steph. Byzant. Marcian. Heracleot. Agathem. aliique antiq. ſcript paſſ.

[q] Ptol. ubi ſup.

a the *Sabæi* was ſo famous, is only found in the province of *Shibr*, different from that of *Hadramaut*. The *Arabs* aſſert both the town and diſtrict to have been ſo denominated from *Saba* the ſon of *Jexhab*, and grandſon of *Joktan*, whoſe name imports *to lead into captivity*, becauſe he was the firſt who reduced men to a ſtate of ſervitude. *Pliny* makes the *Perſian* and *Arabian* gulphs the eaſtern and weſtern boundaries of this nation. The maritime towns were *Marana*, *Marma*, (I) *Corolia*, *Sabatha*, &c. and inland cities *Naſcus*, *Cardaua*, *Carnus*, &c. *Rhegama* or *Rhegma*, founded probably by *Raamah* the ſon of *Cuſh*, ſeated on the *Perſian* gulph, ſeems likewiſe to have appertained to the *Sabæi* [r].

THE *Gerræi* and *Minæi*, according to *Strabo*, brought vaſt quantities of frankincenſe, *The* Gerræi *and* Minæi.
b and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or ſouthern parts of *Arabia Felix* to the ſea-ports; which is a ſtrong preſumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the *Sabæi*. We find the towns of *Bilæna* or *Bilbana*, *Gera*, and *Magindana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* as belonging to the *Gerræi*; and the *Minæi*, a powerful nation, joined with the *Gerræi* by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. The laſt author calls the region of the *Minæi Minæa* or *Meinæa*, and makes its northren frontiers ſeventy days journey from *Ailah*. Its principal city was *Carna* or *Carana*, called, as ſhould ſeem, *Carnus* by *Pliny*, and placed by him in the country of the *Sabæi*; which brings no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to what we have juſt advanced. Some authors take notice of the *Charmæi* as a people contiguous to the *Minæi* and *Gerræi*, but deliver nothing of moment concerning them [s].

c As for the *Atramitæ* or *Adramitæ*, they undoubtedly inhabited part at leaſt of the *The* Adramitæ. province at this day named *Hadramaut* or *Hadramutta*, and conſequently were a tribe of the *Sabæi*. Their metropolis was called *Sabota* or *Sabatha*, as may be inferred from *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; beſides which the port of *Cane*, at the ſouthern extremity of *Arabia Felix*, belonged to them. *Xibân*, or *Shibâm*, and *Tezim*, are now the principal towns of *Hadramaut*, both of them about a day's journey from the *Indian* ocean. *Shibâm* ſtands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the ſame name, is fortified with a citadel of great ſtrength, and rendered almoſt impregnable by its ſituation. It goes likewiſe under the name of *Hadramaut* amongſt the *Arabs*, lies in about 13° 30′ N. latitude,
d and is ſeven days journey from *Aden*. The province was denominated *Hadramaut* from one of the ſons of *Joktan*, whoſe deſcendants firſt peopled it. *Shibâm* and *Tezim* were alſo the names of two tribes, who founded, and ſettled themſelves in, the cities ſo called, as we learn from the *Arab* hiſtorians. *Ebiſma*, *Dama*, *Ægiſthæ*, *Trulla*, *Mæphath*, and other places fixed by *Ptolemy* here, deſerve not the leaſt attention [t].

THE *Maranitæ* or *Maranenſes* muſt have been in the neighbourhood of the two *The* Maranitæ. former cantons, though we cannot pretend to aſcertain their ſituation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the *Mara* or *Amara* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Mara* of ſome of the *Oriental* geographers [u].

Cellarius makes the *Catabani* a people of good conſideration; which is confirmed *The* Catabani.
e by *Pliny*, who tells us, that the *Larendani*, *Catabani*, and *Gebanitæ*, had many towns particularly *Nagia* and *Tamna* that contained ſixty-five temples. *Tamna* muſt have been the ſeat of ſome *Arab* prince governing the *Catabani*, according to *Strabo*; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of *Tehama* ſtretching out as far to the ſouthward as the city of *Aden*. *Golius* ſays, that the word ſignifies a violent heat; and that the country was ſo denominated from its being greatly expoſed to the ſolar rays, whoſe heat there is very intenſe. But as many other places in *Arabia* were ſubject to the ſame inconvenience, our readers may poſſibly ſuppoſe it rather

[r] DIOD. SIC. l. iii. AGATHARCHID. CNID. peripl. p. 63. PTOL. ubi ſup. DIONYS. perieg. v. 927, &c. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 86, 87. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. par. 6. & alib. [s] DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. [t] PLIN. ubi ſup. PTOL. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 82. [u] PTOL. l. viii. COTBODIN &. EBN JOUN. apud Gol. ubi ſup. p. 84. PTOL geogr. l. viii.

(I) It is poſſible that this town might be ſeated on ſome part of the *Red Sea* abounding with *coral*, eſpecially ſince that ſea was famous for the production of this marine vegetable; which if we admit, it may appear probable, that *Corolia* received its name from the *coral* in its neighbourhood. Notwithſtanding what has been advanced by *Pliny*, the word *coral* ſeems to be of *Oriental* extraction. For חרול חרל or ח ר ל ſignifies *a thorn*, *a nettle*, *a thiſtle*, &c. which are vegetables, and conſequently bear ſome analogy to *coral*. Some may perhaps imagine that *coral* was ſo denominated from the town we are here ſpeaking of (9).

(9) *Plin. l.* xxxii. *c.* 2, *Schind. pentaglot. in voc.* חרל,

rather to have deduced its name from *Tema* the ſon of *Iſhmael*, whoſe poſterity in a proceſs of time might ſettle themſelves in it. This ſeems to be confirmed by *Almotarezzi*, who ſays, that *Iſhmael* himſelf reſided in *Araba* a diſtrict of *Tehama*. *Tebala*, the capital of *Tehama*, a town of conſiderable note, built by *Tebala* the ſon of *Midian*, ſtands in the road from *Mecca* to *Sanaa* the metropolis of *Yaman* [u].

The Aſcitæ. THE *Aſcitæ* poſſeſſed all that tract about the promontory *Syagrus*, the cape *Ras al Ghat* of the moderns, including, as ſhould ſeem, part of the provinces of *Omân* and *Mahra*. Nay, they muſt have ſpread themſelves much farther, if we ſuppoſe *Hâſec*, a maritime town on the coaſt of *Hadramaut*, to have been ſo denominated from them, whether any traces of the *Aſcitæ* are ſtill viſible in *Maſkat* an *Arab* town on the bay of *Ormuz*, a little above a degree north of the extremity of cape *Ras al* b *Ghat*, and almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, we muſt ſubmit to the judgment of our curious and inquiſitive readers [w].

The Homerites. *Ptolemy* mentions the *Homerites* as a nation ſeated in the ſouthern part of *Arabia Felix*, and bounded on the eaſt by the *Adramitæ*, or province of *Hadramaut*. His *Arabiæ Emporium* he likewiſe places in their country, as *Pliny* does his *Maſſala*. Some authors make them the ſame people with the *Sabæans*, whilſt others, conſider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon *Sabæi* and *Homeritæ* to have been different names of the ſame nation, and are countenanced herein by the *Oriental* hiſtorians. For theſe inform us, that the *Sabæans* were called *Hamyarites* from *Hamyar* the ſon of their great anceſtor *Saba*; and that they ruled over almoſt the c whole country of *Yaman*. Though the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, or *Homerites*, was at length tranſlated from the princes of *Hamyar* to the deſcendants of *Cahlân* his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. We find them ſtyled *Immireni* by *Theodorus Lector*, and *Theophanes Byzantius* gives them the name of *Ethiopians*, inſinuating them to be the *Macrobii* of *Herodotus*, which yet we are by no means diſpoſed to admit. They made a great figure amongſt the antient *Arabs* before the time of *Mohammed*, as will more fully appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory [x].

The Sapphoritæ: THE *Sapphoritæ* of *Ptolemy* cannot be conſidered as a people diſtinct from the *Homerites*, notwithſtanding the authority of *Ptolemy* and *Cellarius*. They were only d the citizens of *Sapphar*, or, as *Pliny* has it, *Saphar*, a city of note in the dominions of the *Homerites*. *Ptolemy* aſſigns this place a poſition nearly agreeing with that of the preſent *Sanaa*, which we cannot help looking upon as extremely probable, eſpecially as *Saphar* is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by *Pliny*. The *Arabs* believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincenſe went, in the earlieſt times, by the name of *Sephar*; from whence the excellent *Golius* concludes this tract to have been the mount *Sephar* of *Moſes*. A ſtrong preſumption of the truth of which notion is, that *Dhafâr*, the ſame word with the modern *Arabs* as the antient *Saphar*, is the name of a town in *Shihr*, the only province of *Arabia* bearing frankincenſe, on the coaſt of the *Indian* ocean, five paraſangs from (K) e *Merbât*, as we learn from *Safioddin*, who likewiſe informs us, that this thuriferous mountainous country of *Dhafâr* is about three days journey long, and of an equal breadth. *Bochart* therefore deſerves little regard, when he intimates, that the *Meſha* of *Moſes* was the *Muza* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mocha* of the moderns, a celebrated port of the *Red Sea*, about four or five days journey from *Dhafâr*; ſince this is much too narrow an extent of territory to receive all the poſterity of the thirteen ſons of *Joktan*, as we are aſſured by *Moſes* the tract between *Meſha* and *Sephar* did. For which reaſon we cannot help preferring the ſentiment of *R. Saadias* and *R. Abraham Zachutus*, who aſſert *Meſha* to be *Mecca*; eſpecially ſince it is a point agreed upon

[u] Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 598, 599. Plin. Ptol. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. Kelebæus in lib. de etymis locor. apud Gol. ubi ſup. p. 85. Geogr. Nubienſ. & Yacût ibid. Almotarezzi in *Mogreb* apud Cl. Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 33. [w] Ptol. & Abulfed. in Arab. [x] Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup. Golius in Alfragan. p. 86, 87. Poc. ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 65, 66. Philostorgius, l. ii. num. 6. & l. iii. num. 4. Theodorus Lector, l. ii. p. 567. Theophanes Byzantius in excerpt. de legat. Vid. & Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 599.

(K) A paraſang is about three miles. Eight paraſangs, according to *Abulfeda*, or twenty-four miles, make a ſtation, or a day's journey. But the *Nubian* geographer ſays, that a ſtation conſiſts of thirty miles (10).

(10) *Abulfed. Geogr. Nub.*

upon by the *Arabs*, that *Mesha* was one of the most antient names of *Mecca*. Some a authors believe, that in early times there stood a city called *Dhafâr* or *Saphar*, the *Arabic* letter ظ frequently answering to the *Hebrew* ד and *Greek* Σ, in the neighbourhood of *Sanaa*, and others that *Sanaa* itself went formerly by that name; which in a great measure confirms what we have just advanced [y].

The Omanitæ.

We find the *Omanitæ* taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, and *Omanum* their chief city represented by him as one of the most considerable places in *Arabia*. It cannot be doubted but the *Omân* of *Alfraganus*, and capital of the province of the same name, the common boundary of *Yaman* and *Bahrein*, is the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, and the country in which it is seated, the district of the antient *Omanitæ*. From whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the jurisdiction of the *Homeri-* b *tes*, and consequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of *Omân* is defended by a strong garison of *Arabs*. Either the tract itself, or the metropolis, seems also to have been called antiently *Sohâr*; but at this day the former is denominated *Omân*, and the latter *Sohâr*. The province of *Omân* stretches itself out three hundred miles on the coast of the *Persian* sea, which is there called the sea of *Omân*. In the time of *Ptolemy*, *Omanum*, or *Sohâr*, was a famous mart, but has been in a manner deserted by merchants for several ages [z].

The Saracens.

The *Saracens* or *Nabathæans* possessed that part of *Arabia Felix* bordering upon *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deserta*; but what extent this territory was of, we no where c find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the *Thamudeni*, *Thamuditæ*, or *Thamydeni*, a people also mentioned in the *Koran*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that the (L) *Thamydeni* inhabited part of the coast of the *Arabian* gulph; and *Pliny* intimates their principal city to have been named *Badanatha*. In fine, *Golius* believes them to have occupied a good part at least of the province of *Hejâz*, and particularly that district wherein *Hagr* or *Al Hejr*, the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy*, is situated; which, as well as other considerations that might be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the *Saracens* and *Nabathæans*, if not intirely the same people with them [a].

The Bnizomenæ.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that in the neighbourhood of the *Thamydeni* were like- d wise seated the *Bnizomenæ*, who lived upon wild beasts taken in hunting. In their country stood a temple held in the highest veneration amongst all the *Arabs*. It is probable this temple was sacred to *Isis*, as *Diodorus* relates an island near the *Bnizomenean* coast to have been more immediately under her protection. These likewise must have been settled in some of the maritime parts of *Hejâz*, but their situation, for want of sufficient light from antient history, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the *Nabathæans*, as well as their neighbours the *Thamydeni* [b].

We might here mention several other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to *Arabia Felix*. But since these either coincide with e some of the *Ethiopic* cantons already described, as the *Troglodytes*, &c. or may be considered as branches of the *Saracens*, *Nabathæans*, *Sabæans*, *Homerites*, &c. our readers will excuse even a bare enumeration of them. The same may be said of that large catalogue of obscure and insignificant towns and villages, belonging to these tribes, to be met with in *Ptolemy*, of which that geographer himself had no idea. However, they will not dispense with an omission of certain towns and seaports of *Arabia* hitherto passed over in silence, that were held in good repute by the old geographers and historians [c].

Remarkable places in Arabia Felix.

Nysa was a town of *Arabia* on the *Red Sea*, near the confines of *Egypt*, famous for the education of *Bacchus*, who from thence, and his father *Jupiter*, received the name f of *Dionysus*. *Arga* and *Badeo*, two maritime cities in a southerly direction from *Nysa*,

[y] Ptol. & Cellar. ubi sup. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. & l. xii. c. 14. Arrian. peripl. mar. Erythr. Gen. c. x. v. 30. R. Saadias in vers. Arab. Pentat. Pocock. in spec. hist. Arab. apud Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 2. Safioddin. in lex. geographic. Bochart. Phal. p. 163. RR. Abrah. Zachutus & Saadias apud Bochart. ibid. Gol. ubi sup. p. 84. [z] Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 80, 81. Geogr. Nubiens. & philosophus Xirasita in clim. ii. [a] Plin. & Cellar. ubi sup. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 9. [b] Diod. Sic. l. iii. [c] Vide Strab. Plin. Ptol. &c.

(L) The *Thamydeni* were the tribe of *Thamûd*, shall have occasion hereafter frequently to speak (ii), so famous amongst the *Arab* writers, of whom we

(ii) *Abulfed. Gol. Pocock. &c.*

Nyſa, had royal palaces in which the ſovereigns of the country ſometimes reſided. a
Pudni we find eſteemed by *Ptolemy* as one of the principal places of *Arabia Felix*.
Muſa or *Muza* was a celebrated empory and harbour, to which the *Arab* merchants reſorted with their frankincenſe, ſpices, and perfumes. The beſt authors take the modern *Mocha* or *Mokha* to correſpond with the antient *Muſa*; but, in our opinion, *Moſa*, at preſent a ſmall, but handſome town near ten leagues from *Mokha*, ſeems to bid the faireſt for that antient mart. This does not only appear from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and ſituation, but likewiſe from hence, that *Moſa* is the rendezvous and thorough-fare of the fruits which come from the mountainous parts of *Arabia*, a circumſtance well enough ſuiting with what the antients have related of *Muſa*. Be that as it will, we cannot well deny, that ſome b
traces of *Muſa* are ſtill preſerved in *Moſa*; eſpecially as *Pliny* intimates the *Arab* merchants to have brought in his time vaſt quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. *Ocelis*, according to *Pliny* and *Arrian*, ſtood upon the ſhore of that narrow ſea called by the moderns the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, and ſupplied the merchants with freſh water in their *Indian* voyages. *Arabiæ Emporium* has been already mentioned, and will be deſcribed when we come to ſpeak of the city of *Aden*, which is ſuppoſed to anſwer to it. The port of *Moſcha* our readers will probably place upon the ſpot occupied at this day by the city of *Maſkat*, which is all that we can ſay of it. As for the *Itamas portus*, the memory and ſituation of it ſtill remain in *Câdhema*, a town or village on the *Perſian* gulph, or bay of *Baſ-* c
ra [d].

Oriental geographers of Arabia.

BEFORE we conclude this ſection, our readers will expect a ſketch of the *Oriental* geography of the peninſula of the *Arabs*. The beſt eaſtern writers, as has been already obſerved, divide this peninſula into five provinces or kingdoms, viz. *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tehama*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. This diviſion is of great antiquity, as appears from *Strabo*; which is not to be wondered at, ſince the *Arab* cuſtoms, names of towns, *&c.* are nearly the ſame now that they were above three thouſand years ago [e].

Yaman.

THE province of *Yaman*, ſo called either from its ſituation to the *right-hand* or ſouth of the temple of *Mecca*, or elſe from the *happineſs* and *verdure* of its ſoil, ex- d
tends itſelf along the *Indian* ocean from the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab* to cape *Raſalgat*; part of the *Red Sea* bounds it on the weſt, as the towns of *Najran*, the *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, *Haly* or *Haljo* on the ſea *Al Kolzom*, and *Omân* or *Sohar*, do on the north. It is ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer provinces, as *Hadramaut*, *Shibr*, *Omân*, *Mahra*, &c. of which *Shibr* alone produces the frankincenſe. The very learned Mr. *Sale* did not ſufficiently attend to the *Oriental* geographers, when he limited *Yaman* on the north by *Hejaz*, and made *Najran* a province, neither of which particulars have any foundation in them [f].

Principal antient cities of Yaman.

THIS country has been famous from all antiquity [g] for its fertility, riches, and happineſs of its climate. The principal cities in it known to the antients are the c
following: 1. *Mokha*, if it was the *Muſa* or *Muza* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Arrian*; which yet, we apprehend, will admit of a diſpute. It is at preſent a port and town on the *Red Sea* of conſiderable trade; contains ten thouſand inhabitants, *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Mohammedans*; is ſurrounded with walls, after the antient manner; and his four gates without a ditch, though ſtrengthened by four towers with a proper number of cannon [h] placed upon them. 2. *Aden*, a celebrated mart on the *Indian* ocean, not far from the ſtreights of *Bab al Mandab*, ſo called, according to the *Arabs*, from its founder *Aden* the ſon of *Saba*, and grandſon of *Abraham*. Some believe the name to be the ſame with *Eden*, the *Hebrew* word denoting *Paradiſe*, and f
that the town under conſideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was ſituated. It ſtands at the foot of ſeveral high mountains, which ſurround it almoſt on all ſides. The *Arabs* have erected five or ſix forts on the ſummits of theſe mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications on their necks. A fair aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reſervoir, built about

[d] HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. & l. iii. APOLLODOR. bibliothec. l. iii. c. 4. ſect. 3. extr. p. 159. EUSEB. præp. evang. l. ii. c. 2. ARRIAN. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 2. LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. 1711, 1712, 1713. ARRIAN. peripl. p. 8. CELLAR. ubi ſup. [e] STRAB. l. xvi. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 79. [f] LA ROQUE, voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121. GOLIUS ubi ſup. & p. 87. PTOL. ubi ſup. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 2. [g] STRAB. PLIN. paſſ. DIONYS. AF. ubi ſup. [h] LA ROQUE, ubi ſup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 84.

a about three quarters of a mile from the city, which ſupplies the inhabitants with very good water. *Golius* produces ſeveral reaſons to prove, that *Aden* is the *Arabiæ Emporium* of *Ptolemy*, which ſeem to carry conſiderable weight. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Aden* is the *Adana* which *Stephanus* mentions from *Uranius* [i]. 3. *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, a very antient city, greatly reſembling *Damaſcus*. It is ſeated in a mountainous territory, and bleſſed with a moſt delightful air; inſomuch that it enjoys a double ſummer, or rather a perpetual ſpring. It is about fifty leagues diſtant from *Mokha* on the borders of *Hadramaut*, and was denominated *Ozâl* from its founder the ſon of *Joktan*, as the *Arabs* pretend. They likewiſe make *Sanaa* the ſon of *Ozâl* to have communicated that name to it by which it goes at preſent.
b Some aſſert it to be the *Saphar* of *Ptolemy*, as above obſerved. *Sanaa*, towards the beginning of the laſt century, conſiſted of good houſes built with lime and ſtone, being as large as *Briſtol*. It ſtands in a barren and ſtony valley, ſurrounded at a ſmall diſtance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the *Arabs* have built a ſmall caſtle to keep off the neighbouring mountaineers, who ſometimes inſult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from far, and conſequently very dear. On the eaſt ſide ſtands the caſtle environed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are poſted proper guards. The king of *Yaman* does not now reſide here, but at *Muab*, a town built by one of
c the laſt monarchs of this country, not a mile from *Dhamâr* a little to the S. E. of *Sanaa*. About three quarters of a mile from this place, on a pretty high hill, the prince above-mentioned built a palace or pleaſure-houſe, to which he frequently retired, in order to divert himſelf; and, from the pleaſant country in which it was ſeated, ſtyled it *Hiſn almawâheb* [k], or the *caſtle of delights*. 4. *Saba* or *Mâreb* in the province of *Hadramaut*, of which an account has been given above. It is at preſent little better than a village, and ſtands above three days journey E. of *Sanaa* [l]. 5. *Shibâm*, *Dhafâr*, &c. towns of a very high antiquity, have been [m] already deſcribed. 6. *Omân* or *Sohâr*, the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, was formerly frequented by merchants of various nations; but has for ſeveral ages been deſerted by them. This
d ſeems to have been occaſioned by the vicinity of a ſmall rocky iſland called *Kîs*, ſo low that it cannot be diſcovered at any diſtance, on which many ſhips were daſhed to pieces. *Kîs* lies a little to the eaſt of *Gharec*, another ſmall iſland oppoſite to the coaſt of *Omân*, and famous for a pearly-fiſhery, according to *Abulfeda*. *Iacûtus* and the *Nubian* geographer make both theſe iſlands, now called the iſles of *Sohâr*, about half a day's ſail from the main land of *Arabia*; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in *Omân* are frequently ſo intenſe, that they have paſſed into a proverb amongſt the *Orientals*. The town of *Sohâr* muſt be in ſomething more than 24°. N. lat. though *Ptolemy* places his *Omanum Emporium* in 19°. 45′ N. lat, and *Ebn Maruph*, mathematician to ſultan *Morad* or *Amurath* II. aſſerts *Omân* or *Sohâr* to be in
e about 23°. N. lat. All other particulars of note relating to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to [n].

Soil, mountains, rivers, &c. of Yaman.

The beſt part of *Arabia Felix*, or that which the *Greeks* called *moſt happy*, was probably the country of *Yaman*; the delightfulneſs and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains. For all that part lying along the *Red Sea* is a dry barren deſart, in ſome places ten or twelve leagues over; but in return bounded by the aforeſaid mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almoſt perpetual ſpring, and beſides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and ſpices. The principal of theſe mountains taken notice of by the antients were *Cabubathra*, *Melan*, *Prio-*
f *notus*, and *Didymi*, whoſe *Arabic* names have not hitherto been brought into *Europe*. As the *Greeks* and *Romans* were little acquainted with this region, we muſt allow *Ptolemy* to have been very inaccurate in his geography of it; which might alſo be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary. Admit this, and we may be allowed to ſuppoſe, that the preſent *Arab* river *Falj*, emptying itſelf into the *Bay* of *Baſra*, is the *Prion* of *Ptolemy*; and the modern city *Masfa* his

[i] Uranius apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Golius ubi ſup. p. 83. La Roque, ubi ſup. Abulfed. in Arab. [k] La Roque, p. 232, & alib. Gol. ad Alfrag. p 83, 84. Sir Henry Middleton's journey to *Sanaa*. [l] Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 86, 87. [m] Idem ibid. p. 82. ut & Abulfed. in Arab. [n] Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Geogr. Nubienſ. & philoſ. Xiraſita in clim. ii. Abulfed. in Arab. Yacût. & Ebn. Maruph. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81.

his *Mæphath*, ſituate about 6 °. 30′ N. of the ſource of that river. However, it muſt be owned, that a river of *Omân*, falling into the *Indian* ocean at *Sûr*, about 0 °. 40′. N. of *Maſkat*, poſſibly the *Moſcha portus* of *Ptolemy*, bids likewiſe fair for the *Prion*. No other rivers of note are to be met with in *Yaman*; which is not to be wondered at, ſince the ſtreams, which at certain times of the year deſcend from the mountains, ſeldom reach the ſea, being for the moſt part drunk up and loſt in the burning ſands of that coaſt [o]. a

Hejaz, *with its chief cities, &c.*

Hejaz, either ſo named, becauſe it *divides Najd* from *Tehama*, or becauſe it is ſurrounded with mountains, is limited on the ſouth by *Yaman* and *Tehâma*; on the weſt by the ſea *'Al Kolzom*; on the north by the deſerts of *Shâm* or *Syria*; and on the eaſt by the province of *Najd* [p]. This province is famous for its two chief cities *Mecca* and *Medina*, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to *Mohammed*; and the other for being the place of his reſidence for the laſt ten years of his life, and of his interment. The ſoil of *Hejaz*, as well as that of *Najd*, *Tehama*, and *Yamama*, is much more barren than that of *Yaman*; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here and there with ſome fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in *Hejaz*, deſerving any attention on account of their antiquity, are theſe that follow: 1. *Mecca*, ſometimes alſo called *Becca*, which words are ſynonymous, and ſignify *a place of great concourſe*, is certainly one of the moſt antient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the *Meſa* or *Meſha* of the Scripture, as above obſerved, and that it deduced its name from one of *Iſhmael*'s ſons. It ſtands in a ſtony and barren valley, ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains under the ſame parallel with the *Macoraba* of *Ptolemy*, and about forty *Arabian* miles from the ſea *'Al Kolzom*. The length of *Mecca*, from *Maalah* to *Maſphalah*, is about two miles; and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain *Ajyad* to the top of another called *Koaikaân*, about a mile. In the midſt of this ſpace the town is ſeated, built of ſtone cut from the neighbouring mountains. The *Arab* authors tell us, that near a chapel, or holy houſe, for ſo the *Arabs* term it, in the centre of *'Al-Hharâm*, or great temple, here, called *'Al-Caabah*, ſtands a white ſtone, which was the ſepulchre of *Iſhmael*; and that *'Al-Caabah* was firſt built by *Adam* of ſtone, but deſtroyed by the deluge. However, add they, God commanded *Abraham* and *Iſhmael* to rebuild it; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and for pillars erecting the trunks of palm-trees. There being no ſprings at *Mecca*, at leaſt none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, except only the well *Zemzem*, the water of which, though far the beſt, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackiſh, and cauſing eruptions in thoſe who drink plentifully of it, the inhabitants are obliged to uſe rain-water, which they catch in ciſterns. But this not being ſufficient, ſeveral attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about *Mohammed*'s time, *Zobair*, one of the principal men of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, endeavoured at a great expence to ſupply the city with water from mount *Arafat*, but without ſucceſs; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of *Solimân* the *Turkiſh* emperor. But long before the time of that prince, another aqueduct had been made from a ſpring at a conſiderable diſtance, which was, after ſeveral years labour, finiſhed by the *Khaliſ al Moktader Abbaſida*. Notwithſtanding the ſterility of the ſoil near *Mecca*, it being ſo barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deſerts, yet a traveller is no ſooner out of its territory, than he meets on all ſides with plenty of good ſprings and ſtreams of running water, with many gardens, and cultivated lands. The prince or *Sharîf* of *Mecca* has a garden well planted at his caſtle of *Marbaa*, about three miles weſtward from the city, where he uſually reſides. This prince is lineally deſcended from *Haſhem*, *Mohammed*'s great-grandfather, who, being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to ſet out yearly, the one in ſummer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to ſupply his countrymen with proviſions, the people of *Mecca* having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are ſupplied with dates in vaſt abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from *Tayef*, about ſixty miles diſtant, very few growing at *Mecca*. As for the citizens of *Mecca*, they are generally very rich, being conſider- b c d e f

able

[o] La Roque voy. de l'Arab, heur. p. 121, 123, 153. Ptol. Strab. Plin. ubi ſup. Abulfed. in Arab. [p] Gol. ad Alfragan. p. 98. Abulfed. in Arab. p. 5.

a able gainers by the prodigious concourſe of people of almoſt all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have alſo great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer ſort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almoſt every neceſſary of life muſt be purchaſed with money. The *Sharîf* of *Mecca*'s troops conſiſt intirely of infantry, which the *Arabs* call *'Al-Harrabah*, i. e. *archers* or *dartmen*. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Safa* and *Marwa* were two places in *Mecca*, in which the idols *Aſaph* and *Nayelah* were placed before the time of *Mohammed*. As for the temple of *Mecca*, and the reputed holineſs of this territory, they will be treated of in the modern hiſtory of the *Arabs*. Some authors write, that the inte-
b rior or middle part of *Mecca* only had the name of *Becca* aſſigned it, becauſe it *was greatly crouded with inhabitants*, which that word imports; others believe that *Mecca* was the name of the city, and *Becca* of the temple; and laſtly, others think, that *Becca* paſſed into *Mecca*, as *Balbec* into *Malbec*, *Banbe* into *Manbe*, &c. which ſeems to us the moſt probable opinion. We muſt diſtinguiſh between the *Hharam* of *Mecca*, conſidered as the territory of the *Sharîf*, extending ſome miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it ſo called, being three hundred and ſeventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and ſupported by four hundred and thirty-four [q] pillars. It muſt not be forgot, that the *Arabs* have a tradition amongſt them, that *Iſhmael*, with his mother *Hagar*, fixed his reſidence here; which ſeems to have induced them frequently to viſit *Mecca*, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of *Mohammed*. They likewiſe believe *Zemzem* to have been the well, near which *Hagar* ſat down with her ſon *Iſhmael*, and was comforted by the angel. *Abulfeda* places the city we are now upon in 67°. 31′. long. and 21°. 20′. N. lat. Some of the *Orientals* make the patriarch *Abraham* to have been the founder of it; but others with more reaſon attribute its foundation to one of the ſons of *Iſhmael*. It does not follow from *Moſes*'s mentioning *Meſha* as inhabited by the poſterity of *Joktan*, that *Mecca* was built before the time of *Iſhmael*, ſuppoſing thoſe places to have been the ſame, ſince he more than once uſes the appellations by which towns went in his age, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary [r]. 2. *Medina*, which, till *Mohammed*'s retreat thi-
l ther, was called *Yathreb*, is a city ſtanding in a plain, ſurrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coaſt of the *Red Sea*. *Abulfeda* intimates, that one of its antient names was *Taibah*, a word importing *ſalubrious*, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half as big as *Mecca*, ten days journey from thence, and ſalt in many places. In ſome parts its territory produces palm-trees, fruits, and ſeveral ſalſuginous plants. About the mountains *Air* and *Ohud*, the firſt of which is about two leagues to the ſouth, and the other as many to the north, of *Medina*, the country is fruitful in dates. The name *Yathreb* was derived from the chief of the tribe that firſt ſetled here, whom the *Arabs* make the great-grandſon of *Aram*. *Golius* takes it to be the Ἰάθριππα of *Stephanus*, and the Δάθριππα of *Ptolemy*. Here *Mohammed* lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a *cupola*, and adjoining to the eaſt ſide of the great temple, which is built in the midſt of the city. Its ſituation has not been exactly defined, ſome authors determining its longitude to be 67°. 30′. and others 65°. 20′. and its latitude either 24°. or 25°. N. The moſt ingenious Mr. *Sale* muſt be deemed guilty of an error, when he makes mount *Thabir* two leagues diſtant only from *Medina* ſince that mountain is in the neighbourhod of *Mecca*. *Medina* is dignified by the *Mohammedans* with the title of *the city of the prophet*, from the kind reception *Mohammed* met with there, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion more fully to obſerve [s]. 3. *Thaifa* or *Taifa*, a town ſixty miles to the eaſt of *Mecca*, behind mount *Gazwan*, where

[q] R. Saadias in verſion. Arab. Pentat. Abraham Zachut. in Sefer Iuchaſin, 135. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. c. xxv. v. 15. Pitt's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p. 96, 107. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82, 98, 99. Sharif al Edrisi apud Pocock. in. not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 122, 124, 125. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. p. 51. Algiawhary apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40. Alb. Schult. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. ſub voc. *Manbeſium* & *Mecca*. Sharif al Edrisi apud Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 29, 30. ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. Vid. etiam Adr. Reland. lib. de relig. Mohamed, & effig. *Caabæ* cum *Templ.* ei. circumd. ibid. [r] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. Gen. c. x. & c. xxxi. Abulfed, & Alb. Schult. ubi ſup. [s] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97, 98. Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40, 41. Alb. Schult. ind. geographic. ubi ſup. Ptol. & Steph. Byzant. apud Gol. ubi. ſup. Sharif al Edrisi vulgo geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. par. 5. Kalkashendi p. 400. Pocock. in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. paſſ. Safioddin. in compend. lexic. Yacût. & ipſe Yacût. ſub litera ع *'Ain*. Al Sharistani apud Pocock. ubiſup. Vid. etiam Cl. Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 31. & Sal. prelim. diſc. p. 5.

where the cold is more intenſe than in any other part of *Hejaz*, but the air moſt a
ſalubrious. It had the name of *Vegja* given it at firſt by its founder. The *Turks* call
it the region of *Al Abbâs* from the uncle of *Mohammed*, who fixed his reſidence here.
The word *Taifa* plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is ſurrounded, Lat. 21°.
20′. N^t. 4. *Gjudda* or *Jodda*, a port and maritime city, the bulwark of *Mecca*, muſt un-
doubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though ſcarce ever taken notice of by the *Greek*
or *Roman* authors. The town of *Aidâb*, on the confines of *Abaſſia*, ſtands on the oppo-
ſite ſhore, where great numbers of the *African Mohammedans* take ſhipping, in order
to viſit the holy city of *Mecca*. Lat. 21°. 45′. N^u. 5. *Yanbo^c*, or *Al-Yanbo^c*, is undoubt-
edly the *Iambia* of *Ptolemy*, and not far from *Medina*, or, as the *Arabs* more properly
ſtyle it, *'Al-Madînah*. We find it repreſented as a ſmall city by *Abulfeda*, who b
likewiſe cites *'Ebn Saîd*, as affirming it to have a caſtle, and ſeveral fountains, in
its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading
to *'Al-Madînah*. A little to the eaſt of *Yanbo^c* ſtands mount *Radwâ*, about
ſeven ſtations from *'Al-Madînah*, from whence a vaſt quantity of the whetſtone is
exported into various regions. All the diſtrict of *Yanbo^c* produces palm-trees, water,
corn, *&c.* and was inhabited by the *Hhaſanites*, who lived after the manner of the
antient *Arabes Scenitæ*, and reſembled them in all particulars. *Ebn Hhawkal* obſerves,
that the *Hhaſanites* and *Giafarites*, whoſe territories were contiguous, ſo weakened
one another by bloody wars, that their country became a prey to the king of *Yaman^w*.
6. *Madian*, the *Modiana*, of *Ptolemy*, and *Midian* or *Madian* of Scripture, is a city c
of *Hejaz*, at preſent little better than a heap of ruins. It is ſituated on the eaſtern
ſhore of the ſea *'Al-Kolzom*, at no great diſtance from the gulph of *Ailah*. The *Arabs*
have ſeveral traditions relating to this place, *viz*, that it received its name from the
tribe of *Madian*, who firſt built and inhabited it; that *Shoaïb*, the ſon of *Mikaïl*,
the ſon of *Yaſhjar*, the ſon of *Madian*, of that tribe, was the ſame perſon with the
father-in-law of *Moſes*, called in Scripture *Reuel* or *Reguel*, and *Jethro*; and that
the well, whence *Moſes*, or, as they call him, *Mûſa*, watered *Jethro*'s flocks, ſtill
remained when *Abulfeda* wrote his geographical deſcription of *Arabia*. Moſt authors
agree, that the *Midianites* ought to be looked upon as the decendants of *Abraham*
by *Keturah*, who afterwards ſeem to have coaleſced with the *Iſhmaelites*; ſince *Moſes* d
names the ſame merchants, who ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Iſhmaelites*, and
in another *Midianites*. The ſacred hiſtorian makes *Jethro* both the prieſt and prince
of *Midian*. *Ptolemy* aſſerts the latitude of *Modiana* to be 27°. 45′ N. which almoſt
exactly correſponds with that aſſigned it by *'Ebn Saîd*, *viz*. 27° 50′ N. though
other *Oriental* writers place it in ˣ 29° 00′ N. lat. 7. *Hejr*, or *'Al-Hheg'r*, in 28° 30′
N. lat. according to *'Ebn Hhawkal*, was the ſeat of the tribe of *Thamud*, the
Thamydeni of the antients. This clearly evinces *Hejr* to be the *Egra* or *Agra* of
Pliny, ſince that author makes the *Thamydeni* neighbours to that city. As *Ptolemy*
likewiſe is far from being accurate in his determination of the longitude and la-
titude of places, we may ſafely enough take his *Negra* for the *Egra* of *Pliny*, and
Hejr of the moderns, ſince the latitude of the former differs but two degrees from
that of the latter of theſe towns. *'Al-Hheg'r* ſtands amidſt a ridge of rocky moun-
tains, out of which many houſes have been cut, as ſome ſuppoſe, by the *Ama-
lekites*, or their anceſtors the *Adites*, *Iramites*, *Thamudites*, &c. But this notion we
cannot rely upon, as depending chiefly on the authority of the *Koran*. *'Ebn
Hhawkal* calls this ridge of mountains *'Al-Athâleb*, i. e. *the fragments of ſtones* ʸ.

Tehama. *Tihama*, or *Tehama*, is a ſmall province, whoſe limits have not been ſuffi-
ciently defined by the *Arab* geographers, who have ſometimes confounded it
with *Yaman* and *Hejaz*. *Tehama*, according to *Golius*, derived that name from its
ſandy ſoil, as it did another, *viz*. *Gaur*, from its low ſituation. It is bounded on f
the weſt by the *Red Sea*, and on the other ſides by *Hejâz* and *Yaman*, extending
almoſt

ᵗ Golius ubi ſup. p. 99, 100. Sharif al Edrisi Clim. 2. par. 5. Atwal, Rasm, Ulugh Beigh apud Abulfed. ubi ſup. ᵘ Golius, Sharif al Edrisi ubi ſup. Atwal, Kanun, Rasm apud Abulfed. ibid. ʷ Ebn Said & Ebn Hhawkal apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 45. ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. & alib. Ptol. in Arab. ˣ Ptol. Arab Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 143. 144, Abulfed. & Ebn. Said ubi ſup. Sharif al Edrisi clim. iii. par. 5. p. 109. Al Beidawi, Tarikh Montakhab. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 2. c. xxix. ver. 1. c. xxxvii. ver. 36. Exod. c. ii. ver. 18. c. iii. ver. 1. Vide etiam D'Herbelot. bibl. Orient. art. *Schoaib*. Prid. life of Mahom. p. 24; & alib. *Shalſhel hakkab*. p. 12. Duet c. xxv. ver. 13, 14. Sal. in not. ad *Al-Kor*. ſur. vii. p. 126. & Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 6. ʸ Ebn Hhawkal apud Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 43. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96. Ptol. in Arab. Steph. Byzant. de urb Plin. vi. c. 28. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Sharif al Edrisi apud Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 44. Pocock. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p, 37. Alb. Schult. in Ind. geograghic. ad vit Salad. ſub voc. *Errakimum*. Vide etiam *Al-Kor.* ur. lxxxix, ver. 9.

almoſt from *Mecca* to *Aden*. *Abulfeda* mentions ſeveral towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Tamna* of *Pliny*, and *Thumna* of *Ptolemy*, by the latitude he aſſigned it, *viz.* 17° 15′ N. ſeem to bear ſome relation to *Tehama* [z].

As the *Nabathæans* poſſeſſed the beſt part, if not all, of the province of *Hejâz*, contiguous to *Tihama*, the *Thimanei* of *Pliny*, neighbours to the *Nabathæans*, muſt be the *Arabs* of *Tihama*.

THE province of *Najd*, which word ſignifies *a riſing country*, liès between thoſe of *Yamana*, *Yaman*, and *Hejaz*, and is limited on the eaſt by *Irâk*. *Najd* is peculiarly oppoſed to *Tehama*, as the name implies, though this laſt has ſeveral ridges of mountains in it [a]. Najd.

Yamama, alſo called *Arud*, from its *oblique ſituation* in reſpect of *Yaman*, is encompaſſed by *Najd*, *Tehama*, *Bahrein*, *Omân*, *Shihr*, *Hadramaut*, and *Saba*. The chief city is *Yamâma*, which gives name to the province, and was antiently called *Jaw*, or *Gjauva*. It is four degrees to the E. of *Mecca*, and deduced its name, according to the excellent *Golius*, from the niece of *Taſm*, whoſe brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her ſo famous amongſt the *Arabs*, that one of their proverbs was, *more ſharp-ſighted than* YAMAMA. This lady governed *Yamama*, and therefore the quality above-mentioned was the more conſpicuous in her. However, ſome authors relate, that there was a river, or fountain, in this province, called *Yamama*, from whence the province itſelf was ſo denominated. The falſe prophet *Moſeilama*, *Mohammed*'s competitor, rendered this place famous by reſiding in it. But, he being vanquiſhed and killed, it ſubmitted to *Abubecr* [b]. Yamama.

THOUGH the more accurate *Oriental* geographers make *Bahrein* part of *Irâk*, yet a ſhort deſcription of it ought not to be omitted here. *Bahrein* then, in the moſt extenſive acceptation of the word, denotes the maritime tract lying between *Baſra* and the fartheſt limits of *Omân*; to which the *Arabs* have given the name of *Bahrein*, i. e. *Of two ſeas*, or *the country of two ſeas*, becauſe it connects the *Perſian* gulph with the *Indian* ocean. In a more confined ſenſe it is applied to an iſland, or rather two, of the *Perſian* gulph, in 26° 30′ N. lat. about a league from the town of *'Al-Katîf* ſeated on that gulph. One of theſe iſlands ſeems to be the *Ichara* of *Ptolemy*, and *Icharia* of *Strabo*. As *Jûlfâr* and the other principal towns of *Bahrein* were built after *Mohammed*'s death, our readers will expect ſome account of them in the modern hiſtory of *Arabia* [c]. Bahrein.

As for the iſlands of *Ænus*, *Timagenes*, *Zygæna*, and many others, both in the *Arabian* and (M) *Perſian* gulphs, enumerated by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Ælian*, &c. as appertaining to *Arabia*, they merit not the leaſt attention. But it may not be improper to obſerve, that, in our opinion, *Ptolemy*'s iſland of *Socrates* may be looked upon as the ſame with the *Socotra* of the moderns. 'Tis true, he places the former two or three degrees more to the northward, than the latter is found to be by experience. However, his inaccuracy, which we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, and the little acquaintance the *Greeks* and *Romans* had with the people of *Arabia Felix*, ſufficiently account for ſuch a difference; which being admitted, the affinity of the names *Socrates* and *Socotra* ſeems no inconſiderable argument in favour of the conjecture here propoſed. With this obſervation we ſhall cloſe our deſcription of *Arabia* [d]. *The principal iſlands on the coaſt of* Arabia.

SECT.

[z] GOLIUS ubi ſup. p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim. ii. par. 5. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. ubi ſup. [a] GOLIUS ubi ſup. p. 94. ABULFED. in Arab. paſſ. [b] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim. ii. par. 6. GEORG. ELMACIN. hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 2. [c] GOLIUS ubi ſup. p. 96. PTOL. ubi ſup. STRAB. l. xvi. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. SHARIF AL EDRISI, YACÛT, & ABULFED. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81. [d] DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. PTOL. & ÆLIAN. ubi ſup.

(M) The antients frequently called the *Perſian* gulph, or gulph of *Baſra*, as well as the *Indian* ocean, the *Erythræan* or *Red Sea* as we learn from *Herodotus*, *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Philoſtratus*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Dionyſius Afer*, and *Ælian*. Several reaſons have been aſſigned for that appellation; but the moſt probable ſeems to be the reflection of the ſolar rays in that hot climate, which gave the water a reddiſh colour. The learned Dr. *Prideaux* without a ſufficient foundation aſſerts this to have been the only proper *Red Sea* of the antients; ſince, according to *Pliny*, the *Arabian* and *Perſian* gulphs were both branches of that ſea. He ſeems likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he affirms the whole *Arabian* gulph to have been the *Yam Souph* of the *Hebrews*; ſince 'tis highly probable, that the *Heroopolitan* gulph only was ſo called by that people (12).

(12) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 180. *& l.* iv. *c.* 37. *Strabo l.* xvi. *Polyb. l.* v. *Philoſtrat. vit. Apollon. l.* iii. *c.* 50. *p.* 136. *Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 23. 26. *Solin. c.* 58. *Dionyſ. Af. v.* 1132. *Ælian. hiſt. animal. i.* xvi. *c.* 14. *Prideaux & Shaw ubi ſup.*

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, learning, arts and sciences, disposition, manner of life, &c. of the Arabs.

Some of the posterity of Cush *settle in* Arabia.

THE descendants of *Cush* formed a kingdom in that part of *Arabia Petræa* bordering upon *Egypt*, and extending itself along the eastern shore of the *Red Sea* towards the frontiers of *Palestine* and *Arabia Felix*, in very early times, as has been already observed in the history of the *Ethiopians*. His son *Seba*, or *Saba*, *Sabtah*, *Regma* or *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and grandsons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, seated themselves likewise in the Happy and Desert *Arabia*, as appears from the cities *Sabota*, *Rhegana*, *Rhegama* or *Rhegma*, *Saba*, *Saue*, *Saptha* or *Saptah*, *Dedan*, and the country of the *Sabæi*, whose metropolis was the great city *Saba*; all of which preserved very sensible footsteps of the names of the first planters of those two provinces or kingdoms. However it seems to us most probable, for the reasons already given, that the bulk of the *Cushites* made settlements in other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be observed, that the eastern writers take little or no notice of them [e].

Casluhhim, Caphtorim, Hhorites, &c.

As for the *Caslûhhim*, *Caphtorim*, and *Hhorites*, occupying the hilly district about mount *Seir*, though very antient, they never made any considerable figure. The posterity of *Edom*, who after their excision seized upon the tract they inhabited, in process of time intermixing with the proper *Arabs*, formed one people with them. But neither do the present *Arabs* look upon *Esau* or *Edom* as one of the proper founders of their nation [f].

We have already observed, that the *Arraceni* and *Saraceni* of the antients were the same people. From the situation assigned them by the old geographers, it can scarce be doubted but that the *Arra* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* was the capital of the region they inhabited, and gave them the appellation they went under. *Strabo* describing *Ælius Gallus*'s expedition into *Arabia*, intimates, that the province of *Ararena* was thirty days journey from *Petra*, and fifty from the city of the *Negrani*, or *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, *i. e.* the modern *Nag'ran*; that it was for the most part desert, and inhabited by the *Nomades*, or *Arabes Senitæ*; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathless region, interspersed in some parts with palm-trees. All which particulars, as well as the name itself, clearly evince this province to be the country of the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni*, which had the above-mentioned *Arra* for its capital city. From several circumstances in the description of the expeditions into *Arabia* made by *Trajan* and *Severus*, to be met with in *Dio*, it appears that the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni* were likewise sometimes in the east denominated *Agareni*, and their chief town *Arra Atra*, or, as *Herodian* calls it, *Atræ*. It is therefore highly probable, that the antient *Saracens* were styled *Hagarenes*, either from the disposition of the tract they inhabited, or from *Hagar* the mother of *Ishmael* [g].

In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther observed, that *Stephanus* mentions a country called *Saraca*, inhabited by the *Saraceni* (N), as contiguous

[e] Univ. hist vol. vii. p. 181, 182, 192, 193, &alib. Gen. c. x. ver. 7. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. HYDE hist. rel vet. Pers. p. 37, &alib. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 9. [f] Gen. c. x. ver 14. c. xxxvi. ver. 8. c. xiv. ver. 6. Deut. c. ii. ver. 12. Vide etiam Cl. GAGN. diatrib. sect. 4. [g] Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 227. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. STRAB. l xvi. p. 781. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 855. HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14.

(N) Mr. *Gagnier* thinks, that the *Saracens* of *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Petræa* were two different nations; and that the latter received their name *Araceni* from the city of *Arke*, *Arakeme*, or *Petra*, their metropolis. But in the first article, we humbly conceive, he seems to contradict himself; since in the former part of the *Diatriba* so often cited, he appears to us to be of opinion, that the *Ishmaelites* spread themselves gradually over *Arabia Felix* as well as *Arabia Petræa*; and that the *Ishmaelites*, *Arabes Scenitæ*, and *Saracens*, were frequently taken for the same people. This notion we own ourselves inclined to espouse, as being not only supported by the proofs brought by Mr. *Gagnier* for that purpose, but likewise by Scripture, all those authors who have so justly represented the *Saracens* as a most numerous and powerful nation, *Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius*, and other eastern writers (13).

(13) *Gagn. diatrib. sect.* 11. *Vide etiam sect.* 1, 4; 6. *Isai. c.* xxi. *ver.* 13. *Jer. c.* xlix. *ver.* 28. *Targ. Hieros. in Gen. c.* xxxvii. *ver.* 25. *Moha. med. Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p.* 110 *ut & ipse Pocock. ibid.*

a tiguous to that of the *Nabathæans*; and that the *Arab* geographer *Yâkût* takes notice of the town *'Al-' Arakh* ſeated on *Agja*, one of the two celebrated mountains of the *Taïtes*, or tribe of *Taï*, the *Taueni* of *Pliny*, and Ταΐνοι *Taini* of *Bardeſanes* in *Euſebius*, who joins them with the *Saracens*. From hence, in conjunction with the reaſons alledged by the learned Mr. *Gagnier*, we may conclude, that *Pliny* called this nation *Arraceni*; and that *Dioſcorides* was the firſt of the antients now extant that prefixed to that word the hiſſing letter S, as has been determined by the excellent *Salmaſius* [h].

THE *Jeruſalem Targum* takes the names *Iſhmaelites* and *Saracens* to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the ſame nation. This not only included the b *Arabes Scenitæ*, bordering upon *Paleſtine*, *Syria*, and *Chaldæa*, but likewiſe thoſe ſeparated by the *Red Sea* from *Ethiopia*; all of whom we find in Scripture going under the general name of *Arabians*. That the word *Saraceni* cannot be derived from any of the following ſources, notwithſtanding the authority of the learned men here mentioned, we believe our readers will allow [i].

1. *Joannes Damaſcenus*, *Nicetas Choniates*, and others, ſuppoſe this word to have been of *Greek* extraction, alluding to *Sarah*'s ſending away *Hagar* empty, without any ſort of neceſſaries or accommodations. But this is too abſurd to merit any attention. 2. *Scaliger* deduces the name *Saraceni* from the *Arabic* سرق *ſarak*, i. e. *He ſtole privately*, alluding, as that great critic obſerves, to their anceſtor c *Iſhmael*, who lived upon rapine and robbery. This, it muſt be owned, carries with it a greater appearance of truth than the former, ſince 'tis much more probable that the word ſhould be of an *Arab* than a *Greek* origin. But the misfortune is, that *Iſhmael* was not a pickpocket, but a robber or highwayman; and therefore the root سرق *ſarak* by no means comes up to the ſignification of *Saraceni* as determined even by this author himſelf. 3. Dr. *Pocock* aſſerts *Saraceni* to import *Oriental*, or *people of the eaſt*. But as Mr. *Gagnier* has demonſtrated, that the chief arguments he has offered in defence of this opinion hold equally true of the *Chaldæans*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, and *Chineſe*, they prove too much, and therefore we think not the leaſt regard is due unto them. The etymon of *Saraceni* we have given muſt therefore be d allowed to approach the neareſt to truth. As the *Saracens* were ſo celebrated a nation, and ſuch different notions relating to their name, which points out their origin, have been advanced, we could not well avoid the prolixity our readers may poſſibly think us guilty of on this occaſion [k].

Two claſſes of the Arabs.

IF we follow the *Oriental* writers, we muſt divide the *Arabs* into two claſſes, *viz.* *the old loſt Arabians*, and *the preſent*. The moſt famous tribes amongſt the former were *Ad*, *Thamûd*, *Taſm*, *Jadîs*, the firſt *Jorham*, *Amalek*, *Amtem*, *Haſbem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*. Though theſe were very numerous, yet they are now either all deſtroyed, or loſt and ſwallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. However, as the memory of ſome very re-c markable events, that happened amongſt them, and the cataſtrophe of ſome of theſe tribes have been preſerved by tradition, and ſince confirmed by the authority of the *Koran*, we think it not improper to give our readers a ſuccinct and conciſe account of them [l].

Ad.

THE tribe of *Ad* deduced their origin from *Ad*, the ſon of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, who after the confuſion of tongues ſettled in *Al Ahkâf*, or *the winding ſands* in the province of *Hadramaut*, upon the confines of *Omân* and *Yaman*, where his poſterity greatly multiplied. The firſt prince that reigned over them was *Sheddâd* the ſon of *Ad*, of whom we find many fabulous things related by the eaſtern writers. Some of theſe however tell us, that f *Ad* had two ſons *Sheddâd* and *Sheddîd*, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre after his deceaſe, and extended their dominions from the ſands of *Alaj* to the trees of *Oman*. *Sheddîd*

[h] STEPH. BYZANT. in voc. Σάραια. PTOL. ubi ſup. YAKUTUS geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi ſup. ſect. 9. PLIN. ubi ſup. BARDESANES apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. p. 277. Vide etiam HARDUIN. in Plin. ubi ſup. GAGN. diatr. ſect. 9. & SALMAS. in exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. ſub init. [i] Targ. Hieroſol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 Chron. c. xvii. ver. 1. & c. xxi. ver. 16. Iſai. c. xiii. ver. 20. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 4. ſub fin. [k] JOANNES DAMASCENUS de hæreſ. apud Cotelerium in lib. de monument. eccleſ. Græc. p. 326. NICET. CHONIAT. MS. in bibliothec. Colbert. HIERONYM. comment. in Ezech. l. viii. c. 25. FULLER. in Miſcel. ſacr. c. 12. JOS. SCALIG. ap. Fuller. ibid. POCOCK. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 33. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. xi. p. 62, 63. MOHAMMED. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, & SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 35. [l] GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 159. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 5. JALLALO 'DDIN. in lib. *Meſhar*. Vide & *Pocokium* ubi ſup. p. 38, 39.

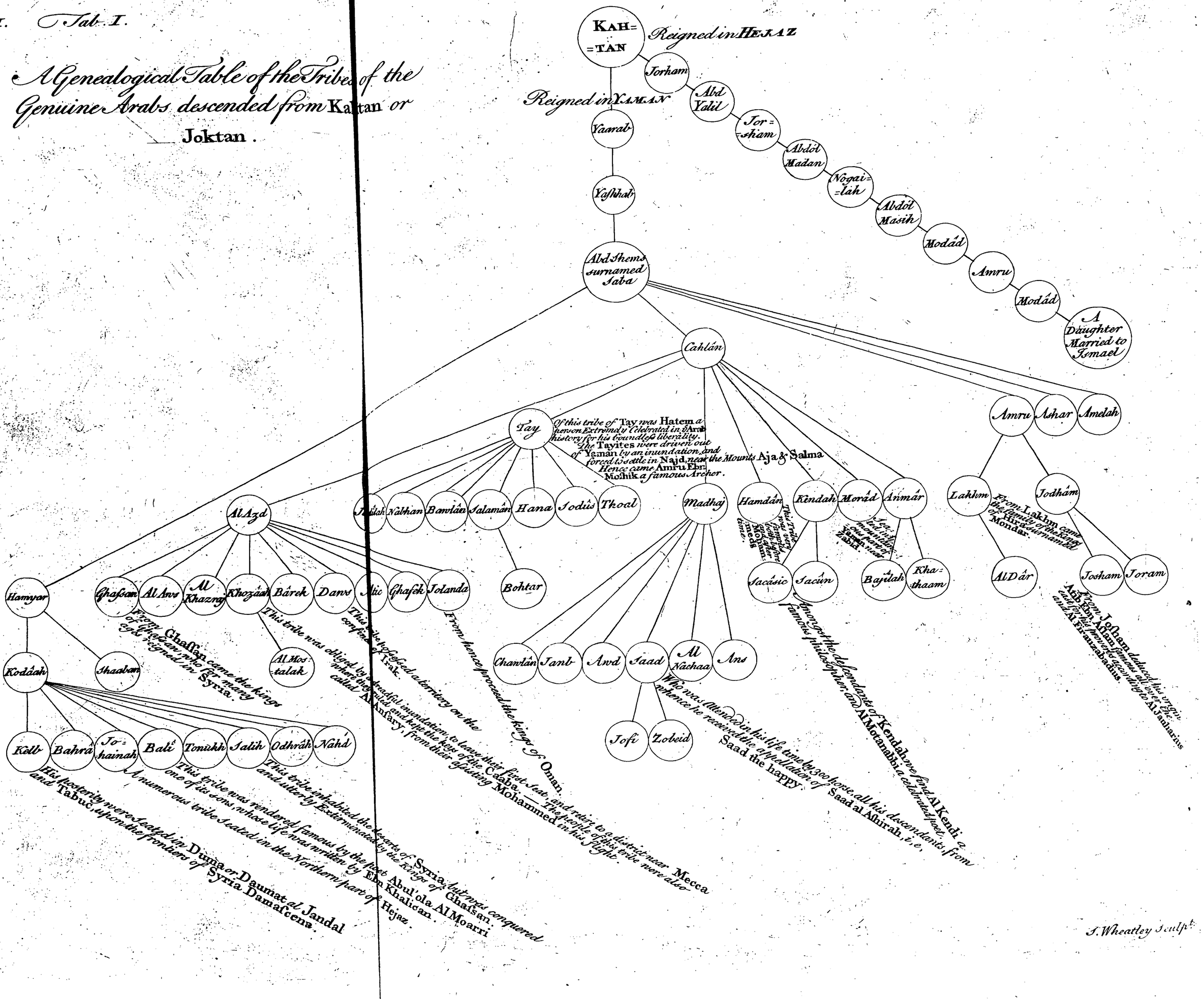
Sheddîd dying firſt, his brother became ſole monarch, and having built a ſumptuous palace, made a delightful garden in the deſarts of *Aden*, in imitation of the *celeſtial paradiſe*, which he called *Irem*, after the name of his great grandfather. When it was finiſhed, he ſet out with a great retinue in order to take a view of it; but, being arrived at a place within a days journey of it, they were all deſtroyed by a terrible noiſe from heaven. However, according to them, the city ſtill remains, though inviſible, being preſerved by Providence as a monument of divine juſtice, *Sheddâd* propoſing by this impious imitation to create in his ſubjects a ſuperſtitious veneration of himſelf as a god. *Al Beidawi* adds, that one *Abdallah Ebn Kelabah*, or, as *D'Herbelot* calls him, *Colabah*, in the reign of the *khalîf Moâwiyah*, accidentally had *Irem* diſcovered to him, as he was ſeeking a camel he had loſt; but ſeeing no creature there, he was ſo terrified, that he ſtayed no longer than to take with him from thence ſome fine ſtones, which he ſhewed the *khalîf* [m].

AFTER the death of *Sheddâd*, the kingdom of *Ad* was governed by a long ſeries of princes, of whom the *Oriental* hiſtorians deliver many particulars, that have no great appearance of truth. The *Adites* in proceſs of time falling from the worſhip of the true GOD into idolatry, GOD ſent the prophet *Hûd*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Heber*, to preach to and reclaim them. But they refuſing to acknowledge his miſſion, or to obey him, GOD ſent a hot and ſuffocating wind, which blew ſeven nights and eight days without intermiſſion, and entring at their noſtrils, paſt through their bodies, and deſtroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had liſtened to *Hûd*, and retired with him to another place. Others relate, that before this terrible deſtruction they had been previouſly chaſtiſed with a three years drought; and therefore ſent *Kail Ebn Ithar*, and *Morthed Ebn Saad*, with ſeventy other principal men, to *Mecca*, then in the hands of the tribe of *Amalek*, whoſe prince was *Moâwiyah Ebn Becr*, to obtain of GOD ſome rain. *Kail*, continue theſe authors, having begged of GOD, that HE would ſend rain to the people of *Ad*, three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered him to chuſe which he would. *Kail* failed not to make choice of the laſt, thinking it to be loaden with the moſt rain; but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempeſt broke forth from it which deſtroyed them all. Some authors affirm, that *Lokmân* king of the *Adites*, after his ſubjects had been afflicted with a drought for four years, to incline them to hearken to the preaching of *Hûd*, and brought to the very brink of deſtruction, went with ſixty others to *Mecca* to beg rain; which they not obtaining, *Lokmân* with ſome of the company ſtayed there, and by this means eſcaped being involved in the common calamity. They farther relate of this *Lokmân*, that his life was extended by GOD to the length of thoſe of ſeven eagles, each of the ſix laſt of which was hatched the inſtant its predeceſſor expired. The few *Adites* with *Lokmân* that ſurvived their countrymen, gave riſe to a tribe called *the latter Ad*, who were afterwards changed into monkeys. *Hûd* returned into *Hadramaut*, and was buried near *Haſec*, where there is a ſmall town now ſtanding called *Kabr Hûd*, or *the ſepulchre of Hûd*. When the *Arabs* would ſignify the high antiquity of any thing, they ſay *as old as king Ad*, in like manner as the *Greeks*, when they would expreſs any thing extremely antient, made it coæval with *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, and *Ogyges* [n].

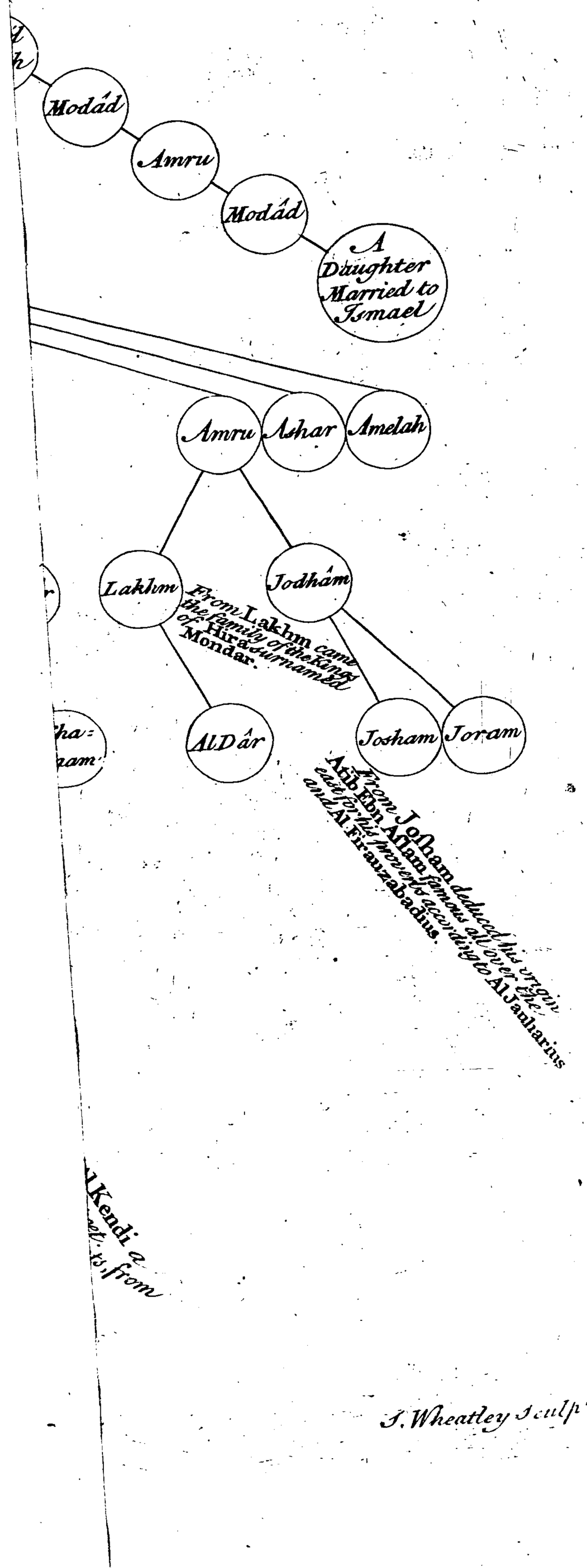
Thamûd. THE tribe of *Thamûd* were the poſterity of *Thamûd* the ſon of *Gather* or *Gether*, the ſon of *Aram*, who falling into idolatry, the prophet *Sâleh* was ſent to bring them back to the worſhip of the true GOD. M. *Bochart* takes this prophet to be *Phaleg*, and M. *D'Herbelot Salah* the ſon of *Arphaxad*, and father of *Heber* or *Hûd*. The learned Mr. *Sale* determines in favour of M. *Bochart*, becauſe, ſays he, the prophet *Sâleh* lived between the time of *Hûd* and of *Abraham*. On the contrary, we own ourſelves of M. *D' Herbelot*'s opinion, becauſe the identity of names is a ſtronger argument in favour of that opinion, than any ſmall inaccuracy in chronology of the *Arab* hiſtorians can be againſt it. Beſides, it does not appear from any *Oriental* author, that the prophet *Sâleh* did actually live between the times of *Hûd* and *Abraham*, as Mr. *Sale* ſuggeſts; nay, Mr. *Sale* himſelf diſproves this, when he cites with approbation an eaſtern author making him later than *Abraham*. Some few of

[m] Gen. c. x. ver. 22, 23. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. 89. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 51, 498. AL-BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. ubi ſup. POCOCK. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 35, 36. [n] POCOCK. ibid. AL-BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Houd*. ISM. ABULFED. AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL-JANNABIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 36.

A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs descended from Kahtan or Joktan.



J. Wheatley Sculpt.



I. Wheatley Sculpt.

a of the *Thamudites* received *Sâleh* as a true prophet, but the reſt, as a proof of his miſſion, required that he ſhould cauſe a ſhe-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their preſence; which having obtained of GOD, the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. But inſtead of believing, the *Thamudites* cut the ham-ſtrings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety GOD being highly diſpleaſed, three days after ſtruck them dead in their houſes by an earthquake, and a terrible noiſe from heaven, which, ſome ſay, was the voice of *Gabriel* the archangel crying aloud, *Die all of you.* *Jonda Ebn Amru*, prince of the *Thamudites*, propoſed this miracle to *Sâleh*, promiſing, that if it was wrought, he and his people would believe. Accordingly *Jonda* acknowledged the prophet's
b miſſion, but the greateſt part of his ſubjects periſhed in their infidelity, as above obſerved. *Sâleh*, with thoſe reformed by him, was ſaved from this deſtruction. The prophet afterwards went to *Paleſtine*, and from thence to *Mecca*, where he ended his days. This tribe firſt dwelt in *Yaman*, but being expelled thence by *Hamyar* the ſon of *Saba*, they ſettled in the territory of *Hejr*, in the province of *Hejaz*, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the *Koran*, are ſtill to be ſeen, and alſo the crack of the rock whence the camel iſſued, which, as an eye-witneſs hath declared, is ſixty cubits wide. Theſe houſes of the *Thamudites* being of the ordinary proportion, are uſed as an argument to convince thoſe of a miſtake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic ſtature. They will like-
c wiſe confute thoſe commentators on the *Koran*, who affirm that the largeſt of the old *Adites* were an hundred cubits high, and the leaſt of them ſixty. By comparing the eaſtern writers with thoſe of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we ſhall find, that the tribe of *Thamûd* correſponded exactly with the *Thamudeni* or *Thamydeni* of *Dio-*
dorus, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy* °.

Taſm *and* Jadîs.

THE tribe of *Taſm* were the deſcendants of *Lûd* the ſon of *Shem*, and that of *Jadîs* a branch of the poſterity of *Gether*, as we learn from *Abulfeda*. Both theſe tribes lived promiſcuouſly together under the government of *Taſm*, till a certain tyrant made a law, that twenty maids of the tribe of *Jadîs* ſhould not marry, unleſs firſt deflowered by him; which the *Jadiſians* not enduring, formed a conſpiracy,
d and, inviting the king and chiefs of *Taſm* to an entertainment, privately hid their ſwords in the ſand, and in the midſt of their mirth fell on them, ſlew them all, and extirpated the greateſt part of that tribe, However, the few who eſcaped obtaining aid of the king of *Yaman*, *Dhu Habſhân Ebn Akrân*, aſſaulted *Jadîs*, and utterly deſtroyed them, there being ſcarce any mention made from that time of either of thoſe tribes. As all the traditions relating to *Taſm* are reckoned of a very dubious authority, when any thing is advanced without a proper foundation to ſupport it, the *Arabs* call it *a ſtory of Taſm*. The notion many of the *Orientals* have of *Taſm*'s grand-daughter *Yamama*, our readers will find in the former ſection, where we give a ſhort deſcription of the province of the ſame name P.

Jorham.

e ALL that we find delivered by the *Arabs* of the former tribe of *Jorham* is, that their anceſtor was an antediluvian, and one of the eighty perſons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were ſaved with *Noah* in the ark q. This tribe was cotemporary with that of *Ad*, and utterly periſhed, in a manner to us unknown.

Amalek.

SOME of the *Oriental* authors inform us, that *Amalek*, the progenitor of the tribe of the ſame name, was the ſon of *Eliphaz* the ſon of *Eſau*, though others make him the ſon of *Ham* the ſon of *Noah*. This tribe under their king *Walîd*, the firſt who aſſumed the name of *Pharaoh*, before the time of *Joſeph*, conquered *Egypt*, according to the eaſtern writers, who ſeem to confound the *Amalekites* with the *Phœnician* ſhepherds of *Manetho*. After they had poſſeſſed the throne of *Egypt* for a
f conſiderable period, they were expelled by the natives, and at laſt totally deſtroyed by the *Iſraelites*.

Amtem, Haſhem, Abil, *and* Bar.

As for the tribes of *Amtem*, *Haſhem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*, all that the *Orientals* know of

° Gen. c. x. ver. 23. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. 366, 740. ABULFEDA, AL-ZAMAKHSHARI. Al-Kor. MOHAMMED. c. vii. & c. xv. BOCHART. geogr. ſacr. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 7. & note upon the *Koran*, c. vii. p. 124. EBN SHONAH. ABU MUSA AL ASHARI. POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 37, 57. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. ſub voc. *Errakim*.
P Poc. ubi ſup. p. 37, 38, 60. ABULFED. GOLII notæ ad ALFRAGANUM, p. 95. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 239. q ABULFED. Poc. ubi ſup. EBN SHONAH. r Gen. c xxxvi. ver. 12 D'HERBEL. p. 110. EBN SHONAH. Num. c. xxiv. ver. 20. MIRAT CAÏNAT. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. Exod. c. xvii. ver. 18, &c. 1 Sam. c. xv. ver. 2, &c. & c. xxvii. ver. 8, 9. 1 Chron. c. iv. ver. 43.

of them is, that by some means or other they became extinct, most of them being a cut off, and the rest incorporating with the other tribes [s].

The present Arabs *descended from* Kahtan *and* Joktan.

According to their own historians, the present *Arabs* are sprung from two stocks, *Kahtân*, the same with *Joktan* the son of *Eber*, and *Adnân* descended in a direct line from *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham* and *Hagar* (O). The posterity of the former they call *al Arab al Ariba*, i. e. the *genuine* or *pure Arabs*, and those of the latter *al Arab al Mostáreba*, i. e. *naturalized* or *insititious Arabs*, though some reckon the antient lost tribes to have been the only *pure Arabians*, and therefore call the descendants of *Kahtan* also *Mótareba*, which word likewise signifies *insititious Arabs*, though in a nearer degree than *Mostáreba*; those acknowledging *Adnân* for their great ancestor, b being the more distant graff. As *Ishmael* was by origin and language a *Hebrew*, it is no wonder those supposed to be descended from him should have no claim to be admitted as *pure Arabs*; however, since he contracted an alliance with the *Jorhamites*, by marrying a daughter of *Modâd*, accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, and became blended with them into one nation, they have certainly a right to be considered as *Mostáreba*. The uncertainty of the descents between *Ishmael* and *Adnân* is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore look upon as the father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eastern writers scarce take any notice at all of *Abraham*'s progeny by c *Keturah*, though they undoubtedly made up a considerable part of the inhabitants of *Arabia*. Their names were, *Zimran*, *Jokshan*, *Medan*, *Midian* or *Madian*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuah*. Notwithstanding the *Arabs* affirm *Ishmael*'s wife to have been a genuine *Arabian*, the Scripture says she was an *Egyptian*; which greatly shakes the authority of their historians, except it should be admitted, that he had a second wife, or several at once. His sons were *Nebaioth*, *Kedar*, *Adeel*, *Mibsam*, *Mishma*, *Dumah*, *Massa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Jetur*, *Naphish*, and *Kedemah*; besides which he had a daughter called *Mahalath* and *Bashemath*, whom *Edom* took to wife. Some wri- d ters make *Kahtân* a descendant of *Ishmael*; but among the *Orientals* this is not the most received opinion. However, it agrees the best with the *Chaldee* and *Arabic* paraphrasts, who believed the name of *Ishmaelites* to be as general and extensive as that of *Arabs* [t].

Government of the Scenite Arabs.

We have already observed, that the customs, manners, and genius, of the *Arabs*, except in matters of religion, are in effect the same at this day that they were betwixt three and four thousand years ago; and therefore we may presume, that the antient and modern forms of government of this nation may be considered as agreeing in almost all particulars. The *Arabes Scenitæ*, therefore, as their successors the present *Bedoweens*, were governed by *Shekhs* and *Emirs*. The *Shekhs* superintended only particular *Dou-wars*, that is, *collections of tents* called *Hhymas*, answering to villages c or towns, already described. Every one of these *Dow-wars*, therefore, might have been looked upon as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greatest name, substance, and reputation, amongst the *Arabs* that composed it. The *Emirs* or *Emeers*, the phylarchs of the *Greeks*, ruled over a whole tribe, and consequently their authority extended to many of the above-mentioned

[s] Jallalo'din. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 39. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. [t] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. c. xxi. ver. 1, &c. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al-Jauhar. Al-Firauzabadius, Abulfed. Shahaboddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahya, &c. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi sup. 49—52.

(O) As the genealogy of these tribes is of great use to illustrate the *Arabian* history, our readers would have judged this work incomplete, had we not here inserted the two genealogical tables of the descendants of *Kahtan* and *Ishmael*, formed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. *Sale* from the most approved *Oriental* authors. In order to render that of the descendants of *Ishmael* the more perfect, we have added thereto the nine generations between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*, which is the most approved series of descents between them; though this, as here observed, cannot be absolutely depended upon; for *Al Beihaki* reckons one generation less, differing also in the names in the following manner: *Ishmael*, *Nabet*, *Yashab*, *Yárab*, *Yârah*, *Yâhur*, *al Mokawwam*, *Odad*, *Odd*, *Adnân*, and *Mohammed* himself, according to a tradition of his wife *Omm Salma*, counted but three persons between *Ishmael* and *Adnân*, viz. *Berâ*, *Zeid* and *Odad*. With the tables here exhibited, we have intermixed some few additional observations, that may tend either to illustrate or correct them, as our readers will find, by comparing them with the originals in Mr *Sale*'s excellent *preliminary discourse*. We must not forget to remark, that in the first series of descents between *Ishmael* and *Adnân* Mr. *Sale* has omitted *Odd*, which makes him run counter to the best *Oriental* writers, and therefore in that particular we have dissented from him.

A Genealogical Table of ye Tribes of the naturalized Arabs, being the Descendants of Ishmael the Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modâd the Jorhamite.

Ayyad or Aiyad retired with his family from Hejaz to Irâk, where he settled. From him descended Caab a person famous for his liberality, and the Eloquent Kofs.

Ayyâd

Kais Aylan

Tribes of

Hawazen — The Tribes of Rabîah, Jashîm

Kelâb — From Kelab the lords of Haleb or Aleppo deduced their origin, of whom ye first was Saleh Ebn Merdas. Poc: in not: ad spec: hist: Arab: p. 47.

Okail — From Okail proceeded the royal family of Musal. Poc: p. 47.

Amer

Sásaah

Khafajah — From Khafajah sprung a race of Princes, who have governed Irack for a great number of ages. Poc: p. 47.

Becr

Helâl

Thakif

Nomair

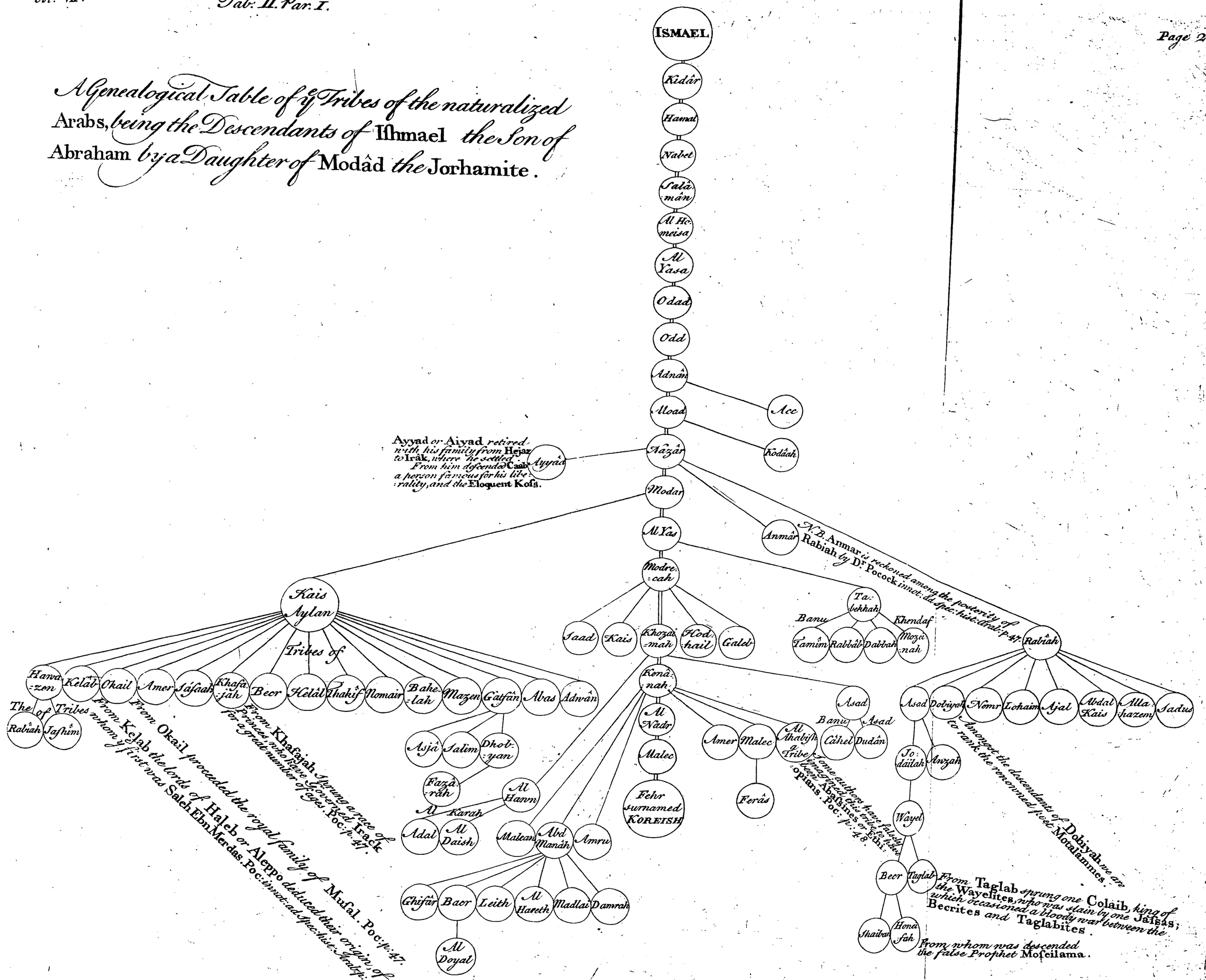
Bahelah

Mazen

Gatfân — Asjâ, Salim, Dhobyan; Fazârah; Al Karah — Adal, Al Daish

Abas — Al Hawn — Malcam, Abr Manc — Ghifâr, Bacr, Leith, Al Hareth, Al Doyal

A Genealogical Table of ye Tribes of the naturalized Arabs, being the Descendants of Ishmael the Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modâd the Jorhamite.



J. Wheatley Sculpt.

a mentioned *Dow-wars*. It is probable, that they were ſometimes dignified with the title of (P) *Shekh al Kibeer*, as ſome of their ſucceſſors are at this day. And laſtly, from what has been obſerved of the *Phylarchs* of the *Nomades*, agreeing in moſt points with the *Arabes Scenitæ*, we may conclude, that the *Emirs* were under the domination of one particular prince, who was the ſovereign of theſe *Arabs*; or at leaſt diſtinguiſhed from the other *Emirs* by the title of the *Grand Emir*, conſonant to the form of government ſtill prevailing amongſt the modern *Bedoweens*. However, we take this prince not to have been intirely deſpotic, but conſidered by his ſubjects only as their ſupreme magiſtrate, who maintained them in the poſſeſſion of their private laws, privileges, and cuſtoms [t].

b THE *Arabs* that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the ſame manner as the *Bedoweens*. That many cities of *Arabia Felix*, particularly thoſe of the *Adramitæ* or *Chatramotitæ*, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from *Eratoſthenes* in *Strabo*. That author likewiſe informs us, that the order of ſucceſſion in theſe cities was not hereditary, but that the firſt child born in any of the noble families after the king's acceſſion was deemed the preſumptive heir to the crown. As ſoon, therefore, as any prince aſcended the throne, a liſt was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a ſon, who always received an education ſuitable to his high birth. However, *Artemidorus* in the ſame author intimates, that the *Sabæan* c nation had only one ſovereign; which manifeſtly implies, that all the little princes or *Emirs* above-mentioned had a ſupreme head preſiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here as deſcribed by *Artemidorus* and *Eratoſtenes*, ſeems confirmed by Scripture, when the Pſalmiſt mentions the KINGS OF ARABIA *and* SABA. The *Arabians* were for ſome centuries under the government of the deſcendants of *Kâhtan*; *Yárab*, one of his ſons, founding the kingdom of *Yaman*, and *Jorham*, another of them, that of *Hejáz*. The kings of *Hamyar*, who poſſeſſed the kingdom of *Yaman*, or at leaſt the beſt part of it, had the general title of *Tobba*, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, and was affected by theſe princes, as that of *Cæſar* was by the *Roman* emperors, and *Khalîf* by the ſucceſſors of *Mohammed*. There d were ſeveral leſſer princes, who reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, and were moſtly, if not altogether, ſubject to the king of *Hamyar*, whom they called *the great king*; but of theſe hiſtory has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. *May you avert all malediction*, or *May God be propitious to you*, was the form in which the antient *Arabs* uſed to addreſs themſelves to their king [u].

Of thoſe that dwelt in cities and towns.

THE principal civil inſtitutions amongſt the *Arabs*, that ſeemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That eſtabliſhing the above-mentioned order of ſucceſſion. 2. That in force among the *Sabæans*, whereby the king was ſolemnly inveſted with his prerogative by an aſſembly of the people. 3. That injoining the ſaid king never to go out of his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of e government. 4. That commanding his ſubjects to ſtone him to death, in caſe he ſhould be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an abſolute and implicit obedience to all his commands; conſiſtent with the aforeſaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the *Arabs* obſerved may be conſidered as coinciding with their cuſtoms, there is no neceſſity of touching upon them here [w].

Laws of the Arabs.

THE religion of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, which they call the *ſtate of ignorance*, was chiefly groſs idolatry; the *Sabian* religion having almoſt over-run the whole nation, though there were alſo great numbers of *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*,

Religion.

[t] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 117. not. (B). SHAW ubi ſup. p. 286, 287, 288, 300, 310. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 119, 150. APPIAN. in Libyc. 67. Les mœurs & les coûtumes des Arabes, p. 115, 116, à Paris, 1717. [u] ERATOSTHENES & ARTEMIDORUS apud Strabon. l. xvi. LXX. in Pſal. lxxii. ver. x. AL-MOTAREZZI in lib. Mogreb. AL-JAUHARIUS, ABULFEDA, EBN AL ATHIR, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 65, 66, ut & ipſe POCOCK. ibid. [w] AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de mar. rubr. l. v. c. 50. apud Photium, p. 1374. ERATOSTHENES apud Strabon. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe STRAB. ibid.

(P) *Shekh* or *Sheikh* شيخ according to *Golius*, is equivalent to the Latin *ſenex*, *ſenior*, *doctor*; or *auctoritate*, *principatu*, *pietate & arte conſpicuus*. *Emir* or *Emeer* امير according to the ſame author, is to be deduced from the verb امر *mandavit*, *juſſit*, *præcepit*, &c. (15).

(15) *Gol. in vocib.*

gians, amongſt them. The idolatry of the *Arabs*, as *Sabians*, chiefly conſiſted in a worſhipping the fixed ſtars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whoſe interceſſion they begged, as their mediators with God. For they acknowledged one ſupreme God, the creator and lord of the univerſe, whom they called *Alla Taâla*, *the moſt high* God; and their other deities, who were ſubordinate to him, they called ſimply *Al Ilahât*, i. e. *the goddeſſes*. "Theſe words, ſays Mr. *Sale*, the *Greeks* not underſtanding, and it being their "conſtant cuſtom to reſolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and "find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretended the *Arabs* worſhipped "only two deities, *Orotalt* and *Alilat*, as thoſe names are corruptly written, whom "they will have to be the ſame with *Bacchus* and *Urania*; pitching on the former b "as one of the greateſt of their own gods, and educated in *Arabia*; and on the "other, becauſe of the veneration ſhewn by the *Arabs* to the ſtars." But the impertinence of this obſervation will be touched upon immediately [x].

Moſt of the Arabs Sabians.

That the *Arabs* ſhould eaſily be led into the worſhip of the ſtars, is not at all ſurpriſing, ſince by obſerving the changes of the weather to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them for a conſiderable period, they might eaſily be induced to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and think themſelves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parched country. Hence poſſibly it came to paſs, that they had ſeven celebrated temples dedicated to the ſeven planets; one of theſe, in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa*, the c metropolis of *Yaman*, by *Dahac*, to the honour of *Al Zoharah*, or the planet *Venus*, and was demoliſhed by the *khalîf Othman*. By the murder of this *khalîf* was fulfilled, as the *Mohammedans* pretend, the prophetical inſcription, ſet, as is reported, over this temple, *viz. Ghomdân, He who deſtroyeth thee, ſhall be ſlain*. The temple of *Mecca* is alſo ſaid to have been conſecrated to *Zohal*, or *Saturn*. That planetary worſhip was the firſt ſpecies of idolatry, we have already obſerved; and therefore it is no wonder the *Arabs*, at preſent the moſt antient nation in the world, ſhould have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we ſhall here beg leave to add the teſtimony of *Pauſanias*, who intimates, that the worſhip of the planets was earlier than the firſt arrival of the *Pelaſgi* in *Greece*; and that before d this time they had ſtatues erected in their honour. This obſervation will not only illuſtrate, but likewiſe bring a freſh acceſſion of ſtrength to what has been advanced in a former note [y].

Worſhip the fixed ſtars, as well as the planets.

But beſides thoſe ſtars which were the general objects of worſhip throughout *Arabia*, there were ſome more peculiarly reverenced in particular provinces. Thus the *Hamyarites* chiefly worſhipped the *Sun*; *Miſam*, *al Debarân*, or *the bull's eye*; *Lakhm* and *Jodâm*, *al Moſhtari*, or *Jupiter*; *Tay*, *Sohail*, or *Canopus*; *Kais*, *Sirius*, or *the dog-ſtar*; and *Aſad*, *Otâred*, or *Mercury*. *Abu Cabſha*, a worſhipper of *Sirius*, whom ſome will have to be the ſame with *Waheb*, *Mohammed*'s grandfather on the mother's ſide, though others make him of the tribe of *Khozâah*, uſed his utmoſt c endeavours to perſuade the *Koreiſh* to leave their images, and worſhip this ſtar. For which reaſon, when *Mohammed* endeavoured alſo to draw them off from image-worſhip, they nicknamed him the ſon of *Abu Cabſha*. However, the *Arabs*, together with the *Indians* in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed ſtars, than to the planets; which diſtinguiſhed the *Sabians* amongſt them from thoſe amongſt the *Greeks*, who directed their worſhip to the planets. The *Arabs* did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed ſtars, but likewiſe their winds, ſtorms, tempeſts, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in their atmoſphere. They differed, however, amongſt themſelves in this, that ſome aſcribed the influence producing all the meteorological *phænomena* to the riſing, and others to the ſetting, of the conſtellations known amongſt them by the name of *Al-Anwa* [z].

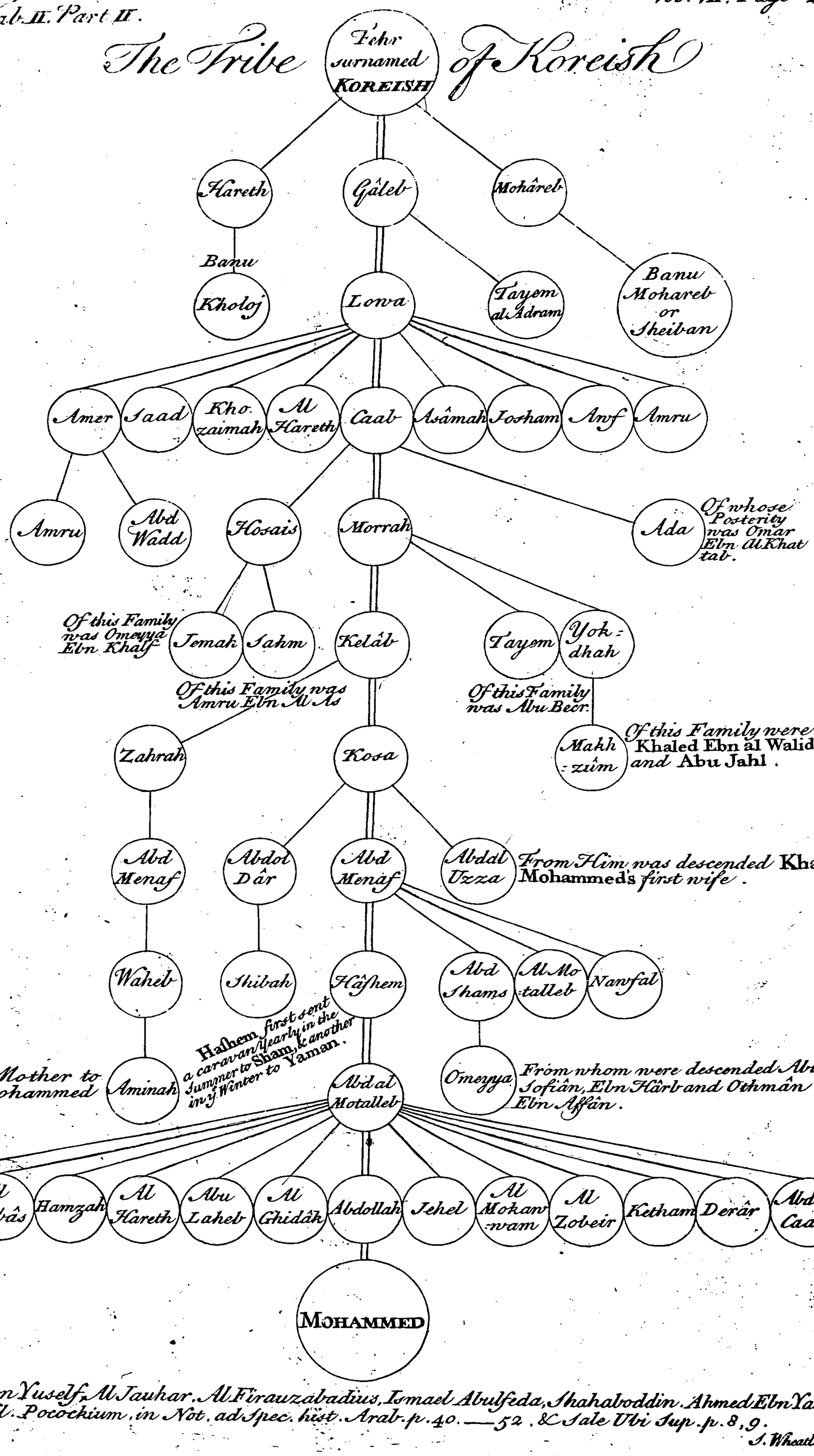
As likewiſe angels, or intelligences.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worſhipped, we find only three mentioned in the *Korân*, viz. *Allat*, *Al-Uzza*, and *Manah*; theſe they called *goddeſſes*, and

[x] Poc. not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 138. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonid. in moreh nevoçhim, par. iii. c. 29. Hottingeri hiſt. Orient. l. iv. c. 8. Hyde hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. Prideaux in connect. p. 1. b. 3. Herodot. l. iii. c. 8. Arrian. p. 161, 162. Strab. l. xvi. Greg. Abulpharag. hiſt. dynaſt. p. 281, &c. Al-Shahrestanius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 108. ut & ipſe Pocockius ibid. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 15, 16. [y] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 163. Al-Jannabi. Shahrestani. Pausan. Laconic. p. 202. Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 684. not. (R). [z] Abulphareg. ubi ſupra, p. 160. Al-Shahrestani. Abulfed. Al-Jauharius, Ebn'ol Athir, & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 163, 164, ut & ipſe Pocock. p. 130, 131.

Sect. II. Part II.

The Tribe of Koreish



Ahmed Ebn Yuself, Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabadius, Ismael Abulfeda, Shahaboddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahia, &c.
Vide etiam Cl. Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. — 52. & Sale Ubi Sup. p. 8, 9.

J. Wheatley. sculp.

a and *the daughters of* GOD; an appellation they gave not only to angels, but alſo to their images, which they believed either to be inſpired with life by GOD, or elſe to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, becauſe they believed them to intercede for their votaries with GOD. The *Arab Sabians* likewiſe, in common with thoſe of other nations, imagined, that the *Sun*, *Moon*, and fixed ſtars, were habitations of intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the ſame manner as the human body does the ſoul; and that this was the true cauſe of all their motions. Theſe beings, they had a notion, became mediators between GOD and them; for the neceſſity of a mediator they clearly diſcovered from the beginning, and therefore, as GOD's mediators, directed divine worſhip to them. They b firſt worſhipped them by their *tabernacles*, i. e. their orbs themſelves; but theſe, by their riſing and ſetting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loſs how to addreſs themſelves to them in their abſence. To remedy this defect, they had recourſe to the invention of images, in which, after their conſecration, they thought theſe inferior deities to be as much preſent by their influence, as in the ſtars themſelves; and that all addreſſes to them were rendered as effectual before the one, as before the other. And this may be conſidered as the origin of image-worſhip. All other material particulars relating to the *Sabians*, omitted here, will either be found in note (Q), or the firſt volume of this hiſtory [a].

Allat,

[a] Al. Kor. MOHAMMED. c. liii. Poc. p. 138. GOL. MAIMONID. HOTTING. HYDE, PRIDEAUX, ubi ſupra, SHAHRESTANIUS apud Hyde, c. v. p. 124. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 726. HOUSAÏN VAEZ comment. Perſ. in Al-Koran, c. 2. Lib. Phar. Gj. apud Hyd. ubi ſupra. KALKASHEND. apud Hyde, ubi ſupra, p. 125. EBN AL ATHIR apud Pocockium, p. 138, 139.

(Q) The *Sabian*, *Jewiſh*, and *Chriſtian* religions are the only religions tolerated by the *Korân*. We are told, that the eaſtern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the firſt ſect; though thoſe here mentioned ſeem to be atteſted by the beſt of them. The *Sabians* produce many ſtrong arguments for the unity of GOD, and addreſs themſelves to HIM in the following terms: *I dedicate my ſelf to thy ſervice, O GOD! I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O* GOD! THOU *haſt no companion, except thy companion, of whom* THOU *art abſolute maſter, and of whatever is his.* From whence it appears, that they ſuppoſe idols not to be *ſui juris*, though they offer ſacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to GOD, *who was alſo formerly often put off with the leaſt portion*, as *Mohammed* upbraids them. The reaſon aſſigned by them for this was, that *the idol wanted what was* GOD's, but GOD HIMSELF *wanted nothing*. A ſort of baptiſm they admit, and profeſs a great veneration for St. *John Baptiſt*, ſtyling themſelves, in their language, which is compoſed of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Mendai Jahia*, i. e. *diſciples of St. John*; and by this name they go amongſt the *Chriſtians* of the *Levant*. Beſides the book of *Pſalms*, the only true Scripture they read, they have another ſuppoſed to have been wrote by *Adam*, which they regard as their bibles, whoſe language almoſt entirely agrees with the *Chaldee*, but the characters differ from thoſe of all other nations. *Ebn Shonah* makes them the deſcendants of the moſt antient people in the world, and intimates, that beſides the books juſt mentioned, they have others eſteemed equally ſacred, particularly one full of moral diſcourſes, denominated by them *the book* of *Seth* and *Enoch*, or, as they name him, *Edris*. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, ſeven, times a day; the firſt half an hour, or leſs, before ſun-riſe, ordering it ſo that they may, juſt as the ſun riſes, finiſh eight adorations, each containing three proſtrations: the ſecond prayer they end at noon, when the ſun begins to decline, in ſaying of which they perform five ſuch adorations as the former: and the ſame they do the third time, concluding juſt as the ſun ſets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They faſt three times a year, the firſt time thirty days, the next nine, and the laſt ſeven. They offer many ſacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abſtain from beans, garlick, and ſome other pulſe and vegetables. As to the *Sabian Kebla*, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one affirming it to be the north, another the ſouth, a third *Mecca*, and a fourth the ſtar to which they pay their devotions. They have a great reſpect for the temple of *Mecca*, as alſo the pyramids, in the third of which they believe *Sabi*, the author of their religion, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to *Harran*, either out of regard to the memory of *Abraham*, or of *Sabi Ebn Mari*, who lived in *Abraham*'s time, and is looked upon by ſome as the firſt propagator of their religion. *Ebn Hazem* aſſerts *Sabianiſm* to have been the univerſal religion till the age of *Abraham*, from whence all the ſucceeding ſects were derived. According to *Al-Shareſtani*, the *Sabians* ſay, that the difference betwixt them and the *Mohammedans* conſiſts in this, that among creatures they give the preference to ſpirits, angels, or intelligences moving the celeſtial orbs; whereas the *Mohammedans* chuſe to pay the greateſt honour to *body* and *matter*, i. e. *men*; as prophets, patriarchs, &c. *Houſſain Vaez*, in his *Perſic* commentary on the *Korân*, ſays, that they were a ſort of *Sadducees*, not believing a future ſtate. We muſt not omit obſerving, that at the pyramids they ſacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incenſe. *Ebn Khalecan*, in his life of *Ibrahim al Sabi*, affirms, that the *Sabians* are as antient as the *Magians*, but different from them; however, that both of them pretended to deduce their origin from *Abraham*, whom they confounded with *Zerduſht*. The ſame author relates, that the word *Sabi* in the *Arabic* tongue denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reaſon the *Koreiſh*, by way of reproach, called *Mohammed Sabi*, or *Sabian*. The eaſtern *Chriſtians* ſcruple not to affirm, that *Conſtantine the great* himſelf profeſſed *Sabianiſm* before he became a convert to *Chriſtianity*. *Shareſtani* divides the *Sabians* into two ſects, thoſe that worſhip the ſtars, and thoſe that worſhip images. The firſt maintain, that GOD created the world, but has commanded his ſervants

Allat. *Allat*, whom some of the *Arabs* called *Allah*, was the idol of the tribe of *Thakif*, a who dwelt at *Tayef*, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called *Nakhlah*. We shall see more of this deity hereafter, when we come to the modern history of *Arabia*, especially that part of it which relates to the transactions wherein *Mohammed* was more immediately concerned [b].

Al-Uzza. *Al-Uzza* or *Al-Ozza*, was the idol of the tribes of *Koreish* and *Kenanah*, and part of the tribe of *Salim*, as some affirm; but a tree called the *Egyptian* thorn, or *Acacia*, worshipped by the tribe of *Ghatfan*, first consecrated by one *Dhâlem*, who built a chapel over it named *Boss*, so contrived, as to give a sound when any one entered, according to others. When *Khâled Ebn Walîd*, by *Mohammed*'s order, had demolished the chapel, cut down the image, or tree, and slain the priestess of b
Al Uzza, *Mohammed*, alluding to the death of the priestess, said, she was *Al Uzza*, who therefore will never hereafter be worshipped. The name *Uzza* is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies *the most mighty* [c].

Manah. *Manah* was the object of worship of the tribes of *Hodhail* and *Khozâah*, possibly the *Cassanitæ* of *Ptolemy*, who dwelt between *Mecca* and *Medina*, and, as some say, of the tribes of *Aws*, *Khazraj*, and *Thakîf* also. Dr. *Pocock* renders it highly probable, that the *Manah* of the *Arabs* was the *Meni* of the prophet *Isaiah*. This idol was a large stone, demolished by one *Saad* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, so fatal to the idols of *Arabia*. The name seems derived from *mana*, to *flow*, from the *flowing* of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of *Mina*, near c
Mecca, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices. Some take *Meni*, or *Manah*, to be the name of a constellation; which notion is favoured by the most obvious signification of the word *Manah* in the *Arabic* tongue [d].

Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yâûk, *and* Nasr. BESIDES these, we find five antediluvian idols taken notice of by the *Arabian* writers, *viz. Wadd*, *Sawâ*, *Yaghûth*, *Yâûk*, and *Nasr*. They are said to have been men of great repute and piety in their time, whose statues the *Arabs* at first revenced with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship [e].

Wadd. *Wadd* was supposed to represent the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of *Calb*, in *Dawmat al Jandal*. For a further account of him, d
we must refer our readers to the authors here cited [f].

Sawâ. *Sawâ* was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of *Hamadan*, or, as others write, of *Hodhail* in *Rohat*. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, as the *Arab* writers assert, discovered by the devil, and worshipped by those of *Hodhail*, who instituted pilgrimages to it [g].

Yaghûth. *Yaghûth* was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of *Madhaj*, and others, who dwelt in *Yaman*. Its name seems to be derived from *gha-tha*, which signifies to *help* [h].

Yâûk,

[b] Abulpharag. p. 160. Poc. ubi supra, p 90. [c] Al-Jauhar. Al-Shahrestan. & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocock. ibid. [d] Al-Jauhar. Al-Beidawi, Al-Shahrest. Abulfed. Al-Zamakhsharius, & Al-Firauzabadius. Isai. c. lxv. ver. 11. Vide etiam Poc. spec. p. 90, 91, 92. [e] Al-Koran. Mohammed. c. 71. Comment. Persic. Vide etiam Hyd. de rel. vet. Pers. p. 133. [f] Al-Jauhar. Al-Shahrestan. [g] Idem apud Pocock. p. 93. Al-Firauzabadius & Safioddin. ibid. [h] Al-Shahrestani. ibid.

vants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents informing them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters *Aries*, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from *Noah* himself. The *Sabians* of mount *Lebanon* seem to pay a greater regard to *Seth*, than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they swear by the former, but frequently break it when they swear by the latter. They likewise maintain, that once in 36425 years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues; God they call God of gods, and Lord of lords; but those intelligences supposed to actuate the stars gods and lords. This sect say, they took the name of *Sabians* from the above-mentioned *Sabi*, though it seems rather to be derived from צבא *Saba*, or *Tsaba*, the *host* of *heaven*, which they worship. Before the growth of *Christianity* and *Mohammeaanism*, the greatest part of the world professed the *Sabian* religion. The other particulars, relating to this sect, our readers will find, either in a former part of this work, or in the authors here referred to (16).

(16) *D'Herbel. Prid. Poc. Gol. Hyd. Hotting. aliique auctor. hic laudat.*

a *Yâûk* the tribe of *Morâd* esteemed as their proper object of worship, or, according to others, that of *Hamadan*, under the figure of a horse. The name *Yâûk* probably comes from their verb *âka*, to *prevent*, or *avert* [i] (R). Yâûk.

Nasr seems to have been the proper deity of the tribe of *Hamyar*, whom we may consider either as the *Homeritæ* or *Hamiræi* of *Pliny*, or adored at *Dhûl Khalaah* in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies [k]. Nasr.

THE four deities *Sâkia*, *Hâfedha*, *Râzeka*, and *Salema*, were peculiar to the tribe of *Ad*. The first supplied them with rain, the second preserved them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their sustenance, and the fourth restored them to health when afflicted with sickness; according to the signification of their b several names. To these may be added *Al-Daizan*, or *Saturn*, a most antient *Arab* idol, *Hbebar*, *Al-Auf*, &c. mentioned by *Al-Jauharius*, *Al-Firauzabadius*, and others [l]. Sâkia, Hâfedha, Râzeka, *and* Salema.

As image-worship in some measure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of some signal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or else greatly famed for their conquests, as well as the cause above-mentioned, it is no wonder the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, should fall into it. Sir *Isaac Newton* takes hero worship, or the worship of deified dead men, to have been no older than the age of *Sesac*, the great *Egyptian* conqueror so often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he conquered, and amongst the rest a good part of the *Arabians* at least, to pay divine honours to his father *Ammenemes*, or *Ammon*, under c the name of *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Ammon*. This therefore was the great hero-god of the *Arabs*, as well as of the *Egyptians*, *Garamantes*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, &c. and his son and successor, *Sesac*, who injoined this worship, the *Bacchus*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, of the antients, little inferior to him. The *Arabs*, it is probable, set up oracles to *Ammon*, who reduced at least a good part of their country, as well as the *Libyans* and *Egyptians*; and *Sesac*, on account of his having coasted *Arabia Felix*, sailed to the *Persian* gulph, penetrated afterwards into *India*, where he erected two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the *Ganges*, and another at *Dire*, a promontory of *Ethiopia*, was, according to very good authors, esteemed as his father's collegue in *Arabia*, as well as the other regions subjugated by him. This, d considering the authorities on which it is founded, is a much stronger proof in favour of the *Arabs* really worshipping *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, or *Ammon* and *Sesac*, than what Mr. *Sale* has offered, from the supposed vanity and ignorance of the *Greeks*, is to evince the *Arab* worship of those deities to be purely imaginary. Nay, we may venture to add, that could he have produced a whole volume of *Arab* traditions, stuffed as they are with fables and absurdities, in support of his opinion, it would not have mended the matter; especially as he gives up the main point, by allowing *Bacchus* to have been educated in *Arabia*: For this concession, though the thing granted is false, must be deemed a sufficient reason, on his part, for the *Arabs* to have paid divine honours to so celebrated a personage as *Bacchus*, as well as his father e *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Uranius* [m] (S). Jupiter Ammon *and* Bacchus *worshipped by the* Arabs.

WE must not omit observing here, that the antient *Arabs*, in order to shew the high veneration in which they had their idols, reckoned it glorious to be accounted their servants and votaries; which they demonstrated by the names given to their children, *viz. Abd Wadd*, *Abd Yaghûth*, *Abd Manah*, *Abdol Uzzah*, &c. i. e. *the servant of Wadd*, *the servant of Yaghûth*, *the servant of Manah*, *the servant of Uzzah*, &c. [n] Arabs *call their children after the names of their idols.*

BESIDES the idols already mentioned, the *Arabs* worshipped many others, the chief of whom was *Hobal*, brought from *Belka* in *Syria* to *Arabia* by *Amra Ebn Lohai*, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to *Safioddin*, *Hobal* was placed without the *Caaba*, under the figure of a man. His *Have a great variety of idols.*

statue

[i] AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. AL-JAUHAR. EBN CHALECAN in vit. Al-Battanu. Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 101, 338, 389, 390. [k] AL-JAUHAR. SHAHRESTAN. & POCOCK. ubi sup. p. 93. [l] ABULFED. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in art. *Houd*. [m] NEWT. chronol. pass. HERODOT. l. iii. DIOD. SIC l. i. DIONYS. perieg. v. 623. POCOCK. not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 106, 107. SALE'S prelim. disc. p. 15, 16. [n] Al-Koran. MOHAMMED. Poc. ubi supra, p. 95.

(R) It is said *Yâûk* was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and, undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others, of extraordinary merit, had the same honours shewn them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest (17).

(S) The *Arabs* also worshipped *Mars*, according to *Suidas* (18).

(17) *Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p.* 94. (18) *Suid. in voc.* Ἄρης.

ſtatue was made of red agate, which having, by ſome accident, loſt a hand, the *Koreiſh* repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand ſeven arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the *Arabs* uſed in divination. This idol is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the image of *Abraham*, found and deſtroyed by *Mohammed* in the *Caaba*, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, when he took *Mecca*, and ſurrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as ſome ſay, was *Iſhmael*, with divining arrows in his hand. *Hobal*, according to *Al-Jannabius*, was the chief of three hundred and ſixty idols, a freſh one of which the *Arabs* might, if they thought proper, worſhip every day in the year. We are told, that among the idols in the *Caaba* was a wooden pigeon, as likewiſe another above that ſtructure, to deſtroy which, *Mohammed* lifted *Ali* upon his ſhoulders. *Aſâf* and *Nayelah*, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were alſo two idols brought with *Hobal* from *Syria*, and placed the one on mount *Safâ*, and the other on mount *Merwa*. They tell us, *Aſâf* was the ſon of *Amru*, and *Nayelah* the daughter of *Sahâl*, both of the tribe of *Jorham*, who, committing whoredom together in the *Caaba*, were by GOD converted into ſtone, and afterwards worſhipped by the *Koreiſh*, and ſo much reverenced by them, that tho' this ſuperſtition was condemned by *Mohammed*, yet he was forced to allow them to viſit thoſe mountains as monuments of the divine juſtice. We are told, that theſe idols were firſt fixed on the mounts *Safâ* and *Merwa* by one *Amru* in the reign of *Sapor* or *Sabur* ſurnamed *Dil Ectaf*, king of *Perſia*; but this notion has been overthrown by *Abulfeda*. As for the idols *Saad*, an oblong ſtone on the ſhore near *Giodda*, *Soair* or *Sair* worſhipped by the tribe of *Anza*, *Aud* adored by the tribe of *Becr Wayel*, *Naſh* or *Noſh*, *Al-Sharek*, from whence the *Arab* name *Abdol-Sharek* was derived, *Dar*, whence *Abdol-Dar*, *Madan*, *Yalil*, *Awal* peculiar to the tribes of *Becr* and *Taglab*, *Dul Caſſain* the deity of the tribe of *Daus*, *Bajar* or *Bajer* that of the tribe of *Azd*, *Al-Okaiſar* worſhipped in the eaſtern part of *Syria*, *Bag* or *Bagh*, from whence *Abulfeda* deduces the name of the city *Baghdad*, *Al-Chalaſah*, *Duſhſhara*, the *Dyſares* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, &c. it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned them. Beſides theſe, according to the *Oriental* authors, every houſekeeper had his houſhold god, which he laſt took leave of, and firſt ſaluted at his going abroad, and returning home [o].

Some of theſe idols ſtones.

SEVERAL of the *Arab* idols, beſides *Saad* above-mentioned, and *Manah* in particular, were no more than large rude ſtones, the worſhip of which the poſterity of *Iſhmael* firſt introduced, according to *Al-Jannabius*. To us it ſeems moſt probable, that theſe great ſtones were the firſt public places of divine worſhip amongſt the *Arabs*, on which they poured wine and oil, as *Jacob* did upon the ſtones that ſerved him for a pillow, when he ſaw his viſion. Afterwards they might worſhip theſe ſtones themſelves, as the *Phœnicians*, in all probability, did; but this has already been touched upon. Some authors relate, that when the territory of *Mecca* grew too ſtreight for the *Iſhmaelites*, ſo that great numbers of them found themſelves obliged to look out for new habitations, thoſe that departed from *Mecca* took with them ſome of the ſtones of that reputed holy land; and at firſt only compaſſed them out of devotion, as they had accuſtomed to do the *Caaba*. But this at laſt ended in rank idolatry, the ſaid *Iſhmaelites* forgetting the religion, left them by their father, ſo far, as to pay divine honours to any fine ſtone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of *Hanîfa*, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never preſumed to eat, till they were compelled to it by famine [p].

Magian *religion in* Arabia.

THE *Perſians*, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourſe with, the *Arabians*, introduced the *Magian* religion among ſome of their tribes, particularly that of *Tamim*, a long time before *Mohammed*, who was ſo far from being unacquainted with it, that from it he borrowed many of his own inſtitutions. The profeſſors of this religion acknowledged the world to have been created by GOD, as their ſucceſſors do at this day: but, being at a loſs otherwiſe to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles, a good *Dæmon* or GOD, and an evil one. The firſt they ſuppoſed

[o] ABULFED. AL-SHAHRESTAN. SAFIODDIN. & auct. lib. *Moſtatraf.* Vid. etiam POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 95, 97, 98. EBN AL ATHIR. AL-JANNABIUS. Al-Koran. MOHAMMED. c. ii. MOHAMMED AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud POCOCK. p. 97. AL-JAUHAR. SUID. in voc. Δυσάρης. Poc. p. 98—106.

[p] AL-JAUHAR. AL-BEIDAWI, & AL-ZAMAKHSHARIUS, Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 693. AL-MOSTATRAF. AL-JAUHARIUS apud Pocock. p. 110.

a ſuppoſed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be repreſented by light and darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols, and that of the compoſition of theſe two all things in the world are made. The good principle or God they named *Yezad* or *Yezdân*, and *Ormozd* or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil *Dæmon* they called *Ahârîman* or *Ahrîman*, and the *Greeks* *Arimanius*. Though one ſect of the *Magi* aſſerted, as the *Manichæans* and other heretics did, both thoſe principles to have exiſted from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or God only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from *Zoroaſtres*'s deſcription of the ſupreme Being. Amongſt other tenets they maintained, that there were good
b and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter inſtigating them to all kinds of wickedneſs. They alſo believed, that the wicked angels, after they had drawn men out of the paths of virtue, became the inſtruments of their puniſhment; and that theſe angels were continually meditating the ruin and deſtruction of mankind. As for *Zoroaſtres*, or *Zerduſht*, as the *Perſians* called him, he made no alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental points of the *Magian* religion, but only aboliſhed ſome ſuperſtitious rites and practices, that had crept in amongſt the profeſſors of it, who, according to Dr. *Hyde*, conſtantly adhered to the worſhip of the true God, as they received it from their great anceſtors *Shem* and *Elam*. But, as ſo ample an account has already been given of the *Magi*,
c and their ſyſtem of religion, we ſhall expatiate no farther on this head; but conclude it with obſerving, that whether we conſider the *Arabs* as *Sabians* or followers of *Zerduſht*, it muſt be allowed, that they held the exiſtence of *Dæmons*, *Genii*, or middle intelligences, influencing the affairs of the world: a truth indeed near as extenſive as the belief of a God, and acknowledged by the antient heathen of almoſt all denominations [q].

The notions ſome of the Arabs *had of a future ſtate.*

However, ſome of the pagan *Arabs* believed neither a creation paſt, nor a reſurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their diſſolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were thoſe, who, when they died, had their camel tied by their ſepulchre, and ſo left without meat or drink to periſh, and
d accompany them to the other world, leſt they ſhould be obliged, at the reſurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very ſcandalous. Some believed a *metempſychoſis*, and that of the blood, near the dead perſon's brain, was formed a bird named *Hâmah*, which once in a hundred years viſited the ſepulchre; though others ſay, this bird is animated by the ſoul of him that is unjuſtly ſlain, and continually cries *Oſcûni*, *Oſcûni*, i. e. *Give me to drink*, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged, and then it flies away. Some of the antient *Arabs* ſeem to have been addicted to augury, ſince they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended ſomething bad. The camel abovementioned furniſhed the *Arabs* with a proverb, which they applied to all people
e doomed to a miſerable end. Thoſe, who expected a future judgment, adored idols, as they pretended, that they might be hereby induced to intercede for them with God hereafter. It appears probable from ſome paſſages of the *Korân*, and the commentators on thoſe paſſages, that the antient *Arabs*, under the word *Jin* or *Genii*, comprehended both angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate ſpecies of rational inviſible beings going amongſt the preſent *Orientals* by the ſame name. From the ſame paſſages and commentators we may likewiſe infer, that moſt of the *Arabians* before *Mohammed*'s time, in conformity to the *Sabian* ſcheme, paid religious honours to theſe *Genii*. The *Mohammedans* call the evil principle of the *Magi* the *Satan* of the Scripture, and *Sammaël* of the *Jews*, *Eblis*, which ſeems to be a
f corruption of the Διάβολος or *Diabolus* of the *New Teſtament* [r].

The Jewiſh *religion embraced by ſome of the* Arab *tribes.*

Abu Carb Aſad king of *Yaman*, about ſeven hundred years before *Mohammed*, is ſaid to have introduced *Judaiſm* among the idolatrous *Hamyarites*. The *Jews* likewiſe, who fled in great numbers into *Arabia* after the deſtruction of their country by the *Romans*, made proſelytes of ſeveral tribes, thoſe of *Kenânah*, *al Hareth Ebn Caaba*,

[q] Al Mostatraf. Lord's account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 5. Diog. Laert. in proœm. p. 6. Plut. de Iſid. & in Dio. Lib. *Sad-der* apud Hyd. hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. Damascius, Plutarch. & Shahrestani. apud Hyd. ubi ſup. c. 22. Prideaux in connect. p. i. v. 3. Univ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 31, 51. & vol. ii. p. 71. & alib. Vid. etiam Pocockium in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 146—150.

[r] Al-Shahrestani. Al-Jauhari. Ebn al Athir. Al-Damirius. Vide etiam Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 134—136. Al-Koran. Mohammed. c. 6, 7, 72, & alib.

Caaba, and *Kendah* in particular. In time, therefore, they became very powerful, a and poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes. At laſt one *Yuſef*, ſurnamed *Dhu Nowâs*, king of *Yaman*, having raiſed a terrible perſecution againſt all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the *Arabs* gave him the opprobrious title of *the lord of the pit*, *Caleb* or *Eleſbaan*, king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge the maſſacre of the chriſtians at ***N**ajrân*, put an end to *Judaiſm*, and the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, in *Yaman*, at the ſame time. This happened in the reign of the emperor *Juſtin*, as has been already related in the hiſtory of the *Ethiopians*, and will be more fully ſet forth in the following ſection [s].

And likewiſe chriſtianity.

WHETHER St. *Paul* preached in any part of *Arabia*, properly ſo called, we can- b not pretend to determine; but that the chriſtian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a diſpute. The *Arabians* we find ranked amongſt thoſe nations, ſome of whoſe members firſt had the happineſs of being made converts to chriſtianity, ſeveral of them being preſent when the HOLY GHOST firſt deſcended upon the apoſtles. When the eaſtern church, ſoon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly haraſſed by diſorders and perſecutions, vaſt numbers of chriſtians ſought for ſhelter in *Arabia*; who being for the moſt part of the *Jacobite* communion, that ſect generally prevailed among the *Arabs*. The principal tribes that embraced chriſtianity were *Hamyar*, *Ghaſſân*, *Rabiâ*, *Taghlab*, *Bahrâ*, *Tonûch*, part of thoſe of *Tay* and *Kodâa*, the inhabitants of *Najrân*, and c the *Arabs* of *Hira*. The people of *Najrân* became converts to chriſtianity in the time of *Dhu Nowâs* above-mentioned, and thoſe of *Hira* received a great acceſſion by ſeveral tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the perſecution of that prince. How *Al-Nooman*, ſurnamed *Abu-Kabûs*, king of *Hira*, who was ſlain a few months before *Mohammed*'s birth, came to profeſs himſelf a chriſtian, and brought off with him from paganiſm the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to *Abulfeda*, his grandfather *Mondar* embraced chriſtianity, and built ſeveral churches for the chriſtians in *Hira*. *Safioddin* ſays, that *Najrân* was a biſhop's ſee, and remarkable for having a chriſtian church in early times. From *Shahreſtani* we learn, that *Mondar* king of the *Arabs* declared war againſt the emperor *Juſtinian*, d becauſe he had treated ill thoſe who aſſerted only one nature in Chriſt, ſince the *Arab* chriſtians at that time were of the *Jacobite* perſuaſion. This is a ſufficient proof, that chriſtianity had got footing in *Arabia* before the reign of that prince. The *Jacobites* give out, that M. *Aſſeman* thinks it probable, that the *Syrian* biſhop *Jacobus Baradæus*, who, according to *Abulpharagius*, viſited all the regions adjacent to *Syria*, and ordained there biſhops, preſbyters, *&c.* of the *Jacobite* ſect, firſt infected the *Arabian* chriſtians with *Monophyſiſm*. How our Saviour appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, to the *Jews* of *Hamyar*, who had challenged ſome neighbouring chriſtians to a public diſputation about *Dhu Nowâs*'s time, our readers will be informed when we come towards the e cloſe of this hiſtory [t].

Biſhopricks in Arabia.

IT is natural to ſuppoſe, that as the chriſtians were ſo numerous in *Arabia* before the age of *Mohammed*, they had ſeveral biſhops there, when that impoſtor firſt began to form a new ſyſtem of religion. Accordingly we find, that the *Jacobites* had two biſhops of the *Arabs* ſubject to their *Mafriân*, or *metropolitan of the eaſt*. One of theſe was ſtyled abſolutely *the biſhop of the Arabs*, whoſe ſeat was for the moſt part at *Akula*, which ſome authors make the ſame with *Cufâ*, others a different town near *Baghdâd*. The other had the title of *the biſhop of the Scenite Arabs*, of the tribe of *Thaalab* in *Hira* or *Hirta*, as the *Syrians* call it, and ſeated in that city. *Gregen-* f *tius*, who held a famous diſpute *ſub dio* for three days with *Herbanus* the *Jew*, before the king of *Hamyar*, was biſhop or archbiſhop of *Dhafâr* or *Tephrah*, as it is called by the *Greek* authors, in the century preceding *Mohammed*; and that *Najrân* alſo

[s] Al-Koran MOHAMMED. c. 50, & 85. BARONII annal. ad ſec. 6. SIMEON epiſc. BETH-ARSAMENS. apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 363—385. METAPHRASTES apud Surium, tom. v. p. 936. & alib. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xviii. c. 6. Vid. etiam ABULFED. SHAHRESTANI. & SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 137, 138. [t] Gal. c. i. ver. 17. Act. c. ii. ver. 11. ABULPHARAG. p. 93, 149. ASSEMAN. diſſert. de Monophyſitis, & bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. AL MOSTATRAF. ABULFED. SHAHRESTAN. & SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. AL-JANNABIUS, ibid. p. 63. EBN CHALICAN in vit. ABULOL. poet. GREGENT. diſput. cum Herban. Jud. in biblioth. patr. Pariſienſ. tom. i. PAGIUS ad an. 523. à num. 10. Vid. etiam Cl. LAMBECIUM, l. v. p. 131. & ASSEMAN. not. ad Simeon. Beth-Arſamenſ. epiſc. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 383.

a alſo was a biſhop's ſee at the ſame time, has been already obſerved from *Safioddin*. We find likewiſe, a prelate of this country ſtyled the biſhop of the *Tayites*, though the extent and limits of his dioceſe cannot ſo eaſily be defined. The *Neſtorians* had but one biſhop, who preſided over both the dioceſes of *Hira* and *Akula*, and was immediately ſubject to their patriarch. *Arabia* was in the earlieſt ages famous for hereſies, which might, as Mr. *Sale* obſerves, be in ſome meaſure attributed to the liberty and independency of its tribes. The ſpecification of theſe hereſies will more properly fall under our province in the modern hiſtory of the *Arabs*, when we ſhall enumerate the principal cauſes, that concurred to favour the propagation of the *Mohammedan* religion [u].

b BEFORE we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions, of the antient *Arabs*, we muſt obſerve, that ſome of them attributed a power to the fixed ſtars ſuperior to what even the *Sabians* themſelves allowed; inſomuch, that they would not take the leaſt ſtep without receiving a favourable omen from them. Several of them alſo not only worſhipped *Dæmons* or *Genii*, but likewiſe aſſerted them to be the daughters of GOD. The *Koreiſh* were infected with *Zendiciſm*, an error nearly related to that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*. We are told, that ſeveral of this tribe worſhipped one GOD, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of *Mohammed* [w]. *Other ſects in Arabia different from thoſe already mentioned.*

As the *Arabs* are one of the moſt antient nations in the world, having inhabited *Language.*
c the country they at preſent poſſeſs almoſt from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being ſubjugated by any foreign power, their language muſt have been formed ſoon after, if not at, the confuſion of *Babel*. The two principal dialects of it were that ſpoken by the *Hamyarites* and other genuine *Arabs*, and that of the *Koreiſh*, in which *Mohammed* wrote the *Korân*. The firſt is ſtyled by the *Oriental* writers the *Arabic* of *Hamyar*, and the other *the pure* or *defecated Arabic*. As *Yarab*, grandfather to *Hamyar*, is ſuppoſed by the *Oriental* writers to have been the firſt whoſe tongue deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*, the *Hamyaritic* dialect, according to them, muſt have approached nearer to the purity of the *Syriac*, and conſequently have been more remote from the true genius of the *Arabic*, than that of any other
d tribe. The dialect of the *Koreiſh*, termed by the *Korân the perſpicuous and clear Arabic*, is referred to *Iſhmael* as its author, who, ſay the above-mentioned writers, firſt ſpoke it, and, as Dr. *Pocock* believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of *Jorham* by marriage, formed it of their language and the original *Hebrew*. As therefore the *Hamyaritic* dialect partook principally of the *Syriac*, ſo that of the *Koreiſh* was ſuppoſed to conſiſt chiefly of the *Hebrew*. But, according to *Jallalo'ddin*, the politeneſs and elegance of the dialect of the *Koreiſh* ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remoteſt antiquity, the cuſtody of the *Caaba*, and dwelling in *Mecca*, the centre of *Arabia*. For by this ſituation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourſe with foreigners, who might have
e corrupted their language, but likewiſe frequented by the *Arabs* of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the compoſing of their differences, from whoſe diſcourſe and verſes they took whatever words or phraſes they judged moſt pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfuſed into this dialect. The *Arabs* are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expreſſive, and, as they ſay, ſo immenſely copious, that no man uninſpired can be a perfect maſter of it, in its utmoſt extent. How much in this laſt article it is ſuperior to the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, in ſome meaſure appears from hence, that ſometimes a bare enumeration of the *Arabic* names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a con-
f ſiderable volume. Thus we are told, that *Ebn Khalawih*, one of the moſt learned of the *Arab* grammarians, wrote a whole treatiſe, which conſiſted intirely of an interpretation of five hundred words ſignifying a *lion*; and another whoſe only ſubject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a *ſerpent*. *Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius*, author of the great *Arabic* lexicon called *Kamus*, or *the Ocean*, relates, that he

[u] SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. ABULPHARAG. in chron. Syriac, MS. ABULFEDA in deſcript. Iracæ. GREGENT. diſp. cum Herban. ubi ſup. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 27. ASSEMAN. bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii. in diſſert. de Monophyſit. & p. 459. LAMBECIUS ubi ſup. SALE's prelim. diſc. ſect. 2. p. 34, 35. [w] SHAHRESTANI. Al-Koran MOHAMMED. c. vi. AL MOSTATRAF, apud Pocockium, p. 136. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. p. 270. & MILLIUS de Mohammediſmo ante Mohammed. p. 311. SALE's prelim. diſc. ſect. 1. p. 24.

he compoſed a piece, containing a deſcription of the nature and advantages of *honey*, a
together with an explication of eighty different terms by which it was ſtyled; and
yet that it had ſeveral other names. He likewiſe mentions another of his books,
wherein he had enumerated above a thouſand words expreſſive only of a *ſword*.
Notwithſtanding which the *Arabs* believe the greateſt part of their language to be
loſt; which will not ſeem improbable, when we conſider how late the art of writing
became generally practiſed amongſt them. For though it was known to *Job*, their
countryman, to the *Edomites*, as well as the other *Arabian* nations bordering upon
Egypt and *Phœnicia*, and to the *Hamyarites* many centuries before *Mohammed*, as
appears from ſome antient monuments, ſaid to be remaining in their character; yet
the other *Arabs*, and thoſe of *Mecca* in particular, unleſs ſuch of them as were either b
Jews or *Chriſtians*, were to the time of *Morâmer* perfectly ignorant of it. It was
the antient *Arabic* language, preceding the reign of *Juſtinian*, which ſo nearly reſem-
bled the *Ethiopic*; for ſince that time, and eſpecially ſince the age of *Mohammed*, all
the *Arabic* dialects have been not a little corrupted. This is now the learned lan-
guage of the *Mohammedans*, who ſtudy it as the *European Chriſtians* do the *Hebrew*,
Greek, and *Latin* [x].

A great affinity between the antient and modern Arabic.

A very great affinity between the antient and modern *Arabic* muſt, however,
be allowed; ſo great an affinity, that in ſubſtance we may pronounce them the ſame.
Many conſiderable advantages flow from a knowledge of the *Arabic* tongue, all
which may be conſidered as ſo many inducements to the ſtudy of it: but amongſt c
theſe, the chief ſeems to be, an inveſtigation of the true meaning of many *Hebrew*
words, whoſe *radices* cannot be diſcovered in the *Hebrew* original of the *Old Teſta-
ment*, though they are ſtill preſerved in the *Arabic*. This we might prove by an
induction of particulars, did not the diſcuſſion of ſuch a point more properly belong
to the modern hiſtory of *Arabia*. For a complete hiſtory of the language we are
now upon, as well as a full diſplay of the elegancy, beauties, and utility of it, we
muſt refer our readers to a curious and learned piece publiſhed by the reverend Mr.
Hunt, profeſſor of *Arabic* in the univerſity of *Oxford*, a gentleman as well verſed
in the whole circle of *Oriental* literature as any of the preſent age [y].

Letters.

We have juſt obſerved, that the *Hamyarites* were not ſtrangers to the art of d
writing. The character uſed by them, the moſt antient of any peculiar to the *Arabs*,
wherein the letters were not diſtinctly ſeparate, went by the appellation of *Al Moſnad*,
from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was
neither publicly taught, nor ſuffered to be uſed, without permiſſion firſt obtained.
Could we depend upon what *Al-Firauzabadius* relates from *Ebn Haſhem*, this cha-
racter muſt have been of a very high antiquity; ſince an inſcription in it, according
to the laſt author, was found in *Yaman*, as old as the time of *Joſeph*. Be that as it
will, *Morâmer Ebn Moara* of *Anbar*, a city of *Irâk*, who lived not many years
before *Mohammed*, was the inventor of the preſent *Arabic* character, which *Baſhar*
the *Kendian*, who married the ſiſter of *Abu Sofiân*, is ſaid to have learned from thoſe e
of *Anbar*, and to have introduced at *Mecca*, but a little while before the inſtitution
of *Mohammediſm*. *Morâmer*'s alphabet the *Oriental* authors agree to have been very
different from the antient one of the *Hamyarites*, ſince they diſtinguiſh the *Hamya-
ritic* and *Arabic pens*. In *Mohammed*'s time the *Morameric* alphabet had made ſo ſmall
a progreſs, that not a ſoul in *Yaman* could either write or read it; nay, *Mohammed*
himſelf was incapable of doing either; for which reaſon he was called the *illiterate
prophet*. The letters of this alphabet were very rude, being either the ſame with,
or very much like, the *Cuphic*, which character is ſtill found in inſcriptions, and the
titles of antient books; nay, for many years it was the only one uſed by the *Arabs*,
the *Korân* itſelf being at firſt written therein. According to *Khalican*, the preſent f
Arabic character was firſt formed from the *Cuphic* by *Ebn Moklah*, *Wazîr*, or *Viſir*,
to *Al Moktader*, *Al Kaher*, and *Al Râdi*, *khâlifs* of *Baghdad*, who lived about three
hundred years after *Mohammed*; and brought to great perfection by *Ali Ebn Bowâb*,
who flouriſhed in the following century, and whoſe name is yet famous among them
on that account. Others, however, attribute the honour of the invention of this
character to *Ebn Moklah*'s brother, *Abdallah al Haſan*; and the perfecting of it to
Ebn Amîd al Kâteb, after it had been reduced to near the preſent form by *Abd' Al-
hamîd*.

[x] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 150—154. Jallal'oddin. in lib. *Mezhar*, c. i. p. 9, 22, 27. Al-Jauharius & Moham. Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. Job c. xix. ver. 23, 24. Job Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c, 1. n. 19. p. 60. Cl. Hunt, in orat. Oxon. habit. de ant. elegant. utilit. ling. Arab. p. 4—7, &c. edit. Oxon. 1739. [y] Hunt ubi ſupra, p. 48, & ſeq. Vide etiam auctor. ibid. laudat.

a *hamîd.* But the beſt authors contradict the laſt of theſe notions, as well as the former, by affirming, that *Yakût al Moſtaſemi*, ſecretary to *Al Moſtaſem*, the laſt of the *khâlifs* of the family of *Abbas*, gave the finiſhing hand to it, for which reaſon he was ſurnamed *Al Khattat*, or the *ſcribe*. In order to perpetuate the memory of *Morâmer*'s invention, ſome authors call the *Arabic* letters *al Morâmer*, i. e. *the progeny of Morâmer*. The moſt remarkable ſpecimens of the *Cuphic* character, ſo denominated from *Cupha*, or *Cufa*, a city of *Irâk*, where ſome of the firſt copies of the *Korân* were written, are the following: part of that book in it on vellum, brought from *Egypt* by Mr. *Greaves*; ſome other fragments of the ſame book in it publiſhed by Sir *John Chardin*; certain paſſages of a MS. in the *Bodleian* library; the legends of

b ſeveral *Saracenic* coins dug up about twenty years ago on the coaſt of the *Baltic*, not far from *Dantzick*; and, according to Mr. profeſſor *Hunt*, thoſe noble remains of it that are, or were lately, to be ſeen in Mr. *Joſeph Ames*'s valuable collection of antique curioſities. As to the true origin of the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, we muſt own ourſelves pretty much in the dark. However, that very learned and profound orientaliſt Mr. *Schultens*, ſeems not very remote from truth, when he deduces the letters, of which they conſiſt, from the moſt antient *Hebrew* or *Aſſyrian* [z].

Antient and modern alphabets, as likewiſe thoſe of the African Saracens, *and* Perſians.

In order to give our readers a clearer idea of what that learned gentleman has advanced on this head, we ſhall here inſert both the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, together with that of the *African Saracens* publiſhed by *Kircher*, which

c ſeems to be the old *Hamyaritic* character mentioned by *Al-Firauzabadius*, *Al-Jannabius*, *Ebn Khalican*, and *Georgius Ebn Amid*, under the title of *Al Moſnad*. As the *Perſians* were neighbours to the *Arabs*, and of the ſame religion with part of them, before the time of *Mohammed*, we have thought proper here likewiſe to give them the old *Perſic* alphabet (S), which, we doubt not, they will look upon as a very agreeable curioſity [a].

The modern *Arabic* alphabet.

	Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
d	1	A or E.	Elif.	ـا	ا	ا	أ
	2	B.	Be.	ـب	ب	بـ	بـ
	3	T.	Te.	ـت	ت	تـ	تـ
	4	T, blæſe, or liſping.	Thſe.	ـث	ث	ثـ	ثـ
	5	G.	Gjim.	ـج	ج	جـ	جـ
	6	Hh.	Hha.	ـح	ح	حـ	حـ
	7	Ch.	Cha.	ـخ	خ	خـ	خـ
	8	D.	Dal.	ـد	د	د	د
	9	D, blæſe, or liſping.	Dhſal.	ـذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
e	10	R.	Re.	ـر	ر	ر	ر
	11	Z.	Ze.	ـز	ز	ز	ز
	12	S.	Sin.	ـس	س	سـ	سـ
	13	Sj.	Sjin.	ـش	ش	شـ	شـ
	14	S.	Sad.	ـص	ص	صـ	صـ
	15	D.	Dad.	ـض	ض	ضـ	ضـ
	16	T.	Ta.	ـط	ط	طـ	طـ
	17	D.	Da.	ـظ	ظ	ظـ	ظـ
	18	The *Hebrew* ע.	Ain.	ـع	ع	عـ	عـ
f	19	G. *Latin.*	Gain.	ـغ	غ	غـ	غـ
	20	F.	Fe.	ـف	ف	فـ	فـ

The

[z] Ebn Khalican. Ebn Hashem. Al-Firauzabadius: Al-Jannabius. Georg. Ebn Amid. Job c. xix. ver. 23, 24. Prideaux's life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. Chardin's travels, vol. iii. p. 119. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, & 194. Gravius apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 158. Hunt, ubi ſupra, p. 12. Vide & Monarch. Aſiatico-Saracen. ſtat. a M. Geor. Jacob. Kehr *Sleuſinga-Franco* Oriental. Lipſiæ 1724. Alb. Schult. inſtitut. ad fundament. ling. Hebr. p. 20. ed. Lugd. Batav. 1737.

[a] Loesch. de cauſ. ling. Hebr. p. 224. ed. Francof. & Lipſiæ, 1706. Schult. ubi ſup. Athan. Kirch. in prod. Copt. p. 199, 200. Romæ, 1636. Al-Firauzabad. Al-Jannab. Ebn Khalican, & Geor. Ebn Amid. Vide etiam Pocock. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 154, 155.

(S) For this we are obliged to the reverend Mr. *Coſtard*, fellow of *Wadham* college, *Oxford*, a gentleman of great erudition, and particularly eminent for his ſkill in the *Oriental* tongues.

The modern *Arabic* alphabet continued.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
21	K.	Kaf.	ق	ق	ق	ق
22	C.	Kef.	ك	ك	ك	ك
23	L.	Lam.	ل	ل	ل	ا
24	M.	Mim.	م	م	م	م
25	N.	Nun.	ن	ن	ن	ن
26	W.	Waw.	و	و		ف
27	H.	He.	ه	ه	ه	ه
28	I.	Ie.	ي	ي	ي	ى

The old *Arabic* alphabet.

ا	ا	Elif.
ب	ب	Be.
غ	غ	Gain.
د ذ	د	Dal.
	ذ	Dſal.
ه ه	ه	He.
و	و	Waw.
ج	ج	Gim.
ح	ح	Hha.
ط ط	ط	Ta.
ى	ى	Ye.
ك	ك	Caf.
ل	ل	Lam.
م	م	Mem.
ن	ن	Nun.
ص	ص	Sad.
ع ع	ع	Ain.
ف	ف	Fe.
ز	ز	Ze.
ق	ق	Kaf.
ر	ر	Re.
س	س	Sin.
ش	ش	Shin.
ت	ت	Te.

The old *Perſic* alphabet.

ا	
ب	
ج	
ك	
ل	
م	
ن	
ه ه	
و	Like the *Engliſh* U.
ف	Like the *Engliſh* V, and at the end of a word ف.
ب	
ج	
ك	
گ	
ل	
م	
ن	
ه ه	
و	
ف	Like the *Engliſh* F.
پ	Like the *Engliſh* P.
ر	
ز	
ق	
ك	at the end of a word.
ر	
س	
ش	
چ	Tch.
ر	Td.

The

a

The old *Perſic* vowels and diphthongs.

a		û	
e			
ai		ü	
ao			
i		ei	
b			

It appears, from comparing the old *Perſic* and modern *Arabic* alphabets, that the following letters of the latter are wanting in the former, *viz.* ث ح ص ض ط ظ ع غ ق. Now *Ludovicus de Dieu*, in his *Perſic* grammar, obſerves, that the true *Perſic* words have ſcarce ever any of theſe letters in them. It is obſervable, likewiſe, that the *Arabic* characters, which the *Perſians* adopted in the reign of *Jezdegerd*, do not always anſwer the ſounds they repreſent, ſo well as the old *Perſic* letters did. In proof of which, it will be ſufficient to produce the two following inſtances.

c

Arab.	Old *Perſic.*
خسروث	
مهروث	

d The *African Saracenic* alphabet, probably the ſame as the antient *Hamyaritic*, given us by *Kircher*.

Dh D Sh S Sc S Z R Dh D Ch Hh G Th T B A

e

I I I L LH & L V H HN N M M L L K C Ph Gh Gh Ai

THOUGH by far the greateſt part of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed* could neither read nor write, every one of which went under the denomination of *Al Ommio*; yet ſeveral of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect ſkill in their own tongue. Herein they exerciſed themſelves by compoſing orations and poems. Their orations were of two ſorts, metrical and proſaic, f the one being compared to pearls ſtrung, and the other to looſe ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able in an aſſembly to perſuade the people to a great enterprize, or diſſuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholſome advice, was honoured with the title of *Khâteb*, or *orator*, which is now given to the *Mohammedan* preachers. They called an oration giving a detail of ſome glorious atchievements, delivered from the roſtra, *Khôtbah*, according to *Al-Barezi*, a word of the ſame origin with *Khâteb* above-mentioned. From what we find in ſeveral authors, they purſued a method very different from that of the *Greek* and *Roman* orators; their ſentences being, like looſe gems, without connection; ſo that this ſort of compoſition ſtruck the audience chiefly by the fulneſs of the periods, the elegance of the

The learning, &c. of the antient Arabs.

expreſſion, and the acuteneſs of the proverbial ſayings (T). So perſuaded were they of a their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to underſtand the art of ſpeaking in public, except themſelves and the *Perſians*; which laſt were reckoned much inferior in that reſpect to the *Arabians*. Two of the antient *Arabs*, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were *Koſs* and *Sabban*, of the tribe of *Wayel*. Hence came the proverbs, *More expert in the art of ſpeaking than* Koss, and *More eloquent than* Sabban. To their poetry they ſeem to have been chiefly indebted, for the poliſhing, and even preſervation, of their language, before the uſe of letters was introduced amongſt them; for which reaſon their authors generally conſider this and the ſtudy of their language together. In their poems, likewiſe, were preſerved the diſtinction of deſcents, the rights of tribes, and the memory b of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe, ſo that as ſoon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publicly to congratulate them on the occaſion, and themſelves

(T) Now we are ſpeaking of the *Arab* literature, our readers will expect ſome account of the fabuliſt *Lokmân*, ſo famous over all the eaſt. *Lokmân*, ſurnamed *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the wiſe*, or *the ſage*, according to *Saddi*, *Akramas*, and *Schaab*, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by ſucceſſion, he having been the ſon or grandſon of a ſiſter or aunt of *Job*. The author of *Taiaſſir* makes him the ſon of *Baura*, or *Bêor*, the ſon of *Nahor*, the ſon of *Terah*, and conſequently related to *Abraham*. *Abouleits* gives *Lokman* the ſurname of *Abou Anam*, i. e. *the father of Anam*, though others call his ſon *Mathan*. The author of the book intituled *Ain al mâni* ſays, he was born in the time of *David*, and lived till the age of *Jonah*; but this exceeds all belief. According to the deſcription of his perſon by the *Arab* writers, he muſt have been deformed enough; for they ſay he was an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian* ſlave, and conſequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and ſplay feet. But in return he received from God wiſdom and eloquence in a great degree, which ſome pretend were given him in a viſion, on his making choice of wiſdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the *Mohammedans* therefore hold him to have been no prophet, but only a ſage or wiſe man. Others relate, that when God, in order to reward his tranſcendent piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on earth, he choſe rather to remain in the condition of a ſlave, though with an entire reſignation to the divine will, begging that God would enable him to execute all His orders, in caſe He thought proper to fix him in ſo ſublime a poſt. This, continue the ſame authors, ſo exceedingly pleaſed God, that he made him ſuperior to all other men in wiſdom; inſomuch, that he wrote ten thouſand proverbs and fables for the inſtruction of mankind. From ſeveral authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, and that by nation he was an *Ethiopian*, ſold to the *Iſraelites*, but by religion a *Jew*. The author of *Tarikh Montakhab* affirms, that the ſepulchre of *Lokmân* was to be ſeen in his time at *Ramlah* or *Ramah*, near *Jeruſalem*; and that he was interred near ſeventy prophets, who had been ſtarved by the *Jews*, and all died in one day. He is ſaid to have obtained his liberty on the following occaſion: His maſter having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him ſuch exact obedience as to eat it all; at which his maſter being ſurpriſed, aſked him how he could eat ſo nauſeous a fruit? To which he replied, it was no wonder, that he ſhould for once accept a bitter fruit from the ſame hand, from which he had received ſo many favours. Our readers will naturally obſerve, that *Lokmân*, who lived in the time of the prophet *Hud*, or *Heber*, could not be the ſame perſon with the fabuliſt here mentioned.

As moſt of the particulars relating to the perſon of *Lokmân* here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the *Korân*, agree ſo well with what *Maximus Planudes* has written of *Æſop*, theſe two ſages are generally thought to have been the ſame perſon. The great reſemblance the fables of *Lokmân* bear to thoſe of *Æſop* is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that *Planudes* borrowed great part of his life of *Æſop* from the traditions he met with in the eaſt concerning *Lokmân*, and concluded theſe two perſons to have been the ſame from the circumſtances above-mentioned. That the fables attributed to *Æſop* were of *Oriental* extraction, cannot well be denied, ſince they ſavour ſo much more of the genius of the *Orientals*, than of that of the *Greeks*. Fable or apologue was of a very high antiquity in the eaſt, and even the countries bordering on *Arabia*, if not in *Arabia* itſelf; as may be learned from the noble example of this form of inſtruction in the ſpeech of *Jotham* to the men of *Shechem*, which was made near two hundred years before the time of *Lokmân*, ſuppoſing him to have been cotemporary with *David*. In fine, we are diſpoſed to think, that the *Arab* traditions concerning the wiſdom of *Lokmân* were only corruptions of ſome paſſages of Scripture relating to *Solomon* king of *Iſrael*, eſpecially if we admit the queen of *Sheba* to have been a *Nubian* or *Ethiopian*. This will appear at leaſt probable, from 1 *Kings* c. iii. ver. 9—13. c. iv. ver. 30—34. compared with what has been already obſerved of *Lokmân* from the eaſtern writers. The generality of theſe writers make *Lokmân* cotemporary with *David* and *Solomon*, and of the ſame religion with thoſe princes; which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. As for the deformity of his perſon, that might have been introduced by them, in order to ſet off to the greater advantage, by ſuch a contraſt, the excellency of his wiſdom. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the thirty-firſt chapter of the *Korân*, from whence ſeveral hints relating to our ſage may be drawn, is intituled Lokman; nor that ſome fables going under his name have been publiſhed by *Golius*, at the end of his edition of *Erpenius*'s *Arabic* grammar. What is here advanced will meet with a better reception from our readers, when they have conſulted Mr. *D'Herbelot* in the article *Lokmân* (19).

(19) *Al-Zamakhſh. Al-Beidawi, &c. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c.* 31. *Jud. c.* ix. *ver.* 7. *Maraccius in Alc. p.* 547. *ed. Patavii*, 1698. *Saddi, Akramas, Schaab, &c. Maxim. Planud. in vit. Æſop. Vaheb. in comment. Turcic. ad Al-Korân. Mohammed. Poc. in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p.* 36. *La vie d'Eſope, par M. de Mexiriac, Bayle in dict. hiſt. art. Eſope. Var. auctor. apud D'Herbel. in art. Lokmân. Vide etiam Lokmânni fab. in calce gram. Arab. Thom. Erpenii, a Golio ed. Lugd. Bat.* 1656.

g themſelves made entertainments, at which the women aſſiſted, dreſſed in their nuptial ornaments, ſinging, to the ſound of timbrels, the happineſs of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preſerve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to tranſmit their actions to poſterity. For this was all performed by their poems, to which they were ſolely obliged for their knowledge and inſtruction, moral and œconomical, and to which they had recourſe, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences. No wonder, then, that poetry was in ſuch eſteem among them, that they looked upon it as a great accompliſhment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to expreſs one's ſelf in verſe with eaſe and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; nor that even in their common diſcourſe they
b made frequent applications of celebrated paſſages of their famous poets. As the *Arabs* conſidered an elegant and inſtructive poem as the ſummit of human performances, a ſpirit of emulation was kept up amongſt their poets; in order to which, the tribes had once a year a general aſſembly at *Ocadh*, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our *Sunday*. This annual meeting laſted a whole month, during which time they employed themſelves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compoſitions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is ſaid, took its name. The poems, that were judged to excel, were laid up in the king's treaſuries, as were the ſeven celebrated poems, thence called *Al Moallakât*, rather than from
c their being hung up on the *Caaba*, which honour they alſo had by public order, being written on *Egyptian* ſilk, and in letters of gold; on which account they had alſo the name of *Al Modhahabât*, or the *golden verſes*. It is worthy obſervation, that ſuch a public congragulation, as has been already mentioned, was made only on the birth of a boy, the riſe of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they reckoned three great points of felicity. Though poetry was of ſo high an antiquity amongſt the *Arabs*, they did not at firſt uſe to write poems of any juſt length, but only expreſſed in verſe occaſionally; nor was their proſody digeſted into rules, till ſome time after *Mohammed*, for this was done, as it is ſaid, by *Al Khalîl Ahmed al Farâhîdi*, who lived in the reign of the *khalîf Harûn al Raſhîd*. The firſt
d author of a poem that conſiſted of thirty verſes, or *Al-Kaſidah*, was *Mohalhel*. According to *Al-Khalîl*, there are fifteen different kinds of *Arabic* verſe; *Zamakhſharius* makes them ſixteen, and others only eleven or twelve. *Mohammed* ſuppreſſed the fair and aſſembly at *Ocadh*, which occaſioned poetry to decline in his time, and for ſome years after, the *Arabs* being then employed in extending their conqueſts; which having done, upon the return of peace this ſtudy was revived, and almoſt all ſorts of learning encouraged, and not a little improved by them. However, this interruption occaſioned the loſs of moſt of their antient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preſerved by memory. The *Arabian* poetry agrees with the *Greek* and *Roman* in this, that it conſiſts of *Ajzac*, *parts* correſponding with their *feet*; and
e theſe differ, according to the different number and quantity of ſyllables, as the *Greek* and *Roman* feet did. The whole art of the *Arab* verſification conſiſts in the due poſition of letters called *moveable* and *quieſcent*. A *moveable* letter has its proper vowel; a *quieſcent* letter one that has no vowel of its own, but is joined to the preceding letter, and with it makes one ſyllable. Thus, for inſtance, in ﻫﺮﺱ *harſon*, ﻫ (*H*) has its vowel (*a*), and therefore is *moveable*; but ﺭ (*R*) is deſtitute of one, and therefore joined to the preceding ﻫ (*H*), with which it forms but one ſyllable. We muſt not here omit taking notice of the quick tranſitions from ſubject to ſubject in the *Arab* poetry, nor of the moſt celebrated antient *Arab* poets, whoſe
f works were hung up in the *Caaba*, adorned in the above-mentioned manner: *viz.* 1. *Amriol Kais*. 2. *Tarafah*. 3. *Zohair*. 4. *Labid*. 5. *Antarah*. 6. *Al-Hareth*. 7. *Amru Ebn Kalthum*. Some authors, in the room of *Antarah* and *Al-Hareth*, ſubſtitute *Al-Aaſha* and *Al-Nabega*. The title affixed to every copy of verſes in the *Caaba* was, *Modhahhabato Fohlan*, i. e. *the golden verſes* of a *certain poet*, *which are the beſt he ever wrote* [b].

BEFORE

[b] AL-MOTAREZZI, in lib. *Mogreb*. EBN AL ATHIR. JALLAL'ODDIN. in lib. *Mezhar*, c. 29, & alib. MOHAMMED. EBN SALAIN. AL-JAUHAR. & AL-FIRAUZABAD. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 159—162. ut et ipſe POCOCKIUS ibid. IBRAHIM AL BAREZI in ſchol. ad ſermon. Nobatii. Poc. orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 10, 11. & not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 162, 348. EBN RASHIK apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 160, 381. AL-KHALIL & AL-ZAMAKHSHAR. Vide etiam JALLALO'DDIN AL SOYÛTI, ibid. & p. 159. Geogr. Nubienſ. Pocock. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 233. & SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 27, 28.

Some particulars relating to the chronology of the antient Arabs.

BEFORE we dismiss our present subject, it will be proper to take notice of some a few particulars relating to the chronology of the *Arabs*. They divided the year into twelve months, whose antient names were, 1. *Mutemer*. 2. *Nagir*. 3. *Chavan*. 4. *Savan*. 5. *Ritma*. 6. *Ida*. 7. *Asam*. 8. *Adil*. 9. *Natil*. 10. *Vaïl*. 11. *Varna*. 12. *Burec*. But *Kelâb*, the son of *Morrah*, from whom *Mohammed* was lineally descended, having, from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old ones in his time began to grow obsolete amongst the *Koreish*; and afterwards, by the authority of *Mohammed*, when he had brought all the rest of the *Arab* tribes under his power, were totally abolished in every part of *Arabia*. As *Mohammed* made the use of the modern names, one of the distinguishing characteristics of his followers, it is no wonder they should still prevail amongst the b *Mohammedans*. The first day of *Mutemer*, or *Muharram*, being the first day of the year, was celebrated by the antient kings of *Yaman* with great festivity and munificence, as it was likewise by the *Persians* and other eastern nations. The nation we are now upon antiently divided the year also into six seasons: 1. The season of herbs, flowers, *&c.* 2. Summer. 3. The hot season. 4. The season of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. That the antient *Arab* year was lunisolar, has been already observed; but the custom of intercalating months, in order to make the course of the moon to agree with that of the sun, was abolished by *Mohammed*. The *Arabs*, like the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, &c. antiently computed their time by weeks, or periods of seven days, as we learn c from a very antient *Arab* poet, who died many ages before the publication of the *Korân*. The old names of these days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. *Euvel*. 2. *Babûn*. 3. *Gebâr*. 4. *Debâr*. 5. *Mûnis*. 6. *Aruba*. 7. *Xijâr*. We have already delivered our sentiments concerning the origin of this manner of computing time, and may possibly say something farther of it, when we come to the history of the *Indians* [b].

The sciences they chiefly cultivated.

THE sciences chiefly cultivated by the antient *Arabians* were three; that of their history and genealogies, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themselves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that d occasion, that it is no wonder, if they took great pains in settling their descents. Their knowledge of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules. The *Arabians* and *Indians*, as has been already hinted, applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. The stars or asterisms, they most usually foretold the weather by, were those they call *Anwâ*, or the houses of the moon. These are 28 in number, and divide the *zodiac* into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night. As some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their rising and setting, the *Arabs*, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air; and at length came to ascribe divine power to them, saying, that their rain was from such or such a star. This expression *Mohammed* absolutely forbad them to use in the old sense, unless qualified in such a manner as to make the Supreme Being the director and manager of them. We find *Al-Rayesh*, one of the kings of *Yaman*, surnamed *the philosopher*, not so much on account of his learning, as of his great prudence and intellectual endowments. That the *Arabs* understood something of physic before the time of *Mohammed*, appears from hence, that the famous *Arabian* physician *Al Harith Ebn Khalda*, so celebrated amongst his countrymen, was older than that impostor. They seem to have made no farther progress in astronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars upon the weather, and to give them names; which it was obvious for them to do, by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the *Arabic*. For though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the *Greeks*, yet the far greater part are

[b] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 3—16. AL JAUHAR. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân. MOHAMHED. pass. MESUD. & NOVEIR. apud Golium, ubi sup. Philos. Xiraſic. Poet. antiquiss. apud Golium, ubi sup. Vide etiam Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 684. not. (R); & p. 712.

a are of their own growth, and much more antient; particularly thoſe of the more conſpicuous ſtars, diſperſed in ſeveral conſtellations, and thoſe of the leſſer conſtellations, which are contained within the greater, and were not obſerved or named by the *Greeks*. Some of the chief of theſe are *Auwâ* in *Virgo*, *Benât Al Naſh* in *Urſa major*, *Aiyûk* and *Al Gjedyân* in *Auriga*, *Ma'laph* and *Al Himarein* in *Cancer*, &c. To wave all other arguments in favour of the high antiquity of the names of ſeveral ſtars and aſteriſms amongſt the *Arabs*, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that ſome of theſe names were prior to the time of *Job*; nay that, in all probability they were coeval with the firſt peopling of *Arabia*, ſince from the beginning the *Arabs* led a paſtoral life, lying altogether in the open air, and continually viewing their flocks
b and the ſtars; from whence it came to paſs, that the firſt appellations, given to ſome of the latter, alluded to the former. Neither can we abſolutely reject what has been hinted by *Ricciolus*, *viz.* that ſome degree of attention is due to thoſe who believe aſtronomy to be as antient as *Adam*, and conſequently that ſeveral names of ſtars and conſtellations now in uſe amongſt the *Arabs*, may be ſuppoſed to precede even the deluge itſelf. *Onirocritic*, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the *Egyptians*, *Chaldæans*, &c. as likewiſe divination by arrows, and, as is probable, ſomething of genethliacal aſtrology. [c]

THAT ſome of the *Arabs* had a good degree of knowledge in ſeveral mecha- *They had ſome knowledge of the mechanical arts*, &c.
nical arts, appears from *Strabo*, who informs us, that the people of *Tamna* and the
c adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houſes, built in the *Egyptian* taſte. The ſame author likewiſe relates, that in *Arabia Felix*, beſides the huſbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongſt others, thoſe who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much uſed by the *Arabs*. As for the exerciſe of arms and horſemanſhip, they looked upon this as one of their principal accompliſhments, being obliged to practiſe and encourage it by reaſon of the independency of their tribes, whoſe frequent jarrings made wars almoſt continual amongſt them, which for the moſt part ended in field-battles. Hence it became a uſual ſaying amongſt them, that GOD had beſtowed four peculiar things on the *Arabs*, *viz.* turbans inſtead of diadems, tents inſtead of walls and houſes, ſwords inſtead of intrenchments, and
d poems inſtead of written laws. The principal arms uſed by the antient *Arabs* were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad ſwords or cymeters. The bows and arrows were the moſt antient of theſe, being uſed by *Iſhmael* himſelf, according to Scripture. It is probable alſo, that ſome of them were acquainted with every branch of the military art cultivated by their neighbours, the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians* [d].

WITH regard to the diſpoſition of the antient *Arabs*, it will be proper to remark, *The diſpoſition of the antient* Arabs.
that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other nations. Hoſpitality was ſo habitual to them, that in this they ſeem to have exceeded all their neighbours. *Agatharchides* repreſents them as the moſt hoſpitable
e people in the world to all nations, but particularly ſome of the *Greeks*. *Hatem* of the tribe of *Tay*, and *Haſn* of that of *Fezârah*, were principally famous on this account: the latter of theſe we are told, fell into as great a tranſport of joy, when he conferred any ſignal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they received ſuch a favour. Nay, the contrary vice was ſo much in contempt amongſt the *Arabs*, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of *Waſet*, as with the greateſt reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hoſpitable diſpoſition, the *Arabs* uſed to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travellers to their tents, and aſſured them of a kind reception. Every one of theſe fires they called *the fire of hoſpitality*, and the larger
f and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the perſon or perſons concerned in lighting it. The higheſt compliment that could be paid a man was, to paſs an encomium upon his munificence; as that moſt acceptable to a woman was, to celebrate her parſimony, and her beauty. The antients likewiſe commend the *Arabs* for being exact to their words, and reſpectful to their kindred; and they have

[c] AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in orat. ubi ſupra, p. 9. & not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 164. AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. & EBN. AL ATHIR, ibid. p. 163, 164. GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 161. HYDE, in not. ad tabulas ſtellar. fixer. Ulugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. RICCIOLUS apud Hyde, ibid. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 31, 32. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20. [d] STRABO, l. xvi. POCOCK. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 234. SEPHADIUS in comment. ad carmen Tograi, apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 161. SALE, ubi ſupra, p. 29.

have always been celebrated for their quickneſs of apprehenſion, and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit; eſpecially thoſe of the deſart [e].

ON the other hand, that the *Arabs* had a natural inclination to war, bloodſhed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowledged by their own writers. They had always been ſo much addicted to bear malice, that they ſcarce ever forgot an old grudge; which vindictive temper, ſome phyſicians ſay, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camels fleſh, that creature being moſt malicious, and tenacious of anger. And at this day the *Arabs* of the deſart, who eat little elſe, are obſerved to be moſt inclined to theſe vices; which account, according to Mr. *Sale*, ſuggeſts a good reaſon for a diſtinction of meats [f].

Scenite Arabs lived chiefly upon plunder.

THAT the antient *Scenite Arabs*, *Iſhmaelites*, or *Nabathæans*, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, haraſſing their neighbours by continual robberies and excurſions, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*. That author obſerves, that it was in a manner impoſſible either to ſubdue or attack this nation of robbers; becauſe they had wells digged at proper diſtances in their dry and barren country, known only to themſelves: ſo that if any body of foreigners ever purſued or invaded them, they for the moſt part either died of thirſt, or were conſumed by the fatigues they found themſelves obliged to ſuſtain. Neither are their poſterity leſs infamous at preſent, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travellers. This they are ſenſible of, and endeavour to excuſe themſelves, by alledging the hard uſage of their father *Iſhmael*, who, being turned out of doors by *Abraham*, had the open plains and deſarts given him by GOD for his patrimony, with permiſſion to take whatever he could find there. This therefore, they think, authorizes them to indemnify themſelves, as well as they can, not only on the poſterity of *Iſaac*, but alſo on every body elſe; always ſuppoſing a ſort of kindred between themſelves and thoſe they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it ſufficient to change the expreſſion, and, inſtead of, *I robbed a man of ſuch and ſuch a thing*, to ſay, *I gained it*. We muſt not, however, imagine, that they are the leſs honeſt for this among themſelves, or towards thoſe whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the ſtricteſt probity is obſerved in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be ſtollen. The *Iſhmaelites* alſo employed themſelves in paſturage, as well as pillaging of paſſengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and fleſh of camels, as above-mentioned. However, ſome of them uſed horſes fleſh, as well as that of camels, according to the *Arab* poet *Tograi*. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of paſture for their cattle, invited them, ſtaying in a place no longer than that laſted, and then removing in ſearch of another. They generally wintered in *Irâk*, and the confines of *Syria*. Before the *Romans* ſubdued *Syria*, the *Scenite Arabs* made dreadful excurſions into that country, where they committed great depredations, as we learn from *Strabo* [g].

The more civilized Arabs *dwelt in towns, &c.*

BESIDES theſe free-booters, we find a more civilized kind of *Arabs*, who dwelt in cities and towns. Theſe lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exerciſe of all ſorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of *Jacob*. The tribe of *Koreiſh* were much addicted to commerce, and *Mohammed*, in his younger years, was brought up to the ſame buſineſs; it being cuſtomary for the *Arabians* to exerciſe the ſame trade that their parents did, according to *Strabo*. Neither ought it to appear ſurpriſing, that the *Arabs* ſhould have had ſuch a genius for traffic, if their country produced ſuch immenſe quantities of the moſt precious commodities, as ſome authors ſuggeſt. Balſam, cinnamon, and *caſſia*, the *Happy Arabia* abounded with, as likewiſe myrrh, frankincenſe, and all the moſt noble ſpices and perfumes. Cattle likewiſe its inhabitants had ſufficient to ſupply all their neighbours with, and even many of the remoter nations. But, above all, the gold, which was the proper produce of this country, has been repreſented by *Agatharchides* and *Strabo* to

[e] GENTIUS in not. ad Guliſtan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c. Poet. Arab. apud Poc. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 48. ABU ISHAC & EBN'OL HOBAR. poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipſe POCOCK. ibid. & p. 111—113. Vide etiam HERODOT. l. iii. c. 8. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Photium, p. 1369, 1370. STRABO, l. xvi. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 121. & SALE ubi ſupra, p. 29, 30. [f] Poc. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 87, 88. BOCHART. Hierozoic. l. ii. c. 1. SALE ubi ſupra, p. 30. [g] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. p. 92. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 12. Voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 220, &c. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 6, & alib. SALE ubi ſupra, p. 25, 30, 31. TOGRAI, ver. 24. AGATHARCHID. CNID. & STRABO, ubi ſupra.

a to be ſo copious as to exceed all belief. According to them, the *Alilæi* and *Caſſandrini*, in the ſouthern parts of *Arabia*, had gold in that plenty amongſt them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for braſs, and ten times its weight for ſilver. In digging the earth they found ſome pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as big as olive-ſtones, others as big as medlers, and laſtly others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to paſs, that all the furniture of their houſes, even their chairs, beds, cups, and veſſels of all kinds, conſiſted of gold and ſilver. Nay, according to *Agatharchides*, they alone enriched *Syria* to a great degree under the *Ptolemies*, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the *Phœnicians*. Contiguous to the *Alilæi* and *Caſſandrini* were the *Dedebæ* or
b *Debæ*, through whoſe country paſſed a river ſo abounding with ſmall gobbets of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it ſeemed to conſiſt intirely of that metal. *Diodorus* relates, that this gold was of ſo bright and glorious a colour, that it added an exceeding luſtre and beauty to the moſt valuable gems ſet in it. In ſhort, continues the laſt author, *Arabia Felix*, at leaſt the region of the *Sabbæi*, was ſo immenſly rich, that all the treaſures of the world ſeemed to centre there; all the commodities of *Aſia* and *Europe* being brought thither, as to an univerſal mart. But, notwithſtanding the happineſs of its climate, its fertility and riches, *Strabo* intimates, that *Arabia* was aggrandized ſolely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the ancients imagined were the produce of *Arabia*, came from
c the *Indies*, and the coaſts of *Africa*. For, the *Egyptians*, who had engroſſed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the *Red-ſea*, to themſelves, induſtriouſly concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports ſhut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into thoſe countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution of theirs on the one ſide, and the deſarts, unpaſſable to ſtrangers, on the other, were the reaſon why *Arabia* was ſo little known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Amongſt other veſſels the *Arabs* uſed on the *Red Sea*, to carry on their commerce with *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, were ſome made of leather, the invention of which the reflux of that ſea ſuggeſted to them [h].

d AMONGST the principal cuſtoms of the antient *Arabs*, beſides thoſe couched under ſome of the former general heads, may be ranked the following:

Cuſtoms of the antient Arabs.

1. THE antient *Arabs* uſed circumciſion, either on the eighth day, according to *Philoſtorgius*, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age, when *Iſhmael* was circumciſed, as *Joſephus* aſſerts. *Al-Gazalius* intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumciſion when all their teeth were completely formed, and *Ebn al Athir* betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which ſeems to correſpond pretty well with what we find advanced by *Joſephus*. The *Arab* writers affirm *Mohammed* to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce. 2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings which conſiſted of the inteſtines of camels filled with their blood, which they called *moſwadd*. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and
e augury. When any one of them ſet out upon a journey, he obſerved the firſt bird he met with; and, if it flew to the right, he purſued his journey, but if to the left, he returned home. Some of them paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a perſon, diſtruſting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together ſome of the boughs of a tree called *Al-Ratam*, and if upon his return he found them in the ſame poſition, he judged ſhe had been faithful to him, otherwiſe not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. *Pocock*'s *ſpecimen hiſtoriæ Arabum*. All the ſpecies of augury and divination were forbid by *Mohammed*; as likewiſe the plays of cheſs, dice, cards, *&c.* which in the *Korân* are comprehended under the name *Al Maiſer*. 4. When a
f ſhe-camel or ew had brought forth twins ten times, ſhe had an ear cut off, and was afterwards ſent to graze at liberty; but women were never permitted to taſte of her fleſh. 5. According to ſome authors, many of the idolatrous *Koreiſh* buried their daughters alive as ſoon as they were born, upon a mountain near *Mecca*, called *Abu-Dalamah*. 6. It was not uncommon for the *Arabs* to marry their father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldeſt ſon, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren; but this the moſt virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and ſhocking crime, and ſtyled the perſon guilty

[h] AGATHARCHID. CNID. DIOD. Sic. ubi ſup. Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. LA ROQUE, voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 109, & alib. Vid. etiam SALE, ubi ſup. p. 25.

guilty of it *Al Daizan*. 7. Some of them married two ſiſters; which *Shahreſtani* a looks upon as one of the worſt things they were guilty of. 8. Moſt of them went a pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, obſerving ſome particular ceremonies, which our readers will find deſcribed by *Abulfeda*, 9. The *Caaba*, their great temple or place of religious worſhip from the remoteſt antiquity, was their *Keblah*, or place towards which they turned themſelves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their years conſiſting of lunar months, as already obſerved. 11. They frequently waſhed their mouth and noſtrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other uſages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right hand. 12. They addreſſed themſelves to their kings in theſe terms, *May* b *you avert all malediction*, or, according to Dr. *Pocock*, in order to ſhew their profound reſpect and reverence for, as well as ſubmiſſion to, his perſon, *He hath averted all malediction*; i. e. *May* GOD *be propitious to you*, or *May* GOD *prolong your life*. This form of ſalutation was firſt uſed to *Yarab* the ſon of *Kâhtan*, whoſe memory is held in great veneration by the *Arabs* to this day. 13. In *Arabia Petræa* a prince of one family, called the royal family, always governed, and was attended and ſerved by a perſon ſtyled the king's brother. 14. In *Arabia Felix* the king's brothers preceded his ſons, and had greater reſpect ſhewn them, as being more advanced in years. 15. The *Troglodytes*, in the neighbourhood of *Arabia*, lived a paſtoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by ſeveral c tyrants, who had wives, whom none of their ſubjects muſt lie with, under the penalty of a ſheep. The women hung a fiſh-ſhell about their necks, which they believed to be a preſervative againſt all kinds of faſcination. 16. *Strabo* ſeems to intimate, that there was but one wife in a family, amongſt ſome tribes of the *Arabs*, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilſt one was engaged with her, a ſtaff, which all of them walked with, was erected before the door of the tent, as a ſignal to prevent another's approach. But the ſenior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they puniſhed with death; but eſteemed him only guilty of it, who had to do with a woman of another tribe. 17. The *Nabathæans* were good œconomiſts, and therefore inflicted puniſhment publicly d on ſuch as ſquandered away their ſubſtance; but paid great reſpect to ſuch as increaſed it. 18. As they had very few ſlaves amongſt them, relations either ſerved at meals, and on other occaſions, or they aſſiſted one another, or, laſtly, ſerved themſelves; which uſage likewiſe extended to their phylarchs. 19. At their feaſts they generally admitted only thirteen perſons; and had always two muſicians to perform during the whole entertainment. 20. Their phylarchs had ſo little power, that they were almoſt upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inſpected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in perſon to a public aſſembly of their reſpective tribes. 21. Their cities were not walled round, ſcarce any foreign invader ever attempting to diſturb them. 22. It was a common practice e among the *Saracens* or *Scenite Arabs* to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter much altered ſince the admiſſion of divorces; on the contrary, amongſt many of them it is in all reſpects the ſame. 23. According to ſome authors, the antient *Arabs* circumciſed their daughters, as well as their ſons. 24. When the *Sabæans* found themſelves near overcome by the ſtrong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourſe to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard, ſet on fire under the noſe of the patient, which recovered them. 25. They reaped twice a year, having two harveſts as well as the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. 26. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers ſitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppoſe the enemy both in rear and in front at the ſame time. Several others cuſtoms prevailing amongſt the antient *Arabs*, depending upon the authority of the *Korân*, will be touched upon hereafter occaſionally, when we come to conſider the tenets and doctrines of that book [i].

CHAP.

[i] AGATHARCHID. CNID. ubi ſup. DIOD. SIC. l. ii. & l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. PHILOSTORG. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. iii. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. i. c. 23. AL GAZALIUS & EBN AL ATHIR apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 319. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL-BEDAWI in c. v. Al-Korân. Mohammed. AL MOSTATRAF. MOHAMMEDES ALFIRAUZABADIUS & AL-DAMIRIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 321, 322, 323, & ſeq.

CHAP. IX.

The history of the Arabs, *to the time of* Mohammed.

Joktan and his family settle in Arabia *soon after the confusion of languages.*

a JOKTAN the son of *Eber*, whom the *Arabs* call *Kahtân*, had thirteen sons, who, some time after the confusion of languages at *Babel*, settled in *Arabia*, extending themselves from *Mesha* to *Sephar*, a mountainous district in the south-eastern part of that peninsula. To this district, in all probability, part of the provinces of *Hadramaut* and *Shihr* corresponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of *Dhafâr* or *Saphâr*, in which some traces of *Moses*'s *Sephar* seem still to be preserved. The names of these thirteen planters were, *Almodad*, *Sheleph*, *Hazarmaveth*, *Jerah*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Diklah*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, *Havilah*, and *Jobab*. As for *Hadramaut*, *Seba*, *Ofir*, and *Kawilah*, the sons of *Kahtân*, mentioned by M. *D'Herbelot*, they were undoubtedly the same with *Hazarmaveth*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havi-*
b *lah*; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewise the order in which the three last are placed. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Kahtân* had thirty-one sons by the same mother, of whom all but two, leaving *Arabia*, went and settled in *India*. *Yarab*, the elder of those two, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, giving name, if we will believe the *Arab* writers, both to their country and language, as has been already observed: *Jorham*, the younger, founded the kingdom of *Hejâz*, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of *Ishmael*. That *Yarab* and *Jorham* are the *Jerah* and *Hadoram* of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from insisting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the second king of *Yaman* was called *Jerah* or *Yareah*, not
c *Yarab*; and consequently, that the peninsula of *Arabia* (A), and the *Arabic* tongue, could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the *Arabs* pretend. But whether *Yarab* and *Jorham* be the same persons with *Jerah* and *Hadoram* or not, we cannot infer from the disagreement betwixt their names, as M. *Gagnier* seems to have done, that every thing related by the *Arabs* of the former is a downright fiction; because, as their language differed gradually more and more from the *Hebrew*, the *Arabs* undoubtedly altered the most antient proper names. Of this *Hazarmaveth* and *Hadramaut*, *Joktan* and *Kahtân*, which confessedly denote the same persons, are a sufficient proof. *Elmacinus* says, that *Kahtân* was the father of the *Arabs*, and that he begat many children, who chose for their princes or leaders
d *Saba*, *Ophir*, and *Gjawilah*, i. e. *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*; which runs counter to what we find advanced by *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, *Abulfeda*, and others. And this disagreement between the most celebrated eastern writers, with regard to the first kings of *Arabia*, clearly evinces, that none of them, at least in this point, can be intirely depended upon [a].

Ishmael,

seq. Korân. Mohammed. pass. Al-Shariz. Al-Iallalan. & Al-Jauhar. apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 324—339. ut et ipse Pocock. ibid. Hadrian. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 79, 94, 117, 118. Al-Motarezzi apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 55, 56, 57. ut et Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Ebn Al Athir, & ipse Pocock. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4. & l. xxiii. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. i. Heideg. hist. patriarch. tom. ii. exercit. 7: sect. 29. p. 241. Hadr. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. l. i. p. 75. Vid. etiam Al-Korân. Mohammed. Abulfed. alioqui; script. Orient. pass. [a] Abulfed hist. cap. 4. Ahmed Ebn Yusef apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. Gen. c. x. ver. 25—31. Safioddin. in lex. geographic. R: Saadias in version. Arab. pentat. R. Abraham. Zachut. in Sefer Iuchasin. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82, 83. Pocock. ubi sup. p. 40, 45, 78, 151. D'Herbel. bibl. Oriental. art. *Saba & Hegiaz.* Gagn. in diatrib. sect. 1, 2. Georg. 'Ebn'ol-'Amid 'Elmacin in cod. MS. apud Gagn. ibid. Vid. etiam Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 130, 131.

(A) It is at least equally improbable, that the peninsula of *Arabia* should have been so denominated from we know not what mixture of different nations inhabiting it: for the *Arabs* agree, that they had only two principal planters, *viz. Kahtân* and *Ishmael*, whose families by intermarriages became one and the same. And it is generally allowed, that no people in the world have had a less mixture with foreigners than the *Arabs*, nor have preserved their antient customs and manners more invariably the same than they have done. Nor indeed can we conceive an introduction of foreign customs amongst them likely to be effected, since neither the *Persians*, *Greeks*, or *Romans*, could ever subdue them; and as for the *Egyptians*, though *Sesac* obliged a good part of *Arabia* to submit to him, his successors could not long keep their footing there. All the other etymons of *Arabia*, except that we have already given, are so apparently remote from truth, that not the least regard is due unto them (1).

(1) *Gagn. diatrib. sect.* 1. *Abulfed. Ahmed Ebn Yusef apud Pocock. &c.*

As does Ishmael *the son of* Abraham.

Ishmael, and his mother *Hagar*, having been dismissed by *Abraham* in the manner already related, retired into the wilderness of *Paran*, where they were supported by the Divine favour and assistance. GOD had assured *Hagar* in her distress, before the birth of *Ishmael*, that her son should be the father of a most numerous and potent nation; that he and his descendants should be wild, and live in a state of enmity with the rest of mankind; and yet that they should never be thoroughly subjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which most surprising prediction to demonstration appears, from the manner of life, disposition, power, government, &c. of the *Scenite Arabs*, or, as they are frequently now styled, the wild *Arabs*, from the age of *Ishmael* to this very day. For, from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to omit other antient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travellers, who have visited the countries they inhabit, they now live in the same manner their father *Ishmael* did, and have always done so from his time to the present. Their disposition likewise is the same that it was predicted to be, as it always has been; that is, *their hand has been against every man*, and consequently *every man's hand against them*; since they always have, and still do, for the most part, live by pillaging passengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at least for any time continued in, a state of servitude, as appears from all the principal antient historians mentioning them, and their present almost absolute independence on the *Turk*; which gives us an idea of their power and government, sufficient to convince us of the agreement of both with the Divine prediction, relating to *Ishmael* and his posterity. The vast puissance and conquests of the *Saracens*, the descendants of *Ishmael*, as well as the similitude of their manners and those of the *Ishmaelites*, as foretold by GOD himself in the *Mosaic* history, likewise confirm the authority of Scripture in this particular. But this point our readers will find set in a just and proper light by two authors, who deserve well both of literature and religion [b].

Ishmael *forms an alliance with the* Jorhamites, *by marriage.*

Ishmael, as we learn from the sacred historian, held his residence in the wilderness of *Paran*, and married an *Egyptian*. In conformity to the Divine prediction to *Abraham*, he had twelve sons, the heads of so many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whose names we have already given. The *Arab* writers say, that he took to wife the daughter of *Modâd* king of *Hejâz*, descended lineally from *Jorham* the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it will, he died at an hundred and thirty-seven years of age, probably not far from the borders of *Egypt*. As the *Arabs* have always considered him, and still do consider him, as the father of the greatest part of their nation, and this notion is strongly countenanced by Scripture, we may look upon him and *Joktan* as the principal planters of *Arabia*. This seems an additional proof to those already offered, that the (B) *Cushites* did not settle in any great numbers here, or at least, that their settlement was not of any long continuance, but that they passed, either through *Egypt*, or on the eastern coast of the *Red Sea*, and over the streights of *Bab al Mandab*, into *Ethiopia*. The silence of the *Orientals*, with regard to such a settlement, seems to confirm what is here advanced. We must not imagine, that the *Scenite Arabs* were the only descendants of *Ishmael*, though probably they might be the bulk of them; since *Moses* gives us to understand, that some *Ishmaelites* had castles and towns. For all other particulars relating to *Ishmael*, our readers may have recourse to the *Jewish* history [c].

Some particulars relating to the kings of Hamyar.

IN order to render our history of the antient *Arabs* as complete as possible, we shall here give our readers catalogues of the kings of *Hamyar*, or *Yaman*, *Hira*, *Ghassân*, and *Hejâz*, extracted from the best *Oriental* historians.

As the kings of *Hamyar* were the most considerable princes in *Arabia*, it will be proper to begin with them. But, before we do this, some particulars relating to them

[b] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 14—22. c. xvi. ver. 12. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 426. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ubi sup. LA ROQUE, voyage dans Palestine, p. 213, 220, &c. Dr. JACKSON's works, vol. ii. Lond. 1673. Revelat. examined with cand. dissert. iv. p. 114—152. [c] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 20, 21. c. xvii. ver. 20. AL-JANNABIUS. Vid. etiam POCOCK. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 78, 79. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 17. ABULFED. AL-FIRAUZABAD. aliosque scriptor. Arabic. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 192, 193. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 16.

(B) The scripture seems to distinguish the *Arabs* from the *Cushites*, when it makes a branch of the former contiguous to the latter. The passage here referred to will give great strength to what has been already advanced, in relation to the first settlements of the *Cushites* (2).

(2) 2 *Chron. c.* xxi. *ver.* 16. *Univ. hist. vol.* vii. *pass.*

a them muſt be premiſed. The kingdom of *Yaman*, or at leaſt the better part of it, particularly the provinces of *Saba* and *Hadramaut*, was governed by princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, the ſon of *Saba*, the great grandſon of *Kahtân*, though at length the kingdom was tranſlated to the deſcendants of *Cahlân* his brother, who yet retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. The *Hamyarites* were called *Homerites* by the later *Greek* and *Latin* authors, and *Immirenians* by *Theodorus Lector*; all their princes had the general title of *Tobba*, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, as the *Egyptian* kings had that of *Pharaoh*, the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæſar*, and the ſucceſſors of *Mohammed* that of *Khalif*. Several leſſer princes reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, but they were chiefly, if not intirely, ſubject to the king of *Hamyar*, who was ſtyled
b *the great king*. But, as hiſtory has recorded nothing of theſe *reguli*, that deſerves the leaſt attention, we ſhall drop them, and immediately proceed to the ſeries of the kings of *Yaman* or *Hamyar* [d].

1. *Kahtân*, or *Joktan*, the ſon of *Eber*, is ſaid to have firſt reigned, and wore a diadem, in *Yaman*; but how long he ſat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no-where learn [e]. Kahtân.

2. *Yarab*, the ſon of *Kahtân*, was a prince greatly celebrated by the *Arab* hiſtorians; but as the principal things related of him have already been taken notice of, we ſhall proceed to his ſucceſſor [f]. Yarab.

3. *Yaſhab*, ſon to the preceding prince, has had only his name tranſmitted down
c to us [g]. Yaſhab.

4. *Abd Shems*, i: e. *the ſervant of the ſun*, ſurnamed *Saba*, the ſon of *Yaſhab*, next aſcended the throne; who, the *Arab* hiſtorians tell us, was ſucceſsful in his expeditions againſt his enemies, carried off great ſpoils, and took many of them priſoners. Hence, they pretend, he derived his ſurname, which to us ſeems by no means probable: it is more likely, that it was uſed before in his family, ſince the Scripture mentions *Sheba*, or *Saba*, one of the ſons of *Joktan*. He is ſaid to have built the city of *Saba* or *Mâreb*, as likewiſe that ſtupendous mound or building, which formed the vaſt reſervoir above that city. By means of this reſervoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of *Yaman* did
d not only ſupply the inhabitants of *Saba*, and their lands, with water, but likewiſe kept the territories they had ſubdued in greater awe; ſince, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly diſtreſs them. *Abd Shems* had many ſons, but the moſt noted of them were *Hamyar*, *Amru*, *Cahlân*, and *Aſhaar* [h]. Abd Shems.

5. *Hamyar*, the ſon of *Abd Shems* or *Saba*, according to the *Oriental* authors, was ſo called from the red cloaths he wore. This ſeems a plain indication, that *Hamyar* was only a ſurname. He expelled *Thamûd* from *Yaman*, who took refuge in *Hejâz*. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of *Hamyar* deduced its name. Some aſſert, that not *Kahtân*, but *Hamyar*, was the firſt king of *Yaman* that wore a diadem [i]. Hamyar.

e 6. *Wayel*, the ſon of *Hamyar*, according to *Abulfeda*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom; but other authors make his brother *Cahlân* his ſucceſſor [k]. Wayel.

7. After *Wayel* reigned his ſon *Alſacſac* [l]. Alſacſac.

8. *Yaafar*, the ſon of *Alſacſac*, next mounted the throne [m]. Yaafar.

9. To him ſucceeded *Dhu Riyaſh* [n]. Dhu Riyaſh.

10. After him *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Yaafar*, ſwayed the ſceptre of *Yaman* [o]. Al Nooman.

11. Then came *Aſmah*, the ſon of *Nooman* [p]. Aſmah.

12. *Shaddâd*, the ſon of *Ad*, the ſon of *Al Matata*, the ſon of *Saba*, a very potent prince, ſucceeded *Aſmah* [q]. Shaddâd.

13. *Lokmân*, the brother of *Shaddâd*, was the next king, according to the moſt
f received opinion, though ſome authors are of a different ſentiment [r]. Lokmân.

14. He

[d] Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, Ebn Athir. Abulfed. Al-Jauhar. Vide etiam Pocock. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 65, 66. & Sale ubi ſupra, p. 9, 10. Theodor. Lect. l. ii. p. 567. Vide etiam Asseman. not. in Sim. epiſc. Beth. Arſamenſ. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. [e] Abulfed. hiſt. c. 4. Scholiaſt. in poem. Ebn Abduni. Georg. Ebno'l Amid Elmac. ubi ſup. [f] Al Motarezzi in lib. Mogr. Ahmed Ebn Yusef apud Pocockium in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Pocock. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, ſub init. & alib. Ebn Shohnah. Vide etiam Abulfed. ubi ſup. [g] Pocockius, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 57. [h] Idem ibid. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. ii. par. 6. Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam Sale ubi ſupra, p. 10. [i] Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al-Jannabius, Golii notæ ad Alfragan. ubi ſup. Pocock. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 57. [k] Abulfed. apud Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 58. [l] Al Jauhar. [m] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 58. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Poc. ubi ſup. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Al Jannabius, Al Firauzabadius, &c.

Dhu Sadâd. 14. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Dhu Sadâd* [s]. a

Al Hareth. 15. *Al Hareth*, the ſon of *Dhu Sadâd*, next aſcended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of *Yaman*, and was the firſt who had the title or ſurname of *Tobba* above-mentioned given him by his ſubjects [t].

Dhu'l Karnain 16. *Dhu'l Karnain Aſſaab*, the next king, was the ſon of *Rayeſh*. This was the *two-horned* prince mentioned in the *Korân*, and not *Alexander the great*, as we learn from *Ebn Abbas* [u].

Dhu'l Manar. 17. *Dhu'l Manar Abrahah*, the ſon of *Dhu'l Karnain*, ſucceeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign [w].

Africus, 18. *Africus*, the ſon of *Dhu'l Manar Abrahah*, from whence that part of the world called *Africa* was ſo denominated, according to ſome of the eaſtern writers, b next took the reins of government upon him [x].

Dhu'l Adhaar Amru. 19. *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru*, the ſon of *Africus*, who reigned after his father, received the name or ſurname of *lord of terrors*, from the terror with which his ſubjects were ſtruck at the ſight of certain monſtrous men, or ſatyrs, or apes, as ſome will have it, whom he had taken priſoners in war, and brought into *Yaman* [y].

Sharhabil. 20. The *Hamyarites* placed upon the throne *Sharhabil*, of the poſterity of *Alſacſac*, in the room of *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru*, whom for ſome enormity they expelled from thence [z].

Al Hodhad. 21. *Al Hodhad*, the ſon of *Sharhabil*, ſucceeded his father [a].

Balkis. 22. *Balkis*, the ſon of *Hodhad*, is ſaid to have reigned twenty years. According c to ſome authors, *Al Hodhad* was ſucceeded by a daughter named *Balkis* or *Belkis*, whom they aſſert to be the famous queen of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, king of *Iſrael*, at *Jeruſalem* [b].

Naſherol'neam. 23. *Naſherol'neam*, ſo called from his ſurpriſing magnificence and liberality, was likewiſe ſtyled ſimply *Malec*, or *king*. Having had bad ſucceſs in an expedition, wherein his army was overwhelmed by torrents of ſand, he cauſed a brazen ſtatue to be erected, with this inſcription, in the old *Hamyaritic* character, engraven upon it; *There is no paſſage behind me*; *no moving further*; *the ſon of* Sharhabil [c].

Shamer Yaraaſh. 24. *Shamer Yaraaſh*, the ſon of *Naſher*, ſwayed the ſceptre after *Naſherol'neam*: We are told, that he was ſo denominated from the *tremor* that always poſſeſſed him, d and that he gave name to the city of *Samarcand*. That *Samarcand* was built by one of the *Hamyaritic* kings, ſurnamed *Tobba*, ſeems to be a point agreed upon by the beſt of the eaſtern writers. To confirm this notion, it is pretended, an inſcription in the old *Hamyaritic* character, was found under one of the gates of *Samarcand*; though what this inſcription imported, we are no-where informed. It is poſſible the authors that relate this may miſtake the old *Cufic* character for the *Hamyaritic*, ſince in the time of *Arabſhah* conſiderable quantities of *dirhems*, and a ſmall coin called a *falous*, with *Cufic* letters upon them, were frequently dug up at old *Samarcand*. That the *Hamyaritic*, *Cufic*, and modern *Arabic* alphabets were derived from that of the *Hebrews*, as the excellent *Loeſcher* and *Schultens* with great reaſon ſuppoſe, ſeems farther to appear from hence, that the *Arabs*, in order to help the memory, diſtribute their letters into ſix words, *Abjad*, *Howaz*, *Hotai*, *Colman*, *Saaphas*, and *Karſhat*; wherein the order of the *Hebrew* alphabet is exactly preſerved. This, in conjunction with others, we take to be no contemptible argument in favour of what *Loeſcher* and *Schultens* have advanced [d].

Abu Malec. 25. *Abu Malec*, the ſon of *Shamer*, after his father's death, took poſſeſſion of the throne [e].

Amran. 26. *Amran*, the ſon of *Amer*, a deſcendant of *Cahlân*, the brother of *Hamyar*, to whoſe family the kingdom of *Hamyar* was now tranſlated, was inveſted with the regal power upon the death of *Abu Malec*. The *Orientals* repreſent this prince as a wiſe man, or ſoothſayer [f].

Amru. 27. *Amru*, the ſon of *Amer*, ſurnamed *Mazikia*, or *Dilacerator*, becauſe every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, ſucceeded the former king [g].

28. *Al*

[s] Poc. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Al Korân Mohammed. c. 18. Ebn Abbas. Vide etiam Pocockium, ubi ſup. [w] Pocock. ubi ſup. [x] Al Jannabius, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Scholiaſt. in poëm. Ebn Abnuni, &c. [y] Pocokius, ubi ſupra, p. 59. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 296. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. 1. par. 6. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Balkis*. [c] Pocockius, ubi ſup. [d] Idem ibid. p. 60. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tobba*. Arabshah in vit. Timur. Poc. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 4. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Poc. ubi ſup. [g] Al Jauharius, Al Firauzabadius, &c.

28. *Al Alkran*, the ſon of *Abimalec*, governed *Yaman* after *Amru* [i]. Al Alkran.

a 29. *Dhu Habſhan*, the ſon of *Akran*, upon the laſt prince's demiſe, took poſſeſſion of the government. This prince put to death *Taſm* and *Jadis* [k]. Dhu Habſhan.

30. *Tobba*, or *Tobbaa*, the ſon of *Alkran*, ſucceeded *Dhu Habſhan* [l]. Tobba.

31. *Colaicarb*, or, according to ſome, *Molaic Yacrab*, aſcended the throne of *Hamyar* after the death of the laſt prince [m]. Colaicarb.

32. *Abu Carb Aſaad*, the ſucceeding king, we find mentioned in the *Korân*. He lived ſeven hundred years before *Mohammed*, adorned the *Caab* with hangings or tapeſtry, and firſt introduced *Judaiſm* amongſt the *Hamyarites*. The *Oriental* writers ſay, that he was put to death by his ſubjects, probably on the ſcore of religion [n]. Abu Carb Aſaad.

b 33. *Haſſan Tobbai*, his ſon, cut off all his father's murderers, and was at laſt ſlain by his brother [o]. Haſſan Tobbai

34. *Amru Tobbai*, the ſon of *Haſſan Tobbai*, was ſurnamed *dominus lignorum*, or *Lord of wood*, becauſe through the whole courſe of his reign he was ſo infirm and indiſpoſed, that he was always carried about in a wooden chair [p]. Amru Tobbai.

35. *Abd Celal*, the ſon of *Dul'awad*, entered upon the government after *Amru Tobbai* [q]. Abd Celal.

36. *Tobba*, the ſon of *Haſſan*, the ſon of *Colaicarb*, ſurnamed *Tobba minor*, ſucceeded *Abd Celal* [r]. Tobba.

37. Next came *Al Hareth*, who embraced *Judaiſm* [s]. Al Hareth.

c 38. The thirty-eighth king of *Yaman* was *Morthed*, the ſon of *Celal* [t]. Morthed.

39. *Waciaa*, the ſon of *Morthed*, was declared king after his father's deceaſe [u]. Waciaa.

40. *Abrahah*, the ſon of *Alſabah*, reigned after *Waciaa* [w]. Abrahah.

41. *Sabban* mounted the throne upon *Abrahah*'s death, or, according to ſome of the *Oriental* writers, *Ebn Dakikan*. *Ebn Dakikan* had that famous ſword of *Ebn Maad Carb* called *Samſama*; this ſword came afterwards into the hands of the khâlif *Râſhid*, who with it cut in two ſeveral noble ſwords, ſent him as a preſent by the *Greek* emperor, in the preſence of that prince's embaſſadors, who brought them, without doing it the leaſt damage. How far this ſtory may be depended upon, we ſhall not take upon us to determine [x]. Sabban.

d 42. *Dhu Shanater*, according to *Al Firauzabadius*, had ſix fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the *Hamyarites* for being abandoned to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, and abuſing ſeveral youths of ſome of the nobleſt families amongſt them [y]. Dhu Shanater.

43. *Yuſef*, ſurnamed *Dhu Nowas*, from his flowing curls, lived about ſeventy years before *Mohammed*. He perſecuted all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was, throwing them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of *the lord of the pit*. This perſecution we find mentioned in the *Korân* [z]. Yuſef.

44. *Dhu Jadan*, i. e. *the perſon with a ſweet voice*, ſucceeded *Dhu Nowas*, and was the laſt of the *Hamyaritic* monarchs, according to *Abulfeda*; but *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* and *Al Jannabius* make *Dhu Nowas* the laſt prince of the true *Hamyaritic* line, reigning in a continual ſucceſſion. He was a bigotted *Jew*, as juſt obſerved, and treated his chriſtian ſubjects with ſuch barbarity, that *Eleſbaas*, or *Eleſbaan*, king of *Ethiopia*, ſent over forces to aſſiſt them. *Dhu Nowas*, not being able to make head againſt the *Ethiopians*, was at laſt drove to that extremity, that he forced his horſe into the ſea, and loſt both his crown and life together. According to *Ahmed Ebu Yuſef* above-mentioned, he reigned ſixty-ſix years, which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by *Al Jannabius*. The *Nojâſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, after this, eſtabliſhed the chriſtian religion in *Yaman*, and fixed upon the throne there, Dhu Jadan.

c

f 45. *Aryat*, an *Ethiopian* [a]. Aryat.

46. *Abraha Ebn al Sabah*, ſurnamed *Al Aſhram*, i. e. *the ſlit-noſed*, from a ſlaſh in his face, where he had formerly received a wound, was the ſecond *Ethiopian* king, or rather viceroy to the *Najâſhi*, in *Yaman*. He was ſtyled *the lord of the elephant*; Abraha al Aſhram.

the

[i] Poc. ubi ſup. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Jannabius, &c. [n] Al Korân. Mohammed. c. 50. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Jannabius, Scholiaſt, Ebn Abduni, &c. [o] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 61. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Abulfed. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. [s] Pocock. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Pocock. ubi ſup. [x] Abulfeda, Al Jannabius. [y] Al Firauzabadius. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 62. [z] Baronius in annal. ad ſec. 6. Theophan. Niceph. Callist. Sim. Metaphrast. Pag. &c. Vide etiam Assaman. bibliothec. Orient. vol. i. p. 359—385. [a] Abulfeda, Ahmed Ebn Yusef, & Al Jannabius. Prideaux's life of Mahom. p. 61.

the reaſon of which appellation appears from the following ſtory, handed down to a
us by the commentators upon the *Korân*. *Abraha* built a magnificent church for the
Chriſtians in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, with a deſign to draw the *Arabs* to go
in pilgrimage thither, inſtead of viſiting *Mecca*, as they before had done; which he
imagined would greatly contribute towards their converſion to chriſtianity: for he
doubted not aboliſhing paganiſm, could he deſtroy the veneration of the *Arabs* for
the *Caaba*, by bringing them to a place more ſumptuous and grand, and which
would more ſtrongly attract their curioſity, and gradually excite their devotion.
This had ſoon ſuch an effect, that the devotion and concourſe of the pilgrims at the
Caaba began conſiderably to diminiſh; which being obſerved by the *Koreiſh*, who
were ſuperſtitiouſly fond of that place, they ſent one *Nofail*, as he is named by ſome, b
of the tribe of *Kenânah*, to offer an indignity to the chriſtian church at *Sanaa*, in
order to leſſen that religious regard, which the *Arabs* began to have for it. *Nofail*
therefore getting into it by night, upon a ſolemn feſtival, defiled the altar and walls
thereof with his excrements; and, making his eſcape by favour of the night, pub-
liſhed every-where what he had done. At this profanation *Abraha* being highly
incenſed, vowed the deſtruction of the *Caaba*, and to that end aſſembled a conſi-
derable body of forces, wherein were ſeveral elephants, which he had obtained of
the king of *Ethiopia*, their number being, as ſome ſay, thirteen; though others
mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards *Mecca*. The *Meccans*,
unable to defend their temple and city, and terrified at *Abraha*'s approach, parti- c
cularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been
ſeen in *Arabia*, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they intrenched them-
ſelves. But GOD HIMSELF, at this juncture, interpoſed in an extraordinary manner:
for when the *Ethiopian* drew near to *Mecca*, and would have entered it, the elephant
on which he rode, being a large one, and named *Mahmud*, refuſed to advance any
nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that
way, though he would riſe, and march briſkly enough, if they turned him towards
any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both by reaſon of
his ſize and whiteneſs, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him,
ſo that *Abraha* could not ſo much as reconnoitre the town. The *Meccans*, obſerving d
this from their retrenchment, were at a loſs to what to attribute ſo unexpected a
motion, believing that the enemy were going to return home. In the mean time,
whilſt matters were in this ſituation, a large flock of birds, called *Ababil*, like ſwal-
lows, came flying on a ſudden from the ſea-coaſt, every one of which carried three
ſtones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle ſize betwixt a ſmall lentil
and a vetch, but ſo ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets
and bodies of men, and even, according to ſome, the elephants likewiſe, which they
threw down upon *Abraha*'s ſoldiers, certainly killing every one they ſtruck. Then
God ſent a flood, which ſwept the dead bodies, and ſome of them who had not been
ſtruck by the ſtones, into the ſea: the reſt fled towards *Yaman*, but periſhed by the e
way, none of them reaching *Sanaa*, except only *Abraha* himſelf, who died ſoon
after his arrival there, being ſtruck with a ſort of plague or putrefaction, ſo that
his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is ſaid, that one of
Abraha's army, named *Abu Yacſum*, or, according to others, *Abraha* himſelf, eſcaped
over the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical
ſtory. Upon which, that prince aſked him what ſort of birds they were, that had
occaſioned ſuch a deſtruction; in anſwer to which queſtion he pointed to one of
them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly
over his head; which he had no ſooner done, than the bird let fall the ſtone, and
laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers ſay, that the
names of all the perſons to be deſtroyed were inſcribed on the ſtones that deſtroyed
them; that this flock of birds conſiſted of two ſorts, one whoſe feathers were black,
and bill white; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and
that they threw all their ſtones at once upon the *Ethiopians*. This memorable event,
according to the *Mohammedans*, is ſaid to have happened in the time of *Abd al Mo-
talleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, and the very year in which that impoſtor
was born [b].

THAT

[b] Al. Korân. MOHAMMED. c. 105. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALAN. AL CESHAF, ABULFED. hiſt. Gen. AL. JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, EBNO'L ATHIR apud Abulfed. AL GJUZIUS, in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. c. 78. KHONDEMIR, HOUSSAIN VAEZ. com. in Al Kor. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Abraha*. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM ubi ſup. p. 64.

a THAT this piece of hiſtory has all the air of one of thoſe fictions, with which the *Arab* writings in general, and the *Korân* in particular, abound, will be readily acknowledged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. *Prideaux*, rather take the fact therein aſſerted to be a creature of *Mohammed*'s brain, than a feat of evil ſpirits, as is ſuggeſted by father *Marracci*; and yet, ſuppoſing it a real fact, we ſee no abſurdity in this laſt notion. The very learned Mr. *Sale*, to our no ſmall ſurprize, is of opinion, that this ridiculous ſtory, for ſo we cannot help terming it, is not without ſome foundation, ſince "it ſeems to him, that there was ſomething "extraordinary in the matter." The reaſons he alledges in ſupport of this opinion, are the two following: 1. The event is ſaid to have happened not above fifty-four b years before the pretended revelation mentioning it was made; and therefore had it been a fiction, ſeveral living witneſſes could have diſproved it; which we find never was done, and conſequently may preſume, that the reality of this remarkable action could not be denied. 2. *Mohammed* had no occaſion to coin a miracle to gain the temple of *Mecca* any greater veneration, the people of *Mecca* being already ſo religiouſly attached to it, that he was obliged, contrary to his original plan, to make it the chief place of his new-invented worſhip. In anſwer to the firſt reaſon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that, according to Mr. *Sale* himſelf, after *Abu Becr* had vouched for *Mohammed*'s veracity, in the twelfth year of his miſſion, which falls within the time mentioned, his diſciples were ready to ſwallow whatever he was c pleaſed to impoſe upon them; that the ſtory, as told in the *Korân*, is ſuppoſed a revelation, and therefore might only deſcribe the ſupernatural unknown cauſe of a noted defeat; that Mr. *Sale* himſelf allows the thing might be worked up into a miracle, at which it muſt be owned, none of the preceding *Arabs* had ſo excellent a knack as *Mohammed*; and, laſtly, that the ſame turn and genius appear in this as in the moſt extravagant abſurdities of that impoſtor. To the ſecond reaſon it may be replied, that we are under no neceſſity to allow, though Dr. *Prideaux* ſuppoſes it, that the gaining a veneration to the *Caaba* amongſt the pagan *Arabs* was the motive to the forging ſuch a ſtory; on the contrary, it appears that this could not poſſibly be the motive, even from Mr. *Sale*'s own obſervation, *viz.* becauſe the d *Meccans*, or pagan *Arabs*, held their temple in the higheſt veneration at the time this pretended revelation happened. But, notwithſtanding this, *Mohammed* might coin a miracle, either to draw the chriſtian *Arabs* to *Mecca*, and make them converts to his religion, or to render them odious to all the other *Arabs*; which, from the whole tenour of the ſtory, appears to have been his deſign. But as what Mr. *Sale* has offered on this occaſion ſeems rather to proceed from a deſire of ſhewing ſome diſreſpect to Dr. *Prideaux*, on account of his attachment to religion in general, than a full perſuaſion of the truth of what he ſeems to advance, we ſhall offer nothing farther on this head, but immediately reſume the thread of our hiſtory [c].

47. *Yacſum*, the ſon of *Abraha*, ſucceeded him; but we find nothing remarkable Yacſum. c related of him by any antient hiſtorians [d].

48. *Maſruk*, another ſon of *Abraha*, and the laſt of the *Ethiopian* princes in Maſruk. *Yaman*, came to the throne after *Yacſum*. The *Ethiopians*, according to ſome eaſtern writers, occupied the kingdom of *Hamyar* about ſeventy-two years [e].

49. *Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan*, of the old royal family of *Hamyar*, having obtained Seif Ebn Dhu ſuccours of *Khoſrû Anuſhirwân*, king of *Perſia*, which had been denied him by the Yazan. emperor *Heraclius*, recovered the throne, and drove out the *Ethiopians*, but was himſelf ſlain by ſome of them, who were left behind. The *Perſians* appointed the ſucceeding princes, *Wahzar*, *Marzaban*, *Sihan*, *Jorjis* or *Georgius*, and *Bazan*, till *Yaman* fell into the hands of *Mohammed*, to whom *Bazan*, or rather *Badhân*, the f laſt of them, ſubmitted, and embraced his new religion. This induced *Mohammed* to give *Shahr*, the ſon of *Bazan*, part of his father's dominions [f].

THUS ſtands the ſeries of the kings of *Hamyar*, which we wiſh was more perfect. *Duration of* The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of *Hamyar*, were ſtyled *the kingdom of* *Al Kail*, and the governors of provinces *Al Makawel*. According to *Abulfeda*, this Hamyar. monarchy continued 2020 years, or above 3000, if we will believe *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, and *Al Jannabius*. The length of the reign of each prince muſt be allowed to be very uncertain. The hiſtory of the kings of *Hamyar*, ſurnamed *Tobba* or *Tobbai*, which the *Arabs* pronounce *Tababêah*, and *Tabbâïah*, has been wrote by *Shahabeddin Ahmed*

[c] SALE's tranſlation of the *Korân*, ch. cv. p. 501, 502. & not. PRID. ubi ſupra, & ſeq. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS, in refut. Alcoran. p. 823. Patavii, 1698. [d] POCOCK. ubi ſup. [e] AL JANNABIUS. [f] POCOCK. ubi ſupra, p. 64, 65. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid.

Ahmed Ebn Abdalvahab, *Al Bekri*, *Al Teïmi*, *Al Kendi*, surnamed *Nouaïri*, author of a universal history, which he dedicated to *Nasser Mohammed Ebn Calaoun*, sultan of the *Mamalukes*. For an account of this work we must refer our readers to M. *D'Herbelot*. *Nouaïri* died in the year of the *Hejra* 732 [g].

The inundation of Al Arem.

It has been already observed, that *Saba* made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a bason or reservoir, to supply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it constantly received from the mountains, as also to keep the country his predecessors had subdued in greater awe, by rendering him master of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by the *Sabæans* esteemed so strong, that they were under no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of them had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly displeased at their pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is styled in the *Korân the inundation of* Al Arem, and occasioned so terrible a destruction, that from thence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that *they were gone and scattered like* Saba. *Al Beidawi* supposes the aforesaid mound to have been the work of queen *Balkîs*, and that the above-mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of Jesus Christ. But both these notions run counter to the most received opinion, which attributes the building of Al Arem to *Saba*, and fixes its destruction about the time of *Alexander the great*. Be that as it will, no less than eight tribes, *viz.* those of *Anmâr*, *Jodhâm*, *Al Azd*, *Tay*, *Khozâab*, *Banu Amela*, &c. were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occasion, some of which gave rise to the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghassân* [h] (B).

Foundation of the kingdom of Hira.

The kingdom of *Hira* was founded by *Malec*, a descendant of *Cahlân*, in *Chaldæa* or *Irâk*; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the *Lakhmians*. These princes, whose general name was *Mondar*, preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the *Persians*, till the khalifat of *Abubecr*, when *Al Mondar Maghrûr*, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walîd*. The kingdom of the *Mondars*, supposed to be the descendants of *Nadar Ebn Rabia*, continued, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, six hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of *Persia*, whose lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, as the kings of *Ghassân* were for the *Roman* emperors over those of *Syria*. The *Lakhmians* were descended from *Lakhm* the son of *Amru*, the son of *Saba*. If the kingdom of the *Lakhmians* or *Mondars* was not of any longer duration than six hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, *Al Beidawi* seems not to be much mistaken, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of *Christ*, notwithstanding the authority of those who carry it above three centuries higher. This space was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the best *Oriental* historians [i].

Malec.

1. *Malec*, who, say some of the eastern writers, flourished in the time of *the kings of the provinces*, that is, of the governors *Alexander the great* appointed to preside over the provinces of *Persia* [k].

Amru.

2. *Amru*, *Malec*'s brother [l].

Jodaimah.

3. *Jodaimah*, the son of *Malec*, surnamed *Al Abrash*, who first used amongst the *Arabs* that military engine called a *ballista*. He defeated *Amru*, an *Arab* prince of the tribe of *Amalek*, who reigned in *Mesopotamia*, and put him to the sword; but was afterwards himself

[g] Al Jauharius, Abulfeda, Al Firauzabadius. Vide etiam Ahmed Ebn Yusef, & Al Jannabium, apud Pocockium ubi supra, p. 62, 63. D'Herbel. in voc. Nouaïri, p. 674, 675. & voc. Tobba, p 889. [h] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 87. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. 2. par. 6. Al Korân. Mohammed. c. 34. Al Beidawi. Jallal. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66. [i] Poc. ubi supra, p. 66, 74. Procop. in Pers. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Beidawi, &c. [k] Poc. ubi supra, p. 66. [l] Idem ibid.

(B) At this time likewise, probably happened the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into *Mesopotamia* by three different chiefs, *Becr*, *Modar*, and *Rabia*; from whence the three provinces of that country are still named *Diyar Becr*, *Diyar Modar*, and *Diyar Rabia* (2).

(2) *Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p.* 232.

a himſelf aſſaſſinated, by the contrivance of *Zoba*, *Amru*'s daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured [m].

4. *Amru*, the ſon of *Ad* and *Rakaſh* the ſiſter of *Jodaimah*, by the aſſiſtance of one *Koſair*, who had been ſervant to *Jodaimah*, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following ſtratagem: *Koſair*, at his own deſire, had his ears cut off and was whipped in a moſt cruel manner, by *Amru*'s order; after which he fled to *Zoba*, making the heavieſt complaints of the inhuman treatment he had met with. By this means he ſoon became a confident of *Zoba*, who permitted him to convey into her caſtle ſome large cheſts, full, as was given out, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately diſpatched her. The memory of *Amru* is ſtill preſerved
b amongſt the *Arabs* by ſeveral proverbs which particularly allude to him [n]. Amru.

5. *Amrio'l Kais*, the ſon of *Amru*, ſurnamed *Albada*, ſucceeded his father [o]. Amrio'lKais.

6. *Amru*, the ſon of *Amrio'l Kais*, flouriſhed in the time of *Sabur*, or *Sapor*, *Dil Actaf*, king of *Perſia*. This *Perſian* monarch, whoſe ſurname imports as much, according to *Abulfeda*, cut off the ſhoulders of all the *Arabs* he took priſoners, in a war he had with that nation. His mother's name was *Mary*, whoſe ear-rings occaſioned a proverb amongſt the *Arabs*. If this piece of hiſtory may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what *Al Beidawi* has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of Al Arem happened [p]. Amru.

7. *Aus*, the ſon of *Kalam*, an *Amalekite* [q]. Aus.

c 8. Another *Amalekite* prince, whoſe name is not known, ſucceeded *Aus*; after whoſe deceaſe the crown reverted to the family of the *Lakhmians*, after an interruption of two deſcents [r]. *An anonymous king.*

9. *Amrio'l Kais*, the ſon of *Amru*, next aſcended the throne. He was ſurnamed *Almohrek*, or *the burner*, becauſe he firſt tortured criminals with fire [s]. Amrio'lKais.

10. *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Amrio'l Kais*, ſurnamed *Alawar*, or *the blinkard*, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, ſaying, *What ſignifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end?* *Al Nooman* built thoſe caſtles or towers called *Khaouarnak* and *Al Sadir*, ſo celebrated by the *Arab* poets and proverbs. *Senemmar*, the builder of *Khaouarnak*, was thrown head-
d long from thence by *Al Nooman*'s order, which gave occaſion to the proverb, *The reward of* Senemmar. We are told, that *Al Nooman* became a convert to the *Chriſtian* religion, and in conſequence thereof thought fit to reſign the reins of government to his ſon *Hendu*, as juſt hinted. *Jezdegerd*, king of *Perſia*, committed the care of his ſon's education and the eſtabliſhment of his conſtitution to *Al Nooman*, who was afterwards very inſtrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his anceſtors. The cauſe of *Senemmar*'s tragical end, and all the other remarkable particulars relating to the reign of the prince we are now upon, our readers will find an ample account of in the hiſtory of the *Perſians* [t]. Al Nooman.

11. *Al Mondar Ebn Noomah*, the *Hendu* of the *Perſian* hiſtorians, attended *Ba-*
e *haram*, the ſon of *Jezdegerd*, into *Perſia*, with an army of 40000 men, to enable him to dethrone one *Kerſa*, an uſurper whom the *Magi* had elected king. The ſucceſs and particulars of this expedition have been already related at large in that part of this work to which they moſt properly belong [u]. Al Mondar. EbnNoomah.

12. *Al Aſwad*, ſon to *Al Mondar*, overthrew the king of *Ghaſſân*, and took many of his relations priſoners, according to ſome of the *Oriental* hiſtorians; but *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* relates, that the king of *Ghaſſân* prevailed againſt him and ſlew him, after a ſhort reign [w]. Al Aſwad.

13. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Al Mondar*, whoſe true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilſt this prince ſat on the throne,
f ſince the eaſtern writers ſay little of him [x]. *An anonymous king.*

14. *Al Kamah*, ſucceſſor to the laſt king, was ſtyled *Al Damyali*, from the family of *Damyal*, of which he was a member. All the tranſactions that happened during his reign, are likewiſe buried in oblivion [y]. Al Kamah.

15. *Amrio'l Kais*, the ſon of *Nooman*, the ſon of *Amrio'l Kais al Mohrek*, next ſwayed the ſceptre of *Hira*. *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* aſſerts, that it was he who threw *Senemmar* Amrio'lKais, *the ſon of* Nooman.

[m] Mohammedes Al Firauzabadius, Al Jannabius, Ahmed Ebn Yusef. [n] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 67, 68. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Abulfeda. Al Beidawi. [q] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 68. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Al Firauzabadius, Safioddin. Al Meidan. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. Khondemir. &c. Vide etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 382, 383. [u] Lebtarik. Mirkh. Khondem, ubi ſupra. Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra. [w] Ahmed Ebn Yusef. [x] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 69. [y] Idem ibid.

nemmar headlong from the top of the caſtle of *Khaouarnak*, with whom agree herein a *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius* [z].

Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

16. *Al Mondar*, the ſon of the laſt king and *Mawiah* the daughter of *Aus*, a lady of ſuch tranſcendent beauty, that ſhe was called *Maiſſamai*, i. e. *water of heaven*, governed after his father in *Hira*. From his mother he and his poſterity were likewiſe ſurnamed *Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai*; which appellation they had in common with the kings of *Ghaſſân*, according to *Al Jauharius*. For theſe laſt princes were ſo denominated from *Abu Amer*, of the tribe of *Azd*, the father of *Amru Mazikia*, who by his ſurpriſing liberality and beneficence ſupplied the want of rain, furniſhing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it ſo dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was depoſed by *Khoſrû Kobâd*, king of *Perſia* [a]. b

Al Hareth.

17. *Al Hareth Ebn Amru*, of the tribe of *Kenda*, was placed on the throne of *Hira* by *Khoſrû Kobâd*, in the room of *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais*, whom he had depoſed. However, *Kobâd*'s ſon and ſucceſſor *Anuſhirwân*, ſurnamed *the juſt*, in whoſe reign *Mohammed* was born, reſtored the lawful king to his dominions and drove away the uſurper *Al Hareth Ebn Amru*. *Kobâd* embraced the tenets of an impoſtor called *Mazdak*, who pretended himſelf a prophet ſent from God to preach a community of women and poſſeſſions, ſince all men were deſcended from the ſame common parents; and in moſt points agreed with *Manes*. By rendering wealth and women common, he propoſed taking away the luſt of both; from whence, he inſinuated, generally aroſe the feuds, quarrels, and animoſities, that diſturbed the repoſe and tranquillity of mankind. Such a doctrine well ſuiting the diſpoſition of *Kobâd*, he not only profeſſed himſelf a convert to *Mazdak*'s religion, but likewiſe obliged all his dependents to do the ſame; and therefore, when *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais* refuſed this, he ſtripped him of his dominions, and appointed *Al Hareth*, who had declared himſelf a zealous follower of *Mazdak*, to preſide over them in his ſtead. But *Anuſhirwân*, called *Nouſchirvan* by the *Perſian* hiſtorians, in conſequence of a vow he had made before his acceſſion, reſtored the *Mondar* family to the throne of *Hira*, put *Mazdak* to death, and aboliſhed the profeſſion of his impious opinions. It is ſaid, when *Mazdak* knew his fate, he told *Anuſhirwân*, *that* God *had raiſed him to the throne of* Perſia *to protect his ſubjects, and not to deſtroy them*. To which that monarch anſwered, *True, abandoned villain; but doſt thou not remember, that with the utmoſt difficulty, even by kiſſing thy loathſome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent requeſt, had given thee a permiſſion ſo to do? Yes*, replied *Mazdak*. Upon which, the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and eſtabliſhed once more amongſt his ſubjects the ancient *Magian* religion [b]. c d

Al Mondar, Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

18. *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Al Mondar*, ſtyled, according to *Al Jauharius*, *Modret ol' Hajarah*, from his ſupriſing ſtrength and unparallelled bravery. Other authors, from his mother *Henda*, give him the ſurname of *Ebn Henda*. In the eighth year of his reign the falſe prophet *Mohammed* was born [c]. e

Kabus.

19. *Kabus*, the brother of *Amru*, comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eaſtern writers [d].

His brother, Al Mondar.

20. *Al Mondar*, brother to the former prince, ſucceeded him [e].

Al Nooman Abu Kabus.

21. *Al Nooman*, ſurnamed *Abu Kabus*, was the twenty-firſt king of *Hira*, and became a convert to *Chriſtianity* on the following occaſion: In a drunken fit he had ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen aſleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himſelf, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raiſed a monument to the memory of his friends, but ſet apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate* and the other the *fortunate day*; making it a perpetual rule to himſelf, that whoever met him on the former day, ſhould be ſlain, and his blood ſprinkled on the monument; but he that met him on the other day, ſhould be diſmiſſed in ſafety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Tay*, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting and ſeparated from his attendants. The king, who could neither diſcharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, againſt f the

[z] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfeda, & Al Jannabius. [a] Al Jauharius. [b] Abulfed. in vit. Anuſhirwân. Sharestan. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 70. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ibid. p. 71. Mirkh. Khond. & Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 390, 391. [c] Al Jauhakius. [d] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 72. [e] Idem ibid.

a the laws of hoſpitality, which the *Arabs* religiouſly obſerve, propoſed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's reſpite, and to ſend him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loſs they were to ſuſtain, on condition that he found a ſurety for his returning at the year's end to ſuffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compaſſion, offered himſelf as his ſurety, and the *Arab* was diſcharged. When the laſt day of the term came, and no news of the *Arab*, the king, not at all diſpleaſed to ſave his hoſt's life, ordered the ſurety to be brought out to execution. Thoſe who were by, repreſented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their diſcourſe the *Arab* appeared. The king, admiring the man's gene-
b roſity, in offering himſelf to certain death, which he might have avoided, by letting his ſurety ſuffer, aſked him, what was his motive for ſo doing? To which he anſwered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he profeſſed; and *Al Nooman* demanding what religion that was, he replied, the *Chriſtian*. Whereupon the king, deſiring to have the doctrines of *Chriſtianity* explained to him, was baptized, together with all his ſubjects; and not only pardoned the man and his ſurety, but aboliſhed his barbarous cuſtom. This prince, however, was not the firſt king of *Hira*, who profeſſed himſelf a convert to the *Chriſtian* religion; *Al Mondar*, the ſon of *Amrio'l Kais*, his grandfather, declared himſelf a *Chriſtian*, and built large churches in his capital. As *Al Nooman* took a particular delight in tulips, and would
c not permit them to grow in all gardens, the *Arabs*, from him, call them *the variegated flowers of* Al Nooman. After a reign of twenty-two years, *Al Nooman* was ſlain by *Khoſrû Parwiz*, by whom the kingdom of *Hira* was tranſlated from the family of the *Lakhmians* to *Ayas* the *Tayite* [f].

22. *Mohammed*'s miſſion commenced in the ſixth month of *Ayas*'s reign [g]. Ayas.

23. *Zadawaih*, the ſon of *Mahan* of *Hamadan*, ſucceeded *Ayas* [h]. Zadawaih.

24. *Al Mondar*, *Ebn Nooman*, *Ebn Mondar*, *Ebn Maiſſamai*, ſurnamed *Al Maghrûr*, governed *Hira*, from the death of *Zadawaih* to the conqueſt of the kingdom of *Hira* by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walîd*. The four royal families of *Perſia*, governing that kingdom before this period, were the *Piſhdadian*, the *Caia-*
d *nian*, the *Aſhganian*, and that of *Khoſrû*; which, as *Hira* was a ſtate dependent on the *Perſians*, we thought not improper to be obſerved [i]. Al Mondar. Ebn Nooman. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Maiſſamai. Al Maghrûr.

THE kingdom of *Ghaſſân*, as well as that of *Hira*, owed its origin to the inundation of *Al Arem*. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of *Azd*, who, according to ſome, ſettling in *Syria Damaſcena*, near a water called *Ghaſſân*, thence took their name; though others make them to have gone under this appellation before they left *Yaman*. Having driven out the *Dajaamian Arabs*, of the tribe of *Salîh*, who before poſſeſſed the country, they made themſelves maſters of a very conſiderable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years, as others ſay, ſix hundred, or, as *Abulfeda* more exactly computes, ſix hundred and
e ſixteen. If *Ghaſſân* was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the *Caſſanitæ* of *Ptolemy*. Be that as it will, five of the kings of *Ghaſſân* were named *Hâreth*, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* wrote *Aretas*; and one of them it was, whoſe governor ordered the gates of *Damaſcus* to be watched to take St. *Paul*. Dr. *Pocock* gives us the following liſt of the kings of *Ghaſſân*, extracted from the *Oriental* hiſtorians [k]. *The kingdom of* Ghaſſân.

1. *Jafnah Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Thaalibah*, *Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Mazikia*, to whom, after the exciſion of the royal family of *Salîh*, the *Kodaenſian Arabs*, and the *Greeks* in *Syria Damaſcena*, ſubmitted themſelves. Jafnah.

2. *Amru*, the ſon of *Jafnah*, who is ſaid to have built many monaſteries in
f *Syria*. Amru.

3. *Amru*, the ſon of *Thaalibah*. Amru.

4. *Al Hâreth*, or *Aretas*, the ſon of *Thaalibah*. Al Hâreth.

5. *Jabalah*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*. Jabalah.

6. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Jabalah*. Al Hâreth.

7. *Al Mondar Al Acbar*, that is, *the great*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*. Al Mondar.

8. *Al Nooman*, the brother of *Al Mondar*. Al Nooman.

9. *Jabalah*, the brother of *Al Nooman*. Jabalah.

10. *Al*

[f] AL MEIDANI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFED. &c. Vide etiam SALE ubi ſupra, p. 23, 24.
[g] POCOCKIUS ubi ſupra, p. 73, 74. [h] Idem ibid. [i] PROCOP. de bell. Perſ. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNAB. ABULFED. AL FIRAUZABADIUS, & POCOCK. ubi ſupra, p. 74, 75. [k] AL BEIDAWI. POCK. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66, 75, 76, 77.

Al Ayham. 10. *Al Ayham*, brother to the laſt two princes.
Amru. 11. *Amru*, who was brother to his three laſt predeceſſors.
Jafnah Alaſgar. 12. *Jafnah*, ſurnamed *Al Aſgar*, the ſon of *Mondar Al Acbar*, who ſet the city of *Hira* on fire; whence his poſterity were ſaid to be of the family of *the incendiary*.
Al Nooman. 13. *Al Nooman Al Aſgar*, brother to *Jafnah*.
Al Nooman. 14. *Al Nooman, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mondar*.
Jabalah. 15. *Jabalah, Ebn Nooman*, who waged war with *Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai*.
Al Nooman. 16. *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Al Ayham*.
Al Hâreth. 17. *Al Hâreth*, brother to *Al Nooman Ebn al Ayham*.
Al Nooman. 18. *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*.
Al Mondar. 19. *Al Mondar*, the ſon of *Al Nooman*.
Amru. 20. *Amru*, *Al Mondar*'s brother.
Hajar. 21. *Hajar*, brother to *Al Mondar* and *Amru*.
Al Hâreth. 22. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Hajar*.
Jabalah. 23. *Jabalah*, the ſon of *Al Háreth*.
Al Hâreth. 24. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Jabalah*.
Al Nooman. 25. *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*, who is called by ſome eaſtern writers *Abu Carb* and *Kotam*.
Al Ayham. 26. *Al Ayham*, the ſon of *Jabalah*, who was likewiſe lord of *Tadmor*.
Al Mondar. 27. *Al Mondar*, brother to *Al Ayham*.
Sharahil. 28. *Sharahil*, brother to the two laſt princes.
Amru. 29. *Amru*, another of their brothers.
Jabalah. 30. *Jabalah, Ebn al Hâreth, Ebn Jabalah*.
Jabalah. 31. *Jabalah*, the ſon of *Al Ayham*, and the laſt of the kings of *Ghaſſân*, who, on the great ſucceſſes of the *Arabs* in *Syria*, under the khalif *Omar*, profeſſed *Mohammediſm*; but, receiving afterwards a diſguſt from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to *Conſtantinople*. As in the regal line of *Hamyar*, *Hejâz*, and *Kenda*, we find the name of *Háreth*, or *Al Hâreth*, we think *Scaliger* had ſome colour of reaſon, when he aſſerted this to be a general name amongſt the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs, though Dr. *Pocock* is of another opinion. The ſcholiaſt on the poem of *Ebn Abduni* differs ſomething from *Abulfeda* in his account of the kings of *Hira*. For he tells us, that *Al Hâreth Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Amer*, *Ebn Hâreth*, *Ebn Amrio'l Kais*, *Ebn Mazen*, *Ebn Al Azd*, ſurnamed *Ebn Abi Shamer*, was the firſt king; and that the whole ſeries of theſe princes contained thirty-ſeven kings, the laſt of which was *Jabalah*, who embraced *Chriſtianity* in the khalifat of *Omar*: which if we admit, and that St. *Paul* was at *Damaſcus A. C.* 34. as *Calviſius* will have it, the *Aretas* mentioned by that apoſtle was in all likelihood one of the moſt ancient kings of *Ghaſſân* (C), and probably the firſt of them. From whence it will follow, that *Al Beidawi* has probability on his ſide, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of *Chriſt*; ſince the kingdom of *Ghaſſân* commenced immediately after that inundation. And ſome ſort of ſanction is given to this notion even by *Abulfeda* himſelf, when he intimates, that *Amru* the ſon of *Jafnah*, the ſecond king of *Hira*, founded many monaſteries in *Syria*. Be that as it will, had the *Arab* hiſtorians not been ſo defective in point of chronology, their works would have been much more valuable, and deſerved a much greater degree of credit, than at preſent the learned are willing to allow them [1].

It

[1] Scalig. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 77. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. & p. 78: Abulfeda, Scholiaſt in poëm. Ebn Abduni. 2 Cor. xi. ver. 32. Seth. Calvis. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 78. Al Beidawi. Vide etiam Sale's notes on the *Koran*, p. 354. & Ockley's hiſt. of the *Saracens*, vol. i. p. 174.

(C) In oppoſition to this it may be urged, that we find ſeveral princes called *Aretas*, kings of the *Arabs*, ſeated in *Syria*, or, at leaſt, near the frontiers of that country, mentioned in the *Maccabees*, as likewiſe in *Joſephus*, before the period here hinted at. But to this it may be replied, that theſe princes might preſide over the *Dajaamian Arabs*, expelled by thoſe of the tribe of *Azd* above-mentioned, or reign in *Arabia Petræa* and *Deſerta*, eſpecially if we admit *Hâreth* to have been a general name amongſt the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs. And, in ſupport of the laſt notion, it may be obſerved, that *Petra* was the metropolis of the *Aretan* princes mentioned by *Joſephus*. But we leave our readers to determine for themſelves in relation to the commencement of the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghaſſân*. The tranſactions ſpecified in the paſſages here referred to, in which the *Arabs* were concerned, our readers will find an account of in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, to which they properly belong (3).

(3) 1 *Maccab. c.* v. *ver.* 39. *c.* xi. *ver.* 16, 37. *c.* xii. *ver.* 31. 2 *Maccab. c.* v *ver.* 8. *c.* xii. *ver.* 10. &c. *Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l.* xiv. *c.* 2. *l.* xvi. *c.* 9, 10. *l.* xvii. *c.* 3. *de bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 7. *& alib. Univ. hiſt. vol.* iv. *p.* 101, 107, 108, 203. *& alib.*

a It has been already obſerved, that *Jorham*, the ſon of *Kahtân*, founded the kingdom of *Hejâz*, where princes of his line reigned till the time of *Iſhmael*, who married the daughter of *Modâd*, one of thoſe princes. Some authors relate, that *Kidâr*, one of *Iſhmael*'s ſons, had the crown reſigned to him by his uncles the *Jorhamites*; but, according to others, the deſcendants of *Iſhmael* expelled that tribe, who retiring to *Johainah*, were, after various fortune, at laſt all deſtroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of *Hejâz*, taken from Dr. *Pocock*, is the beſt that has been hitherto exhibited to the public[m]. *The kingdom of* Hejâz.

1. *Jorham*, the brother of *Yaarab*. Jorham.
2. *Abd Yalil*, the ſon of *Jorham*. Abd Yalil.
b 3. *Jorſham*, the ſon of *Abd Yalil*. Jorſham.
4. *Abdo'l Madan*, the ſon of *Jorſham*. Abdo'l Madan.
5. *Nogailah*, the ſon of *Abdo'l Madan*. Nogailah.
6. *Abdo'l Maſih*, the ſon of *Nogailah*. Abdo'l Maſih
7. *Modâd*, the ſon of *Abdo'l Maſih*. Modâd.
8. *Amru*, the ſon of *Modâd*. Amru.
9. *Al Hâreth*, brother to *Amru*. Al Hâreth.
10. *Amru*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*. Amru.
11. *Baſher*, brother to *Amru*. Baſher.
12. *Modâd*, the ſon of *Amru*, the ſon of *Modâd*. Modâd.
c 13. ------ *Anonym*. Anonym.
14. *Kidâr*, the ſon of *Iſhmael*, whoſe mother, according to the *Oriental* hiſtorians, was of the houſe of *Jorham*. Kidâr.

After the expulſion of the *Jorhamites*, the government of *Hejâz* ſeems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almoſt in the ſame manner as the *Arabs* of the deſart are governed at this day. The tribe of *Khozâah*, deſcended from *Cahlân*, the ſon of *Saba*, after the inundation of *Al Arem*, fled into the kingdom of *Hejâz*, and ſettled themſelves in a valley called *Marri*, near *Mecca*; in which territory they founded an ariſtocracy, aſſuming to themſelves both the government of the city of *Mecca*, and the cuſtody of the *Caaba* or temple there. Their name they derived from their being *cut off* or *ſeparated from* the other tribes of *Yaman* by the accident above-mentioned. They continued maſters of the city and territory of *Mecca*, as well as preſidents of the *Caaba*, for ſeveral ages; till at length one *Koſa* (C), of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, circumvented *Abu Gabſhan*, a weak and ſilly man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and cuſtody of the *Caaba*, for a bottle of wine. But when *Abu Gabſhan* grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he ſufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the *Arabs*: *More vexed with late repentance than* Abu Gabſhan; *More fooliſh than* Abu Gabſhan: which are applied to thoſe perſons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards ſorry for what they have done. The tribe of *Khozâah* endeavoured afterwards to give ſome diſturbance to the *Koreiſh* in the poſſeſſion of what *Koſa* had purchaſed; which furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of diveſting the former of the civil government of *Mecca*. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, it is not certain, whether the tribe of *Khozâah* were the deſcendants of *Iſhmael* or *Joktan*. We find *Amru*, one of their kings, a deſcendant of *Cahlân*, frequently mentioned by the *Arab* hiſtorians; but as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his ſon *Caab*, we ſhall take no further notice of them. After the *Koreiſh* had *Form of government in* Hejâz.

[m] Al Jannabius. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 38, 78, 79. Vide etiam Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 11, 12.

(C) *Koſa* was the ſon of *Kelâb*, who firſt gave the months of the year thoſe names by which the *Arabs* ever ſince have called them, even to this day. The ancient names were *Mutemer*, *Nagir*, *Chavan*, *Savan*, *Ritma*, *Ida*, *Aſam*, *Adil*, *Natil*, *Vaïl*, *Varna*, and *Burec*. The preſent names *Kelâb* derived from ſome contingencies that happened in the months to which they are applied; which names, receiving a ſanction from *Mohammed*'s authority, who made them one of the diſtinguiſhing marks of his followers, have been continued ever ſince they were firſt impoſed. It will not be improper to obſerve here, that the *Arabs* had anciently four ſacred *months*, in which they could not carry on any war, eſpecially amongſt themſelves. Something of this kind was obſerved amongſt the *Greeks*; ſince, according to *Pauſanias*, they had always a reſpite from war, during the time of the celebration of the *Olympic* games. Some authors intimate, that the ancient *Arabs* abſtained from war only in that month which is at preſent called *Muharrem* or *Moharrem* (3).

(3) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum*, p. 3, 4, 5. *Cazvinius in lib. de admirandis creatar. rer. Alkodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup* p. 272, 273, 274. *Jauhar. in theſaur. ling. Arab. Pauſan.* p. 293. *Vid. etiam Meſûdem & Nowaïrium, apud Gol. ubi ſup.*

had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Mecca*, they kept up there the ſame form of govern- a
ment that before had prevailed[n].

Besides the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were ſome other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed ſtates of leſſer note. The tribe of *Kenda* in particular had ſeveral kings, of which the three following were the principal[o]:

Hojr. 1. *Hojr*, ſurnamed *Acelo'l Morar*, i. e. *the eater of* Morar, a fruit of a bitter taſte, on which camels feed. That ſurname was given him by his wife, who had an averſion to him, becauſe his lips were ſo contracted, that they did not cover his teeth; which made him reſemble a camel, when brouzing upon the aforeſaid ſhrub. *Kenda*, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was alſo called *Thaur*. *Abulfeda* aſſerts, b that before the time of *Hojr* the people of *Kenda* were without any kind of government, from whence many inconveniences enſued; which induced them to chuſe him for their king[p].

Amru. 2. *Amru*, the ſon of *Hojr*, ſurnamed *Al Makſur*, i. e. *contracted* or *confined*, becauſe he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father[q].

Al Hâreth. 3. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Amru*, was by *Khoſrû Kobâd* elevated to the throne of *Hira*, and depoſed by *Anuſhirwân*, for the reaſons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to *Diyar Calb*, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. *Al Hâreth* placed his ſon *Hojr* over the *Bani Aſad*, and his other ſons over other tribes. *Hojr* was the father of *Amrio'l Kais*, a celebrated poet. The *Bani Aſad* endeavouring to take off *Hojr* by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and ſeverity; which occaſioned his meeting with a violent death. *Amrio'l Kais*, being appriſed of this, aſſembled a body of forces out of the tribes of *Becr* and *Taglab*, with which he defeated the *Bani Aſad*. But afterwards, his troops being diſperſed through the fear of *Al Mondar*, he found himſelf obliged to fly to the *Romans*, in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home near *Ancyra*. Some authors ſay, that *Cæſar* gave him a poiſoned garment, which was the cauſe of his death; but *Abulfeda* looks upon this as a downright fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of *Kenda* here mentioned we find one *Ebn Ommil' Kotam* added by *Al-Firauzabadius*[r].

The following princes, or chiefs of tribes, deſerve likewiſe a place in the hiſtory of the ancient *Arabs:*

Zohair. 1. *Zohair Ebnol Habab*, who preſided over the tribe of *Kelab*, and, by reaſon of his wonderful ſagacity, was ſurnamed *the wiſe*. He attained to a very old age, and died at laſt covered with glory. He invaded the *Bani Gatfan* with a powerful army, becauſe they pretended to build a temple in oppoſition to the *Caaba*, and entered into an alliance with *Abrahah al Aſhram*, ſtyled *maſter of the elephant*. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of him here, ſome authors intimate, that he came to his end by exceſſive drinking[s].

Colaib. 2. *Colaib Ebn Rabiah* governed the *Bani Maad*, the *Saraceni Maadeni* of *Procopius*, and was ſo proud, that he would not ſuffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himſelf uſed. He was at laſt ſlain by one *Jaſſas*, for ſhooting a camel named *Sarab*, that he found grazing on a prohibited ſpot of ground. This camel belonged to an *Arab*, who had been entertained by *Baſus*, a near relation of *Jaſſas*. The murder of *Ebn Rabiah* occaſioned a forty years war, whence came the *Arab* proverbs: *A worſe omen than* Sarab; *More ominous than* Baſus. It may not be improper here to obſerve, that the kings and chiefs of the *Arabs* generally forbad others to bring their flocks upon thoſe places and paſtures, which they choſe for themſelves. In order to aſcertain the limits of theſe paſtures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they cauſed a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard, they appropriated to themſelves (D)[t]. 3. *Mo-*

[n] Pocockius, ubi ſup. p. 42, 50, 342. Ecchelens. hiſt. Arab p. i. c. 3. Fortal. Fidei., l. iv. conſid. 1. Abulfeda. Vide etiam Prid. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4. [o] Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 79, 80. [p] Abulfeda. Al-Jauharius. Al-Firauzabadius. [q] Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 79. [r] Abulfeda in vit. Anuſhirwân, & alib. Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 80. ut & ipſe Pocock ibid. [s] Poc. ubi ſup. p. 81. [t] Procop. de bell. Perſ. c. 19, 20. Al-Jauhar. Al-Firauzabad. Ebno'l Athir. Pocockius in not. ad carmen. Tograi. p. 80, & ubi ſup. p. 82.

(D) Though the flocks and herds of inferior people were abſolutely prohibited coming into that ſpot of ground, which was looked upon as the property of the prince, yet his flocks and herds might go into any of their paſtures. *Mohammed* aboliſhed this cuſtom, and did not permit a ſpot of ground to be confined to the uſe of any particular animals, except horſes that had ſerved in wars carried on for the propagation of his religion, or camels conſecrated to and ſet apart for, ſacred uſes (4).

(4) *Poc. not. in carm. Tograi, p.* 81. *& not. ad. ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p.* 333.

a 3. *Mohalhel Ebn Rabiah*, brother to *Colaib*, formed an army out of the families of *Taglab*, with which he carried on a long and bloody war, as hinted above, with thoſe of *Becr*, in order to revenge his brother's death[u]. Mohalhel.

4. *Zohair Ebn Jodaimah*, who received a certain toll or tribute from the *Arabs*, that frequented the celebrated fair of *Ocadh* above-mentioned, was aſſaſſinated by one *Khaled*, who afterwards fled to *Al Nooman* king of *Hira*. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately murdered by one *Al Hâreth*, who had purſued him, which occaſioned long and bloody broils[w]. Zohair.

5. *Kais*, the ſon of *Zohair Ebn Jodaimah*, had two famous horſes, called *Dahes* and *Gabrah*, which ran with two others, upon a challenge, belonging to one *Hadifa*, Kais.
b for a prize of a hundred camels. This event gave riſe to that bloody war called by the *Arab* hiſtorians the war of *Dahes* and *Gabrah*, which continued, without intermiſſion, forty years. King *Kais*, in order to atone for ſo great an effuſion of blood, is ſaid to have embraced the chriſtian religion, and even entered upon the monaſtic ſtate[x].

THUS have we gone through the hiſtory of the ancient *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, as far as it can be collected from the moſt noted of the *Arab* hiſtorians. But, in order to render that branch of this work we are now upon the more complete, we ſhall give a brief account of the principal tranſactions the ancient *Arabs* were concerned in with the *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, extracted from the moſt approved writers of the two laſt nations.

c ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Seſoſtris*, that is, as *Joſephus* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* will have it, *Seſac*, in his father's life-time, ſubdued *Arabia*. However, that the *Arabs* were never thoroughly ſubjugated, nor even long paid any ſort of homage to the kings of *Egypt*, appears from hence, that, according to the ſame author, *Seſac* himſelf was obliged to draw a line from *Heliopolis* to *Peluſium*, in order to ſecure *Egypt* from the excurſions of the *Arabs* and *Syrians*. The *Scenite Arabs* contiguous to *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, therefore, at leaſt, muſt have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from *Diodorus*, that he ever traverſed *Arabia Felix*, though he had a fleet of four hundred ſail upon the *Red Sea*, but only coaſted it, or at fartheſt ſeized upon ſome of its maritime provinces in his voyage to *India*. As
d the word *Arabia* ſometimes denotes only *Arabia Deſerta*, at other times *Arabia Petræa*, and ſometimes *Arabia Felix*, or a part of that country, in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninſula of the *Arabs* ever was, at leaſt for any conſiderable time, in a ſtate of ſervitude to the *Egyptians*. But the contrary ſeems to appear, even from *Diodorus Siculus* himſelf, who gives us the moſt pompous account of the conqueſts of *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac*[y]. *The* Arabs *never, at leaſt for any long time, ſubject to the* Egyptians.

WE learn from the ſame author, that neither the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, nor *Perſians*, could ever get any conſiderable footing amongſt them. The *Perſian* monarchs, indeed, were their friends, and ſo far reſpected by them, as to have an annual preſent of frankincenſe: yet they could never make them tributary; and were ſo far from
e being their maſters, that *Cambyſes*, on his expedition againſt *Egypt*, was obliged to aſk their leave to paſs through their territories. This we learn from *Herodotus*; nor does any other ancient author, that we know of, contradict him herein[z]. *Neither the* Medes, Perſians, *nor* Aſſyrians, *could ever get any conſiderable footing amongſt them.*

WHEN *Alexander the Great* had ſubdued the *Perſian* empire, notwithſtanding his exorbitant power, the *Arabians* had ſo little apprehenſion of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, ſent no embaſſadors to him, either firſt or laſt; which, with a deſire of poſſeſſing ſo rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a deſign againſt them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might poſſibly have convinced him, that he was not invincible. The happineſs of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him
f to attempt the conqueſt of *Arabia*, in order to fix there his royal ſeat, after his return from his *Indian* expedition. But, according to *Strabo*, he had another motive likewiſe to this hazardous undertaking: for, being informed, that the *Arabs* had only two divinities, *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, whom they worſhipped, becauſe they ſupplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewiſe deſirous, that they ſhould eſteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deſerve this, he propoſed firſt to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full poſſeſſion of their ancient liberty and independency; which he believed would merit divine honours, as much *They were not afraid of* Alexander.

[u] POC. ubi ſup. p. 82. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. p. 83. [y] DIOD SIC. l. i. JOSEPH. in antiquit. NEWT. in chronol. aliiq; ſcript. plurim. paſſ. [z] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. p. 131. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 91, 97.

much as the greateſt benefaction. Full, therefore, of this ſcheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, compoſed of ſhips built in *Phœnice*, *Cyprus*, and *Babylonia*, to favour the operations of the land-forces. But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince[a].

The Arabs *cut in pieces a body of troops ſent againſt them by* Antigonus.

Antigonus, after the reduction of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, advanced into that part of *Arabia* bordering upon thoſe countries, having entertained a notion, that the *Arabs* were not favourably diſpoſed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached *Athenæus*, one of his captains, with a body of four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, to ravage and lay waſte the territories of the *Nabathæans*. That general marched to *Petra* without oppoſition, which finding in no poſture of defence, the *Nabathæans*, then under no apprehenſion of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, ſick, and aged in *Petra*, with an inconſiderable gariſon, he ſeized upon it, put to the ſword, or took priſoners, all the ſoldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of ſilver, together with a vaſt quantity of frankincenſe and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and ſurprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traverſed two thouſand two hundred ſtadia in thrice twenty-four hours, and they not being appriſed of his deſign; ſo that no diſpoſitions could poſſibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the *Arabs*, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, purſued the *Greeks* with great celerity. They found them aſleep about two hundred ſtadia from *Petra*, without any guards poſted to appriſe them of any impending danger, not imagining it poſſible for the *Arabs* to come up with them ſo ſoon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and deſtroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horſe, that made their eſcape to *Antigonus*, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received[b].

Demetrius *undertakes a ſecond expedition againſt them without ſucceſs.*

However, the *Nabathæans*, dreading the reſentment of *Antigonus*, ſent a letter to him written in the *Syriac* (E) character, to complain of *Athenæus*, and to excuſe what had happened. That prince, finding it impoſſible to deal with men inhabiting a deſert by pure force, diſſembled his reſentment, and diſowned the orders he had given *Athenæus*, telling their embaſſadors, that he was well ſerved for his unjuſt invaſion of their country. This gave great ſatisfaction to the *Arabs*, though, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt any unforeſeen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any ſudden incurſion. *Antigonus*, finding them upon their guard, for ſome time continued in a ſtate of friendſhip with them; but at laſt imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late diſgrace offered, he ſent his ſon *Demetrius*, with a choice detachment of four thouſand foot and as many horſe, to chaſtiſe them for it. But the watch-towers above-mentioned giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a ſufficient gariſon into *Petra*, and made all the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. However, *Demetrius* arrived before *Petra*, and immediately attacked it with great fury; but was repulſed and obliged to draw off. The next day, when he began to renew the attack, an *Arab* from the walls ſpoke to him in the following terms: "King *Demetrius*, what would you have? "What has induced you to invade a people inhabiting the wilderneſs, where neither water, corn, wine, nor other things you cannot ſubſiſt without, are to be "found? We inhabit theſe deſolate plains for the ſake of liberty, and ſubmit to "ſuch

[a] Strab. l. xvi. Arrian. 161. [b] Diod. Sil. l. xxi

(E) It is evident from this curious paſſage, that the *Nabathæans*, or *Iſhmaelites*, uſed letters above three hundred years before the commencement of the chriſtian æra. Theſe letters probably were the ſame with thoſe we ſee on ſeveral of the ancient *Syriac* coins, ſtruck in the times of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, which reſemble the *Phœnician*, if they were not that character. They likewiſe bear ſome reſemblance to the moſt ancient *Syriac* character called the *Eſtrangelo*, which the learned believe to be three hundred years more ancient than the birth of Chriſt. This paſſage, in conjunction with the above-mentioned coins, ſeems to confirm that notion. The probability of a great affinity betwixt the moſt ancient *Syriac* and *Arabic* alphabets from hence likewiſe plainly appears; and that they both, as well as the *Phœnician*, were deduced from the ancient *Hebrew* or *Aſſyrian* letters, we have elſewhere obſerved. The preſent *Arabic* letters derive their origin from the ſame ſource. The alphabet of the *Mendæans* or *Nabathæans*, at preſent in uſe amongſt the poſterity of the old *Aſſyrians* and *Chaldæans*, given us by Dr. *Hyde*, is only a corruption of the old *Syriac* letters. In ſhort, this paſſage, as we apprehend, may lead us, by a proper attention to it, to ſeveral curious diſcoveries, equally entertaining and uſeful (5).

(5) *Diod. Sic. in loc. cit. Bernard. tab. alph. Univ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 377. *& vol.* vi. *p.* 702. *Hyde hiſt. relig. vet. Perſ. p.* 524. *Monarch. Aſiatico-Saracen. a Georg. Jacob. Kehr. edit. Lipſiæ*, 1724. *p.* 5—6.

a " ſuch inconveniences as no other people can bear, in order to enjoy it. You can " never force us to change our ſentiments, nor way of life, neither can you, for " want of neceſſaries, ſtay long here: therefore we deſire you to retire out of our " country, as we have never injured you, to accept of ſome preſents from us, and " to prevail upon your father *Antigonus* to rank the *Nabathæan Arabs* amongſt his " friends." *Demetrius*, having received ſuch preſents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hoſtages for their future good behaviour, raiſed the ſiege, and marched with his army to the lake of *Aſphaltitis*, where he encamped. *Plutarch* relates, that *Demetrius*'s ſurpriſing intrepidity in the moſt imminent dangers ſo aſtoniſhed the *Arabs*, that they not only ſuffered him to retire quietly out of their ter-
b ritories, but alſo to carry off with him an immenſe booty, and, among other things, ſeven hundred camels [c].

Antigonus was greatly diſſatisfied with the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, imagining, that the *Arabs* would grow more inſolent upon it. But he appeared highly pleaſed with his ſon *Demetrius*, for diſcovering the lake *Aſphaltitis*, which, it ſeems, till that time, had been unknown to the *Greeks*, eſpecially as he imagined his revenue would be much increaſed by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, *Hieronymus Cardianus* the hiſtorian his treaſurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ſhips, and collect all the bitumen that could be got out of the lake. But the *Arabs*, being appriſed of this, drew together a body of ſix
c thouſand men, with which they attacked the people *Cardianus* employed, and cut them almoſt all off; which obliged *Antigonus* to lay aſide the project he had formed. Mr. *Sale* ſays, he does not find any of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, either in *Aſia* or *Egypt*, ever to have made any attempts upon the *Arabs*, which we own ourſelves aſtoniſhed at. As greatly are we ſurpriſed to find, that the paſſage he quotes on this occaſion makes directly againſt him [d].

They did no ſuffer Antigonus *to collect bitumen on the late* Aſphaltitis.

As for the *Romans*, they never conquered any part of *Arabia* properly ſo called; though that the *Arabs* ſubmitted to *Lucullus*, is aſſerted by *Plutarch*. The moſt they did was, to make ſome tribes tributary to them, as *Pompey* did one commanded by *Sampſiceramus* or *Shams' alkerâm*, who reigned at *Hems* or *Emeſa*. His people
d were more civilized, and lived under a better form of government, than the other *Arabs*, as we learn from *Strabo* [e].

Pompey *made an* Arab *tribe tributary to the* Romans.

THAT the *Arabs* frequently made dreadful incurſions into *Syria*, whilſt under the *Romans*, we have already obſerved from *Strabo*; and are now farther to obſerve, that theſe incurſions ſometimes brought upon them the *Roman* arms. *Pompey*, as we learn from *Plutarch*, obliged one *Aretas*, an *Arab* prince, whoſe dominions bordered upon *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſubmit to him, and to receive a *Roman* gariſon: and the ſame general likewiſe ſubdued the *Arabs*, who dwelt about mount *Amanus*, by his lieutenant *Afranius*. After which the king of the *Arabs* reſiding in *Petra*, who till now had made no account of the *Romans*, ſubmitted himſelf by letter to
e him; but that *Pompey* ever poſſeſſed himſelf of that ſtrong-hold, does not appear. *Plutarch* rather ſeems to inſinuate, that he was recalled from thence, by the death of *Mithridates*, before he could make full proof of the ſincerity of that prince's ſubmiſſion. And this is the more probable, becauſe *Gabinius*, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the government of *Syria*, made preparations for an expedition againſt the *Arabians*, but was diverted from his deſign by *Ptolemy*'s ſolicitation to be reſtored to his kingdom [f].

Agbarus, or, according to others, *Ariamnes*, not far from the time we are now upon, an *Arab* emir or phylarch, miſled and deluded *Craſſus* to his own deſtruction. Not long after which event, the *Arabs* probably defended the *Palmyrenians*, when
f *Antony* ſent a detachment of horſe to ravage their city. For *Appian* tells us, that the body of troops defending them conſiſted of archers, *who excelled in that way*; which is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the *Arabs* [g].

BUT none of the *Romans* ever penerated ſo far into *Arabia* as *Ælius Gallus*, or *Ælius Largus*, as he is called by *Dio*, in the reign of the emperor *Auguſtus*. That general, after traverſing vaſt deſarts, came within two days journey of the aromatiferous parts of *Arabia*. For the carrying on of this expedition, he built eighty biremes, beſides ſeveral triremes, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels, imagining, that

[c] Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. in Demetr. [d] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 13, 14.
[e] PLUT. in Lucul. STRAB. l. xvi. [f] PLUT. in Pomp. & alib. [g] APPIAN. de bel. civil.

that a fleet of ſuch ſhips would be of ſignal ſervice to him. But, finding himſelf a deceived in that expectation, he equipped another fleet conſiſting of a hundred and thirty tranſports, with which, after he had put on board all his forces, he ſailed for *Leucocome*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæans* on the coaſt of the *Red Sea*. As this was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves, which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulf, and *Syllæus*, who had undertaken to be his guide, treacherouſly conducted him the worſt way through it, he was fifteen days in his paſſage, and loſt many of his ſhips. Had he marched his army by land, as was at firſt intended, he might have avoided this diſaſter; but *Syllæus* prevented the execution of that ſalutary deſign, informing *Gallus*, that there was no ſafe paſſage by land for his troops through the country of the *Nabathæans*, though b nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans almoſt as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival at *Leucocome*, a ſtrange diſtemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havock in his army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the ſummer and the following winter. This diſtemper, according to *Dio*, firſt ſeized the head, where, if it ſettled, it proved mortal; but if the humour occaſioning it retired into the thighs, the patient recovered. Early in the ſpring *Gallus*, moving out of his winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of *Hira*, where he met with a moſt kind reception from *Al Hareth*, or, as *Strabo* names him, *Aretas*, a near relation of *Abd Wadd*, or *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæans*, his ally. After c a ſhort ſtay here, he reſumed his march, and in thirty days having croſſed a vaſt deſart, he arrived upon the borders of *Arrarena*, a country inhabited by the *Scenite Arabs* and governed by one *Sabus*. This region he likewiſe traverſed in fifty days, and took poſt with all his forces at the city of *Najrân*, ſeated in a pleaſant and fruitful country, whoſe king abandoned it upon his approach. *Gallus*, having taken this city by aſſault, continued his march ſouthward, and arrived the ſixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had aſſembled with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; but as they were only a raw and undiſciplined multitude, armed with lances, bows, and arrows, ſwords, ſlings, hatchets, *&c.* in d an irregular manner, *Gallus* eaſily routed them and cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, with the loſs of two men only. He then made himſelf maſter of ſeveral conſiderable places without oppoſition, and penetrated as far as *Marſyabæ*, a city of the *Rhamanites*, governed by a petty prince named *Ilaſarus*, or *Al Aſar*, which he beſieged ineffectually, being obliged to drop that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various diſtempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the inſalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence purſue his route into *Egypt*. Accordingly, he ſet out on his march homewards, and, by the aſſiſtance of more faithful guides, reached the city of *Negra*, one of *Obodas*'s maritime towns, by the road of *Anagrana*, *Chaala*, *Malotha*, &c. in ſixty days. Here he imbarqued his troops, and, croſſing the *Arabian* gulf, landed at *Myos Hormus*, on the *Egyptian* ſide; from whence he led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*. The bad ſucceſs *Gallus* met with on this occaſion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of *Syllæus*, whoſe view, in the total deſtruction of the *Roman* army, ſeems to have been the acquiſition of ſome of the *Roman* conqueſts for his maſter *Obodas*, who likewiſe concurred with his chief miniſter, by not ſupporting *Gallus*, as he had promiſed. Be that as it will, the *Roman* general diſcovered the perfidy of *Syllæus* before his return out of *Arabia*; but, for ſome political reaſons, he thought proper then to diſſemble his reſentment. However, after his arrival in *Egypt*, he ſent the traitor to *Rome*, where, for this and other enormous crimes, he had his head ſtruck off by the emperor's order; that thereby others might be deterred from the like villainous conduct for the future. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Gallus* ſpent two years in this unfortunate expedition [f].

The Roman *hiſtorians falſly aſſert* Trajan *to have conquered* Arabia.

From this time to the reign of *Trajan*, we hear little of *Arabia*; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, according to *Dio*. *Euſebius* relates, that the inhabitants

[f] Strab. ubi ſup. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Dio, l. liii. p. 516, & ſeq. ad an. U. C. 730. Vide etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 301, 302.

a inhabitants of *Petra* and *Bostra* computed their time from this year, in which their country was first annexed to the *Roman* empire. Nay, *Arrian*, *Eutropius*, *Lucian*, and *Dio*, intimate, that *Trajan* conquered *Arabia Felix*, which seems to be confirmed by some medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conquest of *India*. But all this was gross flattery, meriting not the least regard, as will appear from the reception the *Hagarenes* gave him, when he marched against them about six years after the period above-mentioned. This, which happened in the last year of *Trajan*, is a convincing proof, that he never was master of *Arabia Petræa*, much less *Arabia Felix*, notwithstanding the mean adulation of his coins, orators, and historians [g].

That emperor is forced to retire out of Arabia.

b *Trajan*, receiving intelligence, that the *Hagarenes* had declared against him, marched from *Ctesiphon* into their territories with a powerful army, and laid siege to their capital city. As it was situated on the top of a high and steep mountain, surrounded with strong walls, seated in a barren country, and defended by a numerous garison, *Trajan* could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person: but the enemy knowing him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed a horseman by his side. Besides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back
c by violent storms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flashes of lightning. The apparitions of rainbows likewise dazzled and frightened them in an extraordinary manner. And at the same time they were in a strange manner infested in their camp by swarms of flies; so that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raise the siege and retire. As the metropolis of the *Hagarenes*, from some circumstances hinted at by *Dio*, must have been the same with the modern *Errakim* or *Arrakeh*, we cannot help thinking, that the *Romans* were never absolute masters of even *Arabia Petræa*, whatever homage they might have received from the *Arabs* of that country. Neither are their coins, an evidence of good authority in some points, to be relied on in the present case; as will more fully appear from an observation already made towards
d the close of the history of the *Ethiopians* [h].

As is Severus, *after he had ineffectually laid siege to* Atræ.

About eighty years after, the emperor *Severus*, being greatly incensed at the *Arabs* bordering on *Syria*, for assisting *Niger*, laid siege to *Atræ* their capital, with a formidable army and a vast train of military engines invented by *Priscus*, the most celebrated mechanic of his age. He pushed on the siege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear, that of all nations the *Hagarenes* only should stand out still against the *Romans*. Being repulsed in the first attack with great slaughter, he ordered a second to be made; when he might have carried the place, but chose rather to sound a retreat, hoping, by this means, to induce the *Arabs* to sue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would discover their hidden
e treasures supposed to be consecrated to the *Sun*. But for a whole day they made not the least overture. In the mean time, the ardor of his troops cooled to such a degree, that the *Europeans* refused to begin another assault, and the *Syrians* were repulsed in one that they made. This so chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers represented to him, that he would engage to storm the place with five hundred and fifty *European* soldiers, he replied, *But where shall I find so many?* God, says the historian, *preserved the town by the backwardness of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next.* He was, therefore, obliged to raise the siege and retire, with great precipitation, into his own dominions [i].

Short account of the Arabs *to the time of* Mohammed.

From this time to the birth of *Mohammed*, we find not many particulars of mo-
f ment related of the *Arabs* in general, or of the *Saracens*, the most noted people of them, in particular, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The *Saracens*, however, we are told, ravaged *Mesopotamia* in the time of the emperor *Constantius*, and joined the *Persians* against *Julian*. That prince, it seems, and some of his predecessors, had paid the *Saracens* a pension, that they might have a body of troops always on foot

[g] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 777. Euseb. in chron. p. 206. Arrian. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8, 46. Francisc. Mediobarb. Birag. p. 116. Occo. p. 215. Fest. in breviar. p. 551. Eutrop. in Trajan. Lucian. philop. Vid. etiam Univ. hist. vol. v. p. 22. [h] Idat. & Cassiodor. in Fast. Dio, ubi sup. p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 854. Herodian. l. iii. p. 528. Vid. & Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 24. & vol. vii. p. 216. [i] Dio, p. 948. Herodian. l. iii. Euseb. chron. Spartian. in Sever. Goltz. p. 84. Univ. hist. vol. vi. p. 110.

foot for the ſervice of the *Romans:* but this he took into his head to diſcontinue; a
and when they ſent deputies to complain of this treatment, *Julian* told them, that
a warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold; which they reſenting, went over to the *Per-*
ſian, and ever after continued faithful to him. *Mavia*, queen of the *Saracens*, ſent
a body of her troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Goths*, who, after
the defeat and death of *Valens*, by their vigorous ſallies, forced theſe barbarians to
retire from before *Conſtantinople*, which metropolis they had beſieged. About the
year of the chriſtian æra 411. they committed great diſorders on the frontiers of
Egypt, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; but ſoon retired of their own accord. In
the reign of *Theodoſius*, *Alamundarus*, or *Al Mondar*, with a numerous army, aſſiſted
the *Perſians* againſt that prince; but the greateſt part of his men, being ſeized with b
an unaccountable panic, threw themſelves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where, to
the number of an hundred thouſand, they are ſaid to have periſhed. *A. D.* 452. the
Saracens, *Nubians*, and *Blemmyes*, broke into the *Roman* empire; but were over-
thrown by the troops of the emperor *Marcian*, and forced to ſue for peace, which
the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantagious to thee mpire. In the
beginning of the ſixth century, a prince of the *Mondar* family, who was a renowned
warrior, did incredible damage to the *Romans*, as we learn from *Procopius*. He ſo
haraſſed them for fifty years together, by ravaging all their territories from the bor-
ders of *Egypt* to the confines of *Meſopotamia*, killing vaſt numbers of their ſubjects,
and exacting immenſe ſums for the redemption of others taken priſoners, that, to c
uſe *Procopius*'s expreſſion, he brought them quite down upon their knees. He flew
from *Egypt* to *Meſopotamia* like lightning, being ſo quick in his incurſions, that the
Roman troops ſcarce ever began their march to put a ſtop to his depredations, before
he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the *Romans*, when he found
himſelf obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole
Roman corps priſoners, with their general *Demoſtratus*, the brother of *Rufinus*, and
John the ſon of *Lucas*, for whoſe ranſom he had an immenſe ſum of money paid
him. Being at the head of all the *Saracens* bordering upon the *Perſian* dominions,
and capable of making an irruption into which of the neighbouring *Roman* provinces
he pleaſed, he was one of the moſt formidable enemies the *Romans* had. None of d
their generals, nor any of the *Arab* phylarchs in their intereſt, could ever make head
againſt him. *Juſtinian*, in order to annoy him, veſted *Aretas*, another *Arab* prince,
with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to puſh on the war with
greater vigour againſt *Alamundarus*, for ſo *Procopius* calls him. However, *Al Mon-*
dar was victorious in every engagement with *Aretas*, either vanquiſhing him by
downright force, or prevailing upon him to betray the *Romans*. In fine, this prince,
with *Azarethes* the *Perſian* general, defeated the renowned *Beliſarius*, and ſcattered
terror where-ever he came. The diſpute he had with *Aretas*, who pleaded the cauſe
of the *Romans*, about a territory called *Strata*, our readers will find related in *Pro-* e
copius. But as the rapid conqueſts of the *Saracens*, and the principal tranſactions
they were concerned in, happened after the death of *Mohammed*, we ſhall reſerve
what we have to ſay of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern hiſtory of
Arabia [k].

Arabia *famous for hereſies, after the introduction of chriſtianity.*

That *Arabia*, after the introduction of chriſtianity, was famous for hereſies, has been already obſerved. The *Hamyarites* were infected with the *Arian* hereſy in the reign of the emperor *Conſtantius*, as we learn from *Theophilus Indus* in *Philoſtorgius*. Some chriſtians of this nation believed, that the ſoul died with the body, and was to be raiſed again with it at the laſt day. Theſe *Origen* is ſaid to have convinced. The hereſies of *Ebion*, *Beryllus*, the *Nazaræans*, and *Collyridians*, were alſo broach-ed, or at leaſt propagated, among the *Arabs*. The *Collyridians* were ſo denominated from a ſort of twiſted cake called *collyris*, which they offered to the virgin *Mary*, whom they worſhipped as God. Other ſects likewiſe there were within the borders of *Arabia*, who took refuge there from the proſcriptions of the imperial edicts; ſeveral of whoſe notions *Mohammed* incorporated with his religion, as will hereafter be ſhewn [l].

The

[k] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. l xxv. & l. xxix. Socrat. p. 357—360. Evagr. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. Procop. de bel. Perſ. l. i. p. 49, 50, 51—54, 55, 88. Vid. etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 289, 329, 387. 467, 475, & 498. [l] Sulpic. Sever. in hiſt. ſacr. p. 112, &c. Sozom. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. i. c. 16. 17. Euseb. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. vi. c. 33. & c. 37. Epiphan. de hæreſ. l. i. hær. 40. ut. & l. iii. hæreſ. 75, 79. Theophilus Indus apud Philostorgium, l. iii. Sale's prelim. diſc. p 34, 35.

a THE *Jews*, though an inconſiderable and deſpiſed people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in *Arabia*, whither they fled from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, as well as the great havock made amongſt them by the emperor *Hadrian*, and brought over ſeveral tribes to their religion. The *Jews* of *Hamyar*, we are told, not far from the time of *Dhu Nowâs* above-mentioned, challenged ſome neighbouring chriſtians to a public diſputation, which was held *ſub dio* three days, before the king, and his nobility, and all the people. The diſputants were *Gregentius*, biſhop of *Tephra* or *Dhafâr* for the chriſtians, and *Herbanus* for the *Jews*. On the third day *Herbanus*, to end the diſpute, demanded, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worſhippers, ſhould b appear from heaven in their ſight, and they would then believe on him; the *Jews* crying out with one voice, *Shew us your* Chriſt, *alas, and we will become chriſtians.* Whereupon, after a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightening, *Jeſus Chriſt* appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a ſword in his hand, and an ineſtimable diadem on his head; and ſpake theſe words over the heads of the aſſembly: *Behold, I appear to you in your ſight, I, who was crucified by your fathers.* After which the cloud received him from their ſight. The chriſtians hereupon cried out, *Lord, have mercy upon us*; but the *Jews* were ſtricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized[m].

Many Jews converted by a miracle to chriſtianity.

Dhu Nowâs, as has been obſerved, was a *Jew*, and perſecuted all, the chriſtians c particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty chriſtians in the city of *Najrân* only. Not content with this, he ſent an embaſſy to *Al Mondar*, king of *Hira*, offering him large ſums of money, if he would perſecute the chriſtians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of *Alexandria* preſſing *Eleſbaas* (E) the *Najaſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge ſuch inhuman cruelty, that prince croſſed the ſtreights of *Bab-al-Mandab* with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three ſail, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he made a deſcent in *Yaman*. With theſe forces he overthrew *Dhu Nowâs*, ſeized upon his kingdom, and made St. *Aretas*'s ſon governor of *Najrân*. The *Abaſſines* kept poſſeſſion of this kingdom, till they were driven out by *Seif* the ſon of *Dhu* d *Yazan* of the tribe of *Hamyar*, who was, however, himſelf ſlain by ſome of them that had been left behind. The war of *the elephant* we have already given our readers an account of; and therefore ſhall conclude our hiſtory of the ancient *Arabs*, or *the time of ignorance*, as it is called by the *Mohammedans*, with obſerving, that *Abd al Motalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, was prince or chief of the *Koreiſh* at the time this war happened; that *Mohammed* himſelf was born the very year the *Abaſſines* were overthrown in their expedition to *Mecca*; that on this year, *A. D.* 578. commenced the æra of *the elephant*, from which the *Arabs* computed their time for twenty

Concluſion of the hiſtory of the ancient Arabs.

[m] GREGENTIUS in diſput. cum Herban. Judæ. & SALE ubi ſup. p. 22, 23.

(E) According to ſome of the *Syriac* writers, *Eleſbaas* or *Eleſbaan*, whom they call *Aidog*, king of *Ethiopia*, undertook an expedition againſt one *Dimion*, king of the *Hamyarites*, for maſſacring ſome chriſtian merchants, that were *Romans*, in their paſſage through *Yaman* into *Ethiopia*; which he did, to revenge the cruelties exerciſed on the *Jews*, of whoſe communion, it ſeems, he was a member, in the dominions of the *Roman* emperor. They add, that *Eleſbaas* did not undertake this expedition out of a religious motive, but to revenge the injury his ſubjects might ſuſtain in point of trade on this occaſion. Before the *Arab* and *Ethiopian* armies engaged, *Eleſbaas*, according to the ſame authors, vowed ſolemnly to embrace the chriſtian religion, in caſe he was victorious. The armies then joining battle, *Dimion* was vanquiſhed and ſlain, and *Eleſbaas* or *Aidog* profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian, and placed a chriſtian prince upon the throne of *Hamyar*. Upon the death of this king, the *Jews*, who were ſtill very numerous there, found means to fix *Dhu Nowâs* upon that throne, who, at their inſtigation, proved a bitter enemy to the chriſtians. The particulars of his cruel behaviour towards them are ſet forth at large by *Metaphraſtes*, *Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis*, and other authors of good repute already mentioned (5).

(5) *Simeon Beth-Arſamenſ. epiſcop. & Joan. Aſiæ epiſc: apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Oriental. vol.* i. *p.* 359—385. *ut & ipſe Aſſeman. ibid.*

twenty years; and that another, called the æra of *the unjuſt war* (F), ſucceeded this, which continued to the *Hejra*[n] (G).

[n] ABULFED. hiſt. gen. AL-GJUZIUS in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. cap. 78. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLA. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. Abrahah. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. AL KODAIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 172, 173. SIM. METAPHRASTES in vit. S. Aret. & Socior. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943. AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL SHAREST AN. JOB. LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop p. 61, 62, 255, 256. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliiq; auctor. ſupra laudat.

(F) This was called *the unjuſt* and *impious war*, becauſe the principal actions of it happened betwixt the *Kais Ailan* and the *Koreiſh*, two powerful *Arabian* tribes, in the ſacred months above-mentioned. Theſe ſacred months were *Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dulkaada*, and *Dulhaga*. In them all acts of hoſtility amongſt the jarring tribes, how violent ſoever their reſentment might be, intirely ceaſed. They then laid aſide all weapons of war, and converſed together in the moſt friendly manner. Nay, if an *Arab* met with the perſon that had killed his father or brother, he could not then offer any violence to him. The *Hejra* did not take place, till it was agreed upon in the khalifat of *Omar*, that the *Arabs* ſhould ſupputе their time from thence (6).

(G) Several remarkable events ſupplied the *Arabs* with epochs before the *Hejra*, viz. the invaſion and reduction of *Yaman* by the *Abaſſines*; the expulſion of the *Amalekites*, by the family of *Jorham*, from the territory of *Mecca*; the battle of *Ebn Wayel*; the wars called *Al Baſus* and *Dahes*; the inundation of *Al Arem*; the fire *Derar*, which appeared in a ſtony diſtrict of the kingdom of *Yaman*, &c. The people of *Yaman*, however, for the moſt part, ſupputed their time according to the reigns of their kings (7).

(6) *Golii not. ad Alfragan. p.* 54. *Al Jauhar.. Al Firauzabad. Al Shareſtan. Al Kodaius, & Pocock. ubi ſup. p.* 173, 174. (7) *Al Kodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p.* 172, 173, 174. *ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. Vide & Ludolph. ubi ſup.*

CHAP. [X].

The hiſtory of the empires of Nice *and* Trapezond, *from their foundation, the former by* Theodore Laſcaris, *and the latter by the* Comneni, *to their final abolition, the one by* Michael Paleologus, *the other by* Mohammed the Great.

THESE are the two laſt empires we have left to mention on the other ſide of the *Mediterranean*, and before we repaſs into *Europe*. We have given them the laſt place, and have joined them in the ſame chapter, as they were of the modernеſt date, ſmalleſt extent, and ſhorteſt duration, of any of thoſe we have had occaſion to ſpeak of, either in *Aſia* or *Africa*, that are now extinct; and as they were both
A. C. 1204. diſmembered from the *Greek* empire about the ſame time, that is, ſoon after the taking of its great metropolis by the *Latins*, mentioned in a former volume[a]. That of *Nice* was founded by *Theodore Laſcaris*, and that of *Trapezond* by *David* and *Alexius Comnenus*, whilſt *Baldwin* reigned at *Conſtantinople*.

The empire and emperors of Nice.

Theodore Laſcaris *founds the empire of* Nice.

1. THEODORUS *Laſcaris*, ſon-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having happily eſcaped out of *Conſtantinople* and fled into *Bithynia*, was there received with ſuch demonſtrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, from the *Meander* to the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*. Theſe he erected into an empire, and fixed his imperial reſidence in the

[a] See vol. vi. p. 627. paſſ.

the famous city of *Nice*, from which this new empire took its name [b]. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law and *Jathatines* sultan of *Iconium*, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his assistance against the new emperor. They marched accordingly against him with an army of twenty thousand men, and laid siege to the city of *Antioch*, on the *Meander*, the then boundary of this new empire on that side. *Lascaris*, though he could then muster but two thousand men, was yet forced to march to the relief of that place, lest its falling into their hands should open them a way to the heart of his dominions. They were surprised to find him come so suddenly, and with such a handful of men, against them; but such was his valour and that of his troops, especially of eight hundred of his *Italians*, that he gave the enemy a signal overthrow. But his *Greeks* being somewhat intimidated at the sight of the superior enemy, the sultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the onset, fell suddenly upon them, and, having singled *Lascaris* out, threw him off his horse at the first blow. *Lascaris* soon recovered himself, unhorsed his competitor, struck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into such a panic, that they betook themselves to flight. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to *Nice*, where he ended his days in a monastery, where *Lascaris* had confined him. The *Turks* were soon after glad to accept of such a peace as he was pleased to grant to them; and another being concluded between him and *Henry* the brother and successor of *Baldwin*, he was then at full leisure to secure his new-founded empire to himself and successors, which he did with vast success and bravery, both against the *Turks* and *Latins*, during the space of eighteen years [c].

Defeats Angelus and the Turks.

At his death he left only a son, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldest of whom, named *Irene*, he had married to the brave *John Ducas*, surnamed *Vataces*, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy; tho' he had two brothers, *viz.* *Alexius* and *Angelus*, whom it might be expected he would have entrusted with the care of his son and empire: but he seems to have been more intent in strengthening and inlarging the latter, than to secure it to his nearest kindred; and accordingly named his son-in-law his successor, as the most capable of answering his design; and such he really proved.

His death and successor.

2. *John Ducas* was accordingly crowned at *Nice* by *Manuel* the great patriarch, and proved no less brave and successful than his predecessor. We have formerly had occasion to mention his great success against the *Turks*, and especially the *Latins*, whom he defeated in several battles, and from whom he took a considerable number of places, which we shall forbear repeating here [d]. He died after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the sixty-second of his age, after having extended his conquests, not only in *Asia*, but in *Europe*, and even almost to the gates of *Constantinople*; and was succeeded by his son,

John Ducas *crowned emperor.* A. C. 1222.

3. *Theodore Lascaris*; who, during his short reign, was likewise very successful against the *Bulgarians* and the despot of *Epirus*, as we have formerly seen [e]. One great oversight this prince was guilty of was, the recalling of the traitor *Michael Palæologus*, who was gone from him over to the *Turks*, and restoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his son of the empire, as we shall soon see. *Theodore* died in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son,

Theodore Lascaris *crowned.* A. C. 1225.

4. *John Lascaris*, then about nine years of age; for which reason his father committed him and the care of the empire to *Arsenius*, the then patriarch of *Nice*, and to the famed *Muzalo*, a person indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deservedly raised to the highest posts in the empire. For this, *Muzalo* incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithstanding the solemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, rushed with their swords drawn upon that brave minister, on the very day and place where the funeral obsequies of the deceased monarch were performed; and, in the midst of the divine service, dispatched him

John Lascaris *crowned.* A. C. 1258.

Muzalo *assassinated.*

[b] Nicet, in Bald. c. 1, & seq. [c] Idem ibid. c. 11. ad fin. See before, vol. vi. p. 629. pass.
[d] Ibid. p. 630, & seq. Vid. & Geor. Acrop. l. i. c. 2. [e] Idem ibid. c. 12, & seq. See before, vol. vi. p. 630, & seq.

him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for ſanctuary. It is not improba- a
ble, that the treacherous *Paleologus* had the greateſt hand in the contriving and con-
ducting of this aſſaſſination, as it was the moſt likely means to open him the way to
the ſeizing on the imperial dignity, which he never muſt have ſo much as aimed at,
whilſt the young prince was under the care of ſo brave and worthy a guardian.
Paleologus *choſen protector.* However that be, *Muzalo* was no ſooner diſpatched out of his way, but the traitor
cauſed himſelf to be choſen to ſucceed him in the guardianſhip of the young empe-
ror, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the leaſt notice or regard to
the patriarch, who, tho' no conſummate ſtateſman, was yet a perſon of ſingular
learning and merit.

His new dignity was ſoon after ſignalized with a complete overthrow, which his b
brother *John* gave to the deſpot of *Epirus*, who had then invaded the provinces of
Thrace and *Macedon*. The news of this action no ſooner reached *Magneſia*, the
His treachery and treaſon. place where the new protector then reſided, but he was ſaluted emperor by a num-
A. C. 1259. ber of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace. For this the worthy patri-
arch threatened to excommunicate him and all his adherents; and *Paleologus* found
no better expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himſelf under a ſolemn
oath to reſign the empire to the young prince, as ſoon as he came to be of age. This
having for the preſent ſatisfied the too credulous prelate, he was eaſily perſuaded
to crown him emperor. As we are no further concerned with any particulars of
that uſurper's reign, than as they relate to the *Nicean* empire, to which he now put c
an end, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid of them in a former vo-
lume[f]; and only add here, that having ſoon after, that is, in the ſecond year of
his reign, taken *Conſtantinople* from the *Latins*, he removed the ſeat of the empire
from *Nice* to that ancient metropolis, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned afreſh
A. C. 1261. emperor of the eaſt. The unfortunate young prince fell a ſacrifice to that tyrant's
ambition, who cauſed, not long after, his eyes to be put out, and himſelf to be
proclaimed the ſole lawful and rightful poſſeſſor of the empire. *Arſenius*, now
convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunica-
tion againſt him and all his adherents; but neither this, nor the great oppoſition
which he met with from abroad, could wreſt the empire from him, tho' it proved d
a very troubleſome and thorny one, as we have elſewhere ſhewn[g]. This was
the end of the *Nicean* empire, about fifty-ſeven years after its foundation. As for
Nice, the metropolis of it, though it was in a great meaſure diveſted of its gran-
deur by the removal of the court to *Conſtantinople*, yet it continued to be ſo conſi-
derable a city, that it paſſed once and again from the *Greeks* to the *Turks*, and back
again, till it was at length taken by *Orchanes* in the manner as has been heretofore
related[h].

The empire of Trapezond.

The foundation of the empire of Trapezond. A. C. 1204. THIS monarchy, which was founded, as we lately hinted, much about the e
ſame time with that of *Nice*, laſted much longer, and made a much more
conſiderable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of
Trapezond or *Trapeſus*, which was now made the imperial ſeat of the *Com-*
neni, and metropolis of this their new empire (A). *David* and *Alexius Com-*
neni

[f] Before vol. vi. p. 632, & ſeq. [g] Ibid. p. 634, & ſeq. ex Pachym. l. i. & ii. paſſ. [h] Before, ibid. p. 641, & ſeq.

(A) *Trapeſus* or *Trapezond*, called alſo *Trebizond*, and by the *Turks Tarabozan*, was a *Greek* city in *Pontus*, founded by the ancient *Sinopians*, and tributary to them, as we learn from *Xenophon*, who marched by it in his famous retreat, ſpoken of in a former volume (1). It is ſituate on the foot of a hill, which makes a kind of peninſula, on the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*, where it begins to turn towards the eaſt. Its port is large and convenient, and the city itſelf well peopled, and ſurrounded with ſteep mountains (2).

It was formerly of ſuch conſideration, that the emperors of *Conſtantinople* always kept a deputy there; and, ſince its being brought under the *Turks*, it is become the reſidence of a begler-beigh. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had taken it, the *Romans* reſtored it, as they did moſt of the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, to its former privileges and liberty (3).

(1) *See before vol.* ii. *p.* 139, *& ſeq.* (2) *See Stephan. de urb. Bandran. & al. in voc.* (3) *See before, vol.* iii. *p.* 722. *a—c.*

a *neni* (B), grandsons to the tyrant *Andronicus*, who had been lately put to such a cruel, yet deserved, death by *Isaac Angelus*, as we have formerly seen [i], were the first founders of it. These, having the good fortune to escape out of *Constantinople* together, came and seized on the more eastern parts of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and erected them into an empire; and *Trapezond* being then the strongest and most considerable city in their dominions, they made it the seat of their residence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear, that they immediately took upon them the imperial title; much less, that they were soon acknowledged as such. On the contrary, *Vincent de Beauvais* stiles them only lords of *Trapezond* [k]; but it is plain, that they soon arrived at a considerable height of power and
b interest, since the emperor *Baldwin*, about thirty-four years after their settling at *Trapezond*, sought their alliance and friendship, and was by them assisted in some considerable enterprizes against *Vataces* emperor of *Nice*, who had invaded some of his dominions, as we hinted under the last article, and elsewhere [l]. However, it is not improbable, that neither these of *Trapezond*, nor those of *Nice*, took upon them the title of emperors till some time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as some conjecture [m], not till the usurper *Michael Paleologus* had seized on that of *Nice*, and got himself crowned emperor at *Constantinople*; at which time the *Comneni*, either in contempt to him, or because they could not brook an inferior title to his, did likewise assume the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain, that,
c after they had once assumed it, their successors maintained it with great success and bravery; and caused themselves to be acknowledged as such by foreign powers, as long as their empire lasted, that is, till it was subdued and put an end to by *Mohammed the Great*, who, like an irresistible inundation, drove all before him, as we shall see at the conclusion of this chapter. A. C. 1239.

THE *Trapezuntines* were of the *Greek* church, and, after the foundation of this new empire, they had a patriarch of their own; but, whether chosen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be darkly guessed at. After their becoming subject to the *Turks*, the latter still chose their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the sultan. This was done every-where, it seems, throughout the *Turkish* conquests, in
d the same manner as it was practised under the christian emperors, that is, without paying any fine to the treasury. The clergy of *Trapezond* were the first who caused this dignity to be saddled with one of a thousand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to those of their other conquests. The occasion of it being somewhat remarkable, we shall give our reader in the margin (C). As for other particulars of their religion, laws, customs, *&c.* there is the less necessity to dwell longer *Their religion, patriarchs, &c.*

[i] Ibid. p. 622, d—f. [k] See before vol. iii. p 722, b. [l] See before, vol. vi. p. 631, e. & ACROP. in Vatac. c 12, & seq. [m] CRUSIUS annotat. in lib. i. Turco-Græc. p. 60, & seq. BAUDRAND. sub. voc. *Trapez.* DU FRESNE, hist. Byzant. p. 166, & seq.

But what rendered it still more famous was, its being made and continued the imperial residence of the *Comneni* from the foundation of their empire we are now upon, to the taking of it by *Mohammed* II. of which we shall speak in due place. The reader may see an account of its present situation, commerce, *&c.* in the volume last quoted.

Aristotle tells us of a kind of honey that was gathered off the box-trees in the neighbourhood of *Trapezond*, which was an almost infallible cure for the epilepsy; but adds, that if any person in health did venture to eat of it, it bereaved them of their senses (4): he doth not tell us indeed whether it was this very *Trapezond*, we are speaking of, or some other; for there were more cities of that name, particularly one in *Arcadia*, said to have been founded by, and named from, *Trapesus* the son of *Lycaon*.

(B) The family of the *Comneni* was very ancient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in the author quoted in the margin (5); but it became much more so after its having been honoured with the imperial diadem in the person of *Isaac Comnenus*, who was raised to that dignity against *Michael Stratioticus*, by the officers of the army, as we have formerly seen (6). *Andronicus*, the grandfather of these *Comneni*, was of that family, and uncle to *Alexius Comnenus* then upon the throne, but no more than twelve years of age: against him he raised a revolt, in which he caused himself and young *Alexius* to be saluted as co-partners, and took him as his collegue to the empire, but soon after caused him to be murdered; for which, and his other tyrannies and cruelties, he was put to a most shameful and dreadful death (7).

(C) The *Trapezuntines* were at the same time under a patriarch named *Mark*, who was so ill-beloved by his clergy, and by the nobles and people, that they agreed upon depriving him of his dignity, and to nominate unto it one *Simeon*, a countryman of theirs, then a monk or canon at the great church of *Constantinople*, a person of merit on several accounts, but especially for his extraordinary hospitality. To compass their design, they fell upon the following

(4) *De mirab. orb. Vid. & Steph. de urb. sub voc. Pausan. in Arcadic* (5) *Du Fresne, hist. Byzant. de familiis Comnem. p.* 160, *& seq. stemm.* 28. (6) *See vol.* vi. *p.* 601. *e, f, & seq.* (7) *Ibid.* 620, *e.* 622, *e—f.*

longer on them, conſidering that theſe two empires were only diſmembered from the a
grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change of government, or
Trade. rather governors. As for their trade, conſidering the excellent ſituation of their
metropolis, and of ſome other of their cities, of which we have formerly given an
account in the *Pontic* hiſtory[n], we need not doubt, but the emperors encouraged it
all they could; and the medals produced by *Tournefort*[o], as well as the coins men-
tioned by *du Freſne*[p], leave us no room to doubt of the trade and opulence, both
of their empire and its metropolis, tho', ſince their falling into the hands of the *Turks*,
they have fared like all the reſt of their conqueſts, and greatly failed of their ancient
commerce and ſplendor. It only remains, that we give an account of the *Trapezun-*
tine monarchs from *Alexius* their founder to *David* their laſt emperor, and of their b
different wars, by which they maintained themſelves in their high dignity againſt
ſo many powerful enemies, ſuch as were, ſome time, the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, eſpe-
cially thoſe of the new *Nicean* empire, and at other times the *Turks*, *Saracens*, *Per-*
ſians, &c. Theſe would doubtleſs make a conſiderable figure in this hiſtory, had
they been tranſmitted to us in an uninterrupted ſeries; but the misfortune is, that
the *Byzantine* hiſtorians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only
mentioned them occaſionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs
of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire; ſo that we muſt be content with the ſeries of thoſe
eleven emperors, and with ſuch few particulars as we find recorded of them. We
ſhall only add, that the duration of the *Trapezuntine* empire was about two hundred c
and fifty-ſeven or two hundred fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Chriſt
1204. and ſubdued *An.* 1461. or 1462.

Emperors of Trapezond.

Alexius the Great. 1. ALEXIUS *Comnenus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, and his brother *David*, were the
ſons of *Manuel*, and grandſons of the tyrant *Andronicus Comnenus*. We
have already ſpoken of the uſurpation and tyranny, as well as the diſmal end, of the
latter. As for *Manuel*, he was the eldeſt ſon of *Andronicus*, but was ſo unlike his c
father in his vices, that he was diſinherited and impriſoned by him (D), and his next
brother *John* appointed his ſucceſſor; but, when he found the whole populace exaſ-
perated at it, he then tried in vain to appeaſe them, by pretending, that he always
deſigned the empire for *Manuel*, and promiſing to name him to it. Upon the death
of *Andronicus*, and the reſtoration of *Iſaac Angelus*, or rather ſoon after the taking
of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, *Manuel*'s two ſons, *Alexius* and his brother *David*,
fled into *Pontus*, ſeized on *Heraclea*, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of that
whole

[n] See before, vol. iii. p. 722, & ſeq. [o] Voyages au Levant. [p] Hiſt. Byzant. ſtemm. 28. p. 168.

lowing doughty expedient: they accuſed *Mark* of having introduced a new kind of ſimony, till then unheard of among them, that is, to have agreed to pay one thouſand ducats into the ſultan's treaſury, as ſoon as he was confirmed in his dignity. The innocent patriarch in vain endeavoured to wipe of the foul accuſation by the moſt ſolemn oaths; his enemies had bribed ſo many conſiderable perſons, ſome of them eccleſiaſtics, to ſwear it againſt him, that he was adjudged guilty, and not only *ipſo facto* deprived of his dignity, but alſo worthy of excommunication and baniſhment. This being done, they took one thouſand ducats, and went with them to the ſultan, and told him, that ſince *Mark*, a perſon odious to the clergy and laity, had promiſed him that ſum upon his elevation to the patriarchate, they would now pay it, to his highneſs, provided they might be permitted to raiſe their favourite monk to it.

The ſultan, who knew nothing of ſuch a promiſe, could not at firſt forbear ſmiling at the propoſal, and heſitated ſome time whether he ſhould accept of it; at length conſidering, that this would ſerve for a good precedent to oblige the future candidates to that dignity to the payment of the like ſum, owned to them, that *Mark* had indeed promiſed it to him: But, continued he, and taking the money at the ſame time, ſince he is ſo obnoxious to you, e'en turn him out, and appoint whom you will in his place; which was done accordingly (8).

(D) Among other things, by which *Manuel* diſobliged his father, one was, that he conſtantly refuſed to marry *Agnes* the daughter of *Philip* king of the *Franks*, and wife of *Alexius*, the depoſed emperor of *Conſtantinople*, though his father earneſtly preſſed him to it, and promiſed him, upon his complying, to make him partner in the empire. His refuſal, which, our author ſays (9), he excuſed on account of ſuch a marriage being contrary to the eccleſiaſtical laws, did ſo incenſe the tyrant, that at laſt he caſt him into a priſon, and appointed his next ſon to ſucceed him (10).

(8) *Du Freſne, hiſt. Byzant. ſtemm.* 28. *p.* 169. (9) *Cruſius Turco-Græc. p.* 124, *& ſeq.* (10) *Nicet. in Andronic. lib.* ii. *n.* 8. *& ſeq. in Alex. Mag. n.* 4. *& in Iſaac. l.* i. *n.* 1.

a whole province, together with *Paphlagonia*, *Colchis*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, with ſome others, of leſs note; and *Alexius* fixed his imperial ſeat at *Trapezond* [q]. He ſoon after made an alliance with *Baldwin* emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and aſſiſted him againſt *Theodore Laſcaris*, as we have already hinted. It doth not, however, appear, that he took the imperial title, moſt authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandſon or great-grandſon that firſt aſſumed it [r]; and that he only took that of duke or lord of *Trapezond*, as he is called by an ancient author, who mentions him on account of his being uſed to furniſh the ſultan of *Iconium* with two hundred lances [s]. He was ſucceeded by

2. —— *Comnenus*; and he by

b 3. —— *Comnenus* (E); of whoſe name and father we know nothing but what was hinted in the laſt note.

4. *John Comnenus*; the firſt, as is generally ſuppoſed, that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted a little higher, the probable reaſon of his aſſuming it, *viz.* out of emulation againſt *Michael Paleologus*. To this we may add what a co-temporary author, who was protonotary to the ſaid *Paleologus*, ſays [t]; *viz.* that *John* rather ſuffered himſelf to be complimented with it by the *Greeks*, out of ſpite and contempt to that uſurper, who, by his ſubmiſſion to the pope, and uniting the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, had rendered himſelf odious to them. Another, who lived near the ſame time [v], hints much the ſame thing, when he ſays, that the pro-
c vince of *Trapezond* was anciently under the government of dukes, who were ſent thither in that quality by the *Conſtantinopolitan* emperors; but that one of thoſe governors, having made him abſolute maſter there, took upon him the title of king; and that he, that then reigned there, had aſſumed that of emperor. We do not find, however, that *Michael* made any oppoſition to this new-aſſumed title. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, of which we took notice under the laſt article, rather obliged him to confirm it to him; at leaſt he thought fit to court his friendſhip and alliance by offering him his daughter *Eudocia Paleologina* in marriage; which *John* readily accepted of, and went to *Conſtantinople* to eſpouſe her: and it is probable enough, that his new title was then acknowledged and confirmed to
d him by his father-in-law. All that we know further of him is, that he was earneſtly courted by pope *Nicholas* IV. to engage in the holy war about the year 1291. and that he died about four years after, and left two ſons behind, by his wife *Eudocia*, viz. *Alexius* II. who ſucceeded him, and *John* his younger brother, whom that princeſs took with her, being then very young, to *Conſtantinople*, ſoon after the emperor's death [w].

John, *the firſt who is ſtyled emperor*.

A. C. 1231.

A. C. 1295.

5. *Alexius* II. was born 1282 [x]. and left, by his father's laſt will, under the guardianſhip of *Andronicus Paleologus* the elder [y]. He married the daughter of an *Iberian* prince, tho' he had the offer of a much richer wife, which *Andronicus Auguſtus* had deſigned for him. He defeated the *Genoeſe*, and ſoon after entered into an
e an alliance with them [z]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Alexius II.

A. C. 1303.

6. *Baſilius* I. who was forced to fight his way through to gain his paternal inheritance [a]. He was highly courted by pope *John* XXII. to go over to the church of *Rome* [b]. His wife, or, as ſome think, his ſecond, was *Eudocia* the natural daughter of *Andronicus Paleologus* the younger [c]. He was ſucceeded by,

Baſilius I.

A. C. 1320.

7. *Baſilius* II. called alſo the younger [d], to diſtinguiſh him, as is ſuppoſed, from his father. He married *Irene Paleologina*, the daughter of *Andronicus* the younger; which

Baſilius II.

[q] Nicetas in Baldwin. Acrop. c. 7. Aithon. c. 13. [r] Vid. Crus. ubi ſup. Du Fresne ſub. Alex. Mag. [s] Vincent. Bellovac. ſub. ann. 1240. [t] Ogerius ap. Wadd. Vid. Du Fresne. ſub. Joh. Comn. [u] Aithon. c. 13. [w] Pachym. lib. vi. c. 32, & ſeq. Gregoras, lib. v. & vi. Bzov. ſub. an. 1181. n. 12. Wadd. apud. Du Freſne ſub. Joh. Comn. p. 192. [x] Pachym. l. ix. c. 27. [y] Gregor. l. v. [z] Iidem ibid. Bzov. ubi ſup. [a] Gregor. l. xi. [b] Od. Reinald. ſub. an. 1329. n. 95. [c] Greg. ibid. Vid. Du. Fresne in Baſil. I. [d] Gregor. ibid.

(E) We have nothing recorded concerning theſe two, not even their names; only we are told, that *John*, the next in order, was the grandſon, according to ſome, or the great-grandſon (11), according to others, of the great *Alexius*. Among theſe the famed *Ogerius*, protonotary of *Michael Paleologus*, who wrote about the year 1279. calls the then reigning emperor, that is, the *John* we are now ſpeaking of, the great-grandſon of *Alexius the Great*; ſo that, according (12) to his account, there muſt have been two princes between theſe two laſt-named (13).

(11) *Gregoras, lib.* v. (12) *Oger. apud. Wadd. ubi ſup.* (13) *Vid. Du. Freſne. ſub Alex. Comn. p.* 192.

which shews, that he must be different from the former, who had married *Eudocia*, another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the *Greek* church to marry two sisters. *Irene*, however, was afterward set aside to make way for another woman of the same name, with whom the emperor was fallen deeply in love; which so exasperated his queen, that she soon after hatched both their ruins: *Cut off by his wife*, 1339. him she caused to be killed by some private means, and her she sent with her children under a guard to *Constantinople*. She governed the empire for some time, during which she dispatched some embassadors to her father, to desire him to send some proper person, to whom she might be lawfully married, and have children by, to succeed to the empire. The matter was no sooner known at *Trapezond*, than an insurrection was made against her; which ended in a civil war, in which *Tzanychita*, a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed [e]. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that *Basil* the emperor died in the year of Christ 1339 [f]. He left children both by his wife, and by his concubine; the latter of which were, as we hinted, sent with their mother to *Constantinople*. He was succeeded by a son of the former.

—Comnenus. 8. —— *Comnenus*, whose christian name has not been transmitted to us, and this last by his son *Alexius*.

Alexius III. 9. *Alexius* III. (F) and the famed princess *Eudocia Comnena* seem, by all circumstances of time, place, *&c.* to have been brother and sister, though their father's name is not recorded by any historian; neither is it easy to guess, at what time the former began to reign. As to his sister, she was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and, after having been married some time to a *Turkish* nobleman of great distinction, and having several children by him, as soon as she was a widow, she was courted and betrothed to *Manuel* the son of *John*, emperor of *Constantinople*, who brought her accordingly thither to consummate his marriage; but here that old monarch, though decrepet with age, gout, and other infirmities, fell so enamoured with her, that he married her himself about the year 1380 [g], that is, towards the latter-end of his life and reign, at which time this *Alexius* was upon the throne of *Trapezond*. This last married, if we may believe *Laonicus* [h], some great lady of the *Cantacuzenian* family, who being already in love with a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, said to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, she was reported to carry on a shameful intrigue with him. His eldest son was no sooner apprised of it, than he took an opportunity to dispatch her paramour, and then shut her up with the emperor in a room, with a design to have sent them both out of the world by the same way: he was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to flee into *Spain*. *Alexius* was so exasperated at his son, that he disinherited him, and named *Alexander* his younger son to succeed him; but *John* found means, by the help of some *Spaniards* and *Genoese*, to return to *Trapezond*; where he caused *Murdered by his son.* his father to be privately murdered, and afterwards to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being suspected to have had a hand in his death [i].

John II. 1449. 10. *John* II. called also *Calo-Johannes*, having thus dispatched his father, mounted the throne, but found it very difficult to keep himself upon it; for the *Turks*, by this time grown very powerful, fell foul upon him on all sides, so that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thousand ducats to *Amurat*, and afterwards to his son *Mohammed* II. to enjoy the quiet possession of it [k]. At his death he left only one son, named *Alexius*, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive with the rest of the family at the taking of *Trapezond* by *Mohammed* above-mentioned, and a daughter named *Catharina Comnena*, who was by her uncle *David* given to *Asan Beigh*, vulgarly called *Usum Cazanes*, in order to prevail upon that monarch

[e] Excerpt: ex Greg. ap Du. Fresne in Basil. II. p. 193. [f] Gregor. ibid. Vigner. in bibl histor. [g] Laonic. l. ii. Phranz. l. iii. c. 2. [h] Lib. ix. [i] Id. ibid. Vid. & Phranz. l. ii. c. 1. Ducas, c. 22. & 45. Du Fresne sub Alex. p. 194. [k] Phranz. l. ii. c. 1, & seq. Laonic. l. ix.

(F) Some have imagined this last to have been the son of *Basilius* II. and have struck out the anonymous one, who stands the eighth in the list; but it is scarce credible, that he could be the son of that *Basil*, who died *An.* 1339. whereas *Alexius* was still alive *A. C.* 1428. when he gave *Mary* his daughter to *John* then emperor of *Constantinople* (14).

(14) *Du Fresne, ibid. p.* 193.

a monarch to assist him against the continual irruptions which the *Turks* made against him [k]. This was, however, done with this condition, that she should not be obliged to change her religion. *John* had these two by the daughter of one of the kings of *Spain*, whom she married during his abode there [l]. Some will have her to have been *David*'s own daughter [m], the last emperor of *Trapezond*, but without any foundation; for *Laonicus* expressly calls her the daughter of *John*; and *David* himself, in his letter to *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, says plainly enough, that she was the daughter of *Calo-Johannes* [n].

11. *David Comnenus*, the third brother of *John*, and last emperor of *Trapezond*, seized on the crown, in wrong of his nephew, the young son of *Alexis*. He was a b man of a savage and cowardly disposition [o]. He had married the princess *Irene*, of the *Cantacuzen* family, a lady highly celebrated for her greatness of soul and constancy under adversities [p]. Against *David*, *Mohammed* II. surnamed *the Great*, who by that time had made himself master of *Græcia*, *Rascia*, and *Servia*, and of the city of *Constantinople*, declared war, under pretence, that he had assisted *Usum Cazanes*, king of *Persia*, and was become tributary to him. *David* had neither courage nor strength sufficient to oppose him; so that he marched directly against his capital, and laid close siege to it by sea and land. The siege had lasted little above a month, when *David*, having in vain implored the assistance of christian princes, particularly of *Charles* VII. king of *France*, agreed to deliver up this metropolis, and with it c the whole empire, on condition, that his and his family's lives should be spared, and he permitted to carry with him all his children and treasures into *Europe*; and that, when there, he should have a sufficient revenue assigned to maintain him and them. *Mohammed* at first refused these offers with great indignation, not doubting to be soon master of that metropolis; but a second parley being desired, he in appearance accepted of them; but having once got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherously caused him to be loaded with chains, and to be kept close prisoner. Being now master of the city, he seized on the emperor's wife (G), daughters, and upon the rest of his family, with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and caused them to be sent in triumph to *Constantinople*. Of the rest of the d *Trapezuntines* he chose as many as he thought fit for his service, and ordered eight hundred promising youths to be brought up janisaries. The handsome females he distributed among his captains and favourites, and some of the finest amongst his own sons. He left in the city none but the meanest of the people, put a strong garison of janisaries into the castle, another of common soldiers in the town, and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire submitted to the conqueror in a little while after; so that the whole was reduced to his obedience in few months, and he returned triumphant into *Constantinople* [q].

David, *the last emperor.*

Trapezond *taken by* Mohammed.

Soon after his arrival thither, he sent the emperor *David* and his children prisoners to *Adrianople*; and not long after, upon some motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour by the wife of *Usum Cazanes*, he caused them to be put to death. He strove to root out, as much as lay in his power, the whole *Comnenian* family; and none of them were spared, but *George* the youngest son of *David*, who turned *Mohammedan*, and one of his sisters, who became afterwards *Mohammed*'s concubine [r]. Thus ended the *Trapezuntine* empire, in the year of Christ 1462. and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation [s].

The royal family butchered by him. A. C. 1462.

CHAP.

[k] Leuncl. in pand. Turc. n. 188. & Vigner. bibl. histor. in an. 1456. Vid. & Cruis. not. in Turcogræc. p. 61. [l] Iid. ibid. [m] Spandugin pius in Asia, c. 53. & al. [n] Laonic. ubi sup. Ænæ. Sylv. epist. 391. [o] Doroth. Monemb. ap. Leon. Allat. de consens. utr. eccles. [p] Phranz, l. iii. Spandug. Laonic. [q] Iid. ibid. Doroth. Monemb. & al. Vid. & Cruis. Du Fresne, & auct. ab eis citat. [r] Laonic. l. ix. & x. Hist. politic. p. 21. Ricaut. Ottoman empire, &c. [s] Iid. ibid.

(G) So some authors affirm, and add, that she saw with the utmost constancy, her husband, and seven of her sons, cruelly butchered by the tyrant, because they would not turn *Mohammedans*; and that she herself died soon after (15): but *Laonicus* affirms, that she found means, before the *Turkish* fleet appeared on their coasts, to make her escape to *Mamia* (16); but what the author means by that word, whether some place of safety, or some relation or friend, is not possible to guess. Another author affirms *David* to have been killed by a blow, which *Mohammed* gave him with his doubled fist (17).

(15) *Doroth. Monemb. Spandugin. Phranz. & al.* (16) *Lib.* ix. (17) *Phranz. lib.* iii. *c.* 2.

CHAP. X.

The ancient state and history of Spain, *to the expulsion of the* Carthaginians *by the* Romans, *and briefly continued to the descent of the* Northern *nations.*

SECT. I.

Description of Spain.

Limits and extent of Spain.

AS the only land contiguous to *Spain* was *Gaul*, from whence it was separated on the N. by the *Pyrenees*, we may consider it as a peninsula. On the other sides we find it surrounded by the *Mediterranean*, the *Sinus Gaditanus* or bay of *Cadiz*, the *Fretum Herculeum* or streights of *Gibraltar*, the western ocean, and sea of *Cantabria*. It must have extended, from E. to W. near thirteen degrees, since *Lisbon* is 9°. 30′ W. of *London*, and cape *de Bauger* in *Catalonia* 3°. 15′. E. of that city; and from N. to S. about 9°. 40′. since cape *de Ortegal*, the northern extremity of modern *Spain*, is in 44°. 10′. N. lat. and the southermost point of *Tariffa* in 35°. 50′. N. lat. According to this determination, ancient *Spain*, including *Lusitania* or *Portugal*, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of ancient and modern *Spain* are the same, they may be looked upon intirely as the same region. Some modern geographers have assigned this kingdom too large an extent, as our readers will find by consulting them [a].

Names of Spain.

THE generality of the *Greek* writers call *Spain* Ἰβηρία *Iberia*, either from a colony of *Iberians*, a people bordering upon mount *Caucasus*, planted there, or from the *Iberus*, the *Ebro* of the moderns, one of the most noted rivers of this country. However, the ancients, who lived before *Polybius*, by *Iberia* understood only that part of *Spain* extending from the *Pyrenees* to *Calpe*, or the streights of *Gibraltar*, and terminated by the *Mediterranean*; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst, the *Greeks* and *Romans*. As the *Iberus* was by far the most considerable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of *Iberia* from thence, as *Egypt*, according to some, did its name from the *Nile*, which *Homer* intimates to have been called *Ægyptus*. But, notwithstanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper *Iberia* was originally only that part of *Spain* called *Celtiberia*, from a body of *Celts* settling in it, bounded by the *Iberus*, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Mediterranean*; which if we admit, it is no wonder that the *Phœnicians* gave it the name of *Iberia*. For the *Hebrew* עבר *Eber*, as well as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, or *Phœnician* עברא *Ebra* or *Ibra*, in the singular number, signifies a *passage*, and in the plural *bounds* or *limits*. The *Phœnicians*, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, *Eber*, *Iber*, *Ebra*, &c. and from thence styled the inhabitants of it *Iberians*; or have denominated the tract itself *Iberia*, from its situation, it having been generally considered by them as one of the remotest regions, or western *limit*, of the earth. Be that as it will, we can by no means think it probable, that any part of *Spain* was called *Iberia*, from a colony of *Iberians* settled there, since history does not in the least countenance such a notion. *Festus Avienus* places the *Iberi* upon the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean, to the west of the *Iberus*, a little river between the *Bætis* and the *Anas*, the *Rio Tinto*, or *Rio de Azeche*, of the moderns.

[a] STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. nat. hist. l. iii. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. l. ii. c. 4. Vid. & CHRISTOPHOR. CELLAR. in geogr ant. l. ii. c. i. sub init. JOAN. LUYTS philos profess. introd. ad geograph. nov. & vet. c. 6. p. 50, 51. Traject. ad Rhen. 1692. MORDEN, MOLL, CLUVER, &c.

ANCIENT SPAIN.

CANTABRIANS

PART OF GAUL

Artabrum pr. Finisterre

Transmontani

Cantabri

Concani

Tolosates

Gulf of Gaul

Sea

Ocean

Gallaici

Lucenses

Augustani

Artabri

Astures

Autrigones

Vardüli

Vascones

Pompelon

Lacca

Suessa

Suessitani

The Pyrenean Mountains

Illiberis

Pompeii Tropæa

Narbo Martius

Lacetani

Cempsi

Bergusii

Rhoda

Veneris Fanum and prom.

Emporiæ

Gerunda

Blanda

Auscetani

Ilerg etes

Cerretani

Iacetani

Celtiberia

Celtici

Vaccæi

Berones

Arevaci

Pelendones

Vettones

Carpetani

Lusones

Hedetani

Sedetani

Ilerga

Dertosa

Laletani

Turdetani

Turdulorum

Turdetani

Turdulorum

Bastuli

Bastitani

Oretani

Oretum

Olcades

Contestani

Deitania

Contestani

Lusitani

Lusitania

Baetica

Majorca I.

Minorca I.

Pityusæ I.

Ophiusa I.

Balearis Islands

Western Ocean

Bay of Gades

Mediterranean

Streights of Hercules

P. of Africa

Gades

Tagus R.

Durius R.

Iberus R.

Baetis R.

Anas R.

Ataxe R.

Garumna R.

Pompeii Tropæa

Flavionania

Flaviobriga

Concana

Libunca

Juliobriga

Segisama

Pintia

Numantia

Visontium

Clunia

Palantia

Intercatia

Brigecum

Porta Augusta

Asturica Augusta

Lancia

Legio VII Gemina

Bergium

Interamnium Flavium

Interamnium Astura

Vallata

Gravii

Brecaræi

Limici

Lambri

Flavia Lambrica

Nemetobriga

Iria Flavia

Lucus Augusti

Lucus Asturum

Brigantium

Artabrum

Celtum

Menosca

Deasø

Pompelon

Calagurris Nascica

Calagurris

Osca

Bortina

Cæsaraugusta

Iesona

Ilerda

Lacetani

Ilergetes

Carthago Vetus

Dertosa

Celsa

Sedetani

Edetani

Bilbilis R.

Bilbilis

Arcobriga

Aqueductus

Cauca

Ilurbida

Salamantica

Mirobriga

Durius R.

Bletisa

Araducta

Langobriga

Talabria

Vacus R.

Aeminium

Conimbrica

Monda R.

Augustobriga

Lancia Oppidana

Abula

Segovia

Segontia

Controbia

Computum

Mantua

Caparra

Igædita

Igæditani

Lunæ prom.

Collipo

Aratrigia

Sellium

Concordia

Ebora

Aritium

Tagus R.

Pons Trajani

Rusticiana

Toletum

Consaburum

Acbura

Norba Cæsarea

Scabilis

Turmuli F.

Caput Ana

Alce

Segobriga

Hedeta

Libisosa

Turias R.

Segontia

Valentia

Hierabrina

Meidobriga

Ad VII

Augusta Emerita

Metallinum

Mirobriga

Oretum

Orospeda

Sucro R.

Olisipo

Badia ats. Pax Augusta

Ebora

Salacia

Julia Regiana

Tucci Aug. Gemella

Tugia

Torebus R.

Orgetis

Cæriana

Calpurniani

Corduba

Baetis R.

Oringi ats Aurinx

Alone

Italica

Ilipa Mag.

Epora

Accatucci

Carthago Nova

Julia Myrtilis

Ulia

Ilurgis

Ilberis

Singulis R.

Hispalis

Obucala

Onoba Astuaria

Oxtuaria

Balsa

Osonoba

Urso

Ostippo

Vigia

Tarteffus

Asta

Segontia

Ostium Anæ

Sacrum prom.

Gades

Basippo

Patria Mal.

Mellaria

Carteia

Calpe prom. ats Columna

Traducta

Septa

Ilipula M.

Mendra

Basti

Ossaria

Virgitanus

Charidemi prom.

Portus magnus

Malaca

Singili

Iptambira

Ebo

Ancient Spain.

J. Wheatley Sculp.

moderns. But his authority, with regard to the ſituation of the moſt ancient *Iberi*, muſt give way to that of *Polybius* [b].

Whence called Spania *or* Hiſpania.

It appears from *Bochart* and others, that the *Phœnicians* called *Spain*, at leaſt that part of it known to them, שפניירה *Sphanija*, or *Spanija*, from שפן *Shaphan*, or *Span*, a *rabbet*, becauſe it abounded with thoſe animals. In ſupport of this notion, it may be obſerved, that in many manuſcripts of *Curtius*, *Juſtin*, *Capella*, *Apuleius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Athenæus*, &c. for *Hiſpania* is found *Spania*, as we learn from *Caſaubon* and *Salmaſius*. From the *Phœnician Spanija*, the *Romans* deduced their *Spania* or *Hiſpania*; which appellation, as well as *Iberia*, in common with the *Greeks*, they applied to the whole continent of *Spain*. That this country, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, produced rabbets in vaſt abundance, may be evinced from the concurrent teſtimony of *Varro*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ælian*, and many other writers of good authority; but, that the *Saphan* of the *Phœnicians* anſwered to *the rabbet*, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near reſemblance to the latter, the *Phœnicians*, at their firſt arrival in *Spain*, might take them to be the ſame animal, and from thence impoſe upon this country a name, which has ever ſince prevailed. The ancients ſometimes, from its ſituation, denominated *Spain* likewiſe *Heſperia*, and *Heſperia Ultima*; but theſe, and other poetical appellations, as being applied to other countries, deſerve little or no regard [c].

Various diviſions of Spain.

As *Spain*, before the *Carthaginians* made any conqueſts there, was inhabitted by many cantons, governed by their own *reguli*, and independent on one another, it muſt have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the preciſe number of which it is impoſſible for us at this day to determine. What number of provinces the *Carthaginians* divided that part of *Spain* ſubject to them into, for want of ſufficient light from ancient hiſtory, we muſt likewiſe own ourſelves incapable of aſcertaining. As for the *Romans*, the firſt diviſion they made of *Spain*, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into *Hiſpania Citerior* and *Hiſpania Ulterior*; and this, according to *Livy*, took place immediately after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war. However, for ſome political reaſons, they thought proper to unite theſe two provinces, in the beginning of the *Macedonian* war; and again disjoined them in the conſulate of *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus*. This laſt diſpoſition of *Spain* remained till the reign of *Auguſtus*, who altered it, by dividing *Hiſpania Ulterior* into two provinces, *viz. Provincia Bætica* and *Luſitania*, and affixing the name of *Provincia Tarraconneſis* to *Hiſpania Citerior*. In ſome of the ſucceeding reigns we find *Hiſpania Ulterior* and *Hiſpania Citerior* again mentioned; notwithſtanding which, that the diviſion introduced by *Auguſtus* continued as long as the *Romans* had any footing in *Spain*, appears extremely probable, both from the ancient geographers, and many antique inſcriptions exhibited by *Gruter* and *Reineſius*. Upon this plan, therefore, we ſhall here beg leave to give our readers a geographical deſcription of ancient *Spain* [d].

Limits and extent of Luſitania.

The limits of (A) *Luſitania* not having been always the ſame, we cannot take upon us to define them. That it extended from the *Tagus* to the *Cantabrian* ocean, or

[b] Christoph. Cellar. ubi ſup. Polyb. lib. iii. Homer. apud Bochart. in Chan l. i. c. 35. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Val. Schindler. lex pentaglot. in voc. עבר Claudian. in Stilich. Strab. l. iii. p. 169. & Posidon. apud Strabon. ibid. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. ii c. 14. Pind. olymp. iii. ſub fin. & ſcholiaſt Pind in loc. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 7. Ffstus Avien. in or. maritim. [c] Rom. c. xv. ver. 24, 28. Theophyl. ad Autolyc. l ii. Euseb. in chronic. p. 13. Epiphan. in hæreſ. lxvi. ſect. 83. Pæan. de Hadrian Scholiaſt. vet. Juvenal. in ſat. xiv. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. viii. ſub. init. Salmas. & Casaub apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 35. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Varro de re ruſtic. l. iii. c. 12. Strab. l. iii. p. 144. 168. Plin. nat. hiſt. l iii. c. 5. & l. viii. c. 29, 58. Ælian de animal. l xiii. c. 15. Galen. de aliment. l. iii. Shaw's phyſical obſervations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic. &c. p. 376. Prosp. Alpin. hiſt. nat. Ægypt. par. i. c. 20. p. 80. & l. iv. c. 9. Hor. l. i. od 36. & Cellar. ubi ſup. [d] Polyb. & Liv. paſſ. Cic. pro Fonteio, c, 3. & pro lege Manil. c. 12. Strab. in extrem. par geograph. Dio, l. liii. p. 503. Pompon. Mel. l. i c. 6. Solin. c. 23. Tacit. an iv. c. 13. Plin. l. iii. c. 1. Steph. Byzant. de urb. & Luc Holsten. in loc. Grut. inſcript. xiii. p. 31. & alib. Reines. inſcript. claſ. ii. n. 13. & alib. Vid. & Cellar. ubi ſup.

(A) *Bochart* ſays, that the country called *Luſitania* derived its name from לוז *Luz* an *almond*, becauſe it produced vaſt quantities of that fruit, as he proves from various authors. But we think, unleſs our readers ſhall take it to be of *Celtic* original, it ought to be deduced from לוז and תני or נא *Luz* and *Tani* or *Tana*, an *almond* and *fig*; for that *Luſitania* produced both thoſe kinds of fruit, *Bochart* clearly evinces in the place referred to. It is plain, therefore, from hence, that the word *Luſitania* is not of *Roman* extraction (1).

(1) *Bochart. Chan. lib.* i. *c.* 35. *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. in vocib.*

er at leaſt the *Promontorium Celticum*, is intimated by *Strabo*. That part of it ſituated betwixt the *Anas* and the *Tagus* went by the name of *Celtica*, or the country of the *Celts*, as has been obſerved by *Iſaac Voſſius*. After *Auguſtus* had made the diſpoſition of *Spain* above-mentioned, the *Anas* bounded *Luſitania* on the ſouth, and the *Durius*, or *Douro* of the moderns, on the north; ſo that the whole tract lying betwixt the *Durius* and the *Cantabrian* ocean was annexed to the *Provincia Tarraconenſis*. The interior limits of *Luſitania*, upon the frontiers of the *Vettones* and *Carpetani*, are fixed differently by different authors; which, as *Cellarius* intimates, may have been owing to a miſtake adopted by ſome of thoſe authors, *viz.* that the province of *Luſitania* correſponded exactly with the country of the *Luſitani*; whereas, according to *Pliny*, not only the *Luſitani*, but the *Celtici*, *Turduli*, *Vettones*, &c. were ſeated in that province. The *Luſitani* poſſeſſed the diſtrict bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, and ſtretching itſelf from the mouth of the *Anas* to the *Promontorium Sacrum*, now known by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*. As for the *Celtici*, whoſe true name was *Mirobrigenſes*, according to *Pliny*, their ſituation may be collected from what has already been obſerved. Some of the ancient geographers make the *Turduli* and *Turdetani* one nation, particularly *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*; though they ſeem to have been conſidered in a different light by *Polybius*. Be that as it will, the *Turdetani* were undoubtedly a powerful people, ſince they occupied a conſiderable part both of *Luſitania* and *Bætica*, as appears from *Strabo*. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Vettones*, who ſpread themſelves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the *Durius*, and on the ſouth by the *Tagus*. However, as the ancients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of thoſe nations or cantons poſſeſſed, it is probable, that their frontiers were not always the ſame. Some authors aſſert *Vettonia*, or the country of the *Vettones*, to have been a province diſtinct from *Luſitania*, and limited on the ſouth by the *Anas*; and this notion ſeems to be countenanced by an inſcription in [c] *Gruter*. The principal cities of this province are the following:

Oliſipo. *Oliſipo*, or *Oliſippo*, called at preſent by the *Engliſh*, *Liſbon*, and, by the *Portugueze*, *Liſboa*. It ſtands at the mouth of the *Tagus*, and was corruptly named, by ſome of the ancients, *Ulyſippo*; from whence ſome have imagined, that it was built by *Ulyſſes*, in his return home from the *Trojan* war. But this notion ought to be looked upon as a mere fiction, deſtitute of the leaſt ſhadow of hiſtorical proof to ſupport it. We cannot, therefore, but believe, that *Oliſipo*, or *Oliſippo*, which, from *Pliny*, the *Itinerary*, and *Gruter*, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two *Phœnician* words עליץ עבא *alis ubbo*, or *olis ippo*, *the pleaſant bay*. For, that the ancient *Oliſipo* was ſeated on a bay, we learn from *Mela*; and that the bay, on which *Liſbon* ſtands, is extremely pleaſant, all the moderns allow. *Oliſipo*, or *Liſbon*, the capital of the preſent kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarve*, is in 39°. 10′. N. lat. and 9°. 30′. W. of *London* [f].

Talabrica. *Talabrica*, or *Talabriga*, a city ſeated upon the *Vacus*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Antoninus*, and *Appian*. The citizens of *Talabriga*, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the *Romans*, ſeem to have had an uncommon averſion to that people; which is the principal thing we find related of them [g].

Langobriga. *Langobriga* (B), a town ſituated between the *Vacus* and the *Durius*, not far from the ſea-coaſt. As both *Pliny* and *Antoninus* take particular notice of it, it muſt have been a place of ſome repute [h].

Ara Ducta. *Ara Ducta*, or, according to *Reineſius*, *Ara Traducta*, a *Roman* town, ſtanding to t[illegible] of *Langobriga*. Our readers will find it in *Ptolemy*'s liſt of the towns appert[illegible] to *Luſitania* [i].

Æminium,

[c] Strab. l. iii. p. 96. 105, & alib. Isaac Vossius in Pompon. Mel. Plin. ubi ſup. Polyb. ubi ſup. Prudent paſſion. Eulal. ver. 186. Petr de Marca, Marcæ Hiſpanic. l. ii. c. 2. Grut. inſcript. p. 383. n. 7. & Cellar. ubi ſup. [f] Solin. c. 23. Grut. inſcript. p. 252. num. 5. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. Cellar ubi ſup. p. 56. Pompon. Mela & Mercator apud Bochart. ubi. ſup. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. [g] Antonin. itinerar. Plin. l. iii. Appian. in bell Hiſp. [h] Plin. & Antonin. ubi ſup. [i] Ptol. geograp. l. ii. c. 5. Tho. Reines. apud Cellar. ubi. ſup.

(B) The word *Brica* or *Briga*, in the old *Spaniſh* language, ſignified a city, as we learn from *Reſendius*. Therefore *Cetobriga*, *Arabriga*,, *Langobriga*, *Meidobriga*, &c. are equivalent to *the city of* Ceto, *the city of* Ara, *the city of* Lango, *the city of* Meido, &c. Hence, probably, came the words *Brigantes*, *Brigantii*, *Brigæcum*, *Brigobanna*, &c. all which are evidently of *Celtic* extraction (2).

(2) *Laur. Andr. Reſend in antiquitat. Luſitan. l.* iv. *in* Cetobriga.

a *Æminium*, a city of this province, mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, near the northern bank of the *Munda*, a little to the S. of *Talabriga* [k]. Æminium.

Conimbrica, a city seated on the opposite bank of the *Munda*. Out of the ruins of this place has arisen the modern *Coimbra*, one of the finest towns in *Portugal*, and celebrated all over the learned world, for the famous university which has so long flourished there [l]. Conimbrica.

Arabriga, *Sellium*, and *Concordia*, betwixt *Conimbrica* and the *Tagus*, seem to have been places of some note, though we have scarce any particulars relating to them handed down to us by the ancient geographers [m]. Arabriga, Sellium, *and* Concordia.

Collippo, a *Roman* municipium, between the *Munda* and the *Tagus*, upon the coast Collippo.
b of the *Atlantic* ocean. We find this town named, by an inscription in *Gruter*, COLLIPRO; but, that the R there was originally a P, appears from the best manuscripts of *Pliny*, as well as another inscription. Not far from this city, in a south-western direction, stood *Eburobritium*, or, as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, *Eburobriga*. As the stones, that preserved the above-mentioned inscriptions, were in the neighbourhood of *Liria*, some believe, that the ruins of the ancient *Collippo* are to be sought for there [n].

Scalabis, or *Scalabiscus*, as some think it called by *Ptolemy*, has been considered Scalabis.
by *Cellarius* as the fifth *Roman* colony of *Lusitania*, surnamed *Præsidium Julium*. The *Spanish* writers almost unanimously agree, that the spot, on which this town
c stood, is at present occupied by *Santerien*, a *Portuguese* town about forty miles N. E. of *Lisbon*; though the *Scalabiscus* of *Ptolemy* had a situation assigned it to the N. of the *Munda* [o].

Aritium Prætorium and *Hierabriga*, in the neighbourhood of *Scalabis*, are mentioned by the *Itinerary*. The former place stood thirty-eight *Roman* miles from *Olisipo* and the latter thirty [p]. Aritium Prætorium, *and* Hierabriga.

Norba Cæsaria, a town of repute during the government of the *Romans* in *Spain*, Norba Cæsaria.
on the southern bank of the *Tagus*, near the famous stone bridge built over that river and dedicated to *Trajan*. *Pliny* calls the inhabitants of this city *Colonia Norbensis*. Some *Spanish* authors believe *Norba Cæsaria* to have been contiguous to *Tra-*
d *jan*'s bridge. But other writers of that nation, well versed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. The latter, in support of their opinion, affirm the city of *Alcantara*, seated on the spot adjoining to the noble structure above-mentioned, to have been built by the *Saracens*; but the former think it may have arisen out of the ruins of the ancient *Norba*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* seem to favour the sentiment of those who place *Norba* at some distance from the bridge; since they make that town, or, which is the same thing, the *Colonia Norbensis*, to have been situated in a territory to the south of the *Tagus*. Be that as it will, we are informed by an ancient *Roman* inscription in *Gruter*, that the *Roman* municipia of *Lusitania*, by sums raised amongst themselves, finished the aforesaid bridge, in the reign of the emperor
e *Trajan*. The names of these municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preserved by a stone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or the town of *Norba*, viz. *Icadita*, *Lancia Oppidana*, *Arabriga*, *Mirobriga*, *Lancia Transcudana*, *Colarnum*, *Meidubriga*, *Interamnia*, &c. Some, if not all, of these municipia undoubtedly made a considerable figure, though we are supplied with very few particulars relating to them by the ancient geographers and historians [q].

Bletisa was situated near some of the above-mentioned municipia, on the southern Bletisa.
bank of the *Durius*, as may be inferred from an inscription in *Gruter*. The modern name of *Bletisa* is *Ledesma*, according to *Mariana*, who supposes the ancient and modern cities, going by those names, to have been the same. As to any far-
f ther particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark [r].

Salmantica, called at this day *Salamanca*, was in the neighbourhood of *Bletisa*, as Salmantica.
appears from the above-mentioned inscription. It is at present famous all over the world, on account of the flourishing university founded there, which, for several ages, has been deemed the principal seat of literature in *Spain* [s].

Augusta

[k] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. [l] PLIN. ubi sup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND in antiquit, Lusitan. l. iv. [m] PTOL. & ANTONIN. ubi sup. [n] PLIN. PTOL. & RESEND. ubi sup. GRUT. inscript. p. 323 & p. 1155. [o] PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. & CELLAR. ubi sup. [p] ANTONIN. itinerar. ubi sup. [q] PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. ubi sup. NONIUS & VASSEUS, apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 58. GRUT. inscript. p. 162. [r] GRUT. inscript. p. 199. num. 2. MARIAN. l. vii. c. 4. CELLAR. ubi sup. [s] PTOL. & GRUTER. ubi sup.

Augusta Emerita. *Augusta Emerita*, the capital of this province in the *Roman* times, upon the *Anas*, was built by a body of superannuated soldiers, to whom *Augustus* assigned a district in *Lusitania*; from whence this city deduced its name. This colony we find frequently mentioned by ancient *Roman* coins and inscriptions. *Emerita* at first appertained to the *Turduli*, according to *Strabo*; though afterwards it was ranked amongst the towns of the *Vettones*, as we learn from *Prudentius*. This may be easily accounted for, if we consider, that the *Vettones*, in process of time becoming more powerful than the *Turduli*, at length made themselves masters of their country. Our readers will find a more minute account of this city and colony in the authors here referred to [r].

Ebora. *Ebora*, called, by the *Romans*, *Liberalitas Julia*, was seated between the *Tagus* and the *Anas*, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The same spot is at present occupied by *Evora*, where there has long flourished a famous university. This town was a *Latin* municipium, as appears from several ancient coins and inscriptions [s].

Salacia. *Salacia*, the *Alacer do Sal* of the moderns, stood some miles to the W. of *Ebora*. From some ancient inscriptions in *Gruter* it may be inferred, that this place was a *Roman* municipium [t].

Pax Julia. *Pax Julia*, the *Beja* of the moderns, a city in the southern part of the province, stood near the frontiers of the *Turdetani*, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus*. Near this place a vast number of *Roman* coins and inscriptions have been found within these few years. All the remaining tract to the south of this city, limited on the east, west, and south, by the *Anas*, the *Atlantic* ocean, and bay of *Gades*, from its figure, was called *Cuneus* by *Pomponius Mela* and *Strabo*. *Myrtilis*, *Balsa*, *Ossonaba*, and other places of this tract, deserve not any great regard. However, it may not be improper to observe, that, according to *Resendius*, *Mortola*, or *Mertolo*, a modern town upon the *Anas*, and *Tanilla*, or *Tavira*, a considerable city of *Algarve*, answer to the ancient *Myrtilis* and *Balsa*. As for *Ossonaba*, if we will believe the same author, it has for a long time lain in ruins, though some footsteps of it are still remaining, particularly in the walls of *Faro*, another town of *Algarve* upon the sea-coast. The *Lacobriga* of *Mela* stood under the *Promontorium Sacrum*, known in these times by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*, upon a spot occupied at present by a village called *Lagoa* by the *Portuguese*, near the city of *Lagos*, where some remains of it are still to be seen [u].

As the other towns of *Lusitania*, whose names only have been handed down to us by the ancient geographers, were either insignificant and obscure, or almost all traces of them have been lost, our readers will not expect any account or description of them. Neither is it reasonable, in a work of this nature, to take any notice of what merits not the least attention [w].

Promontories of Lusitania. THE chief promontories of *Lusitania* were the *Promontorium Sacrum*, *Promontorium Barbarium*, and the *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Olisiponense*; to which some add a fourth, called, by *Pliny*, *Cuneus*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, or *Cape St. Vincent*, formed an angle projecting into the bay of *Gades* and the *Atlantic* ocean, which was termed the western extremity of the world by *Strabo*. The *Promontorium Barbarium*, at present *Cape Spichel*, lay at the south of *Olisipo*, though not very distant from the mouth of the *Tagus*. The *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Olisiponense*, styled, by some of the moderns, *Cape de Rocca Sintra*, projected into the *Atlantic* ocean near *Olisipo*, and was made by *Pliny* the common boundary of *Earth*, *Sea*, and *Heaven*. As for *Pliny*'s *Cuneus*, it is supposed to be the promontory at this day known by the name of *Cape St. Mary* by *Cellarius* [x].

Ports and islands. THE principal ports of this province were those of *Olisipo*, at present *Lisbon*, and *Hannibal*. The situation of the former is so well known, as not to admit of a dispute; but that of the latter cannot be so easily ascertained. *Mela*, upon whose authority it intirely depends, places it near the *Promontorium Sacrum*; which is all that we can say of it. The only island taken notice of by the ancients on the coast of *Lusitania*, is the *Londobris* of *Ptolemy*, the *Barlenga* or *Barlinges* of the moderns [y].

THE

[r] STRAB. ubi sup. DIO, l. liii. p. 114. NUM. August. & NUM. Tiber. apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 60. PRUDENT. ubi sup. LUDOVIC. NON. c. 31. [s] PLIN. ubi sup. GRUT. inscript. p. 489. num. 9. NUM. var. August. apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 62. [t] PLIN. ubi sup. & alib. GRUT. inscript. p. 13. num. 16. [u] PLIN. PTOL. ANTONIN. ubi sup. POMPON. MEL. & STRAB. ubi sup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Lusitan. & GRUT. in inscript. pass. [w] PLIN. PTOL. &c. [x] STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. l. iv. c. 22. & alib. & HARDUIN. in loc. PTOL. l. ii. c. 5. CELLAR. ubi sup. [y] MEL. l. iii. c. 1.

a THE *Mons Herminius* of *Hirtius*, the modern *Arminno*, ſeems to have been the only mountain of note in this country; of which we have nothing farther to ſay, than that, according to *Cellarius*, *Medobriga* or *Meidobriga*, ſtood at the foot of it [z]. *Mountains.*

THE moſt celebrated rivers of *Luſitania* were the *Anas*, the *Tagus*, and the *Durius*. The *Anas* is called at preſent the *Guadiana*, the *Tagus* the *Tajo*, and the *Durius* the *Douro*. To theſe may be added the *Munda*, which now goes under the name of the *Mondego*; and the *Vacus*, now called the *Voga*. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themſelves into the *Atlantic* ocean [a]. *Rivers.*

WE ſhall here only mention two of the natural curioſities of *Luſitania*: 1. The *Curioſities.*
b lead-mine near *Meidobriga*, from whence *Pliny* denominates the inhabitants of that place *Plumbarii*; which ſtill exiſts. 2. The golden ſand, or ſmall particles of gold mixed with the ſand, of the *Tagus*. This we find atteſted by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ovid*, *Pliny*, *Silius Italicus*, &c. and the truth of it ſeems confirmed by *Reſendius*. For that famous antiquary aſſures us, that ſome of theſe golden particles were found intermixed with the ſand of the *Tagus* in his time; that the laws of *Portugal* would not permit people to throw up the interior ſand on the banks of the *Tagus*, with which theſe particles are ſuppoſed to be incorporated, leſt the neighbouring fruitful fields ſhould be thereby damaged; and that the kings of *Portugal* have a ſceptre of the *Tagan* gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world [b].

c THE ſecond province of *Hiſpania Ulterior*, or further *Spain*, was *Bætica*, ſo called from the famed river *Bætis*, ſince *Tarteſſus*, and now *Guadalquiver*, or the great river. We have already mentioned its limits on the weſt or *Luſitanic* ſide; it was bounded on the ſouth by the *Mediterranean* and the *Sinus Gaditanus*, or gulph of *Cadiz*; and on the north by the *Cantabric* ſea, now the ſea of *Biſcay*. As to its limits towards the north-eaſt, or province of *Tarraco*, they cannot be ſo well fixed, becauſe they are rightly ſuppoſed to have been in a conſtant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to encroach upon his neighbour. Hence ancient authors place thoſe on the ſea-coaſt differently, *viz.* *Ptolemy* at *Baræa* [c]; *Pliny* ſomewhat higher, at *Murgis* [d]; though both ſituated on the *Sinus Virgitanus*, a little
d below new *Carthage*. The ſame may be ſaid of the inland ones, which are likewiſe differently placed, either higher or lower from the province of *Tarracon*, as may be ſeen by the authors above-quoted. The *Bætis* above-mentioned divided this province into two parts; on the one ſide of which, towards the *Anas*, were ſituate the *Turdetani* (A), from whence the country was called *Turdetania*, but better known by the name of *Bæturia*. On the other ſide were ſituate the *Baſtuli*, *Baſtitani*, and *Conteſtani*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſts. The reader will find, under the next note, all that can be found concerning thoſe people (B). We forbear mentioning a great *Bœtica deſcribed.* *Its Inhabitants.*

[z] HIRT. c. 48. CELLAR. ubi ſup. p. 60, 61. [a] PTOL. ubi ſup. CELLAR. ubi ſup. p 54, 55. [b] POMPON. MEL. l iii. c 1. OVID. met. l. ii. PLIN. l. iv. c. 22. & l. xxxiii. c. 4. SIL. ITAL. l. i. ver. 234. PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi ſup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Luſitan. l. ii. [c] Univ. hiſt. l. ii. c. 4. [d] Hiſt. l. iii. c. 1. Vide CELLAR. l. ii. c. 2. ſect. 1. GERUND.

(A) Some add, after *Polybius*, the *Turduli*, as different from them. We have already ſpoken of both. They were (1) ſituate on the ſame ſide of the *Bætis*, but higher up: but as that author rather diſtinguiſhes them only with regard to their ſituation; and *Ptolemy* ſeems to intimate, that they were but one people (2); we ſee no reaſon for making two of them, any farther than the diſtinction of higher and lower will go; eſpecially as *Strabo* makes the two names to be indifferently given to them (3); and theſe are by ſome authors (4) affirmed to have been the ancienteſt people in all *Spain*.

(B) Of the firſt of theſe we have already ſpoken. The *Baſtuli*, ſuppoſed to be of *Phœnician* or *Libyan* extract, extended from the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſt, till, driven from thence by the *Moors*, they fled into the mountainous part of *Galicia*, which they then called by their name *Baſtulia*. The *Baſtetani* or *Baſtitani* were ſeated higher up on the ſame coaſts. The territories of both theſe made what ſince became the kingdom of *Granada*, in which there is a ridge of very high mountains, called, from the latter, the *Baſtetanian* mountains. Mention is made alſo of their capital called *Baſtitana*, a place of ſuch ſtrength, that king *Ferdinand* was ſix months a beſieging it, before he could take it from the *Moors* (5).

The *Conteſtani* are by ſome placed in this province of *Bætica*, and by others in that of *Tarracon*. They were moſt likely ſeated between both. They are ſaid by *Ptolemy* (6) to have been ſettled there by *Teſta* one of their kings, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, and called from him *Conteſtani*, as well as a city called *Conſtantinum* (7); but that king, though mentioned alſo by *Mariana*, is generally ranked among the dubious, if not fabulous.

(1) *Vid. Gerundenſ. paralip. l.* i. (2) *Lib.* ii. *reg. Hiſp. Gerund. Gariqai. Antgued. & al. F. Ximen.* (3) *Lib.* iii. (4) *Vid. Voſſ. chronic. Taraph. de* (5) *Bulgar. commentar. Serdin Comec. de geſt.* (6) *Ubi ſup. Vid. & Taraph. ſub an.* 1424. (7) *Id. ibid.*

a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may ſee them in *Cellarius* above-mentioned, and, if he cares to depend upon the *Spaniſh* authors for other ſituation, cities, and their particulars, he may conſult thoſe we have lately quoted both in the text and margin.

Roman *colonies.*

We come now to ſpeak of the *Roman* colonies in this province; and of theſe we ſhall, for brevity's ſake, ſingle out only ſome of the moſt celebrated ones; *viz.* that of the *Accitani*, ſituate between the *Baſtuli* and *Baſtitani*, along the ſame ſhore. We find it mentioned by *Pliny* [c], and by ſome ancient inſcriptions, under the name of Colonia Julia Gemella Accitana [d], whoſe citizens were called *Gemellenſes*, becauſe that colony was made up of two legions, *viz.* the third and ſixth, as appears by thoſe inſcriptions [e]. It is ſuppoſed to be the preſent city of *Guadiz* in *Granada*, an ancient epiſcopal ſee, formerly called the *Accitanus*, from *Acci*, the name of that city (C). Thoſe of *Gades*, *Corduba*, *Aſtigi*, and *Hiſpal*, were famed for their courts of judicature. The other four, whoſe ſituation is leſs known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than in any of the other two provinces, the reader may ſee in the author above-mentioned [f]; all which confirm what *Pliny* ſays of this [g], that it excelled them by far; for ſo it did in richneſs, extent, number of cities and harbours, fertility of its ſoil, commodious ſituation for traffick, and many other particulars: and this may be one great reaſon why the *Romans* cultivated and encouraged it more than they did the reſt.

Their cities.

How few of thoſe ancient cities this province had before the coming in of the *Romans*, is not difficult to gueſs, if we only conſult the beſt ancient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to truſt to the *Spaniſh* writers, it muſt have not only abounded with them, but they muſt likewiſe have been vaſtly large, populous, and opulent, even before the coming of the *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, and other nations, of whom we ſhall give an account in the ſequel. And yet theſe are affirmed by the ſame authors, eſpecially the *Tyrians*, to have built ſome freſh conſiderable ones, every one in the places where they ſettled themſelves; for all which we have no better grounds, than for that of *Uliſipo* and its pretended founder, of which we ſpoke under the firſt article of this chapter: but when we come to examine things more cloſely, we find no ſuch traces of this boaſted number of cities. On the contrary it is plain, when the *Turdetani* had, at the inſtigation of *Hannibal*, aſſiſted the brave *Saguntines* their neighbours againſt the *Romans*, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not ſo much as recorded (D); and which theſe cauſed to be razed, and the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves [h], as a determent to others from lending their aſſiſtance to any, whom they thought proper to war againſt. *Ptolemy* mentions but one ſea-port town on the coaſt of the *Baſtitani*, viz. that of Οὐρκὴ *Urce*, ſince *Vorgi*, in the bay of that name, tho' we find ſome conſiderable ones on thoſe coaſts; ſuch as *Menobia*, *Abdera*, *Portus Magnus*, *Beria*, and *Murgis*, and ſome others. On the iſlands it has likewiſe a conſiderable number, which *Pliny*, in his *Natural Hiſtory*, tells us, in his time amounted to an hundred and ſeventy-two. The greateſt part of theſe being, in all appearance, and from the *Roman* names given them, either founded or inlarged by that nation, ſuch as thoſe of *Aſta Nebriſa*, *Ugia*, and *Orippa* [i], on the banks of the *Bætis*, below *Hiſpal*, we have not time to dwell upon them, but ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort mention of thoſe of the greateſt note. Among theſe is the famed city of *Hiſpal*, now *Seville* (E), ſituate on the river *Bætis* above-mentioned, and

Hiſpal.

[c] Hiſt. l. iii. c. 3. [d] Grut. p. 271. n. 6. [e] See Cellarius, lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3. [f] Ubi ſup. ſect. 2, & ſeq. [g] Lib. iii. c. 1. De his vid. Gerund. Taraph. Garib. Vasseum, & al. [h] Livy, l. xxi. c. 6. xxiv. c. 42. [i] De his vid. Cellar. ubi ſup.

(C) The *Spaniards* pretend, that *Torquatus*, a diſciple of *James* the apoſtle, was by him appointed the firſt biſhop of it (8).

(D) This the *Spaniards* think to have been called *Turvel*, ſituate near the ſpring-head of the river *Thurias* or *Durias*, and to which they have given the ancient name of *Turdeta*.

(E) Some pretend, that it was founded and named by *Hiſpal* one of their fabulous kings, and the ſon of *Hercules* (9); others, that it was ſo called from the *palus*, or marſh, on which it was founded; or rather from the *pali*, or ſtakes, upon which the foundation of it was laid (10). That of *Seville*, or, as it was anciently written, *Civilia*, is thought to be only a corruption of *Civitas Julia*, as it is called in ſome ancient inſcriptions (11). But when or by whom it was founded, is not to be gueſſed at.

(8) *Vaſſ. chron. c.* 20. (9) *Vaſſ. Garib. & al. ſup. citat.* (10) *Paralip. c.* 1. (11) *Id. ibid. c.* 9.

a and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought vaſt number of merchandizes up to this city, and thence quite up to *Corduba*. This city is ſtyled by *Pliny Colonia Romulenſis*, and by ſome ancient inſcriptions *Colonia Romulea*. We took notice above, that it was one of the four courts of judicature. The next city in rank to *Hiſpal* is *Corduba*, now *Cordoua*, no leſs famed for its rich mines, and fertile ſoil, or, as the poet calls it [k], *aurifera terra*, than the other was for its trade. It is ſituate on the banks of the ſame river, was called a patrician colony, and is ſaid by *Strabo* to have been the work of *Marcellus* (F). *Tarteſſus* was once a famed ancient city, pleaſantly ſituate between the two mouths of the *Bætis* (G), which made a kind of b iſland, called, after the name of the city [l], *Tarteſſida*. This ancient city is celebrated by ſome of the *Latin* poets, as ſituate on the fartheſt verge of the weſtern ſhore [m]; but, for the other particulars of it, we muſt refer our reader to the laſt note, as we muſt do, for the remainder of the cities of this province, to the authors ſo often cited already, and eſpecially to the late and accurate *Cellarius* in the chapter above-quoted; and for *Gades* or *Gadir*, now *Cadiz*, to what we copiouſly ſaid of it in a former volume [n]. Corduba.

We come now to ſay ſomething of the famous bays and ports of this province; the firſt of which, next to *Gades* above-mentioned, is that called *Portus Meneſtæus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, who doth likewiſe place here the oracle of that c name. The next is that of *Beſippo*, the country of the famed *Pomponius Mela*, and ſome others, without the ſtreights mouth. *Calpe*, *Carteia*, *Barbeſul*, *Cilniana*, *Salduba*, *Suel*, and *Malaca*, within the ſtreight, and on the coaſts of the *Baſtuli*. *Menoba*, *Selumbina*, *Abdera*, and *Portus Magnus*, and likewiſe the famed promontory of *Charidemus*, all which are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, and placed by them on the *Baſtitanian* coaſts. Beyond the promontory laſt-mentioned are the cities of *Baria* or *Barea*, and *Murgis*, in the *Virgitanian* bay; the former of which is reckoned by *Ptolemy*, and the latter by *Pliny*, the laſt ſea-port of the *Baſtitani*, as we hinted a little higher. Thoſe ancient authors are, however, neither well agreed, nor eaſily reconciled, about the ſituation, names, and ſome d other particulars relating to thoſe cities. Thus, for inſtance, *Calpe*, which is by *Strabo* ſtyled a famed ancient *Spaniſh* ſea-port, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned *Bochart* and *Caſaubon* have thought, that *Calpe*, in the former, was inſerted, by the miſtake of the tranſcriber, for *Carteia*, eſpecially as no mention is made in the others of any city beſides it in that bay. But this has been in a great meaſure anſwered, by ſome learned men, from the inſcription on *Bays and ſea-ports.*

[k] Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 401. Ovid. metamorph. l. xiv. ver. 416. [l] Strab. ubi ſup. [m] Sil. Ital. ubi ſup. ver 399. & alib. [n] Vol. vi. p. 730, a—c, (A).

(F) Our author leaves us in the dark which of the *Roman* generals of that name he meant, ſo that the *Spaniſh* writers are much divided about it. *Vaſæus*, often quoted, thinks, that it was he who was contemporary with *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; becauſe he finds no mention made of this city before him (12). But *Nonius* thinks it to be of much older date (13), ſince the ſame *Strabo* calls it *Coloniam primam*, or firſt colony which the *Romans* ſent into this part of *Spain*. And it is mentioned by *Silius Italicus* in the ſecond *Punic* war (14). As for the title of *Colonia Patricia* given to it, it is not only mentioned by *Pliny*, but by ſome ancient inſcriptions in *Gruter*, to which we refer (15); and this is further explained by what *Strabo* adds, that it was from the beginning inhabited by noble men of the *Romans*, and other nations (16).

(G) *Strabo* ſays, that the *Bætis* formerly emptied itſelf into the ſea at two different places (17). One of them has been ſince ſtopped up. *Mela* mentions the city of *Carteia* in the ſame bay (18), which, he ſays, ſome fanſy to have been the ancient *Tarteſſus*. Hence authors are divided in their opinions, whether theſe were two diſtinct cities, or the ſame with different names. We find nothing that can ſatisfy our readers on that head, ancient authors often confounding theſe two names and that of *Gades* together, as the learned *Bochart* and others have juſtly obſerved.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from *Tarteſſus* to that of *Gades*, on account of *Hercules*'s ſetting up his two columns there (19), it is rightly rejected. We have given a truer account of the foundation of *Gades* in a former volumne, to which we refer, to avoid repetition (20). As for *Carteia*, a late author endeavoured to prove it to be the preſent town of *Rocadillo*, diſtant about four miles from *Gibraltar* (21); but the point is far from being cleared by him, and too dark and prolix for us to dwell longer upon, in a work of this nature.

(12) *Ibid. c.* 20. (13) *Ibid. c.* 19. (14) *Lib.* iii. *ver.* 401. (15) P. 460. (16) *Lib.* iii. (17) *ibid.* (18) *De ſit. orb. lib.* ii. *c.* 6. (19) *Dionyſius Alexandr. Vid. auct. Hiſp. ſup. citat. & Gerund. paralip. l.* i. (20) *Vol.* vi. *p.* 730, *a*—*c* (A). (21) *Conduit. diſcourſe of the ſituat. of Carteia.*

on a medal, with these letters, C. I. Calpe; that is, as they read it [o], *Colonia Julia Calpe*: and this they back with a passage out of *N. Damascen* [p]; who says, that *Octavius* overtook *Cæsar* near the city of *Calpia*, which is the same with *Calpe*; so that *Strabo*'s text wants no amendment. *Barbesul*, *Asta*, and some others of the sea-ports above-named, appear likewise to have been considerable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of *Munda*, where *Cæsar* overcame the sons of *Pompey*; but, as we are obliged to study brevity, we shall refer the rest to the author last-quoted. a

The river Bœtis, &c.

Rivers of any note there are not in this province, except the *Bætis*, often mentioned already, or, as it is sometimes written, *Bætes* and *Betis*. It hath, according to *Pliny* [q], its spring-head in the *Tugiensian* forest, so named by *Tugia*, a town mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of *Antoninus* (H), in the province of *Tarracon*, at the foot of the *Oresspodan* mountains. Others of lesser note are the *Barbesola* near the city or mount *Calpe* above-mentioned, the *Saduca* which seems to have divided the *Bastuli* from the *Accitani*, and some few others not worth dwelling upon. Mountains, of a considerable length and height, this province certainly abounds with. We find, however, but few mentioned by ancient authors. *Ptolemy* takes only notice of two, *viz.* the *Mariani* and *Hipylæ*, the latter of which were scarcely known to any other ancient writer [r]. These, as they run along the territories of *Hispal* or *Seville*, were, we are told, called *Illipæ*; and, as they came nearer to *Corduba*, *Themarini* and *Orthosdadæ* [s]: the former, which are by *Pliny* called *Ariani* (I), run along the famed desert of the same name, now known by that of *Sierra Morena*, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Castulo*. The region of the *Bastitani* was likewise full of them, as we hinted in a former note; and all that needs be added, with relation to them all is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead, the greatest quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of those called *Mariani*, which the *Romans* improved to no small advantage, having every-where their *procuratores rei metallicæ*, or overseers of the mines. That of *Calpe*, mentioned a little higher, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its situation; and so no more need be said of it. b *Mountains.* c d

Soil, climate, and produce.

The goodness of the soil and air of *Spain* in general is too well known to need any mention here. This province was particularly remarkable for it, and we shall have occasion in the sequel to give further proofs of it from the healthiness and longevity of its inhabitants; and so little did they know of physic, that, if we may believe *Posidonius*, they used to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of such passengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were so robust and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but used to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themselves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horses and cattle, the former of which they bred from the beginning in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and especially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it seems, so very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on those healthy mountains, that it could not be used either for food or drink, or even, as we are told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheese with, without some mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greatest perfection; but these are topics so well known to every reader, that we need not dwell longer e

[o] Spanh de præst. numism. p. 766. Noris cenotaph. Pisan. p. 207. Cellar. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 2. art. 34. [p] Excerpt. Vales. apud [q] Lib. iii. c. 1. [r] L. ii. c. 4. [s] Vid. Marin. Sicul. reb. Hisp. lib. 1. sect. de montib.

(H) That author places it in the road between *Castulo* and *Malaca*, at about thirty-five miles distance from the latter.

(I) As these mountains are called, by the generality of authors, and by one ancient inscription, by the first name; and, by the second, only by *Pliny* and the *Itinerarium*; it is supposed, that the M, in these, was, by some mistake of the copyists, dropped; but, whether they were the same, or different, is not of any great consequence to inquire, with so little help, and under so great an uncertainty (22).

(22) *De his vid. Cellar. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *in fin. sect.* 2.

longer upon them. As for mineral waters, they flow, in the greateſt quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of *Granada* is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues; which need not to be wondered at, conſidering the vaſt ridges of mountains that are in it, and the variety of metals and minerals they abound with. Some of them riſe ſo hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The moſt famous of the warm kind are thoſe of *Hiſpal*, *Cordoua*, and *Granada*; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the moſt inveterate, and even the venereal, diſeaſes; which is not altogether improbable, conſidering the quantity of ſulphur and other minerals, they are impregnated with, and the great perſpiration which the heat of the climate gives to its inhabitants. *Natural rarities.*

b There are two others of great fame here, *viz.* that called *Bætio*, from a ſmall town near it; it ſprings, in a ſmall rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two ſtreams, into two lakes; and its waters are noted for curing all hæmorrhages, by waſhing. The other is near the town of *Antiquaria*, which is no leſs famed for diſſolving the ſtone, and bringing it off by urine [a]. We ſhould be drawn into too great a length, were we to enter into ſo copious a ſubject as that of their artificial rarities; their ſtately buildings, ſuch as bridges, churches, eſpecially their palaces, whether thoſe of the *Gothic*, or of the *Roman* faſhion: but one thing we cannot forbear obſerving, that there are ſome yet ſtanding almoſt in their priſtine grandeur, eſpecially in the kingdom of *Granada*, built by the *Moors*, in a ſtyle peculiar to them, and which has ſcarce any thing

c common with the other two, and yet ſeems to exceed them in taſte and magnificence. But as this country, as well as the ſeveral authors, who have written upon it, are ſo well known to us, we ſhall inlarge no further upon them.

Tarracon was the third province in *Spain*. It was, as we obſerved before, ſtyled by the *Romans Hiſpania Citerior*, or hither *Spain*, and diſtinguiſhed, by the name of *Tarraconenſis*, from the ancient city of that name, which was then the capital of it, and the reſidence of the *Roman præſes*, or governor. We have ſeen, under the two former articles, how hard it is to ſettle the limits of this province, with reſpect to thoſe of *Bætica* and *Luſitania*, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other ſides they are eaſily fixed, it having the *Mediterranean* on the eaſt, the ocean

d on the weſt, and the *Cantabrian* ſea, and the *Pyrenees*, on the north, by which laſt it is divided from *Gaul*. *Tarracon*, being by far the largeſt of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likelihood, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river *Iberus*, now *Ebro*, which ran almoſt acroſs the whole province, having its ſource on the north-weſt ſide of it, between the *Cantabrian* mountains; and very near the ſea of that name, and by a ſouth-eaſt courſe, emptying itſelf into the *Mediterranean*, about thirty miles below the city of *Tarraco*. Along the ſouth-weſt ſide of that river were ſeated the *Celtiberians*, the ancienteſt, and by far the moſt conſiderable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, ſo

e many diſtinct tribes deſcended from them, as we are apt to think they moſtly were, from the greateſt part of their names being of *Celtic*, rather than of any other, extract. This canton was called from them *Celtiberia*, and reached from the mouth of the *Iberus* quite to the country of the *Cantabri*, on the oppoſite coaſts. Along the courſe of it, on that ſide, were, among other people of leſs note, the *Illærcaones*, ſeated juſt within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the *Hedetani*, or *Sedetani*, *Pelendones*, *Beroues*, and, laſt of all, the *Cantabri*. Nearer to *Bætica*, and on the borders of it, were, towards the *Mediterranean*, firſt, the *Conteſtani*, mentioned alſo under the laſt article; and, as you went forwards, acroſs the country, towards the oppoſite ſhore, you found another tribe of the *Turtedani*, the *Lobetani*, *Luſones*, *Car-*

f *petani*, *Arevacæ*, and *Vaccæi*; and theſe two laſt were ſevered from each other by the river *Duero*, which was the confine of *Luſitania* on that ſide; and, weſt of the *Cantabri* and *Vaccæi*, were, on the *Cantabrian* coaſt, the *Tranſmontani* and *Artabri*; and in this laſt was the *Artabrum Celticum*, called alſo *Promontorium Nericum*, now cape *Finiſter*. In the inland are placed the *Aſtures*, *Auguſtani*, *Lucences*, and *Gravii*. On the weſtern coaſt, between the cape above-mentioned and the *Durius*, were the *Callaici*, alias *Callæci*, whoſe country was called *Callæcia*, one tribe or canton of which were called *Bracarii*, and the country *Bracara*, and theſe were ſeated on the banks of the *Durius*; the others were diſtinguiſhed by the name

Tarracon *deſcribes.*

Celtiberia.

Other nations and cantons.

[a] Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hiſp. lib. i. cap. de fontibus.

name of *Lucenſes*; and both were ſubdivided by *Ptolemy* into ſeveral tribes, ſuch as a
we ſhall ſpeak of, upon another occaſion, under the following note (A). All theſe
are mentioned by ancient geographers, ſuch as *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, as ſeated, the
former on the other ſide of the *Iberus*, and the latter on the hither ſide of the *Tagus*.
On the other ſide of the *Iberus*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſts, were ſeated the *La-*
tetani and *Auſetani*, who were parted by the river *Rubricatus*, or, as *Mela* calls it,
Lubricatus, now *Lobragat*, near the city of *Barcelona*. Along the *Iberus* were the
Ilergetes, *Jacetani*, *Sueſſitani*, *Vaſcones*, *Varduli*, *Autrigones*, and *Concani*; and theſe
were ſeated between the head of the *Iberus* and the *Cantabrian* ſea. Nearer to the *Py-*
renean mountains, along that vaſt ridge, were the *Ceretani*, *Indigetes*, *Cemſi*, *Lacetani*,
and ſome others of leſs note. Every one of them had its diſtinct metropolis, from b
which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they
gave that of their own tribe, as may be ſeen by thoſe we ſhall mention (B). We
have already obſerved in general on this head, that thoſe diſtricts which end in *tania*,
and the cities which end in *briga*, are of *Celtic* extract; and we ſhall add here, that
this province abounds with ſuch, more than the other two, as may be ſeen by the
liſt of the people we have given below; for where their name terminated in *tani* the
country of courſe ended in *tania*, as *Auſetani* and *Auſetania*.

Celtiberians, *their warlike fierceneſs.*

IT is not our deſign to ſpeak particularly of every one of them, and much leſs
of their cities, many of which we know little elſe of, than their names (C). We
may ſay of them in general, that they retained more of the ancient *Celtic* valour, c
cuſtoms, language, and, we may add, fierceneſs, than thoſe of *Bætica*, or even of
Luſitania, though the *Celtiberians* of this laſt province are ſaid to have been the
braveſt people in all *Spain*, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel. And
the reaſon, probably, of it is, that they were neither ſo much under the dominion
of the *Romans*, nor ſo converſant with them, as thoſe in *Bætica*; for the deſcendants
of the *Celtes* were every-where as famed for their tenaciouſneſs of their ancient reli-
gion, laws, cuſtoms, language, *&c.* as the *Romans* were to propagate their own,
wherever they conquered: and this was one conſtant cauſe, why the former choſe ra-
ther to yield their territories to the latter, when they could defend them no longer
againſt them, and to retire into more mountanious lands, where they could freely d
live by themſelves, than to ſubmit to their laws, and conform to their manners, as
we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

Roman *colonies.*

WE find, however, the following colonies of note (for we ſhall omit the others
for brevity's ſake) to have been in time planted amongſt theſe *Celtic* ſettlements;
viz. in *Aſturia*, the famed *Colonia Auguſta*. It is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*;
and

(A) This canton, which was ſince called *Galli-*
cia, and anciently *Celtica*, was, in all likelihood,
either inhabited originally by the *Celtes*, or was a
colony of them ſent from *Gaul*; for many ſuch they
were forced to ſend out of that kingdom into this
and other countries, for want of room in their own,
as we ſhall ſee, when we come to their hiſtory: the
latter ſeems, however, the moſt probable, from the
names by which they were diſtinguiſhed, ſuch as
Cælerini, *Grovii*, *Limici*, *Querquerni*, and ſome
others, which to us appear to be of *Gauliſh* extract,
and bear a viſible analogy with ſome of thoſe which
we find in ancient *Gaul*.

(B) Thus the *Bracarii* had *Bracara*, the *Artabri*
Artabrum, the *Aſtures Aſturia*, the *Sueſſitani Sueſſa*,
the *Lacitani Lacca*, the *Ilergetes Ilerda*, and ſo of
the reſt, unleſs where the *Romans*, ſettling after-
wards their colonies, did call thoſe towns by new
names, though the people ſtill retained their old
ones; eſpecially we find ſome few of thoſe places
ſtyled *Julia* and *Auguſta*, as *Julia Libyca* in the
canton of the *Ceretani*; *Cæſar Auguſta* among the
Lacetani, *Auguſta Bracara*, *Porta Auguſta*, *Au-*
guſti Lacus, in *Gallicia*, and the like.

Here, by the way, we muſt obſerve, that this
laſt province was not called ſo from the *Galli*, as
ſome have imagined, but from its ancient metropo-
lis, which was called *Calle*, ſituate in a pleaſant
valley upon the *Durius*, and near the mouth of it;
and the port of it, being become a conſiderable one
in time, was ſince named barely *Porto* and *Puerto*
by the *Spaniards*, by the *Dutch Port a Port*, and by
us *Oporto*. From theſe two, *Porto* and *Calle*,
came the name of *Portugal*, or *Portucalle*. As for
Calle, it muſt be owned, that it is not mentioned by
Strabo, *Ptolemy*, &c. but we find it in the *itinera-*
rium, which places it on the road between *Uliſipo* or
Liſbon and *Auguſta Bracara* (1).

(C) Thoſe who are deſirous to know more of
theſe ancient people, may conſult, if they pleaſe,
the *Spaniſh* writers we have often quoted in this
chapter; though, for the moſt authentic account
of them, we would rather refer them to the laſt-
quoted and accurate *Cellarius*, who has wholly
grounded his own on the teſtimony of ancient au-
thors, and rejected all the fabulous and uncertain
traſh, which thoſe modern authors have intermingled
in theirs upon more precarious, and ſometimes upon
no, authority at all.

(1) *Vid. Cellar. ubi ſup. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *ſect.* 3.

and in ſome ancient medals, though differently placed [u], and was a court of judicature, according to *Pliny* in the place laſt-quoted. It divided the *Aſtures* into *Auguſtanos* and *Tranſmontanos*, which confirms what we lately hinted, the former being, in all likelihood, of *Roman* extract, ſettled here, whilſt the latter, of *Celtic*, removed over the ridge of mountains that parted them; for we find here alſo the ſeventh *Roman* legion, which was ſurnamed *Gemina*, ſettled between the *Aſturian* ſea and the capital of this diſtrict, called *Aſturia Auguſta*, now *Aſtorga*, a city ſtill of ſome note D). This country was alſo celebrated by the poets for the gold it produced. Auguſta Gemina.

The next was that infamous one of *Calaguris*, diſtinguiſhed by *Pliny* by the name of *Naſcica*, juſtly execrated, by the *Roman* authors [w], for the inſurrection and dread cataſtrophe of *Sertorius*, mentioned in a former volume, and too black to be repeated afreſh [x]. The city was at firſt a municipal one, and in ſome inſcriptions ſurnamed *Julia* (E), and then made a colony, with ſome others mentioned by *Pliny* [y], particularly thoſe of *Oſca*, *Ilerda*, and *Turiaſa*. *Calaguris*, ſince *Calahorta*, was the head town of the *Autrigones*, ſeated indifferently by geographers on either ſide, but, by the moſt exact, on the other ſide of the *Iberus*, as we hinted in the laſt note. Calaguris.

Gracburis, or *Graccuris*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* among the chief cities of the *Vaſcones*, was, as we are told by *Livy* [z], built by *Tit. Sempron. Gracchus*, who took it from the *Celtiberians*, and called it by his name. Its ſituation is uncertain, only the *Itinerarium* places it on the road to *Cæſar Auguſta*, at ſixty-four miles diſtance from it in the road to *Tarraco*. It is in ſome ancient inſcriptions ſtyled *Municipium Graccuris*. Some chriſtian champions, who ſuffered here for the faith in thoſe early times, are in ſome martyrologies called the *Grachurian*, and in others the *Ilerdan*, martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of thoſe two places. Graccuris.

The laſt we ſhall name is the famed town of the *Vaccæi*, called *Intercata*, celebrated, by ancient authors, for a ſingle combat, which was fought, at the ſiege of that city, between *Scipio Æmilianus* and a bold *Spaniſh* tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no ſooner eſcaped one danger, than he expoſed himſelf to a greater, and was the firſt that ſcaled the walls of that place [a]. We come now to ſpeak of ſome of the moſt celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may juſtly place the metropolis of it. Intercata.

Tarraco, now *Tarragon*, ſituate on the *Mediterranean* coaſt, between the rivers *Iberus*, or *Ebro*, and the *Rubricatus*, now *Lobregat*. It was a colony planted there by the two *Scipios*, *Publ.* and *Cornel.* with a juridical court; and was the capital of *Hiſpania Romana* (F), not ſo much on account of the excellency of its harbour, as *Strabo* obſerves, as for its being commodiouſly ſituated for all thoſe, who travelled Tarraco.

[u] Ap. Gruter. p. 193. n. 3. p. 426. n. 5. Vid. & Goltz. Holstein. & Harduin. ap. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3. § 44. Vid. & Strab. lib. iii. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. [w] Vid. Valer. Max. l. vii. c. 6. L. Flor. l. iii. c. 22. Juven. ſat. xv. ver. 93. [x] See before, vol. v. p. 96, e. [y] Lib. iii. c. 3. [z] Epit. xlii. [a] Liv. epitom. xlviii. Aurel. Vict. in Scip. Æmil. Appian. in Iberic. &c.

(D) *Ptolemy* indeed makes the *Aſtures* to have been of *Libyan* extract, and to have come over with the *Carthaginians*, and ſettled in this part of *Gallæcia*. The city was called *Aſtorga*, from its being ſituate on the banks of a river of that name, which flows into the *Durius*; and the *Romans*, having ſeized on it and the adjacent territories, called it *Auguſta Aſturica* (2). Some derive the names, both of the river and of the city, from *Aſtir Memnon*'s coachman, who came thither with other *Trojans*, and planted a colony here (3); but this we look upon as fabulous.

As for the ſeventh legion above-mentioned, we find it called in *Ptolemy legio ſeptima Germanica*; but as there is no mention of any ſuch, either in other authors, or in any ancient inſcriptions, but often of *legio ſeptima gemina* (4), it is rightly ſuppoſed, that it is in that author a mere error of the copyiſt, who miſtook it for *Germanica*.

(E) It is inſcribed, in ſome *Auguſtan* coins, Mvn. Calag. Ivl. that is, *Municipium Calaguris Julia*; and, in one of *Tiberius*, M. C. I. C Celere, C. Recto IIvir. that is, *Municipium Calaguris Julia*, *Caio Celere*, *Caio Recto*, *Duumviris*.

As there were two cities of that name, *viz.* this of *Naſcica*, and another ſurnamed *Fibularenſis*, ſome authors have placed them differently on the ſides of the *Iberus*; but *Peter de Marca* and *Cellarius*, whom we chuſe to follow, place the former on the other ſide of that river. As for the latter, which was at ſome diſtance from it, and inferior to it in point of privilege and opulence (5), it was only remarkable for a manfacture of what the *Romans* called *fibulæ*, a kind of buckles or buttons to faſten their garments with; and was diſtinguiſhed by that name, on that account.

(F) It is placed by ancient geographers in the region or kingdom of the *Coſſetani* or *Coſſitani*, ſituate between

(2) *Geogr. l.* ii. *Vid. & Gerund. paralip. lib.* iii. *Ital.* (3) *Taraph. de reg. Hiſp ex Lucan. & Sil* (4) *Neila ap. Vaſei chronic. ſub an. Chr.* 106. (5) *Vid. Cæſ. comment. lib.* i. *c.* 40. *Cellar. lib.* ii *c.* 1. *ſect.* 3.

velled into this kingdom, whether by sea or land [b]. But *Spanish* authors, though they grant those two *Roman* generals to have planted a colony there, will by no means allow, that they founded the city, but fetch its origin and etymon much higher: we have given two of them in the last note. However that be, this city has been all along very famous, having been, since, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Arragon*, an archiepiscopal see, and famed for a council or two held there; the first by *John* the then metropolitan, and his twelve bishops, in the year of Christ 516. in which it was, amongst other things, enacted, that the celebration of the *Sunday* should begin on *Saturday* evening. Hence that custom hath, it seems, spread itself almost all over *Spain*, to leave off all kind of work from that time [c]. In another held under *Berengarius*, primate of the same place, 1180. it was ordained, that the dates of all public writings should be computed from the year of Christ, which before were wont to be reckoned from the reigns of the *Frankish* monarchs [d]. Below *Tarraco* was the famed city of *Saguntus*, or *Saguntum*, on the same coast, of which having spoken amply in the beginning of this volume, and of its dreadful catastrophe, we shall refer our reader to it [e]. *Valentia*, another ancient city a little below *Saguntum*, was the capital of the *Edetani*. It is situate on the mouth of the river *Thurias*, about three mile from the sea, and was anciently styled *Colonia Julia*, and founded by *Junius Brutus*, whilst he was consul in *Spain* [f], and given to his army (G). It was afterwards destroyed, with *Herennius* and his accomplices, by *Pompey*, and rebuilt by *Julius Cæsar*. It hath retained its ancient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is still of the province of that name, an archiepiscopal see, and one of the most considerable cities of *Spain*. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honesty, by *Tully*, as they are now, by their own authors, for their superstition and bigotry [g]. Before we leave this part of *Spain*, we must not omit the famous city of *Complutum*, now *Alcala de Henarez*, so called from the river *Henarez*, on whose banks it is situate, in a pleasant plain; and, as that river falls into the great *Tagus*, the cities here along are easily furnished with all kinds of provisions and merchandizes. *Complutum* has now no bishoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a considerable university, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbishop of *Toledo*; under whose auspices, care, and immense charges, the first polyglot bible was compiled and printed in this city, and is from thence called the *Complutensian* polyglot (H). Westward of, and between *Complutum* and the ancient city of *Toletum*, now *Toledo*, and on the same river *Tagus*, was situate the *Mantua* of

Saguntus.

Valentia.

Complutum.

[b] Lib. iii. Plin. nat. hist. lib. iii. [c] Vas. chronic. sub an. 516. [d] Taraph. ubi sup. sub an. 1176. [e] See before, p. 2, & seq. [f] Liv. epit. lv. Plin. lib. iii c. 3. [g] De his vid. Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hisp. in fin. l. iii.

between the two rivers above-mentioned. It appears from ancient medals to have been a very flourishing city, especially in *Augustus*'s time; and is called by one *Colonia victrix*, by another *Colonia victrix togata Tarraco*; and in a third are found these words, Genio Col. V. T. Tarrac. that is, *Genio Coloniæ Victricis Togatæ Tarraconensis*. There are still, it seems, quantities of such ancient coins frequently dug up about the neighbourhood of it; which inclines one to think, it was formerly much larger than it is now, though it is at present very spacious, opulent, and considerable (6).

Those who make *Tubal* to have been the peopler of *Spain*, pretend, that he founded this city, to be a kind of safeguard for his flocks and shepherds, of which he had vast numbers; and that both he and this place had the name of *Tarraco* given them, that is, *the gatherer up of shepherds* (7). Others will have it to have been built by *Hercules*, and to have been called *Acon*; whence the compound word *Terra-acon* was insensibly contracted into *Tarracon* (8).

(G) The followers of *Berosus* affirm this city to have been built by *Romus* the son of *Testa*, one of their ancient, if not fabulous, kings; and to have been called by his own name *Roma*; and that the *Romans*, having since taken and inlarged it, gave it the name of *Valentia* instead of it (9).

(H) This glorious Work, the first of that kind, was performed by men of the greatest learning, invited thither by that cardinal at a vast charge. It was a considerable time in compiling, and about four years in printing, that is, from 1514. to 1517 but the whole was not published till 1520. when it came recommended with a bull of pope *Leo* X. in six volumes, including the lexicon. It was printed in four languages, *viz.* the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. The *Hebrew* was as correct as it could possibly be done, according to the original; but the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Vulgate Latin*, were corrected in such a vast number of places, and from such a prodigious number of manuscripts, as were procured from all parts at no small expence, in order to render those three versions more conformable to the

(6) *Vid. Cellar. lib.* ii. *c.* 1, *sect.* 3. § 104 & *al.* *Lib. de reg. Hisp. sub initio.* (8) *Vid. Gerund. paralip. lib.* v. *Marin Sic. de reb. Hisp. l.* iii. (7) *Taraph. ex Beros.* (9) *Vid. Vas. chron. sub an.* 967. *Taraph. reg. Hisp. sub an.* 1350.

a of *Ptolemy*, near which ſpot is ſuppoſed the town of *Madrid*, the now metropolis of all *Spain*, to have been ſince built (I); but of this, and many others, both on the ſea-coaſts and in the continent, we ſhall forbear ſaying any thing further, they being ſo well known to almoſt every reader. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the courſe of this article; the reſt, that are of any note, together with ſuch natural rarities as may be worth obſerving, the reader will find in the following note (K), and in the map annexed.

THE chief iſlands, belonging to the *Tarraconian* province, are, firſt, that of *Gades*, ſituate on the gulph of that name, between the ſtreights of *Gibraltar* and *Islands.* Gades.

b the river *Bætis*, and famed, not ſo much for its bigneſs, as for the concourſe of foreign nations thither from the earlieſt times, and for its celebrated city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, names, and other particulars, we have already ſpoken in this chapter, and in a former volume[h]. *Strabo* gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much ſmaller breadth; yet it had, according to him, no leſs than five hundred horſemen in his time[i]: we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the famed temple of it in the ſequel. As for the city, we have, at the beginning of this volume, mentioned its being plundered by the *Carthaginians*, and taken by the *Romans*[k]. It was ſince erected into a biſhoprick, under the title of *Epiſcopatus Gaditanus*[l]. The next is the ſo much celebrated, and ſo hard to find, iſland Erythia.

c of *Erythia*, where *Geryon* is ſaid to have kept his fine oxen, which *Hercules* came and ſtole from him[m]. Some have placed it near that of *Gades:* others think it was the

[h] Vol. vi. p. 730, a—c, (A). [i] Lib. iii. [k] See before, p. 72, e, f. [l] VAS. chronic. c. 21. [m] HESIOD. theogon. ver. 289, & ſeq.

the original, that it, by degrees, dwindled into diſlike; but hath, however, this merit with the learned, that it ſerved for a model to thoſe which were ſince publiſhed in other kingdoms; among which that of *London* is juſtly eſteemed, in all reſpects, the moſt uſeful and exact, though not enriched with ſuch a variety of coſtly ornaments as that of Mr. *Le Jay*, printed at *Paris* (10).

(I) Hence we find it called by ſome *Mantua Carpetana*, by others *Madritum* and *Madritt*; but commonly now *Madrid* (11)

(K) Beſides the cities above mentioned, we ſhould take notice of a very famed one, namely, new *Carthage*; but as we have had occaſion to ſpeak of it in a former volume, we ſhall refer our readers to it (12). *Segobriga*, alias *Segobrica*, was, as we are told, the capital of the *Celtiberi* (13), concerning whoſe ſituation authors, even *Spaniſh*, differ ſo much, that we can hardly ſay any thing about it. Some think there were two of that name, one in this province of *Tarracon*, and the other at the foot of the *Caſtellan* mountains; but the former, which is the moſt conſiderable, the authors above-quoted place in the neighbourhood of the ancient *Numantia*, mentioned, not only by them, but by the *Itinerary*, which places it between *Uxama* and *Turiaſo*, near the river *Durius*. This laſt was, it ſeems, ſo excellently fortified by nature, that it neither had nor needed either walls, towers, or other fortifications, being ſeated on the top of a ſteep mountain, and ſheltered by much higher hills on three of its ſides, being only acceſſible on the fourth, which opened to a plain, but by ſuch narrow defiles, as could be eaſily guarded by a handful of men. Great wonders are told of this place by the authors under quoted (14); for it would ſwell this note too much, were we to deſcend to particulars. It was, however, quite deſtroyed by the two *Scipios*; but, ſince we find it mentioned by thoſe ancient authors, and by the *Itinerary*, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by ſome of their ſucceſſors. We have already given a full account of the *Numantine* war, and the ſad cataſtrophe of that famed city, and ſhall refer our readers to it (15), to avoid repetitions; and for the ſame reaſon we ſhall forbear mentioning any more of thoſe ancient cities, whoſe names and further particulars have been ſufficiently taken notice of in the courſe of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* hiſtory; for thoſe of later date belong not to this, but to the modern, part of this work.

Mountains of note, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are the *Pyrenees*, which divide *Spain* from *Gaul* by a continued ridge of vaſt height and depth, and reaches from ſea to ſea. They are ſuppoſed to have been ſo called, from a fire which ſpread itſelf over the ſurface of them, and burnt with ſuch fierceneſs during ſeveral days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. The *Idubedan* hills were another ridge, which croſſed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of ſeveral famed rivers, ſuch as thoſe of the *Tagus* and *Anas*, which flowed weſtward toward the ocean, on one ſide; and of the *Sucro* and *Thurias*, which ran eaſtward into the *Mediterranean*, on the other. The *Oroſpedan* ridge ſeems to have ſeparated this province in part from *Bætica*. They were alſo called *Mariani Montes*, and now *Serra Modena*. We ſpoke of them under the laſt article. A great many more this province abounded with, for a further account of which we muſt refer our readers to the ancient and modern authors, lately quoted, as likewiſe for thoſe mines, minerals, mineral waters, and other curioſities, they and the neighbouring vallies produced, the bare mention of which would carry us far beyond our deſign.

(10) *Vid. int. al. Mattair. annal. typogr. Palmer, hiſt. of printing. Calmet, diſcourſe of polyglots, & al. mult.* (11) *Vid. Sicul. Marin. de reb Hiſp. l.* ii. (12) *See before, p.* 59, *& ſeq.* (13) *Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 3. *Strab. lib.* iii. *Ptol. lib.* ii. *c.* 6. (14) *Iid. ibid. Flor. bell. Numant. Oroſ. l.* v. *c.* 7. *Vid. & Mariana, lib.* iii. *& auct. Hiſpan. ſubcitat. & Cellar. ubi ſup. ſect.* 711. (15) *Vid. vol.* iv. *p.* 782—787.

the ſame with it: and others have thought, that it was either ſunk into the ſea, or a was to be ſought for among the rocks. We have, however, ventured, in a former chapter of this volume, to offer a conjecture concerning its ſituation; and ſhall refer our readers to it [n]. No leſs difficult has been the ſearch after thoſe ten famed Caſſiterides. iſlands called by the *Greeks Caſſiterides*, from whence the *Phœnicians*, the firſt diſcoverers of them, did fetch ſuch vaſt quantities of tin. We ſhould not have mentioned them here, the learned *Cambden* having fully ſhewn, that they are our iſlands of *Scilly*, had not ſome of the ancients, as *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* [o], placed them on the *Spaniſh* coaſts, ſomewhat beyond the *Promontorium Celticum* or *Artabrum*, or *Cape Finiſter*; and others ſomewhere on the weſtern ocean, about the upper coaſts of *Luſitania* [p]. But as there never could be found any ſuch iſlands on thoſe coaſts, they b have been ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate with that of *Erythia* lately mentioned. However, as we ſhall have occaſion to reſume them, when we come to ſpeak of the *Britiſh* iſlands [q], we ſhall ſay no more of them here, but paſs to thoſe which are more conſiderable, and better known to us; and theſe are the *Baleares*, or *Gymneſiæ*, as they are called by the ancients.

Baleares. These were diſtinguiſhed into *Major* and *Minor*, or, as *Mela* expreſſes it, *Majores* and *Minores*. Their bigneſs, ſituation, and other particulars, are ſo well known to every reader, that it were ſuperfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need to ſay of them here is, in what ſtate they were in thoſe ancient times. In the former, now *Majorca*, *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* place the two cities of *Palma* and *Pollentia*, the one c on the eaſt, and the other on the weſt; and theſe are by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*, ſtyled *Coloniæ*. In the latter, now *Minorca*, they place likewiſe two cities, viz. *Jamno* and *Mago*; which were, however, no more than caſtles or forts, if *Mela*'s judgment, who was of that country, is to be preferred to the others. But as they ſeem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this iſland, it is hardly to be doubted, but theſe ſoon grew into conſiderable ſea-ports, eſpecially that of *Mago*, which became ſince a celebrated one, under the name of *Maon*. Theſe two iſlands were, on account of their ſituation and harbours, ſtyled *Fortunatæ*, and ſtand at about thirty miles diſtance from each other. They were at firſt poſſeſſed by the *Phœnicians*, who held them till *Q. Metellus* brought d them under the *Roman* yoke, for which he got the ſurname of *Balearicus* [r]. As to the etymon of *Baleares*, moſt authors derive it from the *Greek* Βάλλειν, ſignifies, *to throw with a ſling*, becauſe the inhabitants of them were particularly famed for their ſkill in it [s]: yet, as the *Carthaginians* had theſe iſlands before any other, *Bochart* thinks they did give them that name, which is compounded of two *Punic* words, *Baal* and *Jarah*, which amount to the ſame ſenſe, and ſignify *a ſlinging-maſter*, or *a man expert at throwing*, &c. Their other names of *Gymneſiæ*, or *Gymnaſia*, is, according to the ancient authors above-quoted, of *Greek* extract, and was given them on account of their inhabitants going naked in ſummer.

Further, towards the ſtreights, over-againſt the cape *Dianium*, now *Denia*, e are the two iſlands called *Pityuſæ* by the ancients, from the vaſt quantities of pine-trees which they produced [t]; the one of which, by far the larger of the two, tho' ſmaller than that of *Minorca*, was named *Ebuſus*, now *Ivica*; the other, *Ophiuſa*, now *Formentera*. They are both mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; and *Mela* adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poiſonous, nor even wild creatures, and that, if any were brought thither, they could not live in it [u], though the iſland abounded with paſture-ground [w], and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed: ſome have even added ſugar-canes [x], which, it is ſaid, they boiled into ſugar, and made a traffick of; but this *Cellarius* has ſhewn to be a miſtake, and that it means no other, than f they dried figs above-mentioned [y]. The other, by far the ſmalleſt, is thought by ſome to have been the ſame with that which the *Latins* called *Colubraria*; but the author laſt-quoted hath plainly proved, from the teſtimonies of *Pliny* and *Mela*, that they were two different iſlands; and that the latter was at a much greater diſtance

[n] Before, p. 146, (E). [o] Strab. l. iv. Ptol. l. iii. [p] Diod. Sicul. l. v. c. 38. Plin. lib. iv. c. 22, & alib. Mela, & al. [q] See hereafter, p. 402, b, c. [r] De his vid. Strab. & Ptolem. ubi ſup. D. Sicul. lib. v. c. 18. Mela, lib. ii. ad fin. Flor. l. iii. c. 8. [s] Vid. D. Sicul. ubi ſup. Strab. l. xiv. Plin. l. iii. c. 5. Eustat. ad Dionyſ. ver. 457. [t] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. [u] De ſit. in fin. lib. ii. [w] Fest. Avien, deſcript. orb. vet. 621. [x] Nonn. c. 94. in Stat. ſylv. lib. i. [y] Lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 4. § 132.

a distance from that of *Ebuſus*, than the former; and both of them are ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, that we need ſay no more of them. As for *Ebuſus*, it was the name, both of the iſland and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly called *Ebuſium*; for we find, in ancient inſcriptions of *Gruter*, *Ordo Ebuſii*, and *Rp.* or *Reſpublica Ebuſii*; and are further told, that it was a colony of the *Phœnicians*[z]. The laſt iſland worth mentioning was called *Capraria*, and now *Cabrera*, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the *Colubraria* ſeems to have been from its great quantity of adders. It ſtands on the ſouth of *Majorca*, and is chiefly noted for being fatal to mariners. All theſe iſlands, and a great number of others mentioned by ancient writers, now not to be found: and ſuppoſed to have been ſince ſunk into b the ſea, did belong to this province of *Tarracon*, and underwent the ſame fate of paſſing from the *Carthaginian* to the *Roman* yoke. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving from *Pliny*[a], that this province was divided into ſeven *conventu*, or provincial aſſemblies, whoſe names the reader will find in the margin (L). It had ſeventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve *Roman*, and eighteen *Latian* cities, and an hundred and thirty-five *ſtipendiaria* or gariſons in the *Roman* pay, and one confederate.

[z] Sil. Ital. l iii. ver. 362.

[a] Plin. l. iii. c. 3. & al. ſup. citat.

(L) Theſe were the *Carthaginienſis*, *Tarraconenſis*, *Cæſar-Auguſtanus*, *Clunienſis*, *Aſturus*, *Lucenſis*, and *Braccarus*.

SECT. II.

The religion, laws, government, cuſtoms, learning, &c. of the antient Spaniards.

The religion of the ancient Spaniards.

c THERE is no doubt to be made, that, where-ever *Spain* was inhabited by the deſcendants of the *Celtes*, thither they brought their old religion, govern-ment, *&c.* What theſe were, we have given an account of in a former volume[a]; and ſhall ſpeak ſtill more largely upon in the next chapter, of the ancient *Gauls*, the undoubted and immediate deſcendants of the ancient *Celtic* ſtock; for we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, and ſo, indeed, we find, a great affinity between them in all theſe particulars, as they all ſprang from the ſame origin. But, as the *Gauls* are better known to us than the *Spaniards*, we ſhall refer the greateſt part of what we have to ſay on theſe different heads, till we come to their hiſtory: for, could we even admit what the generality of *Spaniſh* writers affirm after *Beroſus*, that *Tubal*, the d fifth ſon of *Japhet*, came and peopled *Spain* ſo ſoon as an hundred and forty-three years after the flood, *Gomer*, his eldeſt brother, and the father of the *Celtes*, muſt have been as ſoon in poſſeſſion of *Gaul*; and both muſt, of courſe, be ſuppoſed to have brought the ſame religion, laws, government, *&c.* namely, that which they received from their grandfather *Noah*: and how tenacious both theſe, and other nations of the ſame *Celtic* deſcent, were of their own religion and laws, will be eaſily ſeen by the ſequel, eſpecially in the hiſtories of the ancient *Gauls* and *Germans*. All that we ſhall ſay further of their religion here is, that it was, in all theſe countries, the ſame as that of the old patriarchs: they worſhipped one ſupreme Being, not in temples, as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but in groves conſecrated to him. They e believed a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, ſuitable to their behaviour in this. They offered victims to him, and celebrated ſome feſtivals in honour of him; and, in moſt things, obſerved a great ſimplicity in all their religious rites, during a long ſeries of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into ſeveral of their ſuperſtitions, eſpecially into their various ways of divination, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in the next chapter. One bloody and inhuman cuſtom they gave, indeed, into very early, in common with moſt ancient nations, *viz.* that of human ſacrifices; the origin of which having endeavoured

[a] Vol. ii. p. 250, & ſeq.

voured to account for in a former volume, we ſhall refer our readers to it, to avoid a prolixity [b].

But, as this country came to be invaded by ſuch variety of other nations, ſuch as the *Egyptians*, who are ſaid to have introduced all the heatheniſh ſuperſtition of their country, the *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, and a multitude of others, who ſettled amongſt them, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent ſection, it is natural to think, that every one brought their own religion and cuſtoms with them; and what theſe were, muſt be ſeen in the hiſtory we have given of each of thoſe nations in the courſe of this work; for it were endleſs to repeat it here. It is plain, ſuch a mixture of different nations muſt bring, not only a vaſt variety of religious laws and cuſtoms, but produce ſome alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed b
ſome doctrines and notions, rites and faſhions, from one another, as ſuited their taſte or circumſtances. Superſtition has no bounds, and perſons, either out of wantonneſs or impatience, will be eaſily induced to hunt after a variety of deities, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies. This, we find, was the caſe of the *Iſraelites*, though reſtrained from it under ſuch ſevere penalties: how much more will it be ſo, where every one is left at his own liberty? However, after the coming of the lordly *Romans*, whoſe conſtant policy it was, to introduce every-where their gods, religion, laws, *&c.* either by fair or foul means, we need not doubt, but thoſe, that fell under their dominion, were obliged to ſubmit to this change. The inundation likewiſe of the northern nations, ſuch as the *Suevi*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, muſt like- c
wiſe have introduced ſuch changes, as may be better imagined than expreſſed. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in their ſeveral hiſtories here enſuing; only thus much may be ſaid here, that, though they had embraced chriſtianity, yet they were all of them infected with the *Arian* hereſy. This did not, however, ſlacken their zeal againſt the heatheniſh idolatry and ſuperſtition, which had been introduced there by the *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, and other nations, whoſe temples. altars, ſtatues, *&c.* they deſtroyed where-ever they came, obliging all, that came under their power, to embrace their religion; but both *Sueves* and *Goths* did at length exchange their *Arianiſm* for the orthodox faith, the former, under the d
reign of their king *Ariamirus* alias *Theodimirus*, and the latter under *Reccaredus*, who made open profeſſion of it upon his acceſſion to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, biſhops, and clergy; and their confeſſion of faith was preſented to the famed council of *Toledo*, where ſome further regulations were made, for the preſervation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worſhip. This great change was ſo much the more remarkable, conſidering the tenaciouſneſs of thoſe nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without perſecution or any other violent means. Upon the whole, it muſt be owned, that the *Goths* did make many excellent laws and regulations, for the better government in church and ſtate. We ſhall ſpeak of them, in their hiſtory, in a ſubſequent chapter; and ſhall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them, known by e
ſeveral names, ſuch as, *officium Gothicum*, *Toletanum*, and *Mozarabicum* (A), and ſuppoſed by moſt authors to have been compiled by *Iſidore*, then biſhop of *Hiſpal* or *Sevil.* This liturgy was confirmed by the *Toletan* council above-mentioned, tho' the people did not ſuffer them to enjoy it many years, before he obliged them to exchange it for the *Roman*, not without a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition from the *Goths*, eſpecially thoſe of *Catalonia*, who ſent a number of deputies to the council of *Mantua*, to expoſtulate againſt ſuch a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars we are told with relation to this ſucceſsleſs deputation, which, as they diſplay the unfair intrigues and arbitrary ſway of the *Romiſh* court, as well as the ſuperſtitious practices of thoſe times, we ſhall give to our readers in the mar- f
gin (B).

It

[b] Vol. i. p. 131. (W). 211, f. 472, d, e. 619, in fin. (V).

(A) So called from the name of *Mozarabes*, which they then gave to thoſe chriſtians, who were under the ſubjection of the *Saracens*.

(B) The merit of theſe two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by ſingle combat; in which one champion was to fight for the *Gothic*, and the other for the *Roman*. They did ſo; and the latter loſt the battle; but the *Roman* party raiſing ſome freſh chicane about it, it was again agreed to be tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the *Gothic* was preſerved and the other burnt. But ſuch was the prevalence

a It is probable, that, though the firſt inhabitants of *Spain* were under one monarchical government, upon their firſt ſettling in it, as well as thoſe of *Gaul*, *Germany*, and other *European* nations; yet, as they came to increaſe in number and inlarge their territories, they ſplit themſelves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and common-wealths. This was the caſe of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, when *Cæſar* firſt came amongſt them, as we ſhall ſhew in due time; and much more ſo may we ſuppoſe it to have been ſo here, conſidering the great variety of nations that came and ſettled amongſt them, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in a ſubſequent ſection of this chapter; for it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that moſt, if not all of them, brought and ſettled their own laws and form of government, than that they ſhould b ſubmit to that of the ancient inhabitants, eſpecially as many of the former came thither rather as conquerors, than colonies; from all which muſt neceſſarily reſult, not only a vaſt variety, but likewiſe a conſtant fluctuation of them, as they paſſed from one dominion to another, eſpecially when they came under that of the *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, *Goths*, and *Vandals* (C). After the expulſion of the *Carthaginians* by the *Scipio's*, of which we have given an account in a former chapter of this volume[c], *Spain* was governed by conſuls, proconſuls, prætors, proprætors, and *præſides*, from that very time down to the reign of *Tiberius*, if not lower; for we find *L. Piſo* prætor of the hither *Spain* in his time; and a reſcript of *Adrian* directed to the conſul of *Bætica*. The *præſides* are mentioned likewiſe in ſubſequent reigns; but that title was of a more general ſignification, and applied to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-ſix emperors, from *Auguſtus*, who is ſaid to have finiſhed the conqueſt of it, to *Honorius*, in whoſe reign the *Romans* were expelled by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevi*. Under theſe emperors, who governed the empire after their own arbitrary will, *Spain* was divided into two provinces; but ſoon after reduced into one, though under ſeveral governors, or *legati* and *tribuni*[d]. About the reign of *Dioclefian* and *Maximinian*, it began to be governed by *comites*, or counts; and, if any of theſe were forced to be abſent from their juriſdiction, they left the care of it to ſubſtitutes, who were called *vicarii*. And laſtly, in the time of the *Goths*, thoſe provinces, that were ſubject to the *Romans*, were ſet under government of *duces* and *præfecti*. Under the *Goths* they were governed by nineteen kings, during the ſpace of two hundred years, that is,

Government, laws, &c.

[c] P. 69, & ſeq. [d] Tacit. an. Vid. & Vas. chronol. c. 13.

prevalence of the pope's party, as it was managed by his then legate, that the ſynod of *Leon* decided afreſh in favour of the latter. The *Gothic*, however, was far from being wholly ſet aſide. It was retained by ſeveral congregations, and by ſeven churches of *Toledo*, during a conſiderable number of years. Neither did it loſe its credit by being diſuſed, ſince even the famed cardinal *Ximenes* erected a chapel in the city, in which the divine worſhip was to be performed according to the *Gothic* or *Mozabaric* liturgy; but in the end means were found to get it condemned, and wholly ſet aſide, and with it the old character, in which it was writ (1).

This character was not, however, the old famed *Runic*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the *German* hiſtory, as has been affirmed by ſeveral authors: but the old *Gothic*, in which moſt, if not all books, eſpecially church ones, were written at that time in *Spain* and elſewhere; and was near the ſame with the old *Roman*, but of a coarſer mould; and was particularly uſed in all the *Viſigothiſh* dominions,

(C) How they were governed under the two former, may be ſeen by their hiſtory in the three laſt volumes; and how by the latter, in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters, as well as in the ſequel of this. One thing we muſt, however, obſerve here, with reſpect to the *Romans*, that it was their conſtant policy, in their conquered dominions, to diſtinguiſh between thoſe, that, through fear, or neceſſity, had either ſought their friendſhip or protection, or willingly ſubmitted to them; and thoſe, who were ſubdued by force of arms. The former of theſe they permitted to preſerve their laws and form of government, and only obliged them to pay a certain tribute, and to ſend a number of auxiliary forces, and perhaps to quarter a number of their troops; but the others they forced to ſubmit wholly to the *Roman* laws and government, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the next chapter; though, by the way, it muſt be obſerved, with reſpect to the former, that if they gave the leaſt umbrage to their pretended protectors, they ſeldom failed of being ſtripped of their privileges, and of being reduced to the ſlaviſh ſtate of the latter. This proved the caſe of the *Spaniards*, who were forced, by degrees, to ſubmit, not only to the *Roman* yoke, but to their religion, cuſtoms, *&c.* and even to their language (2).

We find, however, in ſome ancient authors, the names of ſeveral petty kings of *Spain*, both in the times of the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, who governed in their ſeveral little kingdoms, and lived in peace with, and acknowledged them both, or paid ſome tribute, perhaps, to them; ſuch as *Mandonius*, whom *Livy* calls king of the *Ilergetes*, *Amuſius* king of the *Lacetani*, *Andubal* mentioned by *Polybius*, and ſome others; but to theſe the *Romans* only give the title of *reguli*.

(1) *De hoc vid. Vaſ. chron. ſub an.* 717 *German. & Leddiard. verſ. vol.* ii. *p.* 284. *Comec. de geſt. fr. Ximenii, lib.* ii. *& al. Vid. & Capzov*

(2) *Vid. Aldrete. compend. hiſt. de Hiſpania.*

is, from *Athanaric*, who began his reign in the year of Christ 369. to *Leovigild*, an. 56. The *Suevi* reigned in *Galicia*, according to *Isidorus*, an hundred and seventy-seven years, that is, from *Hermeric*, A. C. 408. to *Andeca*, who was defeated and dethroned by *Leovigild* above-mentioned, and brought that kingdom under his subjection, A. C. 581. In this list of *Suevian* kings there is a chasm of their names for an hundred years, from *Remismund*, who infected that kingdom with *Arianism*, A. C. 464. to *Theodimirus*, who embraced the orthodox faith, the historians not having thought them worthy to be recorded. The others are ten in number, including *Reccaredus* above-mentioned. Lastly, the united kingdoms of *Goths* and *Suevi*, which began at *Reccaredus* the successor of *Leovigild*, the first orthodox king of the *Goths*, A. C. 586. lasted an hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, to *A. C.* 713. when the *Moors* put an end to the kingdom, in the third year of *Roderic* their seventeenth and last king. Of all these, and their different nations, we shall speak in the sequel, every one in their order. As for those of *Leo*, *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*, they will be spoken of in the modern history.

Laws. What laws the ancient *Spaniards* originally had, or what new ones were imposed upon them by their conquerors, we are left to guess at. We are, indeed, told, that *Hercules*, upon his coming thither, did give them a body of them, such as he had brought from his own country, whether *Egypt*, *Tyre*, or *Greece*; but what they were, we are wholly in the dark about. If we may, however, offer a conjecture from what we read about their neighbours the *Gauls*, who had a multiplicity of governments, some monarchical, some aristocratic, and some even democratic, and, of the former, some limited, some despotic, we may reasonably conclude, that every one of them had their own laws, and such as best suited to their genius, interest, and the safety of the whole; but these do not appear to have extended farther, than to the preservation of each of their particular forms of government; for, in other cases, each of them had their grand council, to deliberate, enact, explain, and decide, according to the present emergency, as they thought for the good of the community. By these all controversies between man and man, town and town, district and district, were adjudged; and their power was such, that even their kings, where they had not made themselves wholly absolute, of which we scarce meet with any instance, were obliged to submit to their decision, save only that in all cases, where the plaintiff was not satisfied with it, he had liberty to challenge his adversary, and to determine the affair by single combat. The same was likewise done between city and city, district and district, who appointed one or more champions to appear for them, and the cause was always adjudged to the conquering side; for it was a constant maxim amongst all the descendants of the *Celtes*, that providence always interposed in such cases, and that, where-ever the victory fell, there was the surest right.

Valour and discipline. In the art of war and military discipline, we shall hereafter have occasion to shew, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other nations of *Celtic* extract, were very deficient, trusting too much to their strength and bravery, and despising all other arts, and even defensive weapons, as beneath a man of true courage; but, in this respect, the *Spaniards*, though no less brave and stout, had much the advantage of them, which must be chiefly owing to their being so early and so frequently visited, intermixed, and subdued, by other warlike nations, from whom they received fresh and constant improvements: whereas the *Gauls* and other northern nations, being scarcely known till after the coming in of the *Romans*, and having no other wars to wage, except what they did amongst themselves, one petty kingdom or commonwealth against another, they were quite ignorant of martial discipline; and even their weapons were so clumsily made and so miserably tempered, that they often became useless, before half the action was over. In a word, their way of fighting was so artless and rude, that, in many instances, it gave a double advantage to the enemy, as we shall shew in the sequel. The *Spaniards*, on the contrary, had, by their continual wars with such a variety of polite nations, made themselves masters of, and placed their chief confidence in, their expertness in every branch of the martial trade. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us [e], that the *Celtiberians* had such an excellent way of tempering the steel, with which they made their weapons, that no shield or helmet

[e] Lib. ii. c. 1.

a helmet could reſiſt them (D); and that they uſed them with equal dexterity, both on horſeback and foot, and alternately, if occaſion required. He likewiſe commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleneſs in giving or avoiding blows; and adds, that they uſed likewiſe the ſame defenſive weapons that other nations did, ſuch as the ſhield, *&c.* And this is the reaſon why the *Romans* were ſo long ſubduing them, and ſpent more years in the conqueſt of this country, than *Cæſar* did weeks, if we may believe him, in the reduction of *Gaul.* In the former they were forced to proceed, as it were, inch by inch, againſt a ſtout and warlike nation, that knew how to take every advantage of ground, ſituation, diſpoſition, *&c.* in the other; every battle gained by *Cæſar*, and theſe by his own confeſſion, were eaſily obtained b through this want of ſkill, opened to him a way through whole provinces, who were glad to ſubmit to him on any tolerable terms. What increaſes the wonder is, that, at the coming in of the *Romans*, the *Spaniards* had ſuſtained ſuch long and dreadful wars, eſpecially juſt before, againſt the *Carthaginians*, that one might have expected them to have been quite exhauſted of their ſtrength; and much more likely would they have been ſo by thoſe, which they were now engaged in, in a new one, againſt a more potent and numerous enemy; and yet it is plain, they held out againſt them near, if not quite, two hundred years, before they were intirely ſubdued; nor were they then wholly ſo, ſince we find there was a conſtant neceſſity to keep a numerous army and a watchful eye over them, and even quite to c diſarm whole provinces, to keep them under a tyranny, which many thouſands of them thinking ſhameful and inſupportable, preferred a voluntary death to ſuch a ſlaviſh ſtate; ſo dreadfully abject did it appear to that fierce and warlike nation, ſays *Livy*, to live without arms[f]: and indeed what *Valerius Maximus* ſays of the *Celtiberians*, or *Spaniards*, was common to all the *Celtic* nation and their deſcendants, That they eſteemed nothing ſo glorious, as to die with their ſword in hand, and in defence of their liberty. We ſhall ſee many pregnant inſtances of this noble ſpirit in ſome ſubſequent chapters. Even by the confeſſion of ſome of their own authors, the victories, which they gained over them, did often coſt them ſo dear, that they deſerved nothing leſs than ſuch a pompous name[g]; and many a triumph d they have celebrated over them, which, had it had its due, would have been turned into a doleful mourning for a bloody and ſignal defeat. Thus much we think is incumbent on an impartial author to ſay, in juſtice to any brave conquered people, though it be much more common now-a-days to ſee them treated with the ſame contempt and diſregard by modern writers, as they were wont to be by their lordly conquerors. We ſhall conclude this article with a judicious remark, which has been long ſince made, with reſpect to this conqueſt of *Spain*, that though the *Roman* conquerors were always eager of taking the ſurname of thoſe nations they ſubdued, ſuch as *Aſiaticus*, *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. yet none of them, not even *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who is complimented by *Livy* with having put the finiſhing ſtroke to it, nor any e of his ſucceſſors, though moſt of them ambitious enough of ſuch high titles, ever took that of *Hiſpanicus*, *Ibericus*, or any other that this country was called by. *Q. Cæcil. Metellus* was the only one, who aimed at it, and would fain have obtained that of *Celtibericus*, but could not. This ſeems to argue the *Romans* to have been ſo conſcious of the vaſt deal of blood and treaſure, which it had coſt them, more than any other, that they could ſee no reaſon for beſtowing any ſuch honours upon them; and for which there might not have been the leaſt pretence, had the *Spaniards* been united into one common intereſt, inſtead of being divided into ſo many governments and under ſo many heads; for this, after all, will be found the main cauſe of their falling under the *Roman* yoke.

The length and difficulty of their conqueſt.

How ſoon arts and ſciences began to flouriſh in *Spain*, can only be gueſſed at. That they have an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we ſhall mention only three of the moſt illuſtrious; *viz.* the famed *Stoic* philoſopher *Seneca*, who was a native of *Corduba*; the learned orator *Quintilian*, and the great coſmographer *Pomponius Mela*, often quoted thro' this work: and though we find other *European* nations very ſlow and late in cultivating

Learning, arts, and ſciences.

[f] De bell. Mac. lib. iv.

[g] L. Flor. l ii.

(D) This, our author tells us, was done by burying the ſteel ſome conſiderable time under-ground, that is, till the ruſt had eat up the ſofteſt and coarſeſt part of the metal: the reſt, that had reſiſted it, was what they made their weapons of.

vating them, ſuch as the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others, who affected a ſingular contempt for them, as unſuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, conſidering the vaſt concourſe of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent ſituation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe they muſt have begun to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and that whatever natural reluctancy, ſuch as was common to all people of *Celtic* extract, they may have had againſt them, neceſſity muſt have forced them to overcome it, in their own defence and preſervation. We ſhall ſay nothing here of thoſe trades and manufactures, for which they have ſince rendered themſelves famous for ſome ages, till they again relapſed into their ancient pride and indolence, out of which they were but lately rouſed up again. But, with reſpect to their ancient ones, though we have not much of them upon record, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible they could have ſubſiſted without them, conſidering the continued invaſions they were expoſed to, and the many enemies they were forced to make head againſt. Even learning and the liberal arts, if we may believe *Strabo*, began early to flouriſh here[h]; for he tells us, that the *Turdetani*, a people of *Bætica*, were become very famous for them, and were poſſeſſed of a vaſt number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of law writ in verſe, and other pieces of poetry of above ſix thouſand years ſtanding; which laſt, however exaggerated, doth at leaſt ſhew, that there was ſome foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of ſeveral kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by ſeveral other ancient authors, particularly one of their own nation[i], but more manifeſtly by what *Pliny* tell us[k] of one *Lartius Licinius*, a private perſon, who made no difficulty to give an immenſe ſum (E) for a book of *Pliny* II.'s commentaries.

Their language, the old Celtic.

WE make no difficulty to affirm, that the original language of *Spain* was the old *Celtic*, of which we have given ſome account in a former volume[l], and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further of it in the next chapter; for, whether we ſuppoſe, with the generality of *Spaniſh* authors, that *Tubal* came thither by ſea and peopled that country, or, as we have elſewhere hinted, that the *Celtes*, or deſcendants of *Gomer* his eldeſt brother, ſpread themſelves thither by gradual migrations, the caſe will be much the ſame in this particular, becauſe, on the ſuppoſition of the former hypotheſis, *Tubal* and *Gomer* parting ſoon after the flood, their language muſt have been the ſame; that is, the *Tubalians*, or, as they are called by others, *Cetubales*, and the *Gomerians*, muſt have carried the ſame language into thoſe countries where they ſettled, whether we call it by the name of the one, or of the other; with this difference only, that it muſt have been much purer and nearer that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether that was the *Hebrew* or any other; concerning which we ſhall not here repeat what we have ſaid on the ſubject at the entrance of this work[m]. But as that *Beroſian* account is now, by moſt learned men, (except the *Spaniards*, who are fond of their own antiquity, beyond other nations) rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here and elſewhere to aſcribe the firſt peopling of *Spain* to the *Celtes* or deſcendants of *Gomer*. And what confirms this hypotheſis is, that their ancient language, as it is ſtill preſerved in ſome parts of *Spain*, appears to be the ſame with that which is ſpoken by our *Welſh*, who are deſcended from *Gomer*, and retain ſtill their paternal name of *Gomerai*, and call their own language *Gomraeg*, as we have ſhewed in our hiſtory, quoted a little higher. We likewiſe there took notice of the vaſt affinity there is between it and the ancient *Hebrew*, inſomuch that to thoſe, who are maſters of both, they plainly appear to be only dialects of the ſame tongue; or, to ſpeak, perhaps, more properly, the *Celtic*, or language of the deſcendants of *Gomer*, is a dialect of the *Hebrew*, or language of *Noah*. And hence the modern *Spaniſh*, as it is now ſpoken throughout that country, will afford us a new proof of what we have advanced on this head. Many learned men have obſerved, that it retains a great number of names, words, and, we might add, idioms too, which to them plainly appeared to be of *Hebrew* extract, but have been at a loſs how to account for it. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that they were

[h] Lib. iii. [i] POMP. MELA. SIL. ITAL. COLUMEL. MARTIAL. LUCAN. & al plur. [k] Epiſt. lib. iii. [l] Vol. ii. p. 253. [m] Vol. i. p. 152, e, & ſeq. 154, a, e. 718, a, b.

(E) This ſum is by our author ſaid to have been forty thouſand *nummi*; which, according to the computation of this learned commentator, was equivalent to ten thouſand golden crowns.

a were brought thither by the *Jews*, who fled from their country, whilſt *Nebuchadnezzar* was laying it waſte; and came and ſettled there, as ſome have imagined; for that nation is rather famed for loſing their tongue, than preſerving it, much leſs for propagating it in any country they come to. This made *Aldrete* to think thoſe words to be of *Arabic*, and not of *Hebrew*, extract, and to be of no longer date, than the coming in of the *Moors*[n]. Had that learned author had recourſe to the old language, which is ſtill kept in ſome parts of *Biſcay*, *Navarre*, and *Catalonia*, he would have found ſuch a vaſt number of them, as would have convinced him, that they muſt be a great many centuries older than the coming in of the *Moors*: and, had he known any thing of the affinity there is between the *Hebrew* b and the *Celtic*, he would have eaſily concluded, that all thoſe words and idioms in the modern *Spaniſh*, muſt have come from the latter, and not from the former; which would have removed all the difficulty, without having recourſe to the *Arabic*. What ſeems to have miſled him into this notion is, that there is likewiſe a great conformity between this laſt language and the *Celtic*: hence that ſurpriſing number of words and idioms common to the *High Dutch* and *Arabic*, which has puzzled ſo many critics, and cannot be otherwiſe accounted for, than by ſuppoſing them to be of *Celtic* original, which, like the old *Arabic*, was, as we hinted a little higher, a dialect, or, as ſome chuſe rather to ſuppoſe it, both the *Hebrew* and they were dialects of the original tongue. If we allow then the *Celtes* to have been either c the firſt, or even ſome of the firſt, inhabitants of *Spain*, there will be the leſs wonder there ſhould be ſtill found, in the modern language of that country, ſuch primitive words, notwithſtanding the length of time and various changes it may have undergone, ſince it is no more than what may be obſerved, not only in the *High* and *Low Dutch* and other northern languages, but even in the *French*, the fartheſt removed and ſtrangelieſt altered from the old *Gauliſh* or *Celtic*. We may add, that the modern *Spaniſh* preſerves more of the maſculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old *Celtic*, than any other in *Europe*. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Spaniſh* nation, with reſpect to the ancient *Celtic* grandeur and majeſty; and we may ſafely add of their pride, and ſingular contempt for, not only trade, commerce, d manufactures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as below their dignity and martial genius; and therefore turned them over, as much as they could, to their ſlaves, as we ſhall ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the *Gauls* in the next chapter.

The Latin *introduced by the* Romans.

But whatever the original language of *Spain* may have been at firſt, it muſt have ſuffered great changes under thoſe different nations, by whom this country was ſubdued, and of whom we ſhall give a further account in the ſequel: but the greateſt of all was under the *Romans*; for theſe made it their conſtant buſineſs to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their hands; at firſt by founding ſchools, and even univerſities, where youth might, with the *Latin* tongue and e character, be taught the arts and ſciences, which was no ſmall inducement to inſpire them with a fondneſs for it; and, where that failed, more forcible means were uſed, ſo that in time almoſt the whole kingdom came to ſpeak it as their mother-tongue, only thoſe few tribes of the ancient inhabitants, who, perhaps, like our *Welſh* here, fled into ſuch mountainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original one. The *Latin* continued no longer there than to the coming in of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, under whom it began by degrees to dwindle from its purity, as it did in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and other parts, where thoſe barbarous nations, as they were called, got any dominion, and to adopt their barbariſms, and to decline into the ſtate, in which we ſee it now. And here it muſt be obſerved, with reſpect to the *Spaniſh*, that it has ſuffered the leaſt corruption, and retains more of the ancient *Latin*, of any in *Europe*. This makes us think, that it did not receive any conſiderable alteration under the *Moors*; otherwiſe it muſt have deviated much more from it, than it actually doth: beſides, it is not likely, whether *Aldrete* might infer from his fancied words and idioms of *Arabic* extract, and of which we have given a more probable origin, that *Spaniards*, fond as they ever were of their old ways, would have adopted any thing from a nation, which could not but be hateful to them, as invaders and conquerors; and much more ſo, on account of their religion.

[n] Antegued. de Hiſpan. l. ii. c. 8.

From

Their writing.

From what we have lately quoted out of *Strabo*, it is plain, the ancient *Spaniards* must have admitted writing amongst them many ages before either the *Gauls*, *Germans*, or any others of *Celtic* extract; since these, as shall be shewn in due place, made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their history, learning, or religion, but contented themselves with preserving them in proper poems, which their druids and bards learned by heart, and transmitted in the same way to their disciples. But it is more than probable, that the former were, in some measure, forced to it by some of those many nations, under whose dominion they passed from time to time, such especially as the *Phœnicians*, the *Carthaginians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans:* but, which of those different characters was first adopted, or became in vogue, we cannot pretend to say; only that, from the coming of the *Romans*, their letters, as well as language, drove out all the rest, and was in use till their expulsion, when the old *Gothic*, of which we gave an account at the beginning of this section, took place. This last, though far inferior to the *Roman* in beauty, and more tiring to the eyes, continued in such vogue throughout *Europe*, from the coming of the *Goths*, downwards, that all church divinity and law-books were written, and (even long after the invention of printing and reviving of the old *Roman*) were printed in it. We have seen there why, and how, it was at length condemned and set aside.

An odd way of computing time in Spain.

It will not be amiss here to take notice of an odd way, which the *Spaniards* of old had of computing of time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its rise in the reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, prevailed all over *Spain*, and was not abolished till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, first, in *Arragon*, by *Peter* IV. *A. D.* 1358. in *Castile*, by king *John*, an. 1383. and, in *Portugal*, by *John* I. an. 1415. This way was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, instead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Christ, or any other remarkable epoch; and this was used, not only in their profane, but, what is still more surprising, in their ecclesiastic records. So that it has puzzled the learned not a little, at first, to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a tolerable etymon for that word thus used. It is not worth troubling our readers with their various conjectures upon it; for nothing but conjecture has as yet been offered, and some of them, too, forced and far fetched. It shall suffice to say here, that they are all agreed on one point, *viz.* that the æra did commence in *Augustus*'s time, some add, that it was instituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Christ. Some reckon it but barely twenty-six years, and think those highly mistaken, who give it any more [a]. Others think it began on the year, in which that prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangelist words it; and that it was called æra from the *as*, or copper coin which was exacted by that decree [b]. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Christ, which was, according to them, the year in which *Julius Cæsar* was killed and *Augustus* succeeded him [c]: the rightest of them, in our opinion, are those, who deduct the first four years out of that emperor's reign, because, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the *Spaniards* should have begun so soon to compliment him with this new computation; and consequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of his triumvirship, when that country, together with *Gaul* and some other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was forty-eight years before the birth of Christ. As for the original of the word. those that do not like that we mentioned above, which is that of *Isidore* bishop of *Seville* [d], will be less pleased with some others, which *Spanish* critics have fetched still farther. That of *Vaseus*, who thinks that æra was a mark stamped on the coin, to shew the value of it; and that of *Resendius*, who affirms that æra was nothing else but a term to signify a computation, or computed number; would appear most probable to us, if they were backed with any good authority [e].

Education.

The education of their children in ancient days chiefly consisted in training them up to martial deeds, using them to such food and exercises as tended to make them strong and robust, active and nimble; in inspiring them with a love of liberty and a contempt of death. These principles were so strongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and so carefully riveted in them both by precept and example,

[a] Gerund. paral. pom. Hispan. l. x. in fin. [b] Idem ibid. ex Isidor. [c] Vid. Vasei chronic. c. 22. [d] Epist ad Vas. ap. eund. ibid. Iid. ibid.

a example, as they grew up, as well as by the hopes of a glorious future life to the bold and brave, and of misery and ignominy to the base and cowardly, that the whole nation seemed unanimously to prefer death before slavery, and looked upon it as the most glorious of all blessings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in the martial way, contracted such a habit of bravery, that they seldom or never failed of shewing some signal examples of it to them, as often as an opportunity offered itself. But we shall defer speaking more particularly on this head, till the next chapter, where we shall single out several instances of this native valour, in these and other *Celtic* nations, even in those of the softer sex and tender years.

Commerce.

b We have already observed, that this country was not only excellently situate for trade and commerce, but abounded with such commodities, especially silver, as invited all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, to come thither for them, to settle among them, and even to subdue them; insomuch, that scarce any kingdom under the heaven ever passed through so many different dominions as this. *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Tyrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Moors*, and many others, have had their particular settlements in it; and the greatest part of them, if not all, have held it, or at least some considerable share of it, under their subjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, and founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it.

c What condition the country was in, before those strange nations came into it, we dare not say, though, if we were to believe one half of what the *Spanish* historians have written on this head, it must have been in a more flourishing condition than any other; since we are told by them, that, even before the coming of *Hercules*, it had a great number of rich and stately towns and cities, and these of great antiquity too [f]: and this seems in some measure confirmed by ancient writers, such as *Strabo*, *Justin*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and others; and indeed, if they really had such a succession, as we are going to give in the next section, of long-lived and opulent monarchs, from *Tubal* the grandson of *Noah* to *Geryon*, whom that hero overcame, there would be no room to doubt of the truth of such ancient cities having

d been built before his time. But the misfortune is, that there is no other authority for those reigns, than that of *Berosus*, who, as we shall shew in the sequel, is justly looked upon now as a fabulous author, and that what the *Greek* and *Roman* authors mentioned above have said of the pretended antiquity of those cities, and their founders, was in all likelihood taken upon trust from the *Spaniards* themselves, who appear plainly enough to have been as fond of indulging this passion for antiquity, as ever the *Greeks*, or any other of their neighbours; but of this we must leave every reader to judge for himself.

To close up the character of the ancient *Spaniards*, they possessed all the virtues of the old *Celtic* nation, and inherited fewer of their vices, than any others of their

e descendants; they were brave, noble, and magnanimous, and hospitable to a high degree, and so famed for their faithfulness, that, even after their being conquered by the *Romans*, several of those emperors made no difficulty of preferring them to other people, to be their life-guard. They were sober, frugal, patient under hardships, jealous of their honour, and, till a few centuries past, rather desirous, as much as they could, to preserve their own territories, than to go in search of new ones abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of *Celtic* extract, and of which we shall speak more fully in the subsequent chapters, those of pride, cruelty, superstition, and laziness, are justly laid to their charge, as well as to that of the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others [g]; but it doth not appear, that they imitated them in their

f sumptuous banquets, much less in their excessive fondness for strong liquors; on the contrary, they are famed for their aversion to them, by which they preserved themselves from such bloody quarrels, as were the natural consequence of those drunken revels, which we find to have been so indulged among their neighbours, and were commonly attended with the worst effects.

SECT.

[f] Vid. int al Gerund. ubi sup. l. i. Garsi de academ. Hisp. Nomenclat. urb. Hispan. Taraph. de orig &c. reg. Hisp. Vas. chronic. & al. plur.

[g] See hereafter, pag. 385, d, e. 387, & seq.

SECT. III.

The origin, antiquity, and chronology, of the antient Spaniards.

Spain, its first inhabitants.

WE have, in several parts of this work [a], proceeded on the most probable hypothesis, founded on the testimony of the best and most ancient authors, that the *Celtes*, the descendants of *Gomer* the eldest son of *Japhet* [b], were the first that peopled *Europe*, at least as far as the *Danube* and *Rhine*, and even beyond. Whether this was done by gradual migrations from the place of their dispersion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by sea, will, we think, be more properly inquired into in the next chapter, where we shall speak of the *Gauls*, the immediate descendants of those *Celtes*, and where we shall shew, from the best ancient testimonies, that these were, from the earliest times, found settled in every part of it, and even in this of *Spain*, notwithstanding its being surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, before any nation that intermingled afterwards among them, of whom we have given an account in the first section of this chapter, and shall have further occasion to speak at the entrance of the next [c]. According to this hypothesis, it will be impossible to guess, about what time either this, or any other country of *Europe*, were peopled by them, or which of them claims the preference in point of ancientness before the rest, or even to assert any thing of this country before the coming of *Hercules* into it.

But the *Spaniards*, ever fond of their own antiquity, beyond any other nation, having once adopted fabulous *Berosus*, have fetched their origin from another spring, namely, from *Tubal*, the fifth son of *Japhet* [d], whom that author affirms to have come into, and reigned in *Spain* from the year of the flood 143. to 258. and from whom they pretend to derive a regular series of long-winded monarchs, down to the three *Geryons*, who were killed by the *Egyptian Hercules*, to say nothing of a much longer one, which they likewise draw from this last hero, and some other newcomers from *Libya*, down to the time in which they allow the *Celtes* to have made their first entrance into *Spain*, viz. in the year of the flood 1350; so, that according to these authors, *Spain* had been a monarchy, and had lasted, one thousand two hundred and twenty-six years before the coming of the *Celtes* into it [e]. This account, how fabulous soever, not only with regard to *Tubal*'s reign, and of his pretended successor, but likewise in some measure, with regard to those of *Hercules*, as it is not only adopted by all the *Spanish* authors in general, but likewise by all the followers of *Berosus*, we shall be obliged, before we go further, to give our readers a compendious sketch of it, especially as we have all along in this work given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the history of each nation; and shall do the same in those that follow, especially in that of our own.

Berosian list of their kings.

Tubal, or Thubal.

1. *Tubal*, having received his grandfather's blessing, came, according to those historians, and settled in some parts of *Spain* (A), in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned

[a] See before vol. i. p 117, & seq. Vol. ii. p. 241, & seq. [b] Genes. x. 2. [c] See hereafter, sect. 3 and 4 of chap. xi. [d] Genes. ubi sup. [e] Vid. int. al. Garibay. compend. hist. Hispan l. vi. c. 4, & seq. Vas. chron. Hispan. c. 10. sub. an. diluv. 1350. Gerund. paralip. Hisp. Sant. Marianna. & al. mult.

(A) This *Berosian* fable they think sufficiently backed by what we read in *Josephus* (1), who makes *Jubal*, or *Thubal*, as he is called, to have peopled *Spain*; and by St. *Jerom*'s comment on the prophets *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, where he understands by *Tubal* either *Italy* or *Spain*; but this, at most, will only prove, that some of the patriarch's posterity came and peopled this country, or perhaps came and settled in some part of it; but not, that he came thither himself, and founded a monarchy in it; which has been sufficiently exploded in some former part of this work (2), and by the generality of authors, who have confuted the fabulous founder of that notion (3).

However, these partial ones, who have adopted it, have built many other conjectural schemes upon it; such as the place where he landed, settled, &c. the system of religion, laws, &c. he left with them, and the like; insomuch, that they affirm, that his descendants did strictly adhere to the precepts given to

(1) *Antiq. l.* i. c. 3. (2) *See before vol.* i *p.* 141, & *seq.* ii. 244, & *seq.* (3) *Vid. int. al.* Bochart *phaleg.* Sir *Walter Raleigh, hist.* Perizon Pezron. *Calmet. comm. in Genes.* x. 2. & *al.*

reigned there to the year 258; during which interval *Noah*, called, by profane au-
a thors, *Janus*, came thither, and built two cities, the one of which he called, from his own name *Noela* in *Galicia*, and the other *Noega* in *Asturia*, and which, to this day, retains still that of *Navia*.

2. *Iberus*, the son of *Tubal*, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258. Iberus.
reigned thirty-seven years, that is, to the year 295. From him our authors pretend, that the river *Iberus*, from which *Spain* was called *Iberia*, had its name. We have elsewhere given a much more probable etymon of these two names[f]. He was succeeded by his son,

3. *Idubeda*, by some called *Juballa*, and *Jubalda*, who reigned sixty-four years, Idubeda.
b gave name to the famed *Idubedean* mountains, peopled the province of *Briga*, now *Riola*, and called it by that name from,

4. *Brigo*, his son and successor (B), who reigned fifty-two years, and left the king- Brigo.
dom to his son,

5. *Tagus*, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river *Tagus*, and was suc- Tagus.
ceeded by his son,

6. *Bætus*, from whom the river *Bætis*, and the province of *Bætia*, *Bætica*, for- Bœetus, *the*
merly *Turdetania*, and since *Andalusia*, had their names. He is said to have been *last of* Tubal's
surnamed *Turdetanus*, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging, learning. *line*.

7. *Geryon*, an *African*, or *Libyan*, of a gigantic stature, and a bloody tyrant, who Geryon.
c began his reign in the year of the flood 514. and reigned, according to some, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others[g]. Against him came *Osiris*, or, as he is called by others, *Dionysius* king of *Egypt*, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant (C), and divided his kingdom between his three sons, commonly called the three *Geryons*, after having first exacted a strict promise from them, that they would reign amicably, and abstain from those plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had so justly punished their father.

8. THREE *Geryons*, said to have been all of one birth, and the last of the *Ge-* Geryons.
ryonic race, reigned with such surprising concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that represents them with a three-fold body. These being
d supposed to have had a hand in the death of *Osiris*, in revenge of that of their father, *Hercules*, his son, brought a great army from *Egypt*, first gave them a total

[f] See before vol. ii. p. 241, & seq. 244, (E). vii 523, b. [g] Conf. GARIBAY, compend. VASchron. Hisp. sub. an. diluvii 514.

to *Noah* by God, and preserved themselves free from idolatry, polytheism, and all heathenish superstition, till *Hercules* brought those plagues from *Egypt*, and infected *Spain* with them. But of this we shall have a fairer occasion to speak in the next chapter, where we shall enter into a more exact detail of the religion of the *Celtes* and *Gauls*.

(B) from him the *Briones*, or *Brigones*, situate along the long ridge of *Idubedean* mountains, are affirmed, by the *Navarrean* historians, to have been named as well as the city of *Cantabria*, anciently, according to them, *Cantabriga*; whilst the *Castellani* derive both from the *Galli Braccati*, who came and settled there.

The word *Briga*, which had the same signification in *Spain*, and in the cities *Cantabriga* and *Meidobriga*, which the ancient *Gallic Dun* or *Dunum*, in the names *Lugdunum*, *Noviodunum*, and the *German Burgh*, in *Friburg*, *Ausburgh*, &c. is likewise affirmed to have had its origin from him. But the word *Brig* or *Bric*, from which *Briga* and *Brica* differ only in termination, is certainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we shall see in the next chapter. Several other things are said likewise of this king, without any foundation, which the reader may see in the *Spanish* authors lately quoted.

(C) This *Geryon* was also called *Deabus*, and is surnamed by the *Greeks*, *Chyrsco*, on account of the vast wealth which he had gotten by his plunders and robberies. He is said to have brought over a number of wild or *Scenite Arabs*, and to have been the founder of the city of *Girona* (4). *Diodorus Siculus* makes him the son of *Chrysaor*, or the golden sword, the son of *Medusa*. From his defeat is supposed to have sprung the fable of *Hercules*'s overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away, spoken of in a former volume (5). *Justin*, indeed, makes mention of him, and of his vast herds of cattle (6); but *Strabo* and *Pliny* look upon the whole as a mere fable (7); and *Arrian* further affirms (8), that there never was such a king as *Geryon* in *Spain*. *Aristotle* says, that *Hercules* (whom even some *Spanish* authors affirm to have been, not the *Egyptian*, but the *Greek* one, and son of *Jupiter* by (9) *Alcmena*) had been enticed over into *Spain* by the richness of its inhabitants: whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongst them, forbidding the use or possession of silver, which was still in force some time after the coming thither of the *Carthaginians* (10). Something like this law was likewise among some of the ancient *Gauls*, of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

(4) *Lib.* iv. *c.* 4. *Vid. & Aldrete, var. antiguedad. lib.* iv. *c.* 18. (5) *See before vol.* ii. *p.* 356. *sub not.* (6) *Hist. l.* xliv. (7) *Strab. l.* iii. *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 22. (8) *De gest. Alex., Mag. l.* ii. (9) *Vid. Gerundens. paralipom. l.* ii. *Ant. Nebrigens. & al.* (10) *Vasæi chronic. sub. an. diluv.* 539.

total overthrow, and then overcame and slew them, one after another, in single a combat. It is said, that the columns between the *Carpean* and *Abylean* mountains were set up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near forty years, when they received this overthrow, and were buried in the isle of *Cadiz* [h]. *Hercules*, who did not come so much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no sooner overcome the three *Geryons*, than he made ready to pass into *Italy*, and left the government of *Spain* to his son,

Hispal. 9. *Hispal* (D), who built the city of that name, now called *Seville*, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by *Cæsar:* and from *Hispal* began a new succession of *Spanish* kings. He is said to have reigned seventeen years, and to have left his b kingdom to his son,

Hispan. 10. *Hispan*, or *Hispanus*, from whom the country took its name, which it hath preserved ever since. He began his reign in the year of the flood 607. and reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince (E), and to have made the city of *Caliz* his chief residence [i].

Hercules. *Hercules*, hearing of his son *Hispan*'s death, returned into *Spain*, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639. to 658. Being grown very old, he bequeathed the *Spanish* kingdom to *Hesperus*, one of his captains and companions; and died, and was buried at *Gades*, *Caliz*, where that stately monument was erected to him, which we mentioned in a late note, and which became in high veneration, not only c among the *Spaniards*, but was resorted to by most nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric* (F).

Hesperus. 11. *Hesperus*, from whom both *Spain* and *Italy* were called *Hesperia*, but the former, by way of distinction, *Hesperia Magna*, and his brother *Atlas*, surnamed *Italus*, had accompanied *Hercules* in all his excursions and conquests. Upon the death of that hero, *Hesperus* caused himself to be proclaimed his successor, as by his will and appointment. *Atlas*, who is supposed to have been left in *Italy*, upon the return of the other too in *Spain*, came thither also himself, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669. after he had reigned there eleven d years.

Atlas. 12. *Atlas*, after he had reigned ten years in *Spain*, is said to have returned into *Italy*, in order to drive his brother thence also; for it seems that fugitive prince was fled thither, and was so well received there, as to give him new cause of jealousy. Upon his departure he left the kingdom to his son,

Orus. 13. *Orus*, or *Sicorus* (G), who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river *Sicoris*, now *Segre*, which falls into the *Iberus*, or *Ebro*; and was succeeded by his son.

Sicanus. 14. *Sicanus*, who had followed him from *Italy* into *Spain*; a prince said to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river *Anas*, now *Ana*; reigned thirty-

[h] Garibay, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 12. ad fin. [i] Id. ibid. in fin. c. 14.

(D) In this expedition it is pretended that our *Egyptian* hero introduced the idolatry and superstition of his Country; to which another author adds the bloody rite of offering up human victims (11). He had likewise two favourite companions with him, the one named *Zacynthus*, and the other *Baleon*; the former of whom gave his name to the famed city of *Zacynthum*, since *Saguntum* (12); and the other to the *Balearic* islands, now *Majorca* and *Minorca* (13).

Another ancient author, who was a *Spaniard* by birth, adds, that the *Tyrians* built a stately temple to this *Hercules*, which became famous, both for its antiquity and vast treasures (14).

(E) To him some ancient authors have falsely ascribed, among other sumptuous works, the aqueduct of *Segovia*, which was done by the emperor *Trajan*, and the *Pharus* or famed tower of *Corunna*, a maritime city in *Galicia*, which was erected in *Augustus*'s time (15).

(F) It is hardly worth the while to trouble our readers with the various sentiments of the learned concerning this famed hero; whether he was the *Egyptian*, *Phœnician*, or *Grecian Hercules:* especially as we have had occasion to speak of him in some former parts of this work, to which we must here refer our readers (16), as well as to what we shall have further occasion to speak of him in the next chapter.

(G) From this and the two following princes names, *Sicanus* and *Siceleus*, it is supposed that their proper names were *Orus*, *Anus*, and *Eleus*; and that the *Sic* was a titular prænomen: and this is further proved by *Anus* giving his name to the river *Ana*, and *Eleus* to that of *Eleo* (17).

(11) *Lactant. l.* i. *c.* 21. (12) *Vid. Hieron, procem. in epist. ad Galat.* (13) *Luc. Flor. l.* lx. (14) *P. Mela, de. sit. orb. l.* iii. *c.* 6. (15) *Vid. Flor. Vas. chronic. Garib. & al. ub. sup.* (16) *See before, vol.* iv *p.* 409. 415 vi. *p.* 690, b, (W). vii *p* 121, d. 154. *& seq. Beuter. Vas. Garibai, & al.* (17) *Id. ibid. c.* 24. *Vid. Ant. Nebrig. hist. reg. cathol. Vas. chronic. sub an. diluv.* 967. *& al.*

a thirty-two years, during which he is said to have carried his successful arms into *Italy* and *Sicily*, which was from him called *Sicania*, as it had been before *Tinacria*, and since, *Sicily*, from his successor.

15. *Siceleus* succeeded his father, and reigned forty-four years, during which he is said to have passed over into *Italy*, and performed very great feats, and to have assisted *Iasius*, the grandson of *Atlas*, by *Electra* his daughter, who was then at high wars with *Dardanus*, about the succession to certain states in that country. In this prince's reign the *Deucalian* flood is said to have happened, and that *Moses* was then likewise performing his wonders before the hardened king of *Egypt*. Siceleus.

16. *Siceleus* was succeeded by his son *Lusus*, who had accompanied him in his Lusus.
b wars in *Italy*. He is said to have been a brave prince, but vastly addicted to the heathenish superstitions that then prevailed. Some attribute the peopling of *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, to him, from whom it was called by that name; others, to another *Lusus*, a chieftain and companion of *Bacchus*. We can affirm nothing certain about either. *Lusus* reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by,

17. *Ulus*, or *Sic-Ulus*, whom some make the son of *Lusus*, others of *Atlas*. He Ulus.
was so warlike a prince, kept such vast armies and fleets, that he was called the son of *Neptune*. He passed over into *Italy*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies, that had been settled there by *Atlas*, repressed their enemies there, peopled some countries in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, built some cities, and particularly the famed castle of
c *Alsino*; thence he passed into *Sicily*, to assist those *Spanish* colonies, which his predecessors had fixed there, and who, it seems, were sadly harassed by the other inhabitants of that island, which, from his great feats there, he called by his own name. He reigned about sixty years, and was succeeded, by what means can scarcely be guessed [k], by,

18. *Testa*, an *African*, or *Libyan*, to whom, however, the *Spanish* historians give Testa.
the character of a good and wise prince. Some of them affirm, that it was in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, that a colony of *Greeks*, from the island of *Zacynthus*, now *Jasanto*, came into *Spain* by sea; and, with his permission, settled in that part
d of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by those of *Saguntini* and *Saguntines*. Here then is a new and different account of the foundation of that famed city and people, of whose valour and sad catastrophe we have spoken at large at the beginning of this volume [l]; and this, if right, destroys what we mentioned a little higher concerning the origin, which is given them by other authors. Nothing can be advanced on either side but conjecture. As for *Testa*, after a long reign of seventy-four years, he was succeeded by his son.

19. *Romus*, who reigned thirty-three years, and is supposed to have founded the Romus.
city of *Rome*, in the province of *Tarragona*, since called *Valentia*, from the *Romans* calling that city afterwards by this name, and inlarging and beautifying it, and
e making it the metropolis of it (H). In this prince's reign the *Phœnicians* are said to have made their first entrance into *Spain*; and about the same time also the famed *Greek* chieftain *Iacchus* or *Bacchus*, surnamed *Liber Pater*, with a considerable army, not so much with a design to conquer that country, as to spread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other, side of the world, where he is said to have carried his conquests as far as the *Indies*. As he travelled through *Andalusia*, he built the famed city *Nebrisa*, in the province of *Bætica*, since called *Veneria*, and now *Lebrixa*, the native place of the learned *Anthony Nebrissensis*, often quoted in this chapter; who says on this head, that *Lusus*, the son of *Bacchus*, gave name to *Lusitania*, and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the destruction of *Troy*. *Romus* was succeeded by, Bacchus *comes into* Spain.

20. *Palatuus*, the supposed founder of the city of *Palentia*, or *Palantia*. This Palatuus.
prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquillity, when a famous

[k] Id. c. 23. Vas. sub an. diluv. 893, & al.

[l] See before, p. 2. pass. 5, & seq.

(H) Others will have it, the people of that province built this famed city, and called it by that name, in honour of *Romus*; and that the *Greeks* called it *Rome*, and the *Latins Valentia*, as names of the same import in each language (18).

(18) *Garib. ub. sup. c.* 24. *Id. ibid. c.* 26.

Cacus *defeated.*

famous warrior, named *Licinius Cacus*, raiſed a war againſt him, and deprived him, a according to ſome, of part, and, according to others, of his whole kingdom, and forced him to wander about from country to country, whilſt he reigned uncontrouled, and encouraged all kinds of arts and handicraft trades, which, till then, had been much neglected in that country (I). At length *Palatuus* found means to recover his kingdom from him, after he had poſſeſſed it thirty-ſix years; and gave him a total overthrow near mount *Cacus*, now *Montcajo*, ſo called from him, after this overthrow. Some pretend, that he was ſlain upon it; others, that he retired into *Italy*: however that be, *Palatuus* reigned ſeventy years, and was ſucceeded by,

Erythræus.

21, *Erythræus*, in whoſe reign is placed the founding of the famed city of *Carthage*, of which we ſhall ſay no more here, having given an ample account of it in b a former volume[m]. He is ſaid to have given name to the famed iſland of *Erythræa*, or *Erythia*, as it is called by *Mela*[n] and *Pliny*[o], an iſland which has been ſought far and near[p]. We have endeavoured, at the beginning of this volume, to give the beſt account of its ſituation, to which we ſhall refer our readers[q]. *Erythræus* was the laſt of the line of *Teſta*, in which the monarchy had laſted two hundred and forty-five years, according to ſome; or an hundred and twenty-three, according to others[r], including the forty-ſix years of *Licinius*'s uſurpation. He was ſucceeded by,

Gargoras.

22. *Gargoras*, ſurnamed *Mellicola*, becauſe, as *Juſtin* hath it[s], he found out the c uſe of honey and cultivating of bees. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, a wiſe prince, and a great promoter of induſtry. In his reign the famed city of *Troy* having been deſtroyed by the *Greeks*, of which, as well as its long ſiege, an account has been given in a former volume[t], many of thoſe warriors, who either did not care, or were hindered, by contrary winds, from returning into their own country, came and ſettled in *Spain*, and built cities in ſeveral parts of it, and, amongſt them, thoſe which the reader will find in the margin (K). To *Gargoras* ſucceeded, if we may believe *Juſtin*[u],

Habis *his excellent reign.*

23. *Habis*, his grandſon, by a daughter, and a baſtard, but in all other reſpects an extraordinary prince, whether we conſider the many and ſurpriſing dangers he d was obliged to go through, and from which he was delivered, as it were, by as many miracles, or the beauty and tallneſs of his perſon, or the many and ſignal benefits which the *Spaniſh* nation received from him during his reign, to which he was, ſuch was his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather in his life. The *Spaniards* at that time were ſtill ſo very rude and uncivilized, that they knew nothing of the uſe of bread, or of cultivating the earth. It was he, it ſeems, that firſt taught them to plough their land with oxen, to ſow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewiſe gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them ſeven courts of judicature in ſeven cities of his kingdom. Our author adds, that, after his death, his kingdom continued in his e poſterity during ſeveral centuries; but we muſt not thence ſuppoſe, that either he or they, or indeed any of his predeceſſors, were maſters of the whole country, but only of ſome conſiderable part, as we hinted a little higher, in ſpeaking of their government. How long this laſt king reigned, who ſucceeded him, *&c.* what other

[m] Vid. vol. vi. p. 657—660. [n] De ſitu, l. iii. c. 6. [o] Plin. lib. iv. c. 22. [p] Conf. auct ſup. citat. & Arrian. cum mult. al. [q] Before, p. 146, (E). [r] Conf. Ant. Nebricens. Garibay, & Vasæum, ubi ſup. [s] Hiſt. l. xliv. [t] Vol. ii. p. 317—323. [u] Lib. xliv.

(I) Some authors are ſo fond of raiſing the fame of this uſurper, that they make him the firſt, who ſet about diſcovering the iron mines in *Spain*, and ſet up the fabrication of that metal. He might, perhaps, have given greater encouragement to this manufacture than any of his predeceſſors; but that they ſhould have been ſuch ſtrangers in *Spain* to the working of ſo neceſſary a metal, is altogether improbable.

(K) *Teucer*, the ſon of *Telamon*, one of the firſt that came into *Spain*, ſettled in that part where the new *Carthage* was built, ſince called *Carthagena*, if he was not the founder of it. From thence he paſſed into *Galicia*, and gave name to that canton (19). He is likewiſe ſaid to have built the city of *Salmantica*, now *Salamanca*, in memory of his own native country; though *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, who calls it *Elmantica*, ſays nothing of his founding it. *Amphilochus*, a companion of *Teucer*, is ſaid to have built that of *Amphiloqua*, ſince called *Aguas Caldas*, or hot waters, and now *Orenſe* in *Galicia*. *Diomedes* built *Tydo* on the banks of the *Minius*, now *Minno*, in memory of his father *Tydeus*. It retains ſtill the name of *Tuy*, *Tuya*, and *Tude*.

(19) *Juſtin. ex Trog. l.* xliv.

a other kings reigned in other parts of *Spain*, and many other things relating to the ancient history of it, we are wholly left in the dark about, down to the coming of the *Carthaginians*, no ancient historian having left us any thing about it. Only this chasm is filled up, by some fabulous authors of theirs, with such stuff as smells as rank of the fable, as what we have here in *England* from our own monkish books; we shall mention one or two of them, by way of sample:

In the year after the flood 1250. that is, thirty-four years after the beginning of *Habis*'s reign, began, according to these authors, such an extraordinary drought, that it did not rain in all *Spain* during the space of twenty-six years, insomuch, that all the rivers of it, except the *Bætis* and the *Iberus*, were dried up, and the country b become almost a desert, for want of inhabitants. If such a long and universal drought had really happened, it would rather be a wonder, that there were either man or beast alive in most parts of that vast country. They tell us, indeed, that about the same time a certain people, whom they call *Almonides*, came and settled in it; but if so, is it not very strange, that no ancient author should have taken the least notice of it[w]? for which reason the learned author, often quoted in this chapter, justly rejects both as fabulous[x], Fifty-seven years after, *Homer*, or, as his right name was, *Melesigenes*, travelled through *Spain* and *Italy*. This was before he lost his sight; and he, according to *Herodotus*, flourished an hundred and sixty-eight years after the *Trojan* war[y]. *A long and great drought.*

c About forty-two years after, the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*, are said to have come first into *Spain*, and, about twenty years after, the *Rhodians*. Of the first it is affirmed, that they fought for some time with the *Spaniards*, or *Iberians*, as they were then called, about their settlements; but agreed at length upon a peace and mutual friendship; so that they, from that time, became so blended with each other, by intermarrying and living together, that they became as one people, under the name of *Celtiberians*[z]. From which account we would observe by-the-by, that this could only be one of those colonies, which the *Celtes* in *Gaul* sent into the country: for more than one or two they sent from thence hither, as well as in other parts of *Europe*, as often as they were streightened for want of room, as we shall see in the next d chapter. It is, therefore, very probable, that these colonies, coming into *Spain*, after a few battles or skirmishes, being found, by the inhabitants, to be originally of the same stock, having the same, or near the same, language, religion, and customs, were readily admitted and blended with them. The *Rhodians*, who came thither by sea, landed at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, and built there a city, to which they gave their name. It was a bishop's see till the time of the *Goths*, but now reduced to a heap of ruins. About ten years after, happened that great fire, which spread itself all over that vast ridge of mountains called the *Pyrences*, and, from thence, *Incendium Pyrenæum*, or, as others will have it, more properly, that those mountains were thence called *Pyrenean*. This fire, we are told, was at first e kindled by some shepherds[a], and burnt with such fierceness for many days, that it spread itself almost over that whole ridge. As for what they add, that the intenseness of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and made it boil up, and run down in rivulets along those hills, it is justly looked upon as fabulous by *Posidonius*, and by *Strabo* after him[b]. *Year of the flood* 1350. *Before Christ* 1649. *The* Gauls *and the* Rhodians *settle in* Spain. *Year of the flood* 1300. *Before Christ* 2699.

It must be owned, however, that *Spain* must have yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal, if what we read in *Aristotle* be not greatly exaggerated, that the *Phœnicians*, who are supposed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of it, that their ships could neither contain, nor sustain its load, though they used it for ballast, *The* Phœnicians *carry off immense quantities of silver hence.*

[w] Vas. sub. an. [x] A. Nebricens. ubi sup. [y] Vid. Strab. l. iii. [z] Diod. Sicul. bibl. lib. vi. Lucan. Hieron. & al. [a] Diod. Sicul. l. vi, Vid. & Aristot. de mirab. auscult. [b] Lib. iii.

Tude. Some other places and colonies these, and a few more, gave name to; as *Astur* to *Asturias*, *Ulysses* to *Ulysipone*, now *Lisbon*, where he built also a temple to *Pallas*, *Strabo* (20) calls this city *Ulixipolis*, or city of *Ulysses*. *Mnestheus* built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coasts of *Andalusia*, near the city of *Gades*, or *Caliz*; in which last, the *Andalusians* say, was a stately temple, built by the same warrior, which became in time famous, and much resorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world.

(20) *Strab. l.* iii.

ballaſt, and made their anchors, and other iron implements, of ſilver [c] (L). Theſe are ſuppoſed to have likewiſe ſettled in *Spain*, and to have built ſeveral other cities, eſpecially in *Bætica*, and to have had the maſtery of the ſea for the ſpace of forty-one years, after which they went and ſettled in the *Balearic* iſlands.

Other nations that governed in Spain.

Besides the *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Phœnicians*, already mentioned, who obtained footing and dominion in this country, *Euſebius* mentions [d] ſeveral other nations, who did the ſame before the coming in of the *Carthaginians*, ſuch as the *Egyptians* a ſecond time, who held the dominion of the ſea thirty-five years, and built ſome cities, eſpecially *Tarracona*, which they ſo called from *Tarraco* their leader. The *Mileſians* are likewiſe affirmed, by the ſame author, to have held ſome government there the ſpace of twenty-nine years. Next, the *Carians*, forty-eight years, from whom *Ptolemy* affirms the *Cariſti* in *Spain* to be deſcended. The *Leſbians* ſucceeded them, who built ſeveral cities, and governed, according to the ſame *Euſebius*, ſixty-eight years. Then the *Phocians*, in the ſixteenth year of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and held the government forty-eight years; and from thence went and ſettled on the ſouth part of *Gaul*, and built the city of *Marſeilles*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the next chapter. Laſtly, *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and conqueſt of *Judæa*, is affirmed by *Joſephus* and *Strabo* to have reigned nine years in *Spain* [e], at the end of which it is ſaid that he abandoned it to the *Carthaginians*: though it is likely, that, as the *Spaniſh* writers affirm, a great part of that vaſt hoſt, which he had brought with him, ſettled there, and built cities and caſtles, which they called by their own, or ſome *Chaldee* names, by which they may be ſtill traced up to their original [f]; but upon the whole it ſeems probable, that moſt, if not all, of theſe nations, contented themſelves with maritime parts, for the ſake of commerce, and the command of the ſea, and penetrated but a little way into the inlands, whilſt theſe might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad to trade and barter with them, and ſo be leſs ſolicitous who were maſters of the ſea-coaſts and parts adjacent, ſo they could but enjoy the benefit of their commerce, and the produce of their own lands, in peace and quietneſs. If any of theſe ſtrangers were enticed, by the pleaſantneſs and fruitfulneſs of the country, to ſettle amongſt the ancient inhabitants, whether this was done by permiſſion and conſent, or by force of arms, yet it could not be long before they became ſo blended with each other, that nothing remained of their origin, but the names they gave to thoſe places, which they either built or lived in. As for the *Celtiberi*, mentioned a little higher, they increaſed ſo faſt in that pleaſant and healthy country, that they were forced to have recourſe to their old method of ſending colonies abroad. Some of them ſettled in *Luſitania*, where they founded ſeveral cities, and called them by *Celtic* names (M); and from theſe colonies the *Luſitanians* had that of *Celtiberi* given to them: hence *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that of all the *Celtiberians* the *Luſitanians* were the ſtouteſt [g]. Another colony of them went into *Bætica*, where they likewiſe left ſeveral cities, and other monuments of their ſettlement. The goodneſs of the climate, however, joined to their laborious exerciſes and plain way of living, which made them ſo ſtout and long-lived, may be juſtly eſteemed one of the main cauſes of their multiplying ſo faſt, and being obliged to ſend abroad ſuch frequent colonies, a further proof of which we have in the long reigns of ſome of their monarchs formerly mentioned; and we ſhall cloſe this ſection with one more, in the perſon of the famed *Arganthonius* king of the *Tarteſſii*, who is ſaid to have reigned at *Gades*, now

Nebuchadnezzar.

Celtiberians *in* Luſitania.

Arganthonius, *his long life and reign.*

[c] Aristot. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [d] Euseb. chron. Vid. & Taraph. reg. Hiſp. ſub A. ant. C. 840. [e] Antiquit. l. x. c. 9. Geogr. lib. iv. [f] Vid Liv. decad. iv. Tarapha reg. Hiſp. ſub an. 571. Garibai, lib. v. c. 4. Vas. ſub an. U.C. 13. & 204. [g] Lib. vi.

(L) In this expedition ſome of their authors affirm the *Phœnicians*, who landed at *Tarteſſus*, to have built the city of *Gades*, or *Caliz*, tho' *Strabo* affirms it to have been done on their third landing (21). Other authors aſcribe the building of it to the *Tyrians* (22); but we ſhall refer our readers to what has has been ſaid of the foundation of that famed place, in a former volume (23). As for the cities of *Malaca* and *Abdera*, *Strabo* plainly ſays, that they were built by the *Phœnicians* (24).

(M) Amongſt theſe was the ancient city of *Segovia*, or *Segobia*, famous for its celebrated aqueduct, and afterwards for its woollen manufacture; and another of the ſame name, and built by another colony of *Celtiberians*, near *Corduba* in *Bætica*, and mentioned by *Cæſar* in his commentaries; though the other was the more famed of the two.

(21) *Garib. antiq. Hiſp. Vaſ. Gerund. & al. ubi ſup.* (22) *Plutarch. in Scipion. & al* (23) *Vid. ſup. vol.* vi. *p.* 730. *a*, *b*. (24) *Lib.* iii.

a now *Cadiz*, full fourſcore years [h], and to have died in the hundred and thirtieth, according to one [i], or hundred and fortieth, according to another, ancient author [k], and is mentioned with admiration by others, for his long reign and life [l] (N).

[h] VALER. MAX. l. viii. c. 14. [i] ASIN. POLL. ap. eund. [k] VAL. MAX ibid. [l] HERODOT. ANACR. CICER. de ſenect. BASIL. epiſt. ad Nepot. Vid. & VAS. ſub an. U. C. 129. GERUND. TARAPH. & al.

(N) *Herodotus* ſays, that he reigned in *Carteia*, al. *Tarteia*; *Anacreon*, that he lived an hundred and fifty years; *Pliny* gives him but an hundred and twenty; but *Silius Italicus* three hundred; and, as for the time in which he lived, it is impoſſible to aſcertain it, ſome making him cotemporary with king *Siculus*, the ſeventeenth king in our liſt, in the year of the flood 1514 (25). Others bring him down as low as the 130th year of *Rome*, or of the flood 1692 (26).

(25) *Lib.* iii. *Taraph. ſub an.* 1485. (26) *Vaſ. ſub an. A. U.* 129.

SECT. IV.

Of the conqueſt of Spain *by the* Carthaginians *and* Romans, *to the coming in of the* Goths *and other northern nations.*

b THIS remainder of the *Spaniſh* hiſtory we give here in a ſeparate ſection, not as deſigning to treat of it in that ample manner that it would deſerve, were it detached from the body of this work, for that were a deviation from our original plan, and on the one hand draw us into ſuperfluous repetitions, their conqueſt by the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* having been fully treated of in the hiſtory of thoſe two nations; and, on the other, oblige us to anticipate thoſe of the *Gauls*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. who conquered, or ſettled in, any part of this country, and which will, therefore, more properly belong to their ſeveral hiſtories in the ſubſequent chapters. Our motives, therefore, for ſeparating this part from that which we gave in the laſt ſection, are, firſt, to diſtinguiſh the true from the fabulous, or c the certain from the uncertain: of this latter kind, at leaſt, we look upon to be all that has been ſaid in the laſt ſection, though, for the reaſons mentioned at the beginning of it, we are forced to inſert it in ſuch a work as this; and, ſecondly, becauſe in the remaining part of this volume, ſtill to be ſpoken of, we ſhall proceed in a more ſuccinct method, to avoid all ſuch needleſs repetitions, or anticipations, and content ourſelves with giving our readers a kind of chronological ſummary of thoſe conqueſts, and refer our readers for thoſe, which have already been ſpoken of in this work, to the volumes and pages, where they are to be ſeen at full length; and for the reſt, to the remaining chapters of this volume, where they will be more amply related.

d THEIR conqueſt by the *Carthaginians* was, if we may believe *Juſtin* and *Oroſius*, occaſioned by the *Tyrians*. Theſe, having founded the city of *Gades*, and built a temple to *Hercules*, were ſo infeſted by the jealous *Spaniards*, that they were forced to ſend to *Carthage* for help; which being readily granted, *Meſeus* was ſent with a fleet to their aſſiſtance, who ſuppreſſed their enemies, and inlarged their territories, by the reduction of ſeveral conſiderable places along that coaſt [m]. The richneſs of the country ſoon invited them to purſue their conqueſts, and the vaſt treaſures, both in gold and ſilver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a ſtrong temptation to them [n], as they were engaged in ſuch a bloody and expenſive war with the *Romans*. This was accordingly performed with great ſuc- *Year of the flood* 2770.
e ceſs, at firſt, by their great general *Hamilcar Barcas*, and afterwards by his *Before Chriſt* 229.
ſons *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal*, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inſpire him with greater hatred againſt the *Romans*, and with a more eager deſire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the ſubjection of *Carthage*. The ſucceſs which theſe generals met with, both againſt the *Spaniards* and againſt the *Romans*, whom they had courted to their aſſiſtance [o], has been ſo fully ſpoken of both in the *Roman* hiſtory [p], and in that of the *Carthaginians*,

[m] JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. ult. & vol. v. p. 58, e. 71, & ſeq. [n] DIOD SIC. lib. vi. [o] See before, vol. vi. p. 865, c, d. 868, & ſeq. [p] See vol. iv. 675, & ſeq. 684, & ſeq. 690, & ſeq.

Carthaginians [q], that we shall need only to refer our readers to those places here cited in the margin. *Asdrubal* likewise, another of their generals, who was left there to command during *Hamilcar*'s return to *Carthage*, was no less successful there, and obliged the *Romans* to come to a treaty with him, of which the reader will find an account in a former volume [r], and which he inviolately kept with them whilst he lived; but his death, which happened soon after [s], and his being succeeded by young *Hannibal*, put an end to it: and that enterprising hero, though then but twenty-six years of age, began the war afresh, and laid siege to the famed city of *Saguntum*. We have given already a full account of that siege, and the sad catastrophe of its brave inhabitants, and shall refer our readers to it [t]. But *Hannibal* having undertaken his fatal expedition into *Italy* [u], the *Carthaginian* affairs began to decline apace, and their forces to receive many consecutive overthrows here, both by sea and land [w], especially under *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who, being defeated by *Scipio*, was forced to retire to *Gades* [x]; where being again defeated at sea, and, to complete his misfortunes, betrayed by *Masinissa*, he was reduced to such a desperate state, that, in revenge, he committed such horrid cruelties, as rendered him and his nation odious to the *Spaniards* and *Romans* [y]. All this while the two *Scipios* not only gained ground against them by these frequent defeats, but by some signal instances of their politeness rendered themselves amiable to the *Spaniards*, as his enemies were become hateful to them [z]. At length two decisive battles, which he won over them, were attended with the retaking of *Saguntum*, which had been rebuilt by *Hannibal*. Here he caused the *Turdetani*, who were found there, to be all sold for slaves, for having joined *Hannibal* against that faithful city [a]. We shall not repeat here the circumstances of the death of those two generals; which was like to have quite altered the posture of affairs, had not the brave *Marcius* recovered that great loss by a bold and desperate act, and with the few troops, which he could gather up, after the loss of those two battles, surprised and burnt the *Carthaginian* camp, which occasioned, in the confusion that then reigned, the deaths of thirty-seven thousand of them, besides near two thousand more, who were taken prisoners by him [b]. He was succeeded by young *Scipio*, who, though at that time but twenty-four years of age, had been unanimously chosen proconsul of *Spain*, and came thither with a reinforcement of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. His wonderful success there, the immense spoil he got at the taking of *New-Carthage*, his singular behaviour and continence towards a beautiful female captive, and his generous refusal of the vast ransom, which her parents offered to him, gained him the affections of the *Spaniards* to such a degree, that they looked upon him as a demigod, and began every-where to revolt from the *Carthaginians* [c]. Their generals made several vain efforts to stop the progress of this young hero, and were as often defeated by him [d]; as were also *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who had revolted from him [e]: at length, having thus far reduced the *Carthaginians*, he resolved on a descent into *Africk*, to oblige them to abandon *Spain*. The success of this expedition being foreign to this *Spanish* history, except that he actually forced the *Carthaginians* out of this country, and brought it under the *Roman* yoke, we shall refer our readers to those places, where a full account is given of both [f].

Year of the flood 2793. *Before Christ* 206.

Stript of its mines and treasures.

The *Romans* being thus become masters of this rich and noble country, or at least of a considerable part of it, by the expulsion of the *Carthaginians*, one of their first cares was, to seize on all its valuable mines, especially those of silver and gold [g], and to strip it of its immense wealth; and how considerable this was, may be guessed by the sketch we shall give in the next note (A), of the prodigious quantities which their

[q] Vol. vi. 865, & seq. Vol. vii. 1, & seq. [r] Vol. iv p. 686, e, & seq. Vol. vi. 865, & seq. [s] Ibid. 690, f, & seq. [t] Vol. iv. 692, b. vii. p. 3, & seq. [u] See vol. iv. p. 690, & seq. [w] See vol. vii. p. 20, c, d. 46, pass. 48, e, f. 49, a, b. 63, b. 68, & seq. [x] Ibid. 69, & seq. 71, & seq. 77, & seq. [y] Ibid. 78—80. [z] Ibid. p. 60, & seq. 62, e, f. [a] See vol. iv. 708, f. 722, c. [b] Ibid. p. 725, & seq. [c] Ibid. p. 730—732. Vol. vii. p. 59, & seq. [d] Vol. iv. 734, a—c. 737, & seq. [e] Ibid. 739. [f] Ibid p. 740, & seq. Vol. vii. p. 63, & seq. See also our chronology of Carthage, from the year 661. to 684. Vol. vi. p. 717, & seq. [g] See 1 Maccab. viii. 3, & seq. Liv. Oros. &c.

(A) Thus we are told (1), that *Scipio* above-named, upon his return to *Rome*, carried with him fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin,

(1) *Livy*, *decad.* iv. *lib.* i. ii. & iii.

a their prætors, even by the confeſſion of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public, as well as into their own treaſury: but as it would be impoſſible to enter into a detail of all thoſe tranſactions that happened during their *Roman* bondage, without repeating all that has been ſaid in their hiſtory, in the foregoing volumes, we muſt in this, as well as in the ſubſequent chapters, refer our readers to what has been already ſaid there; and only add here one or two remarkable events, which have not yet been taken notice of, or but lightly touched upon. One of them is the grand embaſſy, which the *Celtes* and *Spaniards* ſent out of this country to *Alexander the Great*, to congratulate him upon his vaſt ſucceſſes, to beg his amity, and that he would ſend proper perſons to adjuſt ſome differences that were b amongſt them, that is, in all likelihood, between ſome of their petty kings. This embaſſy, it ſeems, was highly pleaſing to that conqueror, who heard of thoſe nations for the firſt time, and, having granted their requeſt, ſent them very honourably home[h]. *Oroſius* tell us, that the head of this embaſſy was called *Maurinus*[i]. *Embaſſy to Alexander.*

The next is that noble puſh which was made by the *Celtiberians* in *Luſitania*, to ſuppreſs the *Roman* tyranny, and, if poſſible, to drive them further, if not quite out of *Spain*. What their ſucceſs might have been, had not their leader *Viriatus*, whom *Florus* calls a ſhepherd, and *Oroſius* a banditto, been diſpatched by the treachery of *Servilius Cæpio*, who hired that general's guards to aſſaſſinate him, may be c eaſily gueſſed by the diſpatch he had made in croſſing the *Durius*, *Iberus*, and *Tagus*, ſeizing on *Galicia*, and ſome other provinces, and putting all the *Roman* colonies to fire and ſword; but his untimely death put an end to all farther oppoſition, it being found then ſo dangerous to head an army againſt ſo powerful and treacherous a nation as the *Romans* ſhewed themſelves on this occaſion[k]. How thoſe two brave brothers, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, fared, for daring to oppoſe them ſome time after, need not be here repeated[l], any more than the dreadful cataſtrophe of *Numantia*[m], *Saguntum*[n], and ſome other cities and people, for daring to defend their country againſt them. By theſe cruel and treacherous means theſe *Roman* invaders ſo far ſuppreſſed that noble love of liberty, for which this nation was juſtly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it; and thoſe did prove ſo unſucceſsful, or, to ſpeak more properly, were ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that it quite deterred them from even betraying the leaſt hope or deſire after their ancient freedom, till at length they were quite forced to ſubmit to all their laws,

[h] Arrian. geſt. Alex. M. lib. vii. & ſeq. Id. ibid. Flor. l. liv. [i] Lib. iii. c. 20. [k] Sil. Ital. Oros. lib. v. c. 8, [l] See before, p. 71. 73. [m] Vol. iv. p. 787, & ſeq. [n] Vol. vii. p. 2.——6.

coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable things. *L. Lentulus* is ſaid to have brought away a ſtill much larger treaſure, *viz.* forty-four thouſand pounds of ſilver, and two thouſand five hundred and fifty of gold, beſides the money which he divided among his ſoldiery. *L. Manlius* brought with him twelve hundred pounds of ſilver, and about thirty of gold. *Corn. Lentulus*, after having governed the hither *Spain* two years, brought away one thouſand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold; and of ſilver two thouſand, beſides thirty-four thouſand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilſt his collegue brought from further *Spain* fifty thouſand pounds of ſilver.

What is ſtill more ſurpriſing, is, that theſe immenſe ſums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thouſand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of ſilver, four thouſand and ninety-five of gold, beſides coin, and other things of value, were brought away within the ſhort ſpace of nine years; for juſt ſo much time elapſed between the firſt and the laſt of theſe *Roman* prætors (2); and juſt after they had been as ſeverely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the *Carthaginians*. Theſe few inſtances ſhall ſuffice to ſhew, how rich this country muſt then have been, and what an immenſe treaſure it yielded to their conquerors; for though theſe laſt never ſlacked their hands, but kept ſtill on bringing freſh ſupplies from thence, yet we do not find, that it was at all exhauſted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richneſs of the country that invited the northern nations many centuries after to come and ſeize upon, and drive the *Romans* out of, it, as we ſhall ſee in ſome ſubſequent chapters.

We are, indeed, told by *Strabo*, that when the *Carthaginians* firſt came thither, they found ſilver in ſuch amazing plenty, that their utenſils, and even mangers, were made of [redacted]; inſomuch, that *Poſidonius* ſaid of this country, that *Pluto*, the god of riches, had his reſidence in the bowels of it (4). And *Pliny* mentions ſeveral rich mines of ſilver dug there by the *Carthaginians*, one of which, called *Babel*, from the finder of it, yielded *Hannibal* three hundred pounds of ſilver *per* day (5). In a word, moſt ancient authors have celebrated this country for its richneſs to ſuch a degree, that it hath only expoſed it the more to the invaſion of foreigners far and near.

(2) *Vid. Vaſ. chronic. ab an. urb.* 549. *ad an.* 558. xxxiii. c. 6. (3) *Lib.* iii. (4) *Ap. eund. ibid.* (5) *Lib.*

laws, cuſtoms, and religion; and, in a word, to be wholly romanized after their own arbitrary will. However, it is plain, that further *Spain* was not quite ſubdued till the fourth conſulate of *Marius*, *A. U.* 652. nor the *Celtiberians* till five years after, two years after *Dolabella* had triumphed over the *Luſitanians*°. The reſt is ſaid to have been conquered by *Auguſtus*, as we have formerly hinted. a

We ſhall conclude this chapter with a liſt of the *Spaniſh* prætors, as far as *Livy* has gone with them, and afterwards of the emperors, under whoſe government *Spain* continued from *Auguſtus* to *Honorius*, in the beginning of whoſe reign the *Romans* were driven out of it by the northern nations, whoſe hiſtory will follow in due time; by which means the reader will eaſily come at the remainder of the *Spaniſh* bondage under both, without our being forced to repeat what has been already ſaid in the *Roman* hiſtory, or anticipating upon what more properly belongs to thoſe of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. hereafter; but as we ſhall but barely mention thoſe *Spaniſh* prætors and emperors, without entering into any further particulars of their reigns, we ſhall give the liſt of them in the following note (B), and ſo paſs over to the *Gauls*. But, before we leave *Spain*, we beg leave to add, that tho' the *Romans* carried off ſuch immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver out of it, as was hinted in the laſt note, they ſtill left enough behind in it to maintain their numerous armies and colonies, and build great cities, caſtles, forts, and particularly ſchools and academies, for all kind of learning and exerciſes; to which we may add many other ſtately edifices, which were there reared by their prætors, conſuls, and eſpecially by their emperors; all which ſerved either to allure the *Spaniards* to the *Roman* yoke, or to deter them from ſhaking it off. b c

° Oros. ubi ſup. Plut. in Mar.

(B) After *Scipio* above-mentioned had expelled the *Carthaginians*, *Spain* was governed by the following prætors, *viz.*

Hither *Spain* by	Further *Spain* by
L. Lentulus	*L. M. Acidinus*
Q. Fabius Butæus	*Q. M. Thermus*
Cato the cenſor	*Ap. Cl. Nero*
P. Cor. Scipio	*Sext. Digitius*
C. Flaminius	*M. Fulv. Nobilior*
M. Bæbius Pamphilus	*A. Attil. Serranus*
L. Æmil. Paulus	*C. Flaminius*
M. Fulv. Nobilior	*Cn. Man. Vulſo*
L. Manlius	*C. Catinius*
Quint. Criſpinus	*C. Calpur. Piſo*
A. Terent. Varro	*P. Sempronius*
Q. Fulv. Flaccus	*P. Manlius*
T. Sempronius	*L. Poſthumius*
M. Titinius	*T. Fonteius Capito*
P. Licin. Craſſus	*M. Cornel. Scipio*
Ap. Claud. Cento	Not mentioned by *Livy*
P. Fur. Philo	*Cn. Servil. Cæpio*
Cn. Fab. Buteo	*M. Mantienus*
M. Jun. Pænus	*Sp. Lucretius.*

After them the ſenate reduced the country under one prætor, in the conſulſhips of *P. Licin. Craſſus*, *C. Caſſ. Longinus*, an. urb. 583. which continued ſo only under the two following ones; *viz.*

C. Marcellus
Publ. Fonteius.

After whom it was again divided, and governed by

Cn. Fulvius *C. Licinius Nerva*

Thus far *Livy*; and from this time, *viz.* A. U. 701: *Spain* became a conſular province, under the conſulſhip of *Q. Fulvius* and *T. Annius*; and was governed by them, and their proconſuls and propraetors, as we learn from *Florus* and *Oroſius*.

The emperors are as follow:

1. *Julius Cæſar*	29. *Philip*
2. *Auguſtus*	30. *Decius*
3. *Tiberius*	31. *Gallus*
4. *Caligula*	32. *Æmilianus*
5. *Claudius*	33. *Valerianus*
6. *Nero*	34. *Gallienus*
7. *Galba*	35. *Claudius* II.
8. *Otho*	36. *Quintillus*
9. *Vitellius*	37. *Aurelianus*
10. *Veſpaſian*	38. *Tacitus*
11. *Titus*	39. *Florianus*
12. *Domitian*	40. *Probus*
13. *Nerva*	41. *Carus*
14. *Trajan*	42. *Numerianus*
15. *Adrian*	43. *Carinus*
16. *Antoninus Pius*	44. *Dioclesian*
17. *M. Aurelius*	45. *Galerius*
18. *Commodus*	46. *Conſtantine*
19. *Pertinax*	47. His three ſons
20. *Julian*	48. *Julian* II.
21. *Severus*	49. *Jovian*
22. *Caracalla*	50. *Valentinian*
23. *Macrinus*	51. *Valens*
24. *Heliogabalus*	52. *Gratian*
25. *Alexander*	53. *Theodoſius*
26. *Maximinus*	54. *Arcadius*
27. *Balbinus*	55. *Honorius*
28. *Gordianus*	

CHAP.

PART of IRELAND
PART OF GREAT BRITAIN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITISH OCEAN
Streights of Calais
Venta
Villa Faustini
Antona R.
London
Thames R.
Dubris
Novus Portus
Portus Itius
Gesoriacum
Morini
Canninefates
Frisii majores
Chauci atti
Chauci minores
Chamavi
Agrivari
Bructeri
Batavodurum
Batavorum I.
Arenacum
Rhenus R.
PART OF GREAT GERMANY
Luppia
Luppia R.
Vetera
Sicambri
Gelduba
Novesium
Colonia Agrippina
Bonna
Lupus R.
Aliso R.
Fulda R.
Ubiorum Ager
Menapii
Toxandri
Mosa R.
Toxandri Aliorum
Advatici
Nervii
Advatica
Atrebates
Nemetacum alii Nemetocenna
Namon
Fanum Tungrorum
Ambiani
Silva Ardumna
Augusta Viromanduorum
Augusta Veromanduorum
Treveri
Mogontiacum Moenus R.
Samarobriva
Velocasses
Rotomagus
Sueſsones
Durocortorum
Durocortorum
Axona R.
Axona
Parisii
Lutetia
Metiosedum
Melodunum
Matrona R.
Bibrax
Catalaunum
Tullum
Leuci
Nemetes
Tribocci
Rauracorum
Argentoratum
Vindonissa
Lingones
Rhine R.
Acronius Lake
Rauraci
Sequani
Vesontio
Arar R.
Dubis R.
Galilonum
Colonia Equestris
Geneva
Rhone R.
Octodurum
Jura M.
Mount Adula
HELVETIA
Veneti
City of the Gauls
Como
Mantua
Padua
Placentia
Ticinum
Milan
Novara
Turin
Vienna
Allobroges
GALLIA CISALPINA
Segusiani
Segusianorum
Augustomenetum
Lugdunum
Lexovii
Bellovaci
Biducasses
Abrincatui
Viducasses
Diablindi
Eburovices
Aulerci
Cenomani
Calatalaunum
Tricasses
Agendicum
Vellaunodunum
Carnutes
Genabum
Cenabum
Aurelianum
Loire R.
Loire R.
Cosedia
Ingena
Alauna
Sarnia
Piduna
Iuliobona
Caesaromagus
Rotomagus
Lexovii
Vernometum
Lacum
Medis Lacum
Ebu
Uxantis I.
Ostimii
Curiosolitae
Veneti
Rhedones
Condate
Gobaeum Promont.
Darioritum
Nannetes
Andes
Condivicnum
Vindana Portus
Veneticae Insulae
ARMORICA
LUGDUNENSIS
AQUITANIA
Pictones
Pictavium
Nigeris R.
Nemossus Lucus
Cubi
Avaricum
Bituriges
Argentomagus
Lemovices
Lemovicum
Arverni
Arverna
Nemetum
Segusianorum
Augustomenetum
Gergovia
Petrocorii
Petrocorii
Duranius R.
Burdigala
Bituriges
Novioregum
Antros I.
Portus Santonum
Santones
Ratiastum
Mediolanum
Cosio
Oldus R.
Deverona alii Divona
Cadurci
Vasates
Tarbelli
Lactoratum
Aquae Tarbellae
Elusates
Elusa
Tolosa
Auscii
Tarbe
Benecharnum
Aquae Onesiae
Pyrenees M.
PT.
OF SPAIN
Convenae
Convenarum
Luguduni
Tectosages
Volcae
Venerii Fanum
Tolosates
Volcae Arecomici
Atax R.
Narbo Martius
Illiberis
GULF OF GAUL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NARBONENSIS
Vocontii
Segalauni
Valentia
Araysio
Cavares
Avenio
Druentia
Alpes Cottiae
Alpes Maritimae
Genua
Glanatica
Vintium
Tigullia
Salyi
Aquae Sextiae
Antipolis
Nicaea
Varus R.
Olbia
Forum Julii
LIGUSTIC SEA
Tigullia
Iuvona
Pisa
R. Arno
Arimin.
Volaterra
HETRURIA
TUSCIA
CORSICA
ADRIATIC SEA
Ravenna
Bononia
Faventia
Forum Julii
Mutina
Lupa
Ancient Gaul
J. Wheatley Sculp.


PART of IRELAND
PART OF GREAT BRITAIN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITISH OCEAN
Streights of Calais
London
Thames R.
Venta
Villa Faustini
Antona R.
Novus Portus
Dubris
Morini
Portus Iccius
Gesoriacum
Calleva R.
Atrebates
Nemetacum alias Nemetocenna
Ambiani
Samarobrina
Velocasses
Rotomagus
Caletum
Piduna
Jarnia
Alauna
Unelli
Cosedia
Biducasse
Sociatomum
Ingena
Abrincatui
Medu
Uxantos I.
Ateliccanus Portus
Vergenium
Aletum
Osismi
Condate
Curiosolitæ
Gobæum Promont.
Veneti
ARMORICA
Lexovii
Noviomagus alias Lexovium
Medio-lanium
Eburovices
AULERCI
Diablindi
Rhedones
Cenomani
Galabrum alias Aurelianum
Carnutes
Bellovaci
Parisii
Lutetia
Melicosedum
Melodunum
Vellaunodunum
Agendicum
Senones
Mandubii
Suessones
Rhemi
Augusta Vero Menduorum
Durocortorum
Durocortorum
Axona R.
Bibrax
Catalaunum
Matrona R.
Tullum
Leuci
Tricasses
Augustomana
Tricassium
Lingones
Andematunnum
Arar R.
Sequana R.
Jara R.
Ladus R.
Sarta R.
Renus
Batavorum I.
Cannenefates
Frisii majores
Chauci ats
Chauci minores
Chamavi
Agrivari
Amisius R.
Visurgis
Bructeri
Arenacum
Batavodurum
Vetera
Sicambri
Luppia
Luppia R.
Gelduba
Novesium
Colonia Agrippina
Bonna
Lupus R.
Aliso R.
Fulda R.
GERMANY
Toxandri Aliorum
Menapii
Mosa R.
Advatici
Advatica
Nervii
Vamon
Fanum Tungrorum
Arduenna Silva
Augusta Treverorum
Treviri
Mosella R.
Magunnacum
Manus R.
Vangiones
Mediomatrici
Divodurum
Nemetes
Tribocci
Borbetomagus
Novimagus
Argentoratum
Vogesus M.
Rhine R.
Lake Acronius
Argenturaria
Rauracorum
Rauraci
Vindonissa
GERMANIA SUPERIOR
GERMANIA INFERIOR

CHAP. XI.

The antient ſtate of the Gauls, *to their conqueſt by* Julius Cæſar, *and from thence to the irruptions of the* Franks.

SECT. I.

The origin of the Gauls, *and extent of their country.*

Their origin, names, &c.

THE *Gauls* were certainly deſcended from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, as has been fully ſhewn in ſome former volumes [a], or, to ſpeak more properly, were the ſame people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by ſome of their neighbours, whilſt they ſtill retained their primitive one of *Gomerai*, or deſcendants of *Gomer*, as thoſe ſtill do, who retain their antient language in its purity, eſpecially the northern *Welſh*. Other names they were known by, ſuch as they either ſeem to have aſſumed upon ſome particular occaſions, or ſuch as other nations thought fit to give them; of all which the reader may ſee a ſpecimen in the following note (A). The name therefore of *Gaul*, *Galli*, and *Gallia*, is not only a foreign one, but of a recenter date, as are likewiſe thoſe other appellatives, by which *Julius Cæſar* [b], and other antient authors, diſtinguiſh one part of their country from another. Such are thoſe, for inſtance, of *Ciſalpina* or *Citerior*, *Tranſalpina* or *Ulterior*, and *Subalpina*, which was ſituate at the foot of the *Alps* [c]. The inhabitants however were formerly better known by the name of *Celtes* [d], and the country, in the whole, by that of *Celto-Gallia* [e], of which name we have given, in a former volume [f], the beſt etymon we could find. *Cæſar* afterwards diſtinguiſhed the whole country under the three following names, *viz.* *Belgia*, *Aquitania*, and *Gallia Propria*, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the *Celtes* or *Gauls* (B). This laſt was further

[a] See vol. i. p. 166. ii. p. 245, & ſeq. PLIN. hiſt. l. xvi. c. 11. STRAB. MELA, l. ii. c. 7. DIOD. SIC. l. xxxix. & alib. [b] Comment l. i. c. 1, &c. [c] PLUT. in Cæſ. & Marcel. CLUVER. & al. [d] See PAUSAN. in Attic. c. 3. [e] PTOL. [f] Vol. ii. p. 245, & ſeq. paſſ. and notes.

(A) Of the firſt kind we may reaſonably reckon all thoſe, which are of *Celtic* extraction; ſuch as thoſe of *Celte* and *Gaul*, which ſignify *brave* and *warlike*, *Armoric*, *maritim*, and the like. Even that of *Belga*, which ſignifies *fierce* and *quarrelſome*, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original fierceneſs, from which the reſt had poliſhed themſelves by their commerce and intercourſe with other nations; thoſe of *Cis*, *Trans*, and *Subalpine*, from their ſituation on either ſide of the *Alps*; that of *Celto-Scythians* from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with, that nation; that of *Celtiberians* to thoſe that were ſeated on the other ſide the *Pyrenees*.

As they ſpread themſelves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue ſplit itſelf into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became ſo numerous, and ſo vaſtly different from it, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their fountain-head. We ſhall therefore venture no farther, than upon ſuch ones as carry a kind of certainty of their extract, and refer ſuch of our readers, who are curious of ſuch etymons, to the authors quoted in the margin (1). He may likewiſe read that vaſt variety of names in *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Cæſar*'s commentaries, *Diodorus Siculus*, and other antient authors.

(B) His words are theſe (2): "The whole country of *Gaul* is divided into three parts, the firſt of "which is inhabited by the *Belgæ*, the ſecond by "the *Aquitani*, and the third by thoſe whom we "call *Gauls*, but, in their own tongue, are called "*Celtes*. All theſe have their language, manners, "and cuſtoms different." The meaning of which words is generally taken to be, that he ſpeaks here of thoſe parts, which remained as yet unconquered by the *Romans*, and which retained ſtill their antient language and cuſtoms; whereas thoſe which were already ſubdued, had altered both by that time, to ſuch a degree, as to appear to him different from the reſt; ſuch was, for inſtance, that part, which was called *Togata*, from their having taken up the *Roman* dreſs, and in all likelihood, ſeveral other of their cuſtoms, and, by their intercourſe with them, might have very much altered their dialect from the reſt.

One thing is very remarkable, that *Cæſar* makes this province, which he likewiſe calls *Ciſalpina*, to begin at the foot of the *Alps*, and to have extended itſelf along the *Po*, as far as the *Adriatic* ſea, and the

(1) *Bochart. phaleg. Scalig. theſ. temp. Cluver. introd. Pezron. antiq. des Celtes. Rowland. Mona antiq. Pelloutier hiſt. des Celtes. Hottoman, Franco-Gall. & al. mult.* (2) *Cæſ. bell. Gall. l. i. c. 1.*

further diſtinguiſhed into *Comata*, whoſe inhabitants wore long hair; *Brachata*, from a their wearing breeches; and *Togata*, from the *Roman toga* being worn there. We ſhall endeavour to ſettle the limits of each of theſe in the following paragraph, and refer our readers for the other names by which it was occaſionally diſtinguiſhed, ſuch as that of *Armorica*, from its lying along the ſea-coaſts of *Aquitania*, from its abundance of water, *Cis* and *Tranſpadana*, and ſome others to the account given of them at the entrance of the *Roman* hiſtory above quoted [g]. All that needs be added here is, that the words *Celte* and *Gaul*, ſignifying, in the ancient language, *brave* and *warlike*, that of *Belga*, *fierce* or *quarrelſome*, that of *Armoric*, *maritim*; theſe names were, in all probability, given them by other nations. As for thoſe of *Cimmerians*, *Cimbrians*, *Cumbrians*, and the like, they are plainly a corruption of their b original one of *Gomerians* or *Gomerai*, as thoſe of *Galatians* and *Celto Galatians* were of *Celto-Gaul*.

As for the *Galatia*, or *Celto-Græcia* of *Aſia Minor*, in which theſe *European Gauls* were ſettled by *Nicomedes*, who had called them thither to his aſſiſtance, we ſhall, as much as we can, refer our readers to what has been ſaid of them in ſome preceding volumes [h], to avoid unneceſſary repetitions. All that need be added here is, that this province had *Cappadocia* on the eaſt; *Bithynia* on the weſt; *Pamphylia* on the ſouth; and the *Euxine* on the north. Here St. *Paul* founded a church, to which he directed that epiſtle, which is ſtill known by the name of the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and was written to reduce them from thoſe *Jewiſh* obſervances, to which ſome falſe c teachers of the circumciſion had debauched them, and to confirm them in the true Goſpel liberty, which had been preached to them. We know little elſe of theſe *Galatians*, beſides what has been ſaid in the two volumes laſt quoted, except that we read in the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, of a ſignal overthrow, which the *Jews* gave them in the province of *Babylon*, where theſe, with a ſmall army of eight thouſand men, defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thouſand of the former. The text ſays nothing further concerning this ſignal victory, nor about the time in which it happened; ſo that we are left in the dark, whether it ſpeaks there of the *Galatians* ſettled in the province we are ſpeaking of, or, which is more probable, of the *Gauls* themſelves, who had by this time, if not long before, ſpread themſelves d all over *Aſia*; for it muſt be obſerved here, that the name of *Galatai* was indifferently given, eſpecially by *Greek* authors, to the one and to the other. But to return to the ancient *Gauls*:

The extent of Gaul.

WE have already ſhewn in the hiſtory of the ancient *Celtes* [i], that they were poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of *Europe*. There is ſcarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left ſome evident monument of themſelves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, promontories, or ſuch like. In every part of it, where either the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, or *Romans*, ſent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by ancient writers to have found the *Celtes* or *Gauls* already ſettled [k]: not that they do e expreſly mention them by theſe two names, for we have juſt obſerved on what account they had ſeveral other appellatives given them, but yet ſuch as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, cuſtoms, *&c.* to have meant one and the ſame nation. However, we will not venture to ſay, that they were all of the ſame *Celtic* extract that inhabited thoſe parts of *Europe*, either towards the ſea-ſide, ſuch as *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *French* coaſts, along the *Mediterranean*, or towards the north-eaſt, where they ſeem to have been ſo blended with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that it is next to impoſſible to aſſert their boundaries on that ſide. All that we pretend to conclude from thoſe ancient writers, who have written moſt clearly and knowingly on this head, is, that the *Celtes* or *Gauls* plainly appear to have been f the

[g] Vol. iv. p. 406, b. c. [h] See vol. iii p. 522, d. & vol. iv. p. 755, e, f. [i] Vol. ii. p. 245. & ſeq.
[k] Vid. DIOD. SIC. l. v. LUCIAN. l. vi. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. APPIAN. PTOL. & al.

the *Rubicon* (3); whereas *Strabo*, who quotes his commentaries (4), and *Diodorus Siculus* (5), plainly intimate, that the *Gauls* or *Celtes* inhabited all thoſe parts from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*, and we ſhall ſhew by and by, that they extended even beyond the latter, and poſſeſſed the greateſt part of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

However, the moſt that can be inferred from the paſſage quoted out of *Cæſar*, is, that he found *Gaul* ſo divided at his coming thither; and that by this time their language, manners, &c. were grown very different, though originally one and the ſame, as they were originally one and the ſame people.

(3) *Bell. Gall, l.* iv. *Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 2. (4) *Strab. l.* v. (5) *Diod. Sic. l.* v.

a the first, that peopled and possessed themselves of, or claimed a dominion over them. After the general dispersion that followed the flood, other nations might probably come afterwards, some by sea, others by land, and have been permitted to settle amongst them, there being more want of inhabitants than of room in those early days, and in regions so remote from the place of their first migrations, as we have formerly hinted at the beginning of this *Universal History*, and elsewhere [l].

THE greatest difficulty as we hinted in the last chapter, is to prove the *Gauls*, or *Celtes* rather, to have been settled in *Spain* and *Portugal*, before any other nation; first, because they were here called by the name of *Iberians*, or, at most *Celtiberians*, from which some are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the first b inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the *Celtes*, who came over the *Pyrennees*, and settled amongst them. And secondly, because *Varro* [m] mentions no less than five different nations that were found there, when the *Romans* first invaded that country. These were, according to him, the *Iberians*, *Persians* (C), *Phœnicians*, *Celtes*, and *Carthaginians* (D). As to the first, we have formerly shewn, that the word *Iberian* signified, in the ancient *Celtic*, any people, country, or place, that was situate, over, or on the other side of a sea, river, ridge of mountains, and the like [n]; so that these might be naturally called *Iberians*, on account of their situation over the *Pyrennees*, by those that lived on this side; and the *Celtiberians* to distinguish them from those nations they were blended and intermixed with there. As to what c is objected out of *Varro*, we have had occasion to hint, in the history of ancient *Spain*, that neither the *Tyrian*, or *Phœnician* colonies, nor those of the *Carthaginians* came thither till a long time after the *Celtes* or *Gauls* had been settled there, and peopled a great part of that country. All this seems self-evident, first from the consentient testimony of ancient authors, the greatest part of whom expressly affirm it [o], and make these inhabitants to be of the same extract with those, that filled the hither parts of *Europe*, to all whom they give the same common name of *Celtes*, and *Gauls*, and sometimes the more ancient are of *Cimmerians* and *Cymbrians* [p]. And secondly, from those traces, and monuments they have left in almost every canton aud province of that country: such as the names of seas, rivers, mountains, cities, and the like, d all which are manifestly of *Celtic* extraction.

Gauls *in* Spain *and* Portugal.

Italy cannot be supposed to have been long unpossessed by them, if they were not the first peoplers of it, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what has been said on that head in some former volumes [q]. It was indeed too fair a spot not to invite such a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been ever so well peopled beforehand; but, we think, we have made it at least very probable, that they came thither sooner than any other; for if the *Humbri* or *Umbri* really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been [r], the *aborigines* or antientest people of *Italy*, and they were descended from the *Celtes* (E), as their name, and other concurring circumstances,

In Italy.

[l] Vol. i. p. 177, & seq. vol. ii. p. 241, & seq. [m] PLIN. nat. hist. l. iii. c. 1. Vide & LUCIAN. APPIAN. DIODOR. &c. ubi sup. [n] Vol. ii. p. 241, & seq. [o] HERODOT. l. ii. c. 33. l. iv. c. 49, & alib. EPHOR. apud Strab. l. iv. Vide & PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. i. c. 4. [p] STRAB. ubi sup. SICUL. l. v. & al. [q] See vol. ii. p. 246, & seq. & vol iv. p. 407, & seq. [r] FLOR. l. i. c. 17. PLIN. DIO HALICAR. & al.

(C) As it doth not appear from any ancient author, that the *Persians* sent any colonies into this country, it is somewhat difficult to guess, who these were, whom our author mentions with the other four. If we may be permitted to offer our conjecture, the name being of *Celtic* extract, and signifying *severed* or *divided*, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that it was given to some tribe or canton of this nation, on account of their rupture or difference from the rest, either in their customs, laws, and such-like, or for retaining their old ones, whilst these had altered theirs, in complaisance to the other nations they were intermixed with.

(D) We are not without some collateral proofs of this. The *Phœnicians*, as distinct from the *Carthaginians*, were the ancient *Tyrians* (6); and these are known to have sent a colony, and to have built a famous temple to *Hercules*, in the isle of *Gades*, and to have founded several considerable cities in *Spain* (7). And as to the *Carthaginians*, who were nearest neighbours to it, we have seen likewise, in a former volume, how early they invaded and settled in it (8).

(E) *Pliny* derives their name from the *Greek* ὄμβρος, which signifies a *shower*, because they had been dislodged from their country by a flood, occasioned by violent showers (9). But this etymon is far-fetched and forced, unless we will admit, that it carried the memory of their escaping the universal deluge with it; in which case it must be supposed, that they came early into those parts, and set up some monuments of their deliverance there. But as to the name of *Umbrians* or *Humbrians*, it seems rather a softening of the original one of *Gomerians* or *Cymbrians*.

(6) *Strab. l.* i. *sub init. Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 6. *See also vol.* i. *p.* 393, *pass.* & (I), (K). (7) *See vol.* iv. *p.* 658, *c*, *d. p.* 690, *b. p.* 730, *a*, *b.* (8) *Vol.* iv. *p.* 729, *b*, *c*, & *alib.* (9) *Nat. hist. l.* iii. *c.* 4.

cumſtances, ſeem plainly to intimate [s], then it will ſcarcely be doubted, that they a
muſt have entered, and peopled that country very early, when we recollect what dreadful devaſtations the *Hetrurians* made among them, and how many hundreds of their towns and cities they deſtroyed in that invaſion, which they made upon them, and for the further particulars of which, we refer our readers to a former volume [t]. We ſhall ſhortly come to ſpeak of the *Germans*, and other northern nations, as well as of the iſles of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, *Iceland*, and others leſs conſiderable, all which do plainly appear to have been firſt diſcovered and peopled by the *Gauls* or *Celtes*. As for the *Germans*, they were ſo like the *Celtes* in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, except, as *Strabo* obſerves [u], their retaining ſome of their original fierceneſs, which was doubtleſs owing to their vicinity, and intermixture with the b
Scythians and *Sarmatians*, that they ſeem to have been one and the ſame nation; and this our author thinks to be the occaſion of their being called *Germans* (F). We ſhall find a much properer etymon for that name in the ſequel. What made us mention it here, was a proof, that *Germany* was part of the *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* territories, at leaſt as far as the *Rhine* [w], if not as far as the *Danube* [x], though, as we have already obſerved, all that inhabited the countries between thoſe two great rivers, were very much intermixed with the *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, and other northern (G) nations. All that needs be added here is, that the *Helveti*, *Rhætii*, *Norici*, and *Pannonians*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume [y], are ſometimes called *Celtes*, and ſometimes *Gauls*, indifferently; and that their troops were ſtill c
diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Celtic* and *Gauliſh* legions in *Aurelian*'s time [z], as were alſo thoſe that lived along the foot of, or upon, the *Alps* themſelves.

UPON the whole then it appears evidently, that the ancient *Gauls* or *Celtes* were poſſeſſed of the far greateſt part of *Europe*; that the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth, the *Atlantic* ocean on the weſt, the *Britiſh* and northern on the north-weſt, were the boundaries of their country; and that they extended towards the north as far as *Scandinavia*, *Polonia*, and *Muſcovy*; tho' theſe three nations, as well as thoſe that lived between the *Rhine* and *Danube*, were intermixed with a multitude of other people, of the greateſt part of whom we know but little, except their names. And thus much may ſuffice for the extent and limits of ancient *Gaul*. How they came after- d
wards to be reduced within that narrow compaſs, in which we find them, when the *Romans* firſt invaded them, may be eaſily gathered from what has been already ſaid in the *Roman* hiſtory, and will further appear in the ſequel of this.

How they came firſt into Europe.

IN the mean time it will not be improper, before we come to fix them according to that epocha, to inquire how this ancient nation came at firſt to ſpread itſelf, as we have ſhewn they did, all over *Europe*, that is, whether they advanced by gradual ſteps from the place of their firſt diſperſion, which we formerly fixed in *Phrygia* [a], or whether they came thither by ſea, and, landing, at firſt, on ſome of the *Italic* or *Mediterranean* ſhores, dilated themſelves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypotheſis hath its difficulties. If that of *Beroſus* and his fol- e
lowers could be credited, that *Gomer*'s ſons ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of *Spain* and *Italy*, ſo early as an hundred and forty-two years after the flood, the gradual migrations will hardly be thought quick enough to have extended themſeves to ſuch vaſt tracts of ground in ſo ſhort a time; and it will be more natural to ſuppoſe, that they ſailed thither from *Leſſer Aſia*. But then it will be equally difficult to imagine, how they could, in the ſhort ſpace of an hundred and forty-two years, become ſuch expert mariners, as this ſuppoſes them to have been; and if we allow them a longer ſpace for making themſelves ſo far maſters of navigation, they may be as reaſonably thought

[s] Compare vol. iii p. 246, d, e, and vol. iv. p. 416, c. [t] Vol. ii. ubi ſup. [u] Lib. iv. & vii. [w] DIODOR. l. xxxviii. et ſeq. PTOL. l. ii. c. 9. [x] TACIT. German. c. 1. PTOL. l. viii. PLIN. nat hiſt. l. iv. c. 12. [y] See vol. v. p. 5, (D). p. 313, (E). p. 314, not. p. 315, & ſeq. & (F) [z] Zos. l. li. c. 2. LIV. l. xxi. c. 30, & ſeq. POLYB. l. iii. PLIN. nat hiſt. l. iii. c. 20, & alib. [a] Vol. i. p. 166, e, f. vol. ii. p. 244, a, b.

(F) The word *Germanus* was that by which the *Romans* diſtinguiſhed brothers by the ſame father and mother, from thoſe which were only by the one or the other, whom they termed *uterini* or *conſanguinei*; and though the etymon itſelf be certainly falſe with reſpect to the *Germans*, yet it ſhews the great affinity which that author obſerved between them and the *Gauls*.

(G) Such were the *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Sicambri*, *Burgundi*, *Quadi*, *Goths*, *Huns*, *Baſtarnæ*, the *Rhætii*, *Norici*, *Pannonians*, *Mæſians*, *Thracians*, and many more, whoſe names and ſituation the reader will find in the ſeveral maps at the head of this hiſtory, and for the deſcription and particulars of which we refer him to the general index at the end of this volume.

a thought to have expanded themſelves thus far by ſuch gradual migrations, as either want of room, curioſity, or deſire of change, may be ſuppoſed to have led them to. That they began by times to navigate, or to coaſt at leaſt, not only the *Mediterranean*, *Atlantic*, and other ſeas, but even on the main ocean, we ſhall preſently have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of their arts, commerce, *&c.* But it is ſcarcely to be believed, all things conſidered, that their rude ſkill in this art could bring them thither, ſo ſoon as the others could get thither by land. However, ſince ſome ancient authors have affirmed, that the firſt inhabitants of *Spain* came thither by ſea, ſome ſay from *Aſia*, and others from *Afric*, the moſt reaſonable opinion ſeems to be that, which allows theſe to have indeed come thither from thoſe parts,
b and to have ſettled in thoſe countries, though not till ſome conſiderable time after they had been diſcovered and peopled by thoſe, who came thither by land, and by gradual migrations. And this will further account, both for that great variety of names, dialects, and cuſtoms, which ſuch an intermixture muſt, of neceſſity, be ſuppoſed to produce, and for the loſs of that whole country in proceſs of time, when the *Gauls* were partly driven out of it, and the reſt ſubdued by their conquerors, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter.

The boundaries of Gaul *ſtreightened.*

THE ſame fate having attended them, not only in *Italy*, but likewiſe on this ſide of the *Alps*, where the provinces of *Noricum*, *Helvetia*, *Rhætia*, and that whole tract, which lies between thoſe mountains and the lake of *Geneva*, were taken from them,
c as we have ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory [b], the whole *Gauliſh* extent came then to reach no farther than from that lake to the *Pyrenees*, having ſtill the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth, the *Rhine* on the north, and the *Britiſh* chanel on the weſt; for, by this time, the *Britiſh* and other iſlands were detached from the inlands, and lived under princes of their own, though, in matters of religion, they ſtill kept a kind of conformity with, if not rather a kind of juriſdiction over, them, as we ſhall ſee under the next article. This was the ſtate of *Gaul*, and theſe its limits, when *Julius Cæſar* firſt came into it, as we have ſeen in a former volume, where we likewiſe took notice of ſeveral other changes, which were made in their boundaries, and new diviſions of their provinces and diſtricts by the conquering *Romans*, particularly by *Auguſtus*, and
d to which we beg leave to refer our readers, to avoid repetitions and prolixity [c].

FOR the ſame reaſon we think it ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here of its natural or artificial rarities, or to ſpend any longer time in deſcribing a country ſo near, and ſo well known to, us. We have deſcribed its ancient ſtate in a former volume [d], and there given an account of its moſt conſiderable rivers, lakes, mountains, *&c.* We have there likewiſe taken notice of the fertility of the country, and how early it had begun to be cultivated and improved, even as far back as the times of *Mercury*, who is affirmed by a learned modern, and not without ſome ſubſtantial proofs, to have reigned in *Gaul*, when it was in its full extent, and, by his wholſome laws and indefatigable pains to promote its trade and commerce into foreign countries, to
e have raiſed the *Gauliſh* nation to a ſurpriſing height of power and glory [e]. This reign hath indeed been very much ſuſpected by ſome other authors, who have written ſince [f], as fabulous and imaginary; but we do not think it as yet confuted by any thing that has been offered either againſt it, or in favour of the *Cteſian* hiſtory, which, we hope, we have, notwithſtanding all its many and learned advocates, ſufficiently confuted in our *Aſſyrian* hiſtory [g]. But, waving that intricate and controverted point, it is generally allowed, that this country was in as flouriſhing a condition, when the *Romans* firſt invaded it, as any in *Europe*, and their lands, commerce, arts, *&c.* cultivated and improved by its induſtrious inhabitants, in a manner altogether anſwerable to its excellent ſituation and climate (H), as we ſhall have
f further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

Its fertility, &c.

How-

[b] Vol. v. p. 314, & ſeq. [c] Vol. iv. p. 408, & ſeq. p. 561, & ſeq & alib paſſ. vol. v. p 129, 298, & ſeq. vol. vi. p. 270, 514, a. [d] Vol. ii. p 248, & ſeq. [e] PEZRON antiquit. des Celtes, c. 15. See vol. ii. p. 250, & ſeq. indic. auctor. BEDFORD. chronol. & al. [f] FOURMONT. Vide & PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. ſub [g] Vol. i. p. 867, & ſeq.

(H) The ancient *Celtes* indeed, and thoſe *Gauls*, who were intermixed with the *Scythians*, did ſtill obſerve their old cuſtom of living in tents and waggons, or at moſt in huts, built juſt to laſt them one year, after which they removed into freſh quarters; and as they lived chiefly on the fruits of the earth, and the milk of their cattle, they either wholly neglected agriculture, and all property in lands, or, at moſt, built themſelves a little houſe or cottage big enough for their family, in the midſt of as much ground, as they thought fit to cultivate for that year. The *Germans* and *Sueui* are obſerved

However, it must be observed here, that these improvements were of much a later date than their first settlements; and that, if we except *Spain*, *Italy*, and the southern parts of *France*, the rest of their territories were too cold and discouraging to a nation that chiefly delighted in war, hunting, and such-like exercises, and at a time when agriculture was, as it were, in its infancy; and it is most probable, that the fruitfulness of the warmer climates first put the northern inhabitants upon endeavouring to supply by art the defects of their soil and climate; for even in the times of the *Roman* emperors, we do not find, that they had either vines, olives, or any other fruit or grain, except corn[h]; and most authors, who have written on this subject, seem to attribute it wholly to the extreme cold to which they were exposed. It is indeed very likely, that those authors, being used to warmer climates, have somewhat exaggerated the coldness of these, which experience shews are nothing so severe as they have represented them[i]; but it is, at the same time, far from improbable, that they are become much warmer than they were in those ancient times, partly by destroying a vast number of forests, which stagnated the air, and intercepted the warmth of the sun; by draining many standing waters and marshy grounds; by cherishing it with warm manure, and other such improvements, which are obvious to every naturalist. The *Romans* themselves seem to have been sensible of this change, though they attributed it to some favourable alteration in the position of the earth, pretended to have been even foretold by that famous *Greek* astronomer *Hipparchus*[k]. But, however that be, it is plain, that these countries are so far from being so constantly covered with ice and snow, and their great rivers from being always so hard frozen, as to serve them instead of bridges, for crossing whole armies over them in their winter excursions, that we look upon it now as a kind of wonder, whenever any of them chance to be frozen at any such rate.

Climate grown warmer.

[h] Excerpt. ex Appian. de Celt. Var. de re rustic. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. v. Strab. l. iv. Cic. de consuet. prov. Petron. sat. & al. [i] Vide auct. sup. citat. & Herod. l. v. Plin. jun. panegyr. cxii. Amm. Marcell. l. xix. c. 2. l. xxxi. c. 9. Ovid. de trist. eleg. x. ver. 8, & al. [k] Vide int. al. Columell. de re rustic. l. i. c. i.

by *Julius Cæsar* to have followed the same custom in his days; who adds, that it was one of the chief tasks of their yearly magistrates to assign them such lands, according to the exigence of their families; and, as soon as the year was over, they removed into some other country (10).

Hence came the name and use of cantons: every tribe had a canton assigned to it, which was governed by its own magistrates, who were chosen from among them. This custom, being derived from the ancient *Celtes*, had, it plainly appears, spread itself all over *Europe* and beyond (11). The *Romans* called those cantons *pagi*, which took up more or less ground, according to the largeness of the tribe; and, as soon as it was parcelled out among their families, each of them built a cot in the centre of his own ground; so that there were not any two to be seen contiguous to one another (12).

Even when they came to live in cities, as the *Gauls* did as soon as any others in *Europe*, if we except perhaps *Italy* and *Spain*, they neither walled nor fortified them, alledging, that such strong places served only to abate of the courage and fierceness of its inhabitants, and often proved the occasion of their being brought into slavery (13). Whenever therefore they found themselves invaded, they all marched out under their leaders, and engaged the enemy in open field, or, if they found themselves unequal to the fight, they retired into either woods, marshes, or other places of difficult access, as we shall see in the sequel

(10) *L.* i. *c.* 14. *l.* iv. *c.* 1. *l.* vi. *c.* 22. (11) *Idem*, *l.* i. *c.* 12, 37. *Ammian. Marcellin. l.* xxxi. *c.* 3. *Strab. l.* iv. *Polyb. l.* ii. (12) *Iidem ibid*, *Vide & Dion. Halicarn. l.* i. *Sil. Ital. l.* xv. *& seq. Appian. Diodor. & al.* (13) *Tacit. l.* iv. *Bell. Gall. l.* iii. *c.* 29. *l.* iv. *c.* 19, *& seq. & alib.*

SECT. II.

The religion of the Gauls.

Their religion derived from the ancient Celtes.

We have already given an account of the religion of the ancient *Celtes* in a former volume[a]; and as the *Gauls* were descended from them, as we have shewn under the last article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongst them, in the same manner and form as they received it from them, till their intercourse with other nations, or perhaps rather their subjection to them, gave birth to those changes and intermixtures, which it afterwards underwent. To come therefore at a tolerable notion of true *Gallish* religion, we should seek it amongst those *Gauls*, who were least conversant with other people, and had least occasion

[a] Vol. ii. p. 251, & seq.

occaſion or neceſſity of receiving or adopting any thing from them; inſtead of having recourſe to that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, from whom whatever they might, in proceſs of time, borrow, that might cauſe a kind of reſemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almoſt all other reſpects, as black from white. Much worſe have they ſucceeded in this point, who have transformed the *Gauliſh* deities into *Greek* and *Roman* ones, and ſpent a deal of time and pains to no purpoſe, to prove them to have been ſuch[b]; whereas we hope, in the ſequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of *Celtic* extraction. For the ſame reaſon we muſt be very wary, how we depend too much on thoſe few ancient authors, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, who have occaſionally ſpoken of them (A). Theſe few ſcraps, they have left us of *Gauliſh* religion, ſufficiently ſhew, that they knew little of it; and that, even in thoſe points in which they do not claſh againſt one another (B), they have betrayed ſuch a fondneſs and partiality for their own, as if they had looked upon it as the mother, and the other as the offspring of it. Upon which account *Joſephus* makes no ſcruple to affirm[c], that all that the beſt of theſe had written of the *Gauls*, was without any foundation, and owing to an itch of ſaying ſuch things of them, as no man had ever ſaid before, or indeed could ſay. And, in fact, it could hardly be otherwiſe, conſidering that the *Gauls* made it a conſtant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a ſettled maxim amongſt them, that it was more glorious to perform noble deeds, than to ſpeak and write well[d]. Beſides, had they laid more open to their neighbours than they really did (C), yet could theſe have received no great intelligence concerning their religion, ſince their druids or bards made it a main part of their policy to conceal it, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable points of it, even from their own laity, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

a
b
c

It will appear ſtill more unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the *Gauls* received any part of their religion from either the *Greeks* or *Romans*, if we conſider, beſides what has

[b] Sched. bibliot. hiſt. Franc. p. 29. Vide relig. des Gaul. pref. p. 4. [c] Cont. Apion. l. i. [d] See Cæs. comment. l. vi. Sallust. bell. Catilin.

(A) The moſt conſiderable of theſe are, *Julius Cæſar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, and they have written of it in ſuch a looſe, and yet conciſe a manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and, if theſe pages were to be reduced to their juſt value, would loſe one half of their bulk (1); whether it be, that theſe authors have but juſt copied one another, or only deſigned to ſay the ſame things.

(B) According to thoſe quoted in the laſt note, both the religion and cuſtoms of the *Gauls* are drawn in ſuch colours, as would incline one to ſuſpect them of innate partiality, or rather hatred, to that brave nation. *Diodorus*, among the reſt, makes no ſcruple to tell us, that their ferocity was in nothing more remarkable than in their religious rites, in which, ſays he (2), nothing could be more impious, than the victims, which they offered, nor more inhuman, than the manner in which they offered them And, if we may believe *Procopius* (3), it ſeems as if this barbarous cuſtom had been ſtill in vogue ſome centuries after their embracing chriſtianity.

A modern writer, however, has been at the pains to quote other authorities, to diſculpate them from a great deal of this pretended inhumanity (4), and to prove, that they were famed for their virtue and morality. It is well, if both ſides have not exaggerated in their turns. But, at the worſt, the *Gauls* do not appear to have much outdone thoſe other nations, who cry out ſo bitterly againſt them, in theſe execrable cuſtoms of offering human victims to their gods, of murdering ſome captives in their auguries, and ſuch-like. On the contrary, we have ſhewed in ſome former parts of this work (5), that not only the ancient *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, &c. but even the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and others, made a common practice of them; and thus far their religions bore a reſemblance, which ſoever of them were the inventors of theſe bloody ceremonies, concerning which we have nothing to add to what we have ſaid in the volumes above-quoted.

(C) *Joſephus* (6) tells us accordingly, that their country was, in ſome meaſure, inacceſſible, becauſe nature had fortified them on all ſides with a kind of impenetrable ramparts, ſuch as were the *Alps*, the *Pyrenees*, the ocean, and *Mediterranean*, the *Rhine*, &c. and with ſtrength and courage to defend their frontiers.

It is no leſs improbable, that their religion was brought in amongſt them, either over any of theſe then inacceſſible mountains, ſeas, or rivers; becauſe, on the one hand, the nations that anciently inhabited over the *Pyrenees*, *Alps*, and on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, *Danube*, &c. were, as we have ſhewn, of the ſame *Celtic* extract with the *Gauls*, and had received the ſame religion, laws, and cuſtoms, with them from their anceſtors, ſo that we muſt, of courſe, ſuppoſe, that it was ſettled and practiſed amongſt them ſome ages before they either thought of making excurſions out of their own territories, or others, among whom they had, by their conqueſts, colonies, and warlike exploits, injected an univerſal dread, took into their heads to invade them. On the contrary, it appears from ſome authors, that even the *Romans* did not make any attempt on them till about four hundred years after they were known to be ſufficiently fixed in their religion, government, and diſcipline (7).

(1) *Relig. des Gaul. pref. p.* 2. (2) *Hiſtor. l.* v. (3) *Gother. l.* ii. *c.* 25. (4) *Vide Lewis, hiſtor. Britan. c.* 2. *& auctor. ab eo citat.* (5) *See vol.* i. *p.* 131, (W), *p.* 211, *f, & alib. paſſ. vol.* vi. *p.* 27, *a, b. p.* 136, *e, f. p.* 679, *a, b. p.* 681, *paſſ. p.* 696, *a, b, &* (A). (6) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 16. (7) *Pauſan. in Phocic. Vide relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 3.

has been hinted at the end of the laſt note, that their gods and goddeſſes, and their very names, plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extract, and exactly anſwering ſome eminent part of their character (D), not as gods and goddeſſes, but as heroes and heroines, famed for ſome peculiar excellency, and as ſuch deified, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, by the courteſy of their deſcendants; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not adopt, much leſs challenge them for their own, till many ages after, that is, as a learned author ſeems rightly to ſuppoſe [c], not till the former had been ordered by the oracle of *Dodona* to adopt the deities of the barbarians [f]; and the latter made it a ſtanding law not to invade any nations, till they had previouſly implored the favour of their gods, and promiſed to build them temples, and eſtabliſh their worſhip amongſt them.

Whether the *Gauls*, or ancient *Celtes* rather, were the firſt introducers of theſe hypotheſes, or whether they adopted them in imitation of other ancient nations, is a knot too hard for us to untie. However, it is plain they anciently adored a ſupreme Being under the name of *Eſus*, which ſeems only a corruption of the old *Celtic* word *Dhew*, from which the *Greeks* probably borrowed their Θεὸς and Ζεὺς, and the *Romans* their *Deus*. This notion was religiouſly preſerved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to pleaſe the people, whoſe impetuous deſire after this novelty they could not reſiſt, ſuffered the worſhip and images of theſe gods to be introduced amongſt them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever the laity might be indulged to do in proceſs of time; but the worſhip of the true God was ſtill carefully kept up, and the oak eſteemed the ſymbol of the deity, as fire was among the *Perſes*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume [g]. To frame therefore a right notion of the religion of this, or any other, nation, we muſt not judge of it by the corruptions introduced into it by a mad populace, and winked at by the prieſts and philoſophers, but as it was believed and profeſſed by thoſe, who had the care of it. And in this caſe we ſhall perhaps find the moſt material difference between that of the *Gauls* and that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, even in thoſe points in which they ſeem moſt to agree, we mean, the worſhip of the ſame gods, with reſpect to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them, the latter ſeeming calculated to ſooth the moſt inordinate paſſions, and authorize the worſt of crimes, and the former rather quite oppoſite to it; and this is what the modern author laſt quoted has taken no ſmall pains to ſhew in two main inſtances, *viz.* from the contrary notions which theſe entertained of their gods, and from the moral doctrines of their druids. It is indeed no hard matter to imagine, how the religion and precepts of *Noah* (and theſe were free enough from all idolatry, and the ſuperſtitious traſh, which crept in afterwards among his deſcendants) ſhould be preſerved for a conſiderable time in the family of *Japheth*, upon which that patriarch had pronounced and intailed a peculiar bleſſing [h]; but we cannot be ſo ſanguine in favour of thoſe druids, as to believe with that author, that they preſerved them ſo pure among themſelves, during ſuch a ſeries of ages, as he ſeems to ſuppoſe. If they did, they were guilty of a very ſhameful remiſſneſs, and condeſcenſion to the laity, in ſuffering them to run themſelves into ſuch vile idolatries, horrid ſuperſtition, deteſtable rites, and corruption of principles and morals, as they muſt be owned to have done, in ſpite of all falſe gloſſes that have been uſed to palliate their degeneracy, or the ſuppoſition of their having been too much miſrepreſented by *Greek* and *Latin* authors. We have, on the contrary, ſhewn in a former volume [i], that the ancient *Celtes*, even in the times of their primitive ſimplicity of life, and when they were as yet moſt free from luxury and other corruptions, had yet adopted many inhuman ceremonies into their worſhip, auguries, *&c.* Even the *Scythians*, a younger branch of *Japheth*'s family, who lived ſtill in a much greater ſimplicity, and were more unmixed, and had leſs intercourſe, with other nations, did yet even exceed the *Celtes* in the barbarity of their religion and cuſtoms [k]; and it will evidently appear from what follows, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other northern people, did not only copy after, but even outdo them in it; ſo that tho' they

[c] Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 3. [f] Plin. l. xxviii. c. 3. [g] See vol. ii. p. 71, d. [h] Geneſ. xix. 27. See Mona antiqua, p. 43, & ſeq. p. 98, & ſeq. p. 105, & ſeq. [i] Vol. ii. p. 251, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. p. 241, & ſeq. p. 270, & ſeq.

(D) This our reader will be beſt able to judge of, by turning to the fourth ſection, under the note (L), to which we refer, to avoid needleſs repetitions.

a they muſt be allowed, for reaſons hinted more than once, to have been little known to, and, in great meaſure, deſignedly miſrepreſented by, thoſe authors who have written of them, yet they cannot, without manifeſt partiality, be diſculpated from the charge of having had many bloody and inhuman rites, many abſurd and unſocial principles, as well as corruption of morals, in common with other nations, tho' not in the ſame degree with them. Let therefore the private doctrines of their druids have been what they would, and they be ſuppoſed ever ſo averſe and oppoſite to the general practice of the people, nothing can be ſaid for their countenancing, if not encouraging, thoſe abominable ceremonies, ſuch as their offering up of human victims to their gods by way of expiation, their auguries from the reeking blood
b and entrails of their captives, and others of the ſame nature, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

WE think ourſelves obliged to be the more particular in our inquiry into the religion of the *Gauls*, as it is the ſource and foundation, not only of that of the ancient *Germans* and other more northern nations, but likewiſe of that of the ancient *Britons*, who, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent chapter, were deſcended from, and had received their religion, laws, cuſtoms, &c. originally from them; ſo that what is ſaid on that ſubject in this chapter, will ſerve as a clue to that of thoſe other nations we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in the following ones; by which means we ſhall avoid many needleſs repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to thoſe
c points, in which they either differed from this their common mother, or in ſuch caſes, where there appears a neceſſity to ſhew the affinity they bear to each other. As for thoſe of the ancient inhabitants of *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. who became intermingled with the *Gauls*, the reader will find the former already done in a former volume [1], and the reſt will come in their turn in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters. And here we ſhall, for order-ſake, begin with an account of the different deities worſhipped by the ancient *Gauls*, and the particular ceremonies and ſacrifices uſed to each of them, not as they were tranſmitted to them from their *Celtic* anceſtors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been ſaid in their hiſtory, but as they were found in the times of the *Romans* invading of, and becoming firſt acquainted with, them.

The Gauliſh *religion the mother of all the northern ones.*

d WE have already hinted, that they anciently worſhipped the ſupreme Deity, under the names of *Eſus* or *Heſus* (E), and the ſymbol of the oak; and it will not be thought ſtrange,

Eſus *the ſupreme Deity.*

[1] Vol. iv. p. 414, & ſeq. p. 436, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

(E) There have been various conjectures concerning the etymon of this word, beſides that which we offered a little higher, and which to us ſeems the moſt natural, becauſe the *Celtic Dh* being pronounced with a kind of preceding aſpiration, and not unlike our ſofter *th* in ſuch pronouns as *thee*, *thou*, &c. foreigners who are unuſed to it, could not well expreſs the ſound of the word *Dhew*, but by the letters *Eſu*. As for the final *s*, it might be ſuperadded by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, according to their way of terminating the maſculine gender in *us* and *os*, as they did likewiſe in the plural *Eſi*, *Aiſoi*, as they may be ſeen in *Heſychius*.

The ancient *Etruſcans*, according to *Suetonius* (8), called the Deity *Æſar*; for he obſerves there, that, among the other prodigies which preceded *Auguſtus*'s death, a flaſh of lightning having eraſed the *C* from the word *Cæſar*, as it ſtood engraved on a pedeſtal that ſupported his ſtatue, the diviners told him, that the *C* being a numerical letter ſignifying an hundred, the omen portended, that he had but ſo many days to live, after which he would be deified, becauſe *Æſar*, or the remainder of the word *Cæſar*, ſignified God in the *Etruſcan* language. If we might therefore be allowed a far-off conjecture concerning theſe two names, *Eſus* among the *Gauls*, and *Æſar* among the *Etruſcans*, it would be, that they might be both of *Hebrew* extract; and we have elſewhere ſhewn, that the old *Celtic*, with which the *Etruſcan* has a vaſt affinity, appears viſibly to have been a dialect of the *Hebrew* (9). The word עזוז *hezus* ſignifies *ſtrong* and *mighty*, and is given to God in many places, particularly by the Pſalmiſt (10); and עזר *ezer* ſignifies *help* or *helper* (11), and is likewiſe given to Him, as he is emphatically ſo, when all other helps fall. The patriarch *Abraham*, and his deſcendants, knew him by the name of אל-שדי *el-ſadai*, *the mighty* or *ſelf-ſufficient God*, till he made his peculiar name *Jehovah* known unto them (12); and it is remarkable, that the *Thracians*, a branch of the *Celtes*, did, according to *Macrobius*, call the god, to whom they had erected a temple on mount *Zilmiſſus*, *Sabazius*, which is a plain corruption of the *Hebrew* word *Tzabaoth*, eſpecially conſidering, that, in their religious rites to *Bacchus*, they were wont to cry out, *Evohe Sabbai*, which is the *Elohe*, or, if you pleaſe, the *Jehovah*, *Tzabbaoth* of the *Hebrews*, as God is emphatically called by the pſalmiſt in the pſalm above-quoted, and ſignifies *Lord of hoſts*, a title that well ſuited the martial *Thracians*. As theſe therefore were rather attributes, than the names, of the Godhead, each nation may be ſuppoſed to have choſen that which ſuited their genius beſt; and the *Gauls* that of *Heſus*, as ſuiting moſt with their warlike ſpirit.

That not only the names of the Deity, but this way of worſhipping Him under oaks, and in oaky groves, was common to all the deſcendants of *Noah*, we have undoubted proof out of the old teſtament,

(8) *In vit. Auguſt.* (9) *Vol.* ii. *p.* 253, *e*, (B). (10) *Vide int. al. Pſal.* xxiv. 8. (11) *Gen.* ii. 18. (12) *Conf. Gen.* xvii. 1. & *Exod.* vi. 3.

ſtrange, that this notion of a ſupreme Being ſhould have been preſerved among the a
deſcendants of *Japheth*, when we find ſuch lively traces of it even among the idola-
trous *Syrians*, *Midianites*, and even the *Canaanites*, as in the family of *Laban*[m], of
Jethro[n], and of the two *Abimelechs*, kings of *Gerar* in the times of *Abraham* and
Iſaac[o], and ſome others we could name, particularly the *Gibeonites* in *Joſhua*'s time[p],
Adonibezeck in the time of the judges[q], and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, in the reigns of
David and *Solomon*[r]; who all not only retained the notion of the deity, notwith-
ſtanding their idolatry, but had likewiſe a peculiar name for it, diſtinct from thoſe
of their other gods. To this let us add, with reſpect to the *Gauls* we are now ſpeak-
ing of, that the natural fondneſs, which they had for the religion and cuſtoms of
their forefathers, the contempt they entertained of other nations, the recluſe and b
ſolitary life of their druids, who were the keepers and teachers of their theology, and
their ſtrict and conſtant practice, founded upon it, of ſacrificing, and performing their
other religious rites, under the oak only, as conſecrated to that ſupreme Being, were
moſt effectual means to preſerve that fundamental notion ſtill uppermoſt amongſt them,
whatever other ſuperſtitions might be, in proceſs of time, introduced amongſt them;
for we muſt here obſerve, that they kept conſtant to this cuſtom, or rather, as ſeems,
law, of performing their religious worſhip under that tree, or, more properly, in
groves of it, even after they had adopted that long regiment of deities, of which we
are about to give an account. To this we muſt add, that, in the midſt of thoſe hea-
theniſh ſuperſtitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, they never erected, c
any either temples or idols unto this *Eſus* or ſupreme Deity; ſo that he ſeems to have
been acknowledged by them much in the ſame manner, that the *Athenians* did the
unknown God mentioned by St. *Paul*[s]; which notion was far enough from being
peculiar to them: others had their unknown God as well as they, and owned them-
ſelves his offspring, though their notion and worſhip of him were very imperfect,
and, in many caſes, too unworthy of him, as even the *Gauls* did, when they came to
intermingle the *Roman* theology with their own. However, anciently they ſeem to
have entertained ſome ſublime notions of him, to confirm which we need but add
what *Tacitus* ſays of the *Senones*, who were a branch of the *Celtes*, and had the ſame
religion: They, ſays that author[t], have no other temples but a wood or grove, d
where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unleſs he
carries a chain, in token of his dependence on, and owning, the ſupreme dominion,
which God has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none muſt dare to help
him up; but he muſt either roll himſelf, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place.
He adds, that their whole religion conſiſts in an acknowledgment, that the deity,
which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him,
and ought to obey him. *Strabo* ſays much the ſame of the *Celtiberians*, another
branch of the *Celtes*; and adds, that they worſhipped the God without name, and
danced every full moon, before their houſes, all the night in honour of him[u]. And
might it not be upon this account, as an ingenious author obſerves[w], that *Lucan* rallies e
the *Maſſilian* druids, when he tells them[x], that they were the only ones of all men,
to whom it was given to know, or not to know, the gods they adored? And then,
ſpeaking of their groves, ſays, that their ignorance of the deities they worſhipped
under them, was the cauſe of that veneration they paid to thoſe ſturdy and ſhapeleſs
trees. He ſpeaks there indeed of deities in the plural, *Roman* and poet like; but
that he did not intend thereby, that any more than one was worſhipped in thoſe
groves,

[m] Geneſ. xxxi. 48, & ſeq. [n] Compare Exod. ii. 21, & ſeq. and xviii. 9, & ſeq. [o] Geneſ. xx. 3, & ſeq. xxvi. 8, & ſeq. [p] Josh. ix. 9, & ſeq. [q] Judg. i. 7. [r] 1 Kings v. 7, & ſeq. [s] Acts xvii. 23. [t] De mor. German. [u] Geogr. l. iii. [w] Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 2. [x] Luc. Pharſal. l. iii.

teſtament, as we ſhall preſently ſhew; and we only mention it here to confute the notion of thoſe, who ſuppoſe the *Eſus* of the *Gauls* to have been the god *Mars*; for neither he, nor any other inferior deities, were worſhipped under theſe oaks, or with the ſame rites with *Eſus*; and therefore *Pliny* in his deſcription of the ceremony which they uſed in gathering the miſleto of thoſe ſacred oaks, has theſe words which plainly ſhew, that theſe trees were dedicated to the Deity itſelf: "The druids ſays he, (13) be-
" lieve, that the miſleto is a ſign, that God hath
" choſen that tree to himſelf;" and a little lower, after having particularly deſcribed their manner of gathering it, he adds, " that they offered up vic-
" tims and prayers to God, that he would bleſs and
" proſper his own gift to them that receive it." It is plain from it, that he neither ſpeaks here of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, or any other of their gods, but of the Deity itſelf.

(13) *Hiſt. nat. l.* xvi. *c.* 44.

a groves, is plain from what he ſays at the end of his deſcription of the *Maſſilian* grove (F); *viz.* that the prieſt or druid, who officiated there, was afraid of meeting *dominum luci*, by which he could mean nothing elſe but the deity worſhipped there, a notion probably common to them and the *Jews*, as we have ſhewn in the laſt note.

ANOTHER remarkable thing in their religion was their great veneration for the oak. This ſeems likewiſe to have been common to them and the old patriarchs and *Jews*, among whom that tree was in high eſteem, though not in the ſame ſuperſtitious degree. *Abraham* is recorded to have pitched his tents under ſome famous oaks; ſuch as thoſe of *Mamre*, of *More*[y]; which, though our verſion, and ſome others, have transformed into plants, yet, in the original, do plainly ſignify an oak or oaky b grove, as we have obſerved in a former volume[z]. He is ſaid moreover to have planted groves of them; and where-ever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the Lord, and to have given ſome ſignificant name to the place, ſuch as that of *Beerſheba*, *Bethel*, and the like (G). The *Gauls* in particular ſeem to have improved upon this patriarchal cuſtom, the origin of which ſeems rather owing to what we hinted in the laſt note, than to any ſanctity, or extraordinary virtue, which either *Abraham*, or any of his anceſtors or ſucceſſors, could imagine to be in thoſe trees; whereas, among both *Celtes* and *Gauls*, the oak was looked upon and reverenced as an emblem, or as the peculiar reſidence, of the Deity. The fruit of it, plainly ſhew, that he intended to ſpeak of one deity here. All that we would further obſerve of the prieſt's dread of ſeeing that deity, ſeems plainly a relic of that notion, which even the patriarchs and ancient *Jews* had, that no man could ſee God and live (14). As for the dreadful deſcription of the grove, and its horrid apparatus, if it is not, in a great meaſure, the fiction of the poet, to ridicule the *Gauliſh* worſhip, might it not be that of the druids themſelves, to prevent their laity, as well as ſtrangers, from entering, and prying too curiouſly into it?

Their veneration for the oak.

(F) This deſcription, though disfigured with ſatire and ridicule, being curious and pertinent to our preſent ſubject, we ſhall give the ſubſtance of it to our *Engliſh* readers. It is as follows: There is without the walls of *Marſeilles* a ſacred grove or wood, which had never been touched by ax from the creation. The trees of it grew ſo thick and interwoven, that they ſuffered not the rays of the ſun to come through their branches, but a perfect damp and darkneſs reigned through the place. Neither nymphs nor ſylvan gods could make their abode in it, it being deſtined for the moſt inhuman myſteries. There was nothing to be ſeen there but a multitude of altars, upon which they ſacrificed human victims, whoſe blood turned the very trees of a horrid crimſon colour. If ancient tradition may be credited, no bird ever perched upon their branches, no beaſt ever walked under them, no wind ever blew through them, nor thunder-bolt did ever touch them. Theſe ſtately oaks, as well as the black water that winds about through the place in different chanels, fill one with horror and dread. The figures of the god of the grove are a kind of ſtanding, rude, and ſhapeleſs trunks, covered over with a diſmal yellow moſs. It is the genius of the *Gauls* (continues he) to feel no veneration for the gods, unleſs they be thus repreſented, in a manner quite oppoſite to the taſte of other nations; for which reaſon their fear and regard for them increaſes, in proportion to their ignorance of thoſe gods which they worſhip. There is a report, that this grove is often ſhaken, and ſtrangely moved, and that dreadful ſounds are heard from its caverns; that the yews, if thrown or cut down, grow up again of themſelves; that the grove is ſometimes in a blaze, without being conſumed; and that the oaks are twined about with monſtrous dragons. The *Gauls* dare not live in it, out of reſpect to the deity that inhabits it, and to which they intirely abandon it. Only at noon and midnight a prieſt goes trembling into it, to celebrate its dreadful myſteries; and is in continual fear, leſt the deity, to which it is conſecrated, ſhould appear unto him. Thus far our poet.

We have already obſerved, that tho' he expreſſes himſelf in the plural in ſpeaking of the *Gauliſh* gods, rather as a poet and a *Roman*, yet his laſt words

(G) It muſt be obſerved, that the original word *alon* ſignifies both an *oak*, and a *grove* or *thicket of oaks*. Theſe were, at firſt, choſen in thoſe hot countries for the ſake of coolneſs and ſhade; and where the plains were well watered, and fit for paſture, but wanted ſuch woods or groves, they planted them, as *Abraham* is recorded to have done at *Beerſheba*. Theſe, in time, came to be in great eſteem by his deſcendants, not only on account of their extreme uſefulneſs and long duration, but out of regard to thoſe patriarchs, who had dwelt and ſacrificed under them. *Jacob*, we read, buried his beloved *Rachel*'s nurſe under an oak, which he called *The oak of mourning*. He buried all the idolatrous traſh, which he found in his houſhold, under another (15). This laſt became famous among the *Shechemites* (16), probably becauſe *Joſhua* reared a ſtone or pillar under it, in memory of the covenant which he renewed juſt before his death between God and the *Iſraelites* (17).

This regard by degrees, dwindled into downright ſuperſtition, not only among the *Jews*, but even among chriſtians, *Mohammedans*, and other nations. As to the former, they became infamous for their ſacrificing and burning incenſe in their high places and groves, and at length, as they are juſtly upbraided by the prophets, under every oak and green tree (18), notwithſtanding God's prohibitions, and ſevere threatnings. As for the latter, we have ſhewn in a former volume, in ſpeaking of the oaks under which *Abraham* dwelt, that they were ſtill ſhewn in *Conſtantine*'s time, and reſorted to with great devotion by chriſtians, *Turks*, and even heathens (19).

y Genaſ. xii. 6. xiii. ult. & alib. paſſ. z Vol. i. p. 424, (G). a Vide int. al. Gen. xxi. 23.

(14) *Vide int. al. Geneſ.* xxviii. 16, *& ſeq. Judic.* vi. 22. xiii. 22. *& ſeq.* (15) *Geneſ.* xxxv. 4, 8. (16) *Judic.* ix. 6. (17) *Joſh.* xxiv. 26. (18) *See* 2 *Kings* xvi. 4. *Iſai.* lvi. 5, *& ſeq. Jerem.* ii. 20. *Hoſea* iv. 13. *Judith.* iii. 8. (19) *Vol.* i. *p.* 424, (G), *& alib.*

And miſleto. it, eſpecially the miſſoldine, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was uſed as a kind of panacea for man and beaſt, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contuſions, and cuticular ailments, as well as for inward diſeaſes, or even barrenneſs and abortion in men, women, and cattle (H). The leaves, or ſome ſmall boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were conſtantly performed, as we hinted above, under thoſe trees, or in oaky groves. Theſe, if we may gueſs from the few fragments we have left of them in hiſtory, and from ſome carneads or heaps of ſtones ſtill ſtanding in ſome of our iſles, eſpecially that of *Angleſey*[b], and which may be ſuppoſed to have been cinctures or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees, except where it was left open to the comers, and, not unlikely, guarded by ſome inferior druids, to ſtop all ſtrangers from intruding into their myſteries: we ſay, if we may gueſs at them by thoſe few ancient helps, theſe groves were of different forms, ſome quite circular, ſome oblong, and more or leſs capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the largeneſs of the diſtrict or canton, to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompaſſed with ſeveral rows of theſe oaks, ſet very thick and cloſe. Within the large circle were ſeveral ſmaller ones, ſurrounded, as is ſuppoſed, with large ſtones, which ſerved for the ſacrifices, and other moſt ſolemn part of their worſhip. In the centre, or near it, of theſe ſmall circles, were placed ſolid ſtones of a large ſize and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, diſſected, and offered up. Each of theſe being, as we imagine, a kind of altar, was ſurrounded with another row of ſtones, the uſe of which cannot be eaſily gueſſed at, unleſs it was to keep the people at a due diſtance from the prieſts that officiated. Some of theſe interior circles are likewiſe thought to have ſerved, one or more for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or aſſembly, or for ſuch other purpoſes as can only be gueſſed at[c]; though we very much doubt, conſidering the vaſt reverence that was paid to thoſe groves, as they were conſecrated to religious rites, whether their druids would ſuffer any ſecular matters to be tranſacted in them. We are rather inclined to think, that theſe cinctures might all ſerve for the ſame religious ends, one for human victims, another for thoſe of beaſts, a third for auguries and ſuch-like; not but they may be reaſonably enough ſuppoſed to have had other groves, deſigned for ſuch ſecular purpoſes, as we juſt now mentioned; and theſe might probably enough be of oaks, as the others were, that the ſacredneſs of thoſe trees might ſtrike theſe courts and councils with due awe, and prevent ſuch quarrels and indecencies as might otherwiſe happen. And this conjecture (and the contrary one is no more than gueſs-work) ſeems more agreeable to what we have lately quoted of their worſhip out of *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Lucan*.

Their groves for worſhip.

How-

[b] See Mona antiqua, p. 91, & ſeq. Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentrion. p. 77. & in addend. [c] Idem ibid.

(H) *Pliny*, who has given us this account more accurately than any other author, tells us (20), that they called the miſleto, as well as the particular day or feſtival on which they gathered it, by a name which ſignified *cures all*. We ſhall quote the whole paſſage, as it is both ſuccinct and curious:

"The druids, ſays he, who are among the "*Gauls* what the magi are elſewhere, hold nothing "ſo ſacred as the miſſoldine, and the tree that "bears it. This is conſtantly the oak, for which "they have ſuch a high eſteem, that they do not "perform the leaſt religious ceremony without "being adorned with garlands of its leaves. It is, "in all likelihood, from the *Greek* name of the "oak, that the *Gauliſh* prieſts are called druids. "Theſe philoſophers believe, that every thing that "grows upon that tree doth come from heaven; "and that it is an evident proof, that God hath "choſen it above all others.

"The miſſoldine of the oak being ſcarce, and "rarely found, when any of it has been diſ-"covered, they go with great ceremony and reſpect "to gather it. This is always done on the ſixth "day of the moon, a day ſo eſteemed among them, "that they have made their months and years, and "even ages, which conſiſt but of thirty years, to "take their beginning from it. The reaſon of "their chuſing that day is, becauſe the moon is, "by that time, grown ſtrong enough, though not "come to the half of its fulneſs; and this day they "call by a name, which, in their tongue, ſignifies "*curer of all ills*.

"When the druids have got ready under the oak "all the apparatus for the ſacrifice, and the ban-"quet which they uſually make, they tie for the "firſt time, two white bulls to it by the horns. "Then one of the prieſts, cloathed in white, gets "up the tree, and with a gold ſyth, cuts off the "miſſoldine, which is received in a white *ſagum*; "which done, they begin to offer their ſacrifices, "and pray to god to give a bleſſing to his own "gift unto them that are honoured with it. He "adds, that the water of the miſſoldine gives fer-"tility to man and beaſt, is a ſpecific againſt all "kind of poiſon; an eminent inſtance, ſays he, "that human religion has often no other object "than frivolous things."

(20) *Nat. hiſt. l.* xvi. *c.* 44.]

a How the *Eſus*, or ſupreme deity of the *Gauls*, came afterwards to be transformed into, or give place to, *Jupiter*, which, if we may believe *Lactantius*, did not happen till about the fourth century at ſooneſt, we ſhall endeavour to account in the ſequel. But, by what we have ſaid of him and his worſhip, and of the oaks and groves conſecrated to him, *&c.* the reader cannot but have obſerved a great deal of conformity between the *Gauliſh* and the patriarchal and *Jewiſh* religion, though, if this had been all, we ſhould hardly have inſerted this remark; neither could *Celſus* have had ſo much reaſon to oppoſe the antiquity and wiſdom of the druidiſh religion, and its conformity to that of the ancient *Jews*, againſt the novelty of the goſpel[d]. We ſhall therefore beg leave, in ſpeaking of the other branches of the *Gauliſh* religion and ceremonies, to obſerve to him the ſame conformity running through very many other particulars, as they have been collected in one view by a very diligent author often quoted under this head[e]; and from which we may be able to ſatisfy ourſelves, that they could never be owing to mere chance, but that both plainly appear to have flowed from the ſame ſource.

Affinity between the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and Jews.

1. The *Gauls* had a ſovereign pontiff or head of the druidiſh order, to whom both theſe and the whole nation paid the higheſt regard. The ſame we find among the *Jews*, to ſay nothing of *Melchizedech*, to whom *Abraham* paid tythes of the ſpoil he had lately gained. 2. The druids, under this their head, had ſuch an uncontroulable power and ſway, that whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their deciſions, not only in religious, but civil, matters, (even to the putting an immediate ſtop to an engagement, when both armies were ready for the onſet, if the druids did not like the prognoſtics) was interdicted from aſſiſting at their ſolemnities, which was looked upon by the *Gauls* as the moſt grievous puniſhment[f]. The *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, at the head of the ſanhedrin, was looked upon as the dernier appeal in all cauſes; and excommunication, the greateſt puniſhment among the *Jews*, was to be the lot of thoſe, who refuſed to abide by their deciſion[g]. 3. The druids were obliged to aſſemble themſelves in the territories of *Chartrain* once a year. The *Jews* had their three grand feſtivals, on which their males were obliged to repair to *Jeruſalem*. 4. The druids wore white garments. The ſame did the *Jewiſh* prieſts. 5. The druids lived in woods and groves. The ſame did generally the patriarchs, the ſons of the prophets, and the *Eſſenians*, a kind of monks among the *Jews*. The *Gauls* had their female druids, propheteſſes, and aruſpices. The *Jews* had *Miriam Aaron*'s ſiſter, *Deborah*, *Huldah*, and other propheteſſes, to ſay nothing of other women, who kept familiar ſpirits. Some of thoſe females were in high repute among the *Gauls*, and bore a great ſway in the government. And *Deborah* was a famed judge in *Iſrael*. 6. The *Gauls* vowed to *Mars* ſome parts of the ſpoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The ſame was among the *Iſraelites* with reſpect to thoſe cities and kingdoms, which were ſubject to anathema, as in the caſe of *Jericho*. The reſt they divided among themſelves, according to certain laws and cuſtoms ſettled amongſt them. *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *David*, made alſo laws on the ſame head, what portion ſhould be offered to God, what given to the prieſts, and how the reſt ſhould be divided between the combatants and thoſe who guarded the camp and baggage. 7. The *Gauls* worſhipped a brazen bull. And the *Iſraelites* golden calves. 8. In public calamities they offered a human victim, on whom they threw all the curſes that threatened them. The *Jews* did the ſame by their ſcape-goat[h]. 9. The *Gauls* had power of life and death over their ſervants. The ſame had the patriarchs and *Jews*, and the former even over their families, as one may conclude from the inſtance of *Judah* and his daughter-in-law *Tamar*[i]. They began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and *Jews*, and, like them, diſtinguiſhed the year only into three ſeaſons, *viz.* ſpring, ſummer or harveſt, and winter. The autumn was ſo unknown to both, that they had no name for it. The ſame is affirmed likewiſe of the *Egyptians* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 10. They gave ſignificant names to their children, to places, *&c.* as theſe did. 11. The *Gauls* believed the immortality of the ſoul; ſo that no people under heaven could ſhew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and *Jews*, if we except the upſtart ſect of the *Sadduces*, were famed for looking on this life only as a mere paſſage into a better. 12. When their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own ſervants[k]. We have

[d] Vide ORIGEN. cont. Celſum. [e] Relig. des Gaul. l. i. p. 53, & ſeq. [f] DIOD SIC. l. v. CÆS. comment. l. vi. [g] See vol. i. p. 633, a, b. [h] Ibid. p 619, (V). & CÆS. comment. l vi. [i] Geneſ. xxxviii. 24. [k] Comment. ubi ſupra.

have an inſtance of this in *Jephtha*, one of the *Iſraelitiſh* judges, and his raſh vow[l], a though it was more common among the *Phœnicians*, and other ancient nations. 13. The *Jews* had the waters of jealouſy to aſſure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The *Gauls* had ſome kinds of ordeals or trials to the ſame ſenſe; and *Julian* the emperor tells us, that the waters of the *Rhine* had ſome ſecret virtue to puniſh thoſe wives, who had gone aſtray (I). The druids made it a conſtant maxim not to commit any thing of their laws, philoſophy, or hiſtory, to writing, but to couch them in ſet poems and canticles, to be learned by heart, and ſung at proper places and ſeaſons. Theſe ſongs were, it ſeems, ſo multiplied in *Cæſar*'s time, that it took up ſome druids (for they were all obliged to it) near twenty years in learning them[m]. We do not find but that this was the ancient cuſtom of the patriarchs and b other nations in *Canaan* before *Moſes*, who quotes ſome of thoſe canticles, and compoſed ſome of them himſelf, as did other prophets after him, in memory of ſome ſignal victories, deliverances, and the like. Some *Gauliſh* nations carried their gods along with them to the war, as did the *Iſraelites* their ark, and their apoſtates the tabernacles of *Moloch*, *Chiun*, and *Rempham*. The *Gauls* did perſonify and deify their rivers, lakes, woods, *&c.* and might not this be a corruption of that laudable elegance of the ſacred poets, who call upon thoſe and all other creatures to praiſe God? as, in all probability, their offering human victims, common likewiſe to other nations, and even to the apoſtate *Iſraelites*, in imitation of them, ſeem to have had its riſe from the example of *Abraham*'s readineſs to ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac*, concerning c which we ſhall refer our readers to what we have ſaid in a former volume[n]. We ſhall now give our readers a ſhort account of this inhuman rite, as it was practiſed among the *Gauls*, and leave our readers the pleaſure of diſcovering, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, many more inſtances of that conformity we have been ſpeaking of, which we are forced to omit, to avoid being tedious.

Human victims how offered.

As to this bloody cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims, which began ſo early with the *Gauls*, and which, if we may believe *Procopius*[o], did not end till ſome centuries after their embracing chriſtianity, we can only ſpeak of it as it was tranſacted out of their groves or places of worſhip; for as to what was done within them, no ſtranger being made acquainted with, much leſs admitted to ſee it, we muſt be wholly in the d dark about it, as their druids committed nothing of it to writing. Concerning thoſe unhappy ones, that were offered abroad, *Cæſar* and *Plutarch* give us the following account: When a man's life is in danger, either through ſickneſs or other accident, they immediately ſacrifice, or at leaſt make a vow ſo to do, ſome human victims; for, beſides that they think them the moſt perfect and pleaſing to the gods, they believe, that one man's life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no ſatisfaction could be made to them for their goodneſs to men. And theſe are the ceremonies eſtabliſhed amongſt them upon all ſuch occaſions: They erect a huge, hollow pile of oſier, which they fill with theſe unhappy wretches, who are quickly e ſuffocated by the ſmoak, and reduced to aſhes ſoon after. They imagine, however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims; but, where they are not to be had, the innocent muſt go in their ſtead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceaſed delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long ſince they threw likewiſe into it all his favourite ſervants and ſlaves. Some of his near relations, continues *Cæſar*, did likewiſe fling themſelves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world. This cuſtom was exactly like that of burying the *Jewiſh* kings, except the burning

At funerals.

[l] Judg. xi. 30, & ſeq. [m] Comment. ubi ſup. [n] See vol. i. p. 676, paſſ. [o] See vol. i. p 472, d, e. Goth. l. ii. c. 25. [p] Comment. l. vi. PLUT. de ſuperſtit.

(I) This is not a proper place to ſpeak of thoſe ordeals and other trials, as paſſed, in all probability, from *Gaul* into *Great Britain*, and which might, in all likelihood, have their riſe from the *Jewiſh* waters of jealouſy. But that, which the apoſtate *Julian* mentions concerning the *Rhine*, can ſcarcely be owing to any thing elſe.

He tells us (21), that, when a *Gaul* ſuſpected his wife of infidelity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they ſunk, the woman was deemed guilty, and put to death. If they ſwam, and moved towards the place where ſhe ſtood trembling at a convenient diſtance, and ready to receive them, ſhe was cleared, and reſtored to her huſband's favour.

(21) *Orat.* xvi.

a burning of living and human creatures, as the reader may see in a former volume, where we have given an account of that ceremony [q].

In their augu-ries and other superstitions.

We lately hinted at their imitating, in some measure, the *Jewish* scape-goat, by devoting some vicarious victims to death, and praying, that all the curses due to them might fall upon it. The *Massilians*, among the rest, are reported to have, in times of pestilence, made choice of some indigent person, thatoffered himself voluntarily, whom they took care to fatten with the daintiest fare during a whole year; after which they dressed him with garlands and other rich ornaments, and led him through the streets, loaded with the bittereſt imprecations, to his death [r]. We have formerly had occasion to account for this custom, which was likewise common to
b other nations, as well as the *Gauls*, and had its rise from the same source [s]. However, if the *Gauls*, in such calamitous times, could procure any of the handsomer and nobler sort to offer themselves to such a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them by large rewards and encomiums. These were led, like the poorer sort, out of the city, and stoned, and the former thrown down from some high precipice. The common notion among them was, that such a spontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth intitled them to a rank among the gods. In other cases they either tied or nailed them to some tree or post, and shot them to death with arrows. Others they burnt, with a number of beasts, on a pile of hay [t]. It was also customary among them to reserve their criminals to the fifth year, and to
c burn them in sacrifice with the first-fruits of their ground [u]. The same author adds, that they threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold and other rich things, which it was death for any one to meddle with afterwards [w]. As for their brute victims, they were left, in some measure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers of them, and always officiated in white garments (K), both in this and all other parts of their worship. Only the horses, which they took in battle, or at least part of them, they burnt with the bodies of the slain [x]. All these sacrifices were occasional and unlimited, except those which *Lucan* calls national, and which were constantly performed at noon and at midnight, as we have hinted above. As the *Gauls* were addicted to all kind of superstition (L),
d they used to be exceeding watchful of the singing and flight of birds, and other such kind of ominous trash. They never undertook any thing of consequence, without the advice of their aruspices, who were, for that reason, in high request among them. These carefully examined the entrails, blood, *&c.* of their victims; and when they offered any human one, as they did constantly before they held a council, whether of the nation or district, they stabbed him behind with a cutlass, a little above the *diaphragma*, watched the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left side, or

[q] Vol. i. p. 696, a, & not. [r] Petron. satir. ad fin. Vide. & Serv. comm. in Æn. iii. ver. 58. [s] See the note (Y), in vol. i. p. 619. [t] Strab. l. iv. [u] Diodor. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. [w] Ibid. l. v. [x] Tacit. German.

(K) Some add, that they were striped with purple, which dwindled, either at one or both ends, into a point like a spindle, to distinguish them from the laity. But there seems to be no need of supposing such a distinction, seeing the white robe was peculiar to the druids, and no one dared to wear it but they and the druidesses, of whom we shall speak in due time (22).

(L) According to the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, the *Gauls* exceeded all other nations in cruelty and superstition; and yet, if we compare them together, even according to their own writings, we shall scarce perceive any difference between them, but what is on the opposite side. It must be owned, however, that some of the *Gallic* nations were very famed for their superstition, since *Alexander Severus* is upbraided with having even outdone some of them, *viz.* the *Vascones* or *Gascons*, in it (23).

Our design is not to extenuate those inhuman and abominable practices of the *Gauls*, but to observe how little reason other authors, especially the *Romans*, had to blacken them above all other nations, when they themselves outdid almost all that ever went before or since. We have given a sufficient number of instances of it in their history under several of their emperors, especially *Severus* above-mentioned, *Nero*, and *Julian*; and we shall close this note with another, which happened just upon the breaking out of the war between the *Gauls* under *Viridomarus* and them, when, as *Plutarch* tells us (24), they found themselves obliged to obey certain oracles, which they found in the *Sibylline* books, and to bury alive in the beef-market two *Gauls*, and two *Greeks*, a man and a woman of each nation, to whom, says he, they still offer some private sacrifices in the month of *November*, which the people are not allowed to be present at; which very sacrifices, we are told by two of their own authors (25), were since repeated at the same place on several occasions, especially at the first opening of the *Punic* war, which immediately succeeded that of the *Gauls* above-mentioned.

(22) *Comment. ubi supra. Vide Keyzler. antiq. septent. p.* 305, 459. *Pelloutier. hist. des Celt. Relig. des Gaul. & al.* (23) *Lamprid. in Alex. Sever.* (24) *In vit. Marcel.* (25) *Tit. Liv. l.* xvii. *c.* 57. *Plin. l.* xxviii. *c.* 2.

or on his face; how the blood flowed at the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the case be what it would, or the appearances be ever so much against it; insomuch, that they have come to the head of an army, and stopped the fight, which was just going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to contravene them upon any account[y].

Their altars.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves had some large stones, which were supposed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are still extant in several parts of *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the isle of *Anglesey*, and are of such a monstrous size, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of those demons, that were supposed to attend on that kind of worship, especially considering that, as it is pretended, there were no quarries of such stones within any reasonable distance from the place where these altars stood. Of these one, that is to be seen in the confines of *Alsace*, measures about thirty-six foot in circumference, twelve foot and a half in breadth, and four foot and a quarter in thickness. It is reared on a parcel of other stones about three foot and a half from the ground[z]. Some of these altar-stones were round, others oval, some square, others oblong, and some triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of ornament either of bas-relief or inscriptions, others to have been quite plain; but whether originally so, or by time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow or bason on the surface, supposed to have been designed to receive the blood or entrails of the victims[a]. One of these is recorded to have had a hollow kind of nasty passage under it, through which they made those strangers, whom they designed for sacrifice, to pass, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that passage is, it seems, called to this day *cunnus dæmonis*, *duvels-skut*, or *devil's hole*[b]. The antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent in their accounts of these altars, and other piles of huge stones, which are to be met with in almost every kingdom and province of *Europe*, together with such other monuments as describe those sacrifices that were offered upon them, and the apparatus and instruments that were used in them; but they generally deal so much in conjectures, and agree so little with each other, that it is no wonder that kind of learning has been so disrelished by the far greater part of the learned; so that it would be lost time for us to enter further on this subject, and all that we think worth adding to it is, that the *Gauls* are affirmed by the generality of authors to have constantly assisted at these sacrifices armed cap-à-pé, and to have carried some small thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands[c], after it had been offered up or had been led to the altar.

They had no temples till long after Cæsar.

Temples, we have already hinted, they had not before the coming in of the *Romans*, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after *Cæsar*'s conquest of them. An author, who lived long after him, tells us expressly, that they had not any other statue of *Jupiter* but a tall oak[d], which could hardly be supposed to be growing in a temple, any more than those colossian piles of hay and other combustibles, in which, we are told by other authors[e], they used to burn their numerous human victims, can be imagined to have been reared in any such close places, much less still the trees on which they fastened those whom they pierced with arrows. Their groves, such as we have described them, were much fitter for those ceremonies; and this appears to have been one main difference between the *Gauls* and the *Greeks* and *Romans*[f]. When *Mars* came to be adopted among their inferior deities, they only worshipped him under the figure of a naked sword, that was reposited upon an altar in one of those groves; but as they had then a custom to vow to him what spoil they took from their enemies, *Cæsar* tells us they generally deposited them in any place where they chanced to be. There they sacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the rest of the plunder in vast heaps in the open country, which were nevertheless held so sacred by the people, that none dared to touch any part of it, though there were amongst them great quantities of gold and silver and other rich stuff; for he tells us, that those consecrated heaps were to be found in most cities in *Gaul*[g]. This seems likewise another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who chose to

[y] Strab. l. iv. Just. l. xxiv. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. vi c. 9. Comment l. vi. [z] Keyzler. ubi sup. p. 41, & seq. [a] Cæs. comm. ubi sup. [b] Schoen. de sedib. Franc. apud Matth Analect & Keyzler. ubi sup. [c] Cæs. ubi sup. Diod. Sic. Mel. l iii. & al. [d] Maxim. Tyr. serm. xxxviii. [e] Cæs. comm. Diod. Strab. ubi sup. [f] See Voss. in Maimon. Aboda Zara, c. 1. n. 2. Reines. apud relig. des Gaul. p. 119, & seq. [g] Cæs. comm. ubi sup. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 2.

a to ſhut up thoſe treaſures in their temples, as in places of greateſt ſafety; whereas the *Gauls* left them expoſed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or, at moſt, in ſome lakes and groves, which were on that very account eſteemed ſacred (M). The *Germans* appear to have been ſtill more averſe to the introduction of temples amongſt them, as we learn from *Tacitus* and other authors, and ſhall ſee in the next chapter; and even the *Britons*, who certainly muſt have had them, if any other *Gauls* had, becauſe they were the ſtandard of the *Gauliſh* religion, from whom all the others received it; for we are told [h], that theſe uſed to croſs over in great numbers into *Britain*, or, as ſome think, into the iſle of *Angleſey* [i], and to ſpend there ſome years in the ſtudy of their religion and myſteries, as it was indeed the b ſeat and nurſery of it, and the reſidence of the grand druid, or chief pontiff, and conſequently of all the learned doctors of the *Gauliſh* religion; and yet, when *Tacitus* ſpeaks of the deſcent of the *Romans* into this iſland [k], he tells us, that their firſt care was to deſtroy thoſe groves and woods, which the druids had polluted with the blood of ſo many human victims; and would they not, upon the ſame account, have done ſo by their temples, if any ſuch had been in this country? And ſince all the other *Gauls* appear to have regulated their whole religion, and its rites, from theſe, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they could, at leaſt in *Tacitus*'s time, have had any temples any-where elſe, whatever they did afterwards more by force than out of choice, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by. Some ſtatues they might have, and in all probability had, c before *Cæſar*'s time; but it would be difficult to prove, that they bore any reſemblance with thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, either as to their figure or deſign, or that they were ſet up by the prieſts, and not rather by the people, who are often hurried away by imitation, though contrary to the conſent of their guides, who appear to have been moſt ſtrict obſervers of the old patriarchal way of worſhipping the Deity; for as, on the one hand, they ſeem to have kept all along ſome kind of tradition from their progenitor, who was but a third in deſcent from *Noah*, not to ſay any thing of thoſe before the flood, of which they could not ſo ſoon loſe all memory, and whoſe cuſtom it was to worſhip God without temples or images; ſo, on the other, their great veneration and tenaciouſneſs for their ancient rites and cuſtoms, d joined to the contempt they had for thoſe of other nations, muſt have proved an effectual and long-winded preſervative againſt their introducing them. At leaſt it is very probable, that theſe ſtatues or images we are ſpeaking of, if there were really any

[h] Comment. ubi ſup. [i] See Mona antiqua, ſect. viii. & ſeq. p. 53, & ſeq. 78, & ſeq. [k] Annal. lib. xiv. c. 3.

(M) It muſt be owned, however, that ſome of theſe authors give to theſe places the name of temples or oratories, and *Cæſar* is affirmed to have rifled them to ſupport his army (25); but then they ſpoke like *Greeks* and *Romans*, among whom it was cuſtomary to record ſuch ſacred treaſures in their moſt famous temples, and even to call ſuch conſecrated places by the names of ἱερὸν and *templum*. Thus *Tacitus*, though he affirms, that the *Germans* had no temples, tells us, that their goddeſs *Hertza* uſed ſometimes to come out of her grove or *Caſtum nemus*, to air herſelf, and, when ſhe was weary of rambling, was carried back, and placed in her own temple, which, the ſame author tells afterwards, was no more than a lake within the wood where that goddeſs reſided (26).

The ſame may be ſaid of that famed one of *Thouloufe*, upon whoſe account the *aurum Tholoſanum* became famous, even to a proverb, on account of the vaſt quantity that was repoſited in it. This place *Strabo*, ſpeaking of it, calls a temple: There was, ſays he, a very famous temple at *Thouloufe*, the veneration and credit of which made it grow immenſely rich, becauſe none dared to touch any part of what was conſecrated in it (27); and yet the ſame author, when he accounts for the vaſt quantities of gold that were found there, from ſome rich mines which he ſuppoſes to have been in the neighbourhood, and which, joined to the plain frugal way in which the inhabitants lived, made it increaſe upon them to ſuch a ſtupendous height, he adds, that they had other treaſures in many ſuch-like places, which, ſays he, were depoſited and conſecrated, in whole ingots, in lakes, as in ſo many ſacred *aſyla*. So that this *Thouloufan* temple, and thoſe other lakes he ſpeaks of, were in all probability the ſame thing, or meant, at moſt, but ſome more ſacred and private part of the lake, to which he gives the name of temple, only on account of the deity to whom that metal was conſecrated.

What confirms it ſtill more is, that *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the ſacrilege committed by *Cepio* (28), mentions only the lake out of which this famous *Thouloufan* gold was taken; and *Juſtin*, ſpeaking of the *Tectoſagi*, whom he ſuppoſes to have brought it from the temple of *Delphos*, ſays, that, being returned to *Thoulouſe*, and afflicted with a grievous plague, they were ordered by their augurs to fling their ill-gotten pelf into that lake (29). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of this *Thouloufan* treaſure, and its being expoſed to ſale, in the ſequel; and we only mention it here to ſhew upon what account *Strabo* called it a temple, though no more than a ſacred lake, with a σηκὸς or niche, with ſome emblem of a deity in the richeſt, and, conſequently, moſt ſacred, part of it.

(25) *Sueton. in Cæſar.* (26) *De morib. German.* (27) *See before vol.* v. *p.* 27. *e*; *f.*
(2) *Vide Relig des Gaul. lib.* i. *cap.* 13. (29) *Geogr. l.* iv.

any ſuch among them, might be no other than monuments of ſome eminent perſons and tranſactions, ſuch as that which *Laban* and *Jacob* reared in memory of their mutual reconciliation, or that which the latter ſet up in the place where he buried his favourite *Rachel*[l]; or perhaps to point out thoſe ſacred treaſures, which were conſecrated in the manner and places already mentioned, and to deter people from profaning or ſeizing upon them; all which might be eaſily miſtaken for ſtatues and idols, by thoſe *Greek* and *Roman* authors, who beheld or heard of them.

BEFORE we diſmiſs this point, it will not be thought unſeaſonable to make ſome further inquiry into thoſe vaſt piles of ſtones which remain to this day both in *England* and in other parts of *Europe*; concerning which ſo many different conjectures have been offered by learned antiquaries and others, whilſt ſome have maintained them to have been erected by the *Romans*, others by the ancient *Gauls* and *Britons*; one ſort taking them for monuments erected in memory of ſome famous battle or victory, others for burying-places, and a third ſort, though with leſs reaſon, as we think, for temples or places of worſhip. We ſhall, however, willingly ſave ourſelves the trouble of entering into a detail of them, conſidering how difficult it is to deſcribe ſuch kind of antiques, ſo as to give our readers any tolerable idea of them, without having conſtant recourſe to ſome iconography of them, which are not in many caſes eaſy to be had, and in moſt not without greater expence than they would perhaps think they deſerve. But ſince that famous one of *Stonehenge*, which has been ſeen by all the curious, and of which we have ſo many deſcriptions in many of our *Engliſh* authors, may be juſtly affirmed to exceed all the reſt, as well in the largeneſs of the ſtones as the perfection of its figure, we ſhall, notwithſtanding its more properly belonging to a ſubſequent chapter, venture to ſpeak of it here, and give the beſt light we can concerning that truly curious piece of antiquity; eſpecially as we propoſed, at the beginning of this chapter, to treat of every thing that related to the *Gauls*, and thoſe other nations that are deſcended from them, in ſo full a manner, as might ſave us the trouble of needleſs repetitions in thoſe that follow. But what more effectually calls upon us to treat of it here is, that a reverend and learned author lately, in that curious and elaborate account he has given of that ſtately edifice[m], hath endeavoured to prove it an ancient druidiſh temple, which, if it had been ſuch, would overthrow all that we have hitherto ſaid, on the teſtimony of ſo many ancient authors as we have produced, in favour of the oppoſite opinion. Had that learned author contented himſelf with calling it a druidiſh edifice of any kind but that of a temple, we ſhould have readiiy agreed to it; becauſe we think he has given us full proofs of its being not only much ancienter than the *Romans*, and, conſequently, much more ſo than the *Saxons*, but has further demonſtrated, as far as the ſubject is capable of demonſtration, that it could never be a fabric of the former; ſo that upon the whole it muſt be owned to have been a *Britiſh* or druidiſh work: and thus far we readily agree with him, though we ſhall take the liberty, as we think we ought, to differ from him in his origin of the druids, as well as in this of their having erected temples in imitation of the patriarchs, who are no-where recorded to have reared any thing but bare altars of unhewn ſtones, or, at moſt, ſome groves over them, rather for ſhade and coolneſs, than out of any ſuperſtitious regard for either the oaks, or any other trees. And as our author offers nothing but far-off conjectures on a ſubject of ſuch remote and dark antiquity, there ſeems to be one inſuperable obſtacle againſt his hypotheſis of their coming from *Phœnice*; namely, that if theſe druids had been of ſo different a nation from the *Celtes* the anceſtors of the *Gauls*, let them have come into *Britain* when they would, either before or after the *Celtes*, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe, much leſs all their *Gauliſh* deſcendants, who were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly tenacious of their ancient rites, laws, and cuſtoms, could have ever paid ſuch a blind and univerſal ſubjection to them, not only in religious, but in all civil and military, concerns, as we have ſeen from the univerſal conſent of *Greek* and *Roman* authors they actually did: and if thoſe druids had had ſuch ſublime notions of the Deity, and been ſuch ſtrict followers of the patriarchal religion and rites, it is ſcarcely to be imagined they could have fallen into ſuch horrid exceſſes, ſuperſtitions, and cruelties, as we have ſhewn they did, even from the earlieſt times.

An account of Stonehenge *on* Saliſbury *plain.*

Allowed a druidiſh fabric.

WE come now to ſpeak of this famous fabric of *Stonehenge*, and to give our readers ſuch an account of it, as may afford them an idea of the excellent taſte of thoſe druids,

[l] See Geneſ. xxxi. 45, & ſeq. xxxv. 19, 20.
[m] STUKELEY's Stonehenge, p. 1, 17, 60, & ſeq.
[n] Idem, p. 31, & ſeq. 50, & ſeq. 61, & ſeq.

a druids, who were the projectors and conductors of it; and may ſerve to ſhew the nature and deſign of all other works of this kind, that are extant in any parts of *Europe* (N), where they bore any ſway; and herein we ſhall make no difficulty to follow our learned author's deſcription of it in every caſe but that we have excepted above, it being, in all other reſpects, the moſt exact and accurate we have; tho' we ſhall refer thoſe who deſire a fuller account of it, to his late elaborate deſcription here referred to.

THE name of *Stonehenge*, being of *Saxon* extract, and ſignifying barely a heap of hanging or gallows ſtones, is ſo contemptible a one for ſo noble a work, that it plainly ſhews it to have been reared long before their coming into *England*. Had they been b the builders of it, or capable of judging of the magnificence of that work, or had there, in their time, remained any traces of its builders, and their deſign in it, they would doubtleſs have called it by a much more honourable name. The ancient *Britons*, in the time of the *Romans* invading them, ſpeak of it only by long and immemorial tradition, and as of a work far above human power; and called it, in their language, *Choir Ghaur*, which ſome interpret the *choir* or *dance of giants*, on account of a general notion that ran through all thoſe countries, where ſuch heaps of vaſt ſtones were ſet up, that it was done by giants, though others, more abſurdly, by the aſſiſtance of dæmons, probably from the reputation which the druids were in for their ſkill in magic, and by the help of which they were ſuppoſed to have reared thoſe c ſtupendous piles in the form they ſtood; though our author very judiciouſly obſerves, that *Choir Ghaur* might be more properly rendered the grand choir, as it exceeded all other works of this kind in bigneſs, and, not unlikely, in dignity, on account of the arch-druid, or of his holding his grand aſſembly of all the inferior ones in this place. This etymon is altogether ſuitable to the grandeur of the fabric, and to the deſign of it, whether we ſuppoſe it, with our author, to have been a temple, or, as ſeems more probable to us, for ſome other public uſe, in either of which it appears equally grand and noble. And this will go a great way to convince us, that it never was reared by the *Romans*; for the ancient *Britons* would hardly have given ſuch a grand name to a fabric of theirs, in their own language: but our author has taken d a much more effectual way to convince us, that it could be none of their work, much leſs ſuch a one as our famed architect *Inigo Jones* (if he really was the author of that plan and performance which Mr. *Webb* publiſhed under his name, and has been ſo amply confuted by Dr. *Charlton* ° and *Keyzler*) has endeavoured to prove it, and in which he aſſerts it to be a round *Roman* temple, like the *Pantheon* (O).

And not built by either Saxons *or* Danes.

The notion of its being a Roman *temple confuted.*

DR. *Charlton*, though he fully exploded that notion, yet failed in proving his own, which attributed it to the *Danes*; upon which he was ſoon after confuted by *Olaus*

° Chorea gigant.

(N) Though there are many of theſe to be found in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, &c. yet they are no-where ſo frequent as in theſe *Britiſh* iſles, even, as our author obſerves, from the very *Land's-end* in *Cornwall* to the utmoſt promontory in *Scotland*, where the *Roman* power never reached. They are to be ſeen in all the iſlands between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in the iſle of *Man*, in all the *Orkneys*, and numerous in *Ireland*; and all pretty near after the ſame deſign, being generally arches of rude ſtones of different diameters, upon elevated ground, open heaths and downs, and chiefly made of ſtones taken from the ſurface of the earth, though ſome of them appear to be of different forms, and ſo decayed and diſfigured by time, that it is hardly poſſible to gueſs at their original uſe or intention, but from ſome analogy which they ſeem to bear with thoſe that are more perfect, as this we are upon (30).

Thoſe on the continent have ſuffered ſtill more, not only from the *Romans*, who took ſingular pride in deſtroying them, and introducing ſome of their own in their ſtead, and bringing the *Gauls* over to their religion and cuſtoms; but likewiſe from the blind zeal of weak chriſtians, who looked upon it as a piece of merit to deſtroy or deface them, as monuments of idolatry and ſuperſtitious cruelties. The reader may conſult concerning them the authors quoted in the margin (31).

(O) That great architect, or, as is commonly thought, his publiſher, to make the dimenſions anſwer to his ſcheme, has been forced to alter and miſrepreſent them, to diſplace ſome of thoſe huge ſtones, and remove them at ſuch a diſtance as beſt anſwered to his imaginary plan. All which was afterwards diſcovered by a new ſurvey of it before perſons of taſte and judgment. *Jones* not publiſhing his account, though he lived thirty years after he had taken a view of it, makes one conclude, that he never deſigned it; and that, upon a ſerious examination of it, he found it impracticable. But upon his death, Mr. *Webb* his ſon-in-law, it is thought, found an expedient of ſurmounting that difficulty, by the alterations we have mentioned; and by way of ſalvo tells the world, that if his father-in-law had lived to finiſh it, it would have appeared in a much better guiſe.

(30) *See before vol.* V. *p.* 27. *e, f.* (31) *Vid. relig. des Gaul. lib.* I. *cap.* 13. *Keyzler antiq. ſeptentr.* &c.

Olaus Vormius[p], there being really no ſuch monuments to be found among the *Gothic* a nations. Beſides, this of *Stonehenge* is mentioned in ſome manuſcripts of *Ninnius*, who wrote two hundred years before they ſet foot in *Britain*; all which is a ſufficient confutation of its being a *Daniſh* work. *Keyzler*, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with our *Britiſh* antiquities, after having confuted the notion of *Inigo Jones*, of its being a *Roman* temple, or having any relation to the public worſhip, and the vulgar error of its being built by giants, or by magic art, or of its being ſome old broken remains of the flood (P), endeavours to prove it a ſepulchral monument erected by the *Anglo-Saxons*[q]. We hope we have already ſaid enough to prove, that, if it was ſuch a ſepulchral fabric, it is of too old a date to have been reared by that nation, or indeed by any but the ancient *Britons*; though he is pleaſed, in order to b prove them every way unqualified for ſuch a work, to repreſent them as ſuch ignorant ſavages, and ſo like the wild *Americans*[r], that he thinks it argument ſufficient, and indeed it is the only one he gives, againſt any one believing them to have been the contrivers of it. But how truly ſoever this character may ſuit to his ancient *Germans*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter, we hope to ſhew in the ſequel of this, beſides what has been occaſionally ſaid of the *Britons* and their druids, that they were the very reverſe of what he has painted them: he has ſucceeded much better in his proofs, that it was a monumental work, from many more of the like nature and form, which are known and allowed to be ſuch. Our very author himſelf tells us of one in *Ireland*, which, by his deſcription, is *Stonehenge* in miniature, c and which he owns to have been the monument of a famed druideſs[s]; though he inſinuates it to be her temple likewiſe. What he mentions in order to prove the great pile being rather a temple than a ſepulchral monument, *viz.* the horns, bones, charcoal, and other things that were dug up from under it, is quite inſufficient, it being common, at the funerals of ancient *Britons* and *Gauls*, not only to offer hecatombs of victims, which alone would anſwer for theſe horns, bones, *&c.* but likewiſe to bury their favourite horſes and ſlaves, as we ſhall ſee in its due place: and if the reader will be pleaſed to look back at what we have ſaid of the funerals of their brethren the *Scythians*, eſpecially of thoſe of the higheſt rank[t], and compare it with the form and diſpoſition of the ſtones in this place, he will be apt to think it a more d decent refinement upon that ancient and inhuman *Scythian* cuſtom; and only rearing a number of huge ſtones in this form, inſtead of the ſkins of men and horſes, which they uſed to ſtuff, and ſet up round their monuments; for as it ſavoured leſs of barbarity, ſo it was of a much more laſting nature. But this we offer only as our own conjecture, and conjecture is all that can be offered, in favour of any other hypotheſis about it at this vaſt diſtance of time, and with thoſe little helps we have left. For this reaſon we ſhall omit mentioning ſome other notions which people have entertained; ſuch as, that it was the place where the grand council of *Britain* met, a *Roman* trophy, the monument of the famous queen *Boadicia*, of king *Vortigern*, and ſuch-like, all which, carrying ſtill leſs probability than any of the preceding e ones, are not worth dwelling longer upon.

We ſhall now give a ſhort deſcription of the fabric itſelf, out of the accurate ſurvey which the reverend author laſt quoted made of it. It is ſituate on a pleaſant part of *Saliſbury* plain, about two miles from *Amberſbury*, and ſix from *Saliſbury*, and is ſituate not upon the ſummit of a hill, but very near it; and, for more than three quarters of the circuit, you have a gentle aſcent to it from the lower ground; at half a mile diſtance the appearance of it is quite ſtately, awful, and auguſt, eſpecially on the north-eaſt ſide, which is the moſt perfect. According to his plan or iconography of it, the circumference of it exceeds that of the outſide of St. *Paul's* cupola.

[p] Faſt. & Monument. Danic. [q] Antiquit. Septentr. p. 50, & ſeq. 97, & ſeq. 109, & ſeq. 230, & ſeq. [r] Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 13, & ſeq. [s] Stonehenge reſtored, p. 3. & 4. [t] See before vol. ii. p. 271. d, e.

(P) There are two other vulgar errors more worthy of confuting than any of theſe, becauſe they have proved exceeding detrimental to theſe ancient monuments. The one is, the notion of the ſtones being factitious, or caſt by art, which hath and doth ſtill induce ſtupid pretenders to antiquity to come and disfigure thoſe curious ſtones with chizels and hammers, to find out whether they are really ſo or not. The other is, their digging near and round about them, in hopes of finding out ſome hidden treaſures, or other curious antiquities; by which means many of them are fallen down, and others ſo very near doing ſo, that, if this humour continues much longer, thoſe noble fabrics will be reduced, in time, into a heap of ruinous fragments, and no traces be left, either of their ſtructure, deſign, or magnificence, but what we find in ſuch deſcriptions as thoſe given by this and other authors.

a cupola. The height of the outward cornice is eighteen foot complete, and that of the inner twenty-four at a medium; for theſe, for reaſons to be mentioned hereafter, are not all of equal height. Thus the height of the inner circle, or rather ellipſis, as our author has proved it, bears a juſt proportion to the curve of the circumference, which is above one hundred feet, and was one fourth part of it, though at preſent ſome of theſe ſtones either ſtooping, or by long time being ſunk lower, come ſomewhat ſhort of the proportion above-mentioned. The nobleneſs likewiſe of their lights and ſhades, as well as the variety ariſing from their circular form, adds to the elegance of the proſpect; ſo that it is not without reaſon, that our great *Jones* blamed Mr. *Camden* for calling it, ſo ſenſleſly as he doth in his *Britannia*, *inſana ſubſtructio*,
b *a huge*, or, as he engliſhes it, *a wild kind of ſtructure*; whereas it plainly appears to have been the very reverſe. But it is manifeſt, that he never ſaw it, or took but a ſlight view of it; and his deſcription is ſo faulty and incorrect, that he ſeems not to have thought it worth a more exact ſurvey, though he had ſeen thoſe of Mr. *Aubrey* and *Inigo Jones*; but theſe likewiſe he ſeems to have had but little opinion of, and rather mentions their account of it to confute them, than to rectify his own by them; and we own, that he has very judiciouſly exploded both their notions, as well as all thoſe other vulgar ones, which aſcribe the rearing of this odd edifice, as he thinks it, to any but to the ancient *Britons*. But to return to the fabric itſelf: the whole is incloſed within a circular ditch, which being croſſed, one aſcends thirty-five yards
c before he comes to the work; ſo that the area, as it is incloſed by the ditch, is three times the diameter of the building; and therefore the diſtance from the ditch within-ſide, quite round, to the fabric, is equal to the diameter of the fabric. When you enter the building, whether on foot or horſeback, you are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of the vaſt ſtones, whether you view thoſe that are ſtill ſtanding in their ancient ſite, or thoſe which lean forward, and are ready to fall, or thoſe which lie down, and, by their immenſe weight, have cruſhed a number of others under them, eſpecially that which our author ſuppoſes to have been the altar-ſtone (Q); and is broken into three large pieces by the fall of one of the large architraves. What increaſes the wonder, eſpecially to a man verſed in theſe antique works, is, that,
d among thoſe dreadful dilapidations, in which every ſtone lieth, like the carcaſe of a giant, with a number of horrid ruins under it, there remains ſtill as much of it undemoliſhed, as enables one to recover an idea of what it was when in its perfect ſtate, and enough of every part to give one a notion of the whole. To all this we may add the beautiful contraſt which the view of the inſide gives you, when joined to the vaſt and beautiful proſpect of the country about it. The one, if you look up to thoſe huge ſtones, and the vaſt ponderous impoſts over them, the chaſm of ſky between the jams of the cell or inner circuit, you imagine you ſee whole quarries mounted in the air; and if upon the rude havock below, it looks like the bowels of a mountain turned inſide out. The other gives you a moſt ſpacious and variegated proſpect of
e the country round about, bounded only by the horizon. One of them is what they call *Veſpaſian*'s camp; a beautiful proſpect it is! another the ancient hippodrome, or place for horſe and chariot-races; a third the grand avenue to the fabric, which, as our author ſuppoſes, begins ſome miles from it. The plain is here-and-there interſperſed with a vaſt number of mounts, or, as they are called, barrows, ſome larger than others. The largeſt of them is incloſed about with a ditch an hundred cubits in diameter. Theſe are ſet thicker and cloſer in one place, and thinner at another; and, upon digging ſome of them up, there have been found human bones, urns, and ſome kinds of beads, and other pieces of glaſs, cryſtal, jet, amber, and ſuch-
f like female trinkets, of different colours and metals; as alſo ſome ſwords, hatchets, and other weapons [k], have been dug out of them; which plainly ſhew them to have been burying-places; but whether of the ancient *Britons*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*, is

Proſpects from Stonehenge.

The barrows or burying-places.

[k] Stonehenge reſtored, p. 10, 43, & ſeq.

(Q) And ſo it may really have been, let the fabric be ſuppoſed a temple, a ſepulchral monument, a grand court or council, or any thing of the like nature, ſeeing that, as we have obſerved before, ſacrifices were uſed in great numbers in all thoſe ſolemnities, and an altar cannot but be ſuppoſed to have been fixed in ſome convenient part of the building; but why ſo cloſe to one part of the cell or nich as Mr. *Jones* has made it, and not in the centre, where *Keyzler* would rather have it, this reaſon may be well enough aſſigned, that it is moſt likely to have ſtood where we find the huge fragments ſtill lying, and cruſhed by one of the large impoſts falling upon it; for, had it ſtood in the centre, it would have been out of the reach of it, and have remained whole to this time.

is not easy to determine, though the first seems most probable upon one account, a which the reader will find in the margin (R). These barrows, however, are so thick about the neighbourhood of *Stonehenge*, that, from some heights, one may tell one hundred and twenty-eight in sight[l]. Among them one may observe, in some places, two or more, sometimes to the number of six or seven, inclosed in the same circle or ditch, of which one is larger than the rest, and seems to be the tomb of some head of a family, and the rest that of the family itself. The most remarkable of all the rest are, that which is called the tomb of king *Carvisius*, who was the famed king of the *Iceni*, who fought against *Julius Cæsar*. It stands on the other side of *Wilton*, anciently *Carvitium*, so named, as is supposed, from, if not built by, him. It is situate on an eminence, and of a handsome height, and has four tall stately trees planted on b the top. From this mount you have the prospect of *Old* and *New Sarum*, of *Wilton* house and park, the *Ikening* road, and some distant hills. The other, called *Bush-barrow*, is beautifully planted by the shepherds, and commands the prospect of *Stonehenge*, of the *cursus* or ancient races, and of all the barrows around that plain, besides a most elegant and spacious landschape[m]. Thus much may serve to give an idea of the grand prospect, which this noble structure affords you from without.

Stonehenge *probably a sepulchral monument.*

But, before we come to speak of its symmetry and the form and bigness of its stones, it may not be amiss to obviate a difficulty, which will, in all probability, occur to our readers, from what we have just now said of those barrows; for since c they evidently appear to have been burying-places, and to bear a kind of relation to the fabric itself, which is, as it were, the centre and kebla of them, will not this destroy our supposition of the latter being likewise a sepulchral monument? Will it not appear absurd to suppose such a noble fabric to have been subservient to the same ends with those hillocks, which are seen around it? And will it not be more reasonable to suppose it, with our author, to have been a temple, than a monument? To which we beg leave to answer, that we should have made no difficulty of admitting it such a temple, had we not so many convincing arguments, that neither *Celtes*, nor *Gauls* and *Britons*, had any such buildings till long after the coming of the *Romans*. We have already given our reasons, and hope they will appear as satisfactory to them, as they do to us, when duly weighed. However, to shew that our conjecture d is not so inconsistent at the bottom, as it may appear at the first sight, we shall observe, first, that there is a manifest difference between a monument and a burying-place; and that the latter is designed only to inclose the remains, and the other to preserve the memory, of the deceased. These might be appropriated for the sepulture of the great ones and their family, and this to burn their bodies, to be afterwards deposited in urns, and conveyed to their proper burying-place. Again, the stone fabric might be the sepulchre of kings, and consequently deserve greater magnificence; or it might be that of the druids, then in very high esteem; or more particularly of the head of that order, or grand druid, and require not only to make a more stately appearance, but likewise to bear some kind of affinity, as, in fact, it e seems to do, in its structure, to those sacred groves, in which they performed their religious

[l] Ibid. p. 45. & plate xxxi.

[m] See p. 46. & plate xxxiii. & seq.

(R) The author observes, that the *via Icenia*, or *Ikening-street*, a road made by the *Romans*, which reached from *Norfolk* into *Dorsetshire*, infringes upon one of those barrows, and crosses some part of it; from which it is reasonable to conclude, that these barrows were older than that road (29).

In these barrows, besides those human and other bones and materials, which have been digged out of them, there was a broad sword taken out of one, and sent to *Oxford*; in another was found a weapon of the same metal like a pole-ax, which weighed twenty pounds, and given to colonel *Wyndham*; out of a third was dug a brass instrument, called celt, and is supposed to have belonged to some druid, and to have been used for cutting the misleto off the oaks. We have taken notice above, that the *Gallish* druids used one made of gold for that purpose. In one of the female barrows was found, besides some other ornaments and trinkets, the head of a javelin of brass, at the socket of which were two holes for the pins, that fastened it to the staff, and a sharp bodkin, round at one end and square at the other, where it went into a handle. Some of the trinkets seem to have been originally covered with metal; and one of them had still a thin film of gold: all which sufficiently shew this barrow to have been the sepulchre of some heroine.

All that is further worth observing on this head is, that those materials, as well as the bones, appear to have suffered the fire in some, though not in others. In some likewise the ashes were deposited in a small urn of reddish earth unburnt; and, in others, the bodies were buried at full length, generally north and south. From all which it is concluded, that the custom of burning dead bodies was in use among the *Britons*, as well as that of burying without it, before the times of the coming in of the *Romans*.

(29) *Stukeley's Stonehenge, p.* 3, *& seq. Mona antiq. sect.* ix. *p.* 88, *& seq. p.* 92, *& seq.*

religious ceremonies. But laſtly, and to name no more, that which appears to us the moſt probable conjecture, from the relation which thoſe barrows bear to the building; is, that this laſt was, as it were, the centre or kebla, that is, in other words, the point of view, or rather of diſtance, to all the reſt, and might be erected at the charge of the whole nation, and be deſigned, not only as a magnificent monument, or rather an open and majeſtic edifice for the performance of funeral rites to the whole people, and more eſpecially to thoſe of a ſuperior rank and merit, but likewiſe to aſcertain the property of each barrow to its reſpective family, by the number of cubits or furlongs they ſtood eaſt or weſt, *&c.* from it; for that they had a clear notion of the points of the compaſs and of geometry, is evident from the very planting,
b ſtructure, ſituation, and ſymmetry, of the fabric, as has been demonſtrated by our author himſelf, as well as by ſome others, who have written before him of it.

THIS conjecture being allowed, as indeed every thing about this noble pile ſeems to confirm it, (*viz.* the long and ſpacious avenue to and from it, its dividing itſelf at a convenient diſtance, the one road towards the *curſus*, and the other to *Radſin* and the adjacent plains, the ſituation and ſtructure of the edifice, its proſpect and command over all the country, eſpecially the barrows and *curſus* above-mentioned) we may carry it on a little farther, and ſuppoſe the corpſe of the deceaſed, eſpecially if a prince, a grand druid, a celebrated warrior or heroine, to have proceeded with a ſuitable funeral pomp, ſuch as we have formerly ſhewn was obſerved by the *Scythians*
c to their monarchs[n], from the place of his reſidence to this ſepulchral monument. Here the druids and bards received it, and performed the funeral ceremonies over it; which conſiſted chiefly, at leaſt as far as related to their office, in offering ſacrifices, rehearſing the genealogy and heroic exploits of the dead, ſinging their encomia on him and his anceſtors, and if the body was to be burnt, in aſſiſting to, if not performing, that ceremony, committing the aſhes to the funeral urn, and conveying it, with all its apparatus of ornaments, weapons, *&c.* to the proper place of its interment. The area on the outſide might ſerve for exhibiting ſuch games, ſhews, and fights, as were uſual on ſuch occaſions, to the numerous ſpectators round about, and of which we ſhall ſpeak in due place. After which the company might proceed to the *curſus*,
d and there cloſe the ceremony with races, and other ſuch-like exerciſes. Every one of theſe places ſeems indeed ſo excellently ſituate, as if they had been deſigned for this grand ceremony. They all ſtand at a convenient diſtance from one another, and each commands the proſpect of the others, and may be viewed at a great diſtance by the largeſt number of ſpectators which we can ſuppoſe to have aſſiſted at it. We ſhall only add, that this notion, which we have been offering here, doth include all the various conjectures, which our beſt antiquaries have been able to make of it, either from the various ancient traditions of it, or from their own diſcoveries. It anſwers to that of a temple, by reaſon of its ſacredneſs, its reſemblance to the ancient religious groves, and the ſacrifices and other rites performed there. It anſwers to
e that of a ſepulchral monument, on account of its being appropriated to the grandeſt funeral ceremonies, and its being the centre or kebla to all the adjacent monuments round about: to that of an amphitheatre, on account of the funeral games and ſhews exhibited at it; and may alſo have ſerved for a convening-place of the national council for the election and proclamation of a new king, general, or grand druid, whilſt they aſſiſted at the obſequies of a deceaſed one. Laſtly, it appears not to have been reared by either *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*, becauſe it is evidently prior to them all, for the reaſons we have alledged a little higher, to which we ſhall ſubjoin one more, as we are come now to ſpeak of the huge ſtones, that compoſe this ſtupendous fabric.

f WE have already hinted, that their monſtrous largeneſs, joined to their apparent great diſtance from any quarry, and the many ups and downs through which they muſt have been conveyed hither, led the unthinking vulgar into the notion, that they were brought hither by magic, or the help of demons, according to ſome, and by giants, according to others, either of which were readily enough ſuppoſed able to bring them upon their backs from *Africa* (S); whilſt the wiſer ſort rather imagined them

The ſtones whence and how brought hither.

[n] See vol ii. p. 271, c, d.

(S) From a notion, which our author has likewiſe adopted, which ſuppoſes *Afer* to have been the ſame with *Hpher*, one of the ſons of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, to have come hither from *Africa* with *Hercules*, and to have brought with him the druids, who erected the fabric we are now ſpeaking of.

them to be factitious, and caſt from ſome ſuch compoſitions as ſand and mortar, and a the like, and hardened by the weather. This notion, as we hinted in a late note, has been ſufficiently, and, we may ſay, experimentally, diſproved, though to the great detriment and disfiguring of the ſtones themſelves, and the endangering of the ſtructure. Theſe ſtones, rough and battered as they have been by theſe pretended curioſoes, as well as by a long ſeries of ages, appear to have been originally ſmoothed by the chizel, at leaſt as far as they ſtand above ground; for, as to that part which lies buried in the earth, it ſhews itſelf, upon digging round it, to be in its primitive roughneſs, and as it was digged up out of the quarry, or, as our author rather ſuppoſes, and with greater ſeeming probability, as they were found lying on the ſurface of the ground in great numbers and various dimenſions, perhaps ever ſince the creab tion of the world (T), and as they are to be ſeen ſtill in vaſt quantities upon *Marlborough* downs near *Abury*, at a place called from thence the *Grey Wethers*, and are of the ſame kind, *viz.* a baſtard white marble. Hence another argument is drawn of its being of ancienter date than the coming of the *Romans*; for, by this time, the *Belgæ*, a colony of the *Gauls*, had ſeized upon, and ſeated themſelves in, that part of the country; ſo that the *Britons* muſt have fetched theſe ſtones from, and drawn them ſome miles through, an enemy's country, unleſs we could ſuppoſe, that thoſe *Belgæ* were the builders of *Stonehenge*; which is leſs probable than that the *Britons* did, becauſe theſe have left ſuch kinds of monumental piles where-ever they can be traced, as we hinted a little higher. The difficulty is, to conceive how ſtones of c

Their bulk and weight.

that immenſe weight, one of which, though neither the largeſt nor heavieſt, has been computed, by proper judges, to weigh between thirty and forty tons, and conſequently would have required about an hundred and fifty oxen to have drawn it, could be conveyed from their original ſeat to *Stonehenge*, which is ſixteen computed miles, and along ſuch uneven ground, and in ſuch quantities as compoſe the fabric. Sure it is, that no carriage can be conceived, which would not have been ſunk into the ground by ſuch a monſtrous weight, unleſs it be that of rollers; but even this muſt appear a more than *Herculean* labour; the arduouſneſs of which cannot be extenuated, but by the ſuppoſition, that the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part, of the nation contributed their help towards it in their turns. d

Diſpoſition and form.

The rearing of them afterwards in ſuch form and ſituation was a work of no leſs difficulty; for though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they were all pecked and chizelled, had their mortiſes and tenons wrought, and every thing done, that could lighten and fit them for the deſign, at the place where they were brought from, yet every man will eaſily perceive what an immenſe labour it muſt be to rear ſtones of that vaſt bulk and weight, to place them in their proper places, and at ſuch due diſtances, that the architraves or impoſts, that locked them to each other at the top, ſhould fall ſo exactly every mortiſe upon its own tenon, as we find they actually do to this day; for it is plain to every eye that views them carefully, that each of theſe tenons is ſo exactly fitted to its mortiſe, that if either of the ſtanding ſtones had e been ſet ever ſo little out of its place, and perpendicular, they could never have locked one in the other, till they were reduced to their due diſtance and poſition; eſpecially conſidering that there were at leaſt fifteen in number of this large ſort, ſet up two and two, the whole in a beautiful oval, neareſt to a circle, and exactly locked each to the other by architraves of proportionable bigneſs. Each tenon is a druidiſh cubit,

(T) This is at leaſt our author's conjecture (30), which we muſt be content to ſubmit to our readers, till a more probable one be found out. We never had an opportunity of viewing thoſe *Grey Wethers* but at a diſtance, whence they appeared as huge ſtones dug from ſome neighbouring quarry, which, though not now to be found, might have been exhauſted or covered up; in which caſe, theſe might have been deſigned by our ancient *Britiſh* druids for ſome other edifices of the ſame nature, which they were obliged to ſet aſide, upon their being forced from this iſle into thoſe of *Ireland*, &c. and of which we ſhall ſpeak in due place; but doubtleſs our author, who has been a curious examiner into all theſe particulars, had his reaſons, though he doth not mention them, for not thinking them to have been dug out of any quarry, but to have lain there ſcattered from the beginning.

One thing is remarkable, that all theſe *Britiſh* ſtructures in *Wiltſhire*, and no others, are built of the ſame kind of ſtone as that of the *Wethers*; whereas the cathedral of *Saliſbury*, all their great churches, and other large edifices, are of quite another kind, and were hewn out of the quary called *Chilmark*, in the ſame county and neighbourhood.

(30) *B. Montfaucon. ſuplem. de l'antiquit. Mahudel. Relig. des Gaul. Keyzler. Chorier. Hiſtor. Delphinal. La Faille annal. Toloſan. & al.*

a cubit, ſomewhat above twenty inches in diameter (V) on the broadeſt ſide; for they are of an oval figure, and the mortiſes exactly anſwerable to it. By this contrivance the impoſts or architraves lie firm locked upon the uprights, and theſe are kept firm to each other. Where the impoſts are heavieſt, the tenons are ſhorteſt; and where thoſe are lighteſt, and conſequently more in danger to be ſhaken, as in thoſe of the outward circle, theſe are made longeſt, and the mortiſes deeper accordingly. If the bottom face of the impoſt be divided into three ſquares, the two mortiſes will be found in the middle of the two outward ones: draw diagonal lines from corner to corner, and where they interſect is the centre of the mortiſe; which central diſtance from on to the other is ſeven druidiſh cubits, or about eight of ours. We might b mention ſeveral other curious particulars, which make the whole appear to have been done geometrically, and from ſuch plain and ſimple principles, as would beſt anſwer every purpoſe of the grand deſign; but for theſe we muſt, in a work of this nature, refer our readers to the author's account [o], to avoid prolixity. But from what has been ſaid, the reader may frame an idea of the curiouſneſs, as well as arduouſneſs, of the work, which, conſidering its regular complexity and ſymmetry, muſt be owned to outvie all that we read of ſingle obeliſks, pillars, and ſtatues, how gigantic ſoever, if we except the pyramids of *Egypt* and the *Rhodian* coloſſus, of which we have given an account in former volumes [p].

c THE whole fabric conſiſted of four circles, or rather ovals, of ſtones, the moſt conſiderable of which had ten uprights, and five architraves or impoſts, making up five trilithons, each trilithon conſiſting of two uprights and one impoſt, which locked them together at the top by the tenons and mortiſes above-mentioned. Theſe trilithons were not all of the ſame height, as our author obſerved, and is indeed the only one we know, that has taken notice of this elegancy; but each of them raiſed its head or impoſt ſomewhat higher, as it drew neareſt to that before which the altar is judged to have ſtood, and which appears to have been not only the higheſt, but fineſt, both for the ſmoothneſs and beauty of the ſtones. The height of theſe trilithons, with their architraves or cornice, is computed, in a medium, to be about twenty-four feet; for there is no coming at an exact dimenſion in a work ſo decayed by d time and weather; the uprights being between twenty and twenty-one feet high, and leſſening a little upwards to the top, and the cornice computed about three feet and a half, making up the complement of twenty-four feet. Theſe impoſts, on the outward face, bore the ſame ſweep with the oval, which they compoſed; but, on the inſide, went in a ſtrait line. They ſeem likewiſe to have been ſomewhat broader on the top than at the bottom; ſo that their ſides bear a little ſlant downwards, whether to preſerve them the better from the weather, or to make up the ſhortning, which is cauſed by their elevation from the ſight. The gradual aſcent of theſe three orders, as they may be termed, of trilithons, is, according to our author [q], thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen druidiſh cubits. The breadth of each trilithon is computed, in e a medium, about ten cubits of the ſame meaſure, and is conſequently the length at leaſt of the impoſt. Each upright is about three feet nine inches thick, and twice that, *i. e.* ſeven feet and a half in breadth, or four cubits and a half druidiſh. Each trilithon, which compoſes this oval cell, ſtands at ſuch convenient diſtance from the other, as to yield a beautiful proſpect into it, which is not a little heightened by the ſpace which ſtands between the two uprights, and which widens upwards, as theſe leſſen in their breadth, and form an oval from its two centres, whoſe longeſt radius is fifteen, and ſhorteſt twelve, druidiſh cubits; ſo that the ellipſis is formed by a line of ſixty cubits; which, being joined at the two ends, and turned round the two centres, give a diameter of thirty cubits at the longeſt, and twenty-five at the ſhorteſt, f five cubits being the ſuppoſed diſtance between the two centres (W).

The fabric deſcribed.

THIS

[o] Ubi ſup. p. 26, & ſeq. [p] See vol. i. p. 183, & ſeq. vol. iii. p. 130, & ſeq. [q] P. 26.

(V) Dr. *Stukeley* hath clearly demonſtrated, that this fabric was never built according to the *Roman* meaſure, from the great number of fractions and uncouth numbers, that occur in the meaſuring of each part, but according to the ancient cubit, *&c.* which was common to the *Hebrews*, *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, &c. as well as, as it appears here, to the druids and ancient *Celtes*. His proofs the reader will ſee in the work itſelf (31); for it is not for us to dwell on thoſe.

(W) Hence, among ſeveral other arguments, one may infer, that this nich or cell could not be originally ſuch an hexagon, as Mr. *Jones* ſuppoſeth it; much leſs could it be formed, as he pretended, at the ſix points

(31) *P.* 6, *& ſeq. & plat.* vi.

THIS was the figure and greatneſs of that which Mr. *Jones* called the cell, and our author the adytum or the concha, of, what they ſuppoſed the fabric to be, the temple, and which we have taken the more pains in deſcribing, as it is indeed the grandeſt part of the whole. As for the remainder of the ſtructure, though it bears an exact and beautiful proportion with it, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the moſt remarkable parts of each, without entering into a detail of all the particulars. Within this grand oval, is another of much leſſer, though harder and finer, ſtones. This circle, together with the long ſtone now broken, which is ſuppoſed to have been the altar, and is of a darkiſh-blue marble, ſuch as is often ſet upon common altar tombs, and about ſixteen feet in length, conſiſts of twenty ſtones, the greateſt part of which are ſadly broken and mangled; but not ſo much as to hinder a curious b obſerver from recovering the form and order in which they ſtood, though their uſe and deſign is hard to be gueſſed at. Another circle or oval of forty ſtones ſurrounded the cell or adytum at a proper diſtance. Theſe were likewiſe of a much leſſer ſize; after which one comes out to the greateſt or outer circle, compoſed of thirty ſtones, likewiſe harder, and ſomewhat of a pyramidal form. It ſeems as if the founders had wiſely provided, that their leſſer bulk ſhould be compenſated by their ſolidity. The difference between this outward circle, and that of the cell or adytum, conſiſted in this, that the architraves of the trilithons of the latter did not touch one another, but preſerved the ſame diſtance with the two uprights, on which they were locked; whereas, in the former or outward circle, the ſtandards were joined by a continued c cornice. Each ſtandard or upright here had two tenons, at equal diſtances on the top, by which the two impoſts were locked by their mortiſes, and ſo continued quite round, in the form of a crown or cornice. The whole was ſurrounded by a vallum or deep ditch at a proportionate diſtance, as we have hinted above; and this, with the grand avenue, and the gradual aſcent up to the fabric, afforded a noble proſpect, both as you advanced towards it, and much more when you viewed from it all the champaign country round about it. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for us to ſay on this ſtupendous *Britiſh* fabric, which has aſtoniſhed and puzzled all the architects, antiquaries, and curioſoes, that have either ſeen or read of it. We hope we have made a ſufficient apology for our anticipating this ſhort account of it here, which might d otherwiſe have more properly belonged to the *Britiſh* hiſtory; and that the accurate author, from whom we have taken the moſt conſiderable and curious part of it, will not take it amiſs, that we have not followed his hypotheſis of its having been a druidiſh temple, when he conſiders the reaſons we have given for our aſſerting, that neither *Gauls*, *Germans*, nor ancient *Britons*, had ever any ſuch buildings, till long after their being conquered by the *Romans*, and being forced to introduce a foreign religion amongſt them, that is, the worſhip of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, and a great number of other inferior deities. How and when this was moſt probably brought about, we ſhall endeavour to account for in the next ſection.

points of three equilateral triangles; for, if this had been the caſe, there muſt have been ſix inſtead of five trilithons: but here is not the leaſt footſtep of a ſixth, no ſtump or fragment of it, nor cavity in the earth, where it may be ſuppoſed to have ſtood; ſo that three ſtones of that immenſe weight and magnitude, as we have deſcribed them, muſt be imagined to have been ſpirited away by the ſame magic art, by which the vulgar ſuppoſed the whole to have been reared, before we can think, that it ever had this trigonometrical form.

SECT. III.

How, and when, the ancient Gauls *introduced the worſhip of inferior deities among them.*

IT is plain, by what we have quoted out of *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and others, e that though the *Romans* had had a conſiderable footing in *Gaul* before the coming of that conqueror, yet they had not been able to perſuade them to imitate them in their rearing of temples to any deity. If they had, *Cæſar* would not have failed hinting ſomething of it, it being one of the chief maxims of this republic, to ſpread their religion, laws, and cuſtoms where-ever they came; ſo that, if the *Gauls* had ever been forced, or prevailed upon, to build any ſuch temples in their country, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he would have omitted mentioning it; he who took ſuch pleaſure

to

a to tell us how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the *Roman* intereſt, and to a fondneſs for ſome of their cuſtoms. Since then there is not the leaſt hint of it either in that or any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation, we may ſafely conclude they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign cuſtom, tho' could it be made appear, that any ſuch ſtructures had been reared then, yet would it not from thence follow, that it was done by the *Gauls*, but would appear more probably to have been done by the *Romans*, who, as we obſerved at the beginning of the laſt ſection, made it a part of their religion to adopt the gods, to vow temples and ſtatues, and afterwards to rear them in every country they conquered; whereas b the *Gauls* made it a conſtant maxim of theirs to wage open war againſt, to plunder and demoliſh, all ſuch ſtructures, from a principle bred amongſt them, in common with the *Perſes*, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place; which made *Cicero*, who was not deeply verſed in the *Gauliſh* religion, ſay, that it chiefly conſiſted in a hoſtile contrariety to all others (A).

When temples, altars, and ſtatues began to be reared in Gaul.

We cannot affirm with the ſame certainty, that they did not imitate the *Romans* in another part of their religion, the worſhip of a plurality of gods and goddeſſes, before their conqueſt. We are told, that they worſhipped *Mars* under the emblem of a naked ſword, and that *Mercury* was in the higheſt veneration among them all over *Gaul*[a], doubtleſs on account of the vaſt benefits and improvements, which c their trade, commerce, arts, and ſciences had received from him, and of which we have ſpoken in a former volume[b]. Here is indeed no mention of temples, altars, but only of ſtatues reared to them; and probably that worſhip might, at firſt, be no more than a civil one, though it grew up, in time, into downright idolatry and polytheiſm. Theſe two deities, as well as *Uranus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Diana*, &c. being all of *Celtic* extraction, as has been formerly ſhewn, it was much more natural for the *Gauls* to deify them, as having formerly reigned over their nation, than for the *Romans* and *Greeks* to adopt or challenge them from others as their own, and, in proceſs of time, to ſtrive to outvie them in thoſe divine honours, which the reſt of the world paid to them. This will, in ſome meaſure, lead us to the motives of that great change, which they ſuffered to be made in their ancient religion, for thoſe temples which they erected, and for thoſe ſacrifices which they offered, to all thoſe deified monarchs, till at length they ſunk down into the ſame abſurd notions concerning them with the reſt of the idolatrous world; and the notion of *Eſus*, or ſupreme Deity, was ſwallowed up into that of a *Jupiter*, as it had been every-where elſe; and this might reach no farther neither than the vulgar, whilſt the druids and wiſe men among the *Gauls*, as well as the philoſophers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſtill preſerved the notion of one Supreme Being, and either pitied, or perhaps laughed and winked at, the reſt of the pretended deities, heathen theology, and fooliſh ſuperſtition.

The druids forced to it.

But neither is this account altogether ſatisfactory, conſidering the averſion and contempt which the *Gauls* had of all other religions; and this extraordinary change will perhaps be better accounted for, if we can ſhew, with any probability, that they were

[a] Comment. ubi ſup. l. vi. [b] See vol. ii. p. 255, a, (D). p. 257, & ſeq.

(A) Whether it was his ignorance or contempt of their principles, or done out of a deſign to make his client's cauſe appear more juſtifiable (1), he expreſſes himſelf in theſe virulent terms againſt the *Gauls*, that they profeſſed no other religion than that of waging war againſt thoſe of all other nations, and againſt the very gods themſelves. He accuſes them of having left their native ſoil, and croſſed immenſe tracts of land, merely to go and attack the *Delphic Apollo*, and plunder the oracle of the whole world. This, continues he, is that holy nation, which had the boldneſs to beſiege our capitol, and even the great *Jupiter* himſelf in it.

We ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, to explode the greateſt part of this charge, for which that orator ſo foully inveighs againſt them. All that we ſhall obſerve here is, that they had, at that time, neither regard for the pretended gods of other nations, nor for the pretended ſanctity of their temples, but rather a ſingular contempt for the one, and abhorrence of the other; and this ſhews, that they had not as yet adopted any of the *Greek* or *Roman* rites into their religion, whatever they did afterwards.

One thing may be obſerved, that the general character, which the authors of both theſe nations give of the *Gauls*, is a continued contradiction, one while repreſenting them as people of no religion or principles, and at other times as the moſt addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition of any nation under heaven: all which can be only reconciled by allowing, that they actually had a religion of their own, of which they were ſo tenacious, that they deſpiſed all others for the ſake of it.

(1) *Orat. pro M. Fonteio.*

were rather forced to it by thoſe, under whoſe tyranny they came afterwards to groan, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of reſpect for their deceaſed princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to ſuch a brave and warlike nation as the *Gauls*, among whom one conſtant maxim was univerſally followed, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, to prefer the worſt of deaths to the loſs of liberty, the *Roman* yoke muſt appear intolerable; and that they could not be expected to ſubmit to it longer than they were forced to it by the ſuperior power of their tyrants; and as theſe made it their conſtant practice to introduce, either by fair or foul means, their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, where-ever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, could not but be extremely averſe to all ſuch changes, and uſe all their power and authority, which was ſtill very great, and almoſt uncontroulable (B), either to oppoſe them, or to prevail on the people to ſhake off the yoke. This their hiſtory will ſhew they did upon all favourable opportunities that offered; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity for the *Romans* to find out ſome plauſible pretence to ſtrip them of their great ſway, and force them to a blind and thorough ſubmiſſion. Accordingly we find, that ſeveral emperors took an effectual method to ſuppreſs the druidiſh power (C), by iſſuing out ſome ſevere edicts againſt their bloody cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices. *Auguſtus* was the firſt who iſſued out a decree againſt them, and at the ſame time introduced a cenſus among the *Gauls*; upon which the whole nation was juſt ready for a revolt. But by the addreſs and authority of *Druſus*, who was left there by him, they were not only prevented from riſing, but prevailed upon to aſſiſt at the dedication of *Julius Cæſar*'s temple, and to build an altar to *Auguſtus* [c]. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there, and the druids, by this time in leſs authority with the people, might buy it off, by rearing the above-mentioned altar to him; and this is the reaſon why *Claudius* renewed it againſt them. But, whatever the pretence of thoſe edicts might be, it is ſcarce credible, that religion had any hand in them; and they might as well have fallen foul upon all other nations under their empire, nay, and upon their own, ſince none was exempt from this barbarous cuſtom, much leſs the *Romans*, as the reader may infer from what we have ſaid in their hiſtory, and elſewhere [d]. However that be, it doth not appear, that even theſe took any more effect againſt them than

[c] See vol. v. p. 319. [d] See vol. vi. p. 27, 47, 111, 136, 681, 695, & ſeq.

(B) It plainly appears, that this high power of theirs, except what related to religion, was not of very ancient date; and that they raiſed themſelves to it in proceſs of time, by the help of the people's ſuperſtition. Anciently the women ſeem to have had a greater ſway in all civil matters, and even about making peace and war. This privilege they had even before their firſt expedition into *Italy*; and it appears that they held it ſtill, when *Hannibal* paſſed through *Gaul* to croſs the *Alps*; for, in the treaty they made with him, it was agreed, that, if a *Gaul* offered any injury to a *Carthaginian*, he ſhould be tried before the court of the *Gauliſh* women (2). The reaſon of this great ſway is variouſly accounted for: ſome think, that they were looked upon as inſpired; others think, it was owing to their having ſhewn a ſuperior degree of wiſdom in quenching a civil war, which the men had kindled among themſelves. The *Germans*, according to *Tacitus* (3), allowed them the very ſame privileges, and we find ſomething like this practiſed by the *Eleans*, who, having in vain ſued for ſatisfaction from *Demophcon* tyrant of *Piſa*, agreed with the *Piſans*, after his death, to ſubmit their difference to a court of ſixteen women, to be choſen out of ſixteen cities of the *Eleans*. Our author adds (4), that their deciſion ſo pleaſed both parties, that they appointed a perpetual college of ſixteen matrons to preſide over the *Junonian* games, and to aſſign the prize to whom they thought worthieſt of it.

However, with reſpect to the *Gauliſh* women, though we cannot aſcertain the time when they loſt this their authority, yet it is plain, by what *Cæſar* ſays of that extenſive one (5), which the druids had in his time, that they had found means to ſtrip thoſe female heroines of theirs.

(C) We are told by three *Roman* authors, that *Claudius* did quite aboliſh this ſect, and their inhuman ſuperſtition (6). The laſt quoted calls him indeed *Tiberius*, from which ſome have aſcribed this edict to the emperor of that name, though wrongfully; for he only calls *Claudius* by his prenomen, *Claudius* being called *Tiberius Claudius Nero Druſus*; and it doth not appear, that the other *Tiberius* made any ſuch edict againſt that cuſtom, but only againſt aſtrologers, whom he baniſhed from *Rome* (7). And here we beg leave to rectify a miſtake, which inadvertently ſlided into our *Carthaginian* hiſtory (8), where we ſaid, that the emperor *Tiberius* puniſhed the *African* prieſts for their practiſe of theſe human ſacrifices; whereas it ſhould have been ſaid, *Tiberius* the proconſul of *Afric* under the emperor *Adrian*; for it appears by *Tertullian*'s account of it, that his own father was a centurion under him (9); which can by no means agree with the rank, nor with the times of the emperor of that name. We hope our readers will be candid enough to overlook ſuch overſights in a work of this extenſive nature, eſpecially when they find how ready we are to acknowledge and rectify them, as ſoon as we have diſcovered them.

(2) *Plut. de mulier. Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* vii. (3) *Hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 61. (4) *Pauſan. Eliac.* (5) *Comm. l.* vi. (6) *Suet. in vit. Claud. Senec. in luctu de morte Claud. Plin. hiſt. nat. l.* xxx. *c.* 1. (7) *Vide Xiphil. ex Dion.* lvii. (8) *Vol.* vi. *p.* 695, *c.* (9) *Vide apolog. c.* 9.

than that of *Auguſtus*, ſince we find them ſtill not only in high vogue ſome centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors *Severus*, *Aurelian*, and *Dioclesian*. They ſubſiſted ſtill, even down to the times of *Solinus*, *Polyhiſtor*, and of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*[e], and much longer ſtill in their chief abode in the province of *Chartrain*, where whole towns continued in their ancient paganiſm, even down to the fifth century[f]. Neither did thoſe edicts ſuppreſs the practice of human victims amongſt the *Romans* themſelves, among whom they continued to the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, and even down to that of *Gratian*, who gave the finiſhing blow to it[g].

How and when introduced.

FROM all this it appears very probable, that theſe edicts againſt the druids, and their bloody rites, were not ſo much iſſued out to aboliſh their ſect, and religion, as to intimidate them, and ſuppreſs their exorbitant power, which, ſomewhat before this time, was grown to ſuch a height, that they over-ruled in all courts and councils, raiſed whom they liked to the higheſt dignities, and even to the crown, and often aſpired at, and obtained it for ſome of their own order. They directed in the making of peace and war, and, even after they were conquered by the *Romans*, could ſtir up the people to a general revolt; and ſo jealous were they grown of their uſurped authority, that they puniſhed, as we have hinted a little higher, all that diſobeyed or diſputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more ſuitable to the *Roman* policy, than to uſe all poſſible means to ſuppreſs and cruſh ſo dangerous a ſet of men; and ſince religion was the common pretext to all their exorbitant ſway, ſo that there was no poſſibility of pulling down the one, without aboliſhing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to uſe all their power and addreſs to bring about ſuch a thorough change, and introduce their religion amongſt them; and there might not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period afforded them, when the *Gauliſh* nation, groaning under a double, and, we may add, a divided, tyranny, that of their conquerors and that of their druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no ſmall eaſe to be rid at leaſt of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, ſeemed the moſt intolerable of the two; for it muſt be remembered, that the *Romans* ſeldom made uſe of force, when they could gain their ends by cajoling and flattery, by fair promiſes, or even bribes and rewards; whereas the druids, if we may believe the *Roman* authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontrouled ſway, till being overpowered by their enemies, and forſaken by their own people, they were at length forced to ſubmit to, and exchange their religion and rites for thoſe of their conquerors.

Gaul at length over-run with them.

THIS at leaſt appears, by ſeveral concurring circumſtances, to have happened about the time of theſe edicts; for, in *Cæſar*'s time, who left the *Gauls* to the free enjoyment of their rites, and even of many of their laws and cuſtoms, there was not as yet any temple built, or any place of worſhip, but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the *Lugdunenſes* building a ſtately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to *Auguſtus*, then on the throne, and a profeſſed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his ſucceſſor *Tiberius*, their chief deity *Eſus* is tranſformed into *Jupiter*, the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it ſhould ſeem, divides his worſhip with him for a while (D). Both are worſhipped at firſt in groves, and under oaks; and at length the former is quite ſwallowed up in the latter, and temples, altars,

[e] POLYHIST. c. 21. Præp. evang. l. iv. c. 17. vi. p. 48, a.

[f] Vide relig. des. Gaul. i. c. 32.

[g] See vol.

(D) This is inferred from ancient bas-reliefs found in the great church of *Paris*, in which both theſe deities are carved one cloſe to the other, the inſcription of which is indeed to *Jupiter*; but the ceremony of the oaky miſleto, with the words *Senani veilo*, ſhews that *Eſus* was looked upon ſtill as the chief godhead there repreſented.

We would not rely too much upon theſe dark and enigmatic monuments, which every antiquary wreſts according to his own favourite hypotheſis. Sure it is, that, in the name of *Maximus Tyrienſis*, who lived about an hundred years after *Tiberius*, *Eſus* was already transformed into *Jupiter*, and worſhipped under the type of a large oak (9). The author of the life of St. *Boniface*, biſhop of *Mentz*, tells us, that that prelate found no better expedient to bring his people from their old ſuperſtition to chriſtianity, than by cutting down an oak of a very large ſize, called the oak of *Jove*, and ſtrength of *Jove* (10). The ſame is ſaid to have been done, with like ſucceſs, by ſtill later preachers (11). So long did this veneration for thoſe trees continue, as one may ſay, in the heart of chriſtianity. We may add, that the name of *Jupiter* doth not appear to have been adopted by the *Gauls*, but only that of *Jove*, which we have already ſhewn is of *Celtic* original (12).

(9) *Max. Tyr. ſerm.* xxxviii. (10) *Henſch. apud. relig. des Gaul. l.* ii. *c.* 5. (11) *Bzovii. annal. ſub ann.* 1233. *ap. eand.* (12) *See before vol.* ii. *p.* 250, *& ſeq.*

altars, and ſtatues, are erected to him after the *Roman* manner over all the conquered a
parts of *Gaul*. After a few reigns more, during which they were ſtill greatly op-
preſſed, and made ſeveral vain attempts to regain their liberty, eſpecially under *Ca-*
ligula and *Claudius* [h], who ſucceeded *Tiberius*, the whole country is filled with *Roman*
temples, all their deities adopted and worſhipped, and ſcarce any traces left of their
ancient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to theſe new deities,
and perhaps alſo in their auguries; which occaſioned the above-mentioned decrees
againſt them. To theſe we may add the great veneration which they ſtill retained
for their oaks, notwithſtanding their multiplicity of temples, and which continued,
according to ſome authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of theſe
was dedicated to an hundred deities, as appears by an inſcription engraven on a b
neighbouring column, which the reader will find in the margin (E). However, the
Run into all kinds of ſuperſtition. ſluice thus broken, an inundation of ſuperſtition and idolatry enſued, which nothing
could reſiſt; and the *Gauls*, having once ſhaken off the yoke of their druids, became
ſo enamoured with the pageantry of polytheiſm, that they deified at length lakes,
rivers, marſhes, and even fountains, to all which they aſcribed ſome peculiar deity,
and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was looked upon as the higheſt
ſacrilege to fiſh in them, to draw or drain them, and eſpecially to lay hands on any
treaſures that were committed to their care and protection (F). To all theſe changes
the druids found themſelves obliged to ſubmit, to avoid the penalties of thoſe edicts;
and ſo compliable did they ſhew themſelves, that, from that time, whether to ſhew
their complaiſance to the *Romans*, or to take off the odium which their name laid
them under, they exchanged it for that of *Senani*, which, in their language, ſigni-
fied the ſame as *elder* or *venerable* with us. From hence we may date their downfal,
though not their total abolition, till ſome ages after; for, being once reduced to
ſuch a low ebb of authority, or rather being once ſtripped of it, and become ſuch
ſervile creatures to their new and potent maſters, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe
would ever ſuffer them to recover it again, but, if they ſtill permitted them to make
a gain of religion; it ſhould be only in the worſhip and rites of thoſe new deities,
which they had now adopted. This was an effectual means to induce them to give
into all kinds of *Roman* and *Greek* ſuperſtitions, and even to outdo them in it, ſince d
it would open a new door to their intereſt, inſtead of the old one that had been
ſtopped up. We have taken notice, in the laſt note, of the immenſe treaſures,
which were flung into their conſecrated lakes, rivers, and afterwards into their tem-
ples; and who can imagine thoſe druids and prieſts to have been as ſcrupulous as the
ſtupid laity, of converting any part of it to their own uſes? But this we muſt ſubmit
to our readers, who will be better able to judge of it, if we ſubjoin here ſome few
more inſtances of this kind of ſuperſtition; for it were endleſs to mention them all,
they were grown to ſuch number and variety.

One

[h] See vol. v. 476, a, & ſeq.

(E) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. *Severus*, the inſcription engraven was to preſerve the memory of it; AREOREM DIVUS SEVERUS EVERTIT CENTUM DEORUM. Our author adds, that, in rooting it up, they found a head full of gold and ſilver, which was laid out by that ſaint in the building of a church ſince dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (13).

(F) Of theſe lakes, fountains, &c. ſome were dedicated to one deity, ſome to another. *Tacitus* pretends to give us the reaſon why the *Gauls* deified them, becauſe, ſays he, they were nearer heaven, and conſequently nearer the ear of thoſe deities, to whom they pray from thence (14). This is a very fooliſh one; and it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they fancied thoſe deities to be more immediately preſent there. However, ſuch regard they had for them, that the ſame author tells us, that the *Hermonduri* and *Catti* waged a bloody war againſt each other for the property of one of theſe fountains, which was a ſalt one; and that the former at length gained their point againſt the latter, by a vow which they made to ſacrifice their enemies, and all their ſpoil, to *Mars* and *Mercury*; which was accordingly done: the *Catti* were all maſſacred without mercy, together with their horſes, cattle, and all their ſpoil, and flung into the lake (15).

However, unleſs it be upon ſuch bloody devowments, we do not find, that they offered any victims to them; but abundance of gold, ſilver, rich cloaths, and other coſtly things, they flung into them, which it was ſacrilege to touch. We have ſpoken of the famous lake of *Tholouſe* dedicated to *Apollo*, whoſe treaſures, eſpecially in gold and ſilver ingots and maſſy utenſils, amounted to immenſe ſums, and was continually increaſed by freſh offerings (16). In time theſe places became ſo liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as perhaps by their neighbours, that they began to repoſit thoſe ſacred treaſures in their temples, of which they had ſoon after a vaſt number, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

(13) *Jo. de Boſc. antiq. Vien. p.* 4. *Tableau des prov. Franc. tom.* ii. *p.* 107. *apud eund.* (14) *Annal. l.* xv. (15) *Ibid. ſub fin.* (16) *Oroſ. l.* v. *c.* 1. 15. *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* iii. *Aul. Gell. l.* iii. *c.* 9.

a ONE lake they had in ſome part of *Gaul* neareſt the ocean, which received its name from two white ravens, with whitiſh wings, which conſtantly kept about it. Incredible wonders were told of it [i]. Amongſt others, it was much reſorted to in matters of controverſy between parties. Each of the contenders brought a kind of cake, and laid it at the end of the ſame plank, which was ſet afloat on the lake, to be expoſed to thoſe ravens, whoſe cuſtom, it ſeems, was to devour one of the cakes, and to crumble and ſcatter the other; and this laſt gave the cauſe to its owner. Another we read of at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood of *Savoy*, dedicated to the moon, under the name of *Helanus*, which ſignifies *ſplendor*. It was reſorted to by all the neighbouring people once a year, who threw into it ſome cloaths, linen,
b fleeces of wool: others bread, cheeſe, wax, and the like, according as they could afford it. Here they kept a ſumptuous feaſt, which laſted three whole days, a ſufficient quantity of proviſions being brought in waggons to the place. On the fourth day, we are told [k], when they were ready to return home, there conſtantly aroſe ſuch ſtorms of wind, thunder, rain, and hail, as made them afraid for their lives. We have taken notice how they uſed the waters of the *Rhine* to diſcover the fidelity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their iſſue. They ſeem to have had a much greater veneration for this river, than for any other. The offerings and ſacrifices offered to it were of a peculiar kind: whole armies called upon it for help and victory, and the ſight of it, or of any of its waters, inſpired the ſoldiers with courage and
c bravery [l]. Each river, fountain, lake, or pool, was looked upon as inhabited by ſome deity, and had ſome peculiar and extraordinary virtues aſcribed to it, for the ſake of which the credulous people reſorted to them in ſhoals, and with proper offerings, every one according to their ability. Some others of their ſuperſtitions we ſhall have occaſion to hint in the ſequel; and theſe ſhall ſuffice to ſhew into what lengths they ran in their imitation of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and what profit their druids, bards, *&c.* are like to have made of them (G).

THIS multiplicity of deities, or rather of lakes, marſhes, *&c.* conſecrated to them, did not hinder them from building temples, altars, and ſtatues to them after the *Roman* manner, and not only in great number, but ſome of them very ſtately, and in the
d grand taſte, as one may infer from ſome remains of them, and other monuments of that nation; but yet in theſe they commonly ſacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered their vows and rich donatives in them; but, as to human ſacrifices, they ſtill offered them, it ſeems [m], under their oaks and in their groves; but whether they did it for privacy, or for fear of the *Romans*, and to avoid the penalty of their edicts, or ſtill retained their ancient notion of that ſupreme being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, is not eaſy to determine (H). To give our readers a ſpecimen of theſe new buildings, we are told, that the ſtatues of theſe gods, ſuch as *Pennin*, *Mercury*, *Diana*, &c. of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, were placed ſometimes on a pedeſtal, which ſerved likewiſe for an altar, ſometimes
e on a column of a prodigious height [n]. In ſome they were expoſed to the open air, and in others ſheltered by an edifice of poliſhed ſtones in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no leſs rich and magnificent, witneſs that famed one called *Vaſſo* at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered, on the outſide, with carved ſtones, and on the inſide with ſmall ones nicely wrought and poliſhed, and on the top incruſtated with marble, and compartments

Their temples deſcribed.

[i] STRAB. l. iv. ad. fin. [k] GREG. TUR. glor. conf. 2. [l] TACIT. hiſt. l. v. c. 18. [m] See relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15. [n] GREG. TUR. l. viii. c. 15. SULP. SEVER. dial. l. iii. c. 9, & ſeq. GUICH. hiſt. des ſcavant ap relig. des Gaul. ubi ſup.

(G) It may not be amiſs to obſerve here to our readers, that this deifying of lakes, rivers, and ſprings, might probably be owing to ſome extraordinary qualities and virtues they obſerved in their waters, eſpecially ſuch as were of a hot and medicinal nature. Even lakes and rivers, though leſs extraordinary on any ſuch account, might yet riſe to this height of veneration, on that of their perpetual flowing, and diſcharging ſuch conſtant ſtreams of water, without being exhauſted; of all which the druids, though well enough acquainted with the natural reaſon, (for they were great philoſophers) might yet make a myſtery with the vulgar, for their own politic ends.

(H) The former ſeems the moſt probable, becauſe they did likewiſe chuſe to offer theſe victims in caves, rocks, precipices, and other deſert and unfrequented places, which they choſe ſometimes by mere chance, and as they fell in their way; at other times by their auguries and lots: all which ſeems to intimate, that they avoided being ſeen at theſe bloody ceremonies by any other people (17), eſpecially the *Romans*, who had ſo ſtrictly forbid them.

(17) *Vide Burchard. decret. l. x. c. 10. Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentr. apud relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15. ad fin.*

ments of *Mosaic* work. The pavement was likewise of marble, and the top covered with lead[o]. A learned *French* antiquary mentions eight of these stately fabrics of an octagonal form, and whose eight faces were adorned with a number of *Gaulish* deities, generally eight in number in those which he himself observed; which made him suspect, that this combination of numbers contained some druidish mysteries, which are now quite out of our reach[p] (I). We shall refer our readers to the two authors last quoted for a further account of those famous edifices, that we may not draw this section into an excessive length, and content ourselves with giving them a short description of one of the most curious of them in the next note (K), and figure, by which

[o] Iidem ibid. [p] Suplement de l' antiq. tom. ii. See also relig. des Gaul. ubi sup. c. 16, & seq.

(I) The author of the religion of the *Gauls* has, however, disproved the conjecture of that learned antiquary, by shewing (17) that this octagonal form was common among the *Romans*, as well as the *Gauls*; and that the latter had temples of different forms, some round, some oblong, some decagonal, without any apparent mystical design. The thing is not worth disputing at this distance; and it doth not appear, that the *Gauls* had any such regard for the number eight. They had indeed a greater one, if we may believe *Pliny* (18), for the number six, which was held so sacred amongst them, that they overturned the order of months, years, *&c.* in honour of it; but on what account they did so, doth not appear.

(K) This octagonal structure stands at *Montmorillon*, in the province of *Poitou*, and consists of two temples, one above ground, and the other under it, somewhat like our St. *Faith* and St *Paul*, the lowest of which is much narrower than the upper, and its wall as thick again. The upper received its light from eight windows, in form of portals, under the arch of each of the eight faces; but now walled up, except that over the gate or entrance into the fabric; and another which leads to a kind of wing or portico, which projects from the fabric, on the opposite side. The great overture in the centre of the roof, which resembles that in the *Rotonda* of *Rome*, gives likewise some light to the building, tho' not much, because it descends through a hole in the roof, like a cylinder, of twenty-four feet in length, and about ten in breadth. The rain, that falls thro' it, gathers itself to the centre of the pavement, which is made with a proper declension, and empties itself through another, and much lesser hole, into the lower temple, and is sucked up by the earth, this last having neither sink nor pavement.

The wing, at one of the sides of the octagon, is equal to it, that is, eighteen feet in breadth without and within. That, which leads into the lower, is much narrower than that which leads into the upper building; and at the end of the former is a staircase, that leads up to the latter. This place appears to be of the same age and structure as the octagon, and has, on the top, a kind of square tower of about the same height with the roof of the inner temple; but whether it had a bell in it, as some think, who imagine it to have been since turned into a church, is not easy to determine. This advanced building seems to have served for a kind of vestry to the priests and druids. Just over-against this, across the temple, is the gate that leads into it; and on the one side of it, in the subterranean temple, begins a covert way above six feet broad, and about six hundred in length, which leads to the neighbouring river, to which, it is supposed, the druids went to wash themselves and their victims, whenever they performed the priestly function.

Over the gate of the temple were eight human figures coarsly carved, supposed to have been so many *Gaulish* deities. Of these six are of the male kind, three in a group or nich, and the two others, one at each end, are females. The former are differently dressed. Those that face you, and stand farthest out, have a kind of antique mantle; the others have on a kind of tunic. One has a long gown quite down to his feet, and open from top to bottom, and all of them are girdled up. In one group the figure that faces you is shod, and the other two on each side are barefooted. In the other group, that which faces you is unshod, and the other two shod. In the one they appear old men, with long beards; in the other, all young and beardless; so that in the first there are two old men unshod, and one shod; and in the other two young men shod, and one unshod. This odd contrast was not, doubtless, without some mysterious meaning.

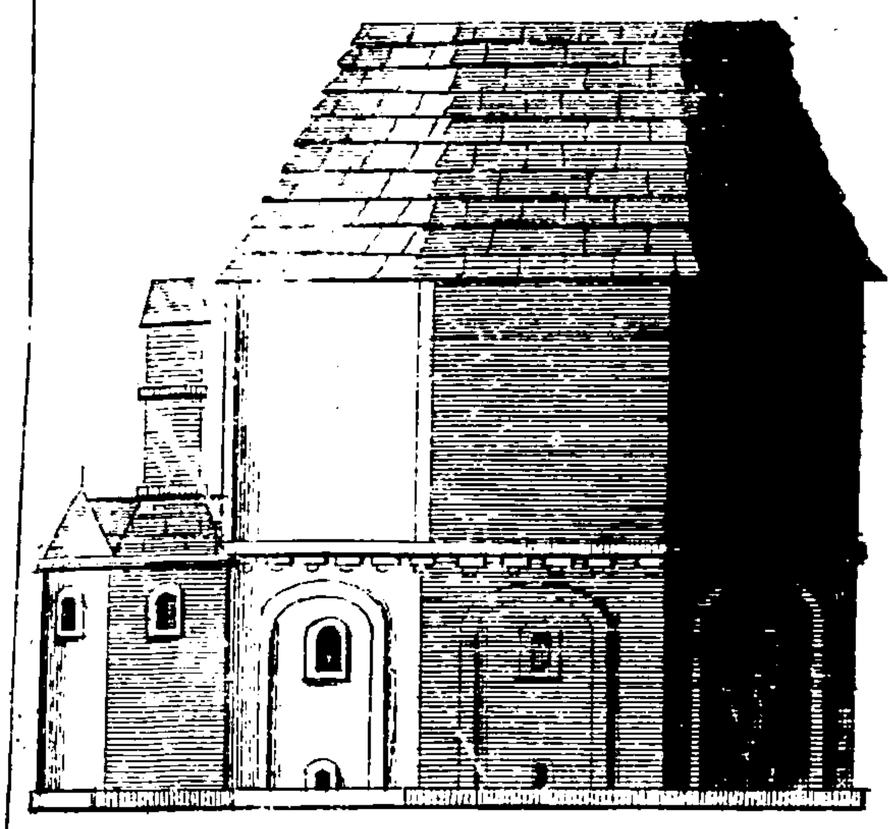
Of the two women, which stand one at each end, the one had a long head of hair plaited hanging on each side before her, and is dressed somewhat in the modern form, that is, in a kind of stiff-bodied gown. She holds her hands on her sides, and hath a kind of mittins which cover about one-half-way her arms. That, which stands on the opposite side, is quite naked, and hath two serpents twisted one round each leg, and both, twining between her thighs, rear their heads up to her breasts, as if they were sucking at them, whilst she holds them by her hands, as it were, close to the sides of her belly. From this combination of eight figures over the gate of an octagonal temple, our learned author infers, that that number was looked upon by the *Gauls* as sacred to the gods, as we hinted a little higher.

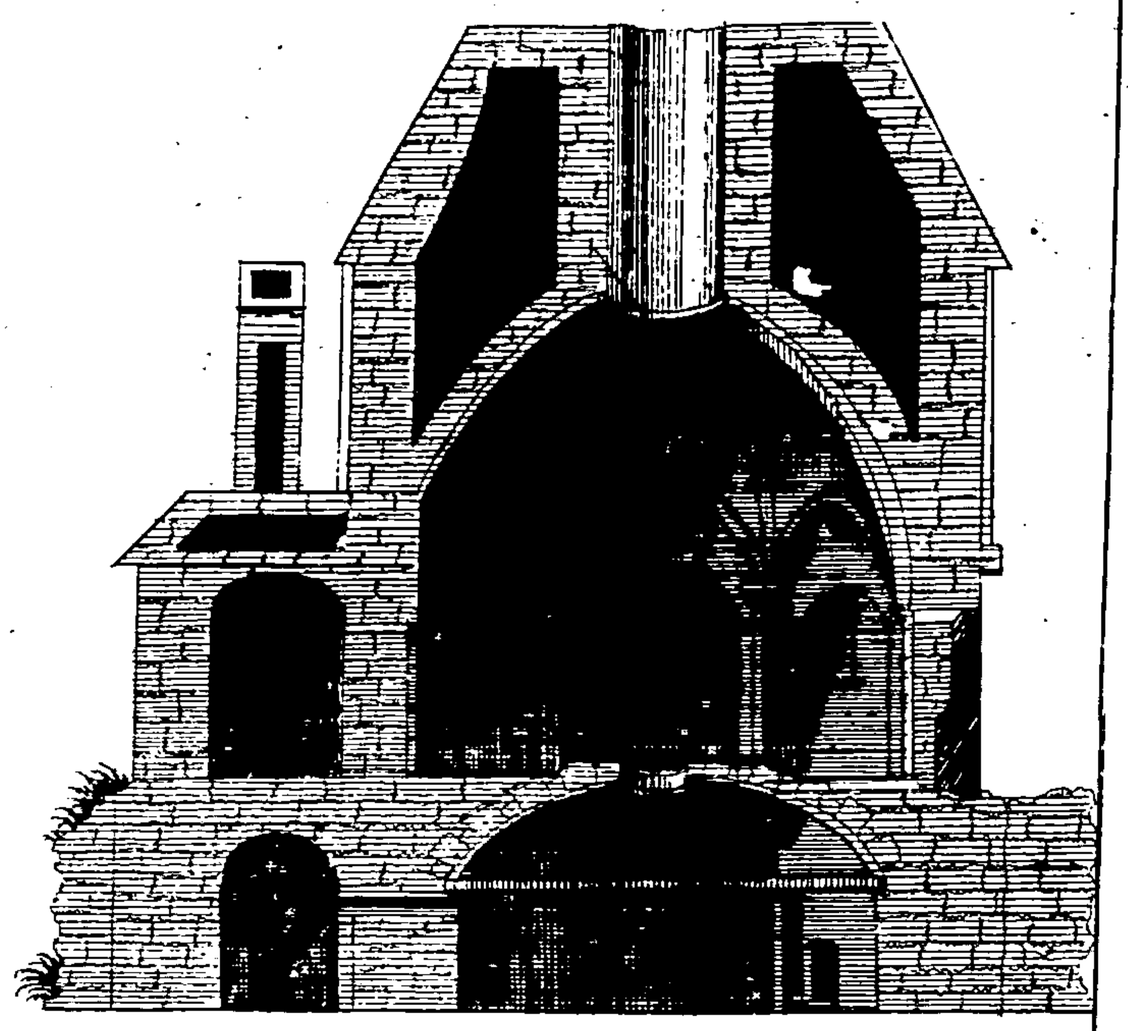
The intablature over it was not without its ornaments, which chiefly consisted of a great variety of heads oddly variegated, the meaning of which, if it was done with any, is not easy to guess. As to the figures themselves, this is the conjecture of our author, for the proofs of which we shall refer our readers to the place quoted in the margin (19): The naked woman, with two serpents, he supposes to have represented the moon, to whom therefore he concludes the temple to have been dedicated. The three old men he takes to have been three druids, and the three young men to have been their disciples, and the number six to have been designed to signify the sacredness in which it was held by the *Gauls*, it being on the sixth day of the moon that they performed their grand ceremony of gathering the misleto, as we have already hinted. The serpents, sucking at her breasts, may signify properly enough the virtue, which that planet imparted, not only to that plant, but to all other vegetables, as the snakes are said to renew their age with their skins. As for the other woman, he supposes her to have been designed for *Venus*, because such a kind of figure had been dug up at *Chalons*, with her tresses plaited somewhat like this. If so, we would rather suppose the three young men, which stand next to her,

to

(17) *Ibid.* c. 16. (18) *Idem*, *l.* xvi. c. 44. (19) *Idem*, *l.* i. *c.* 31.

PLAN OF THE FAMED TEMPLE OF MONTMORILLON. BOTH ABOVE AND UNDER GROUND.

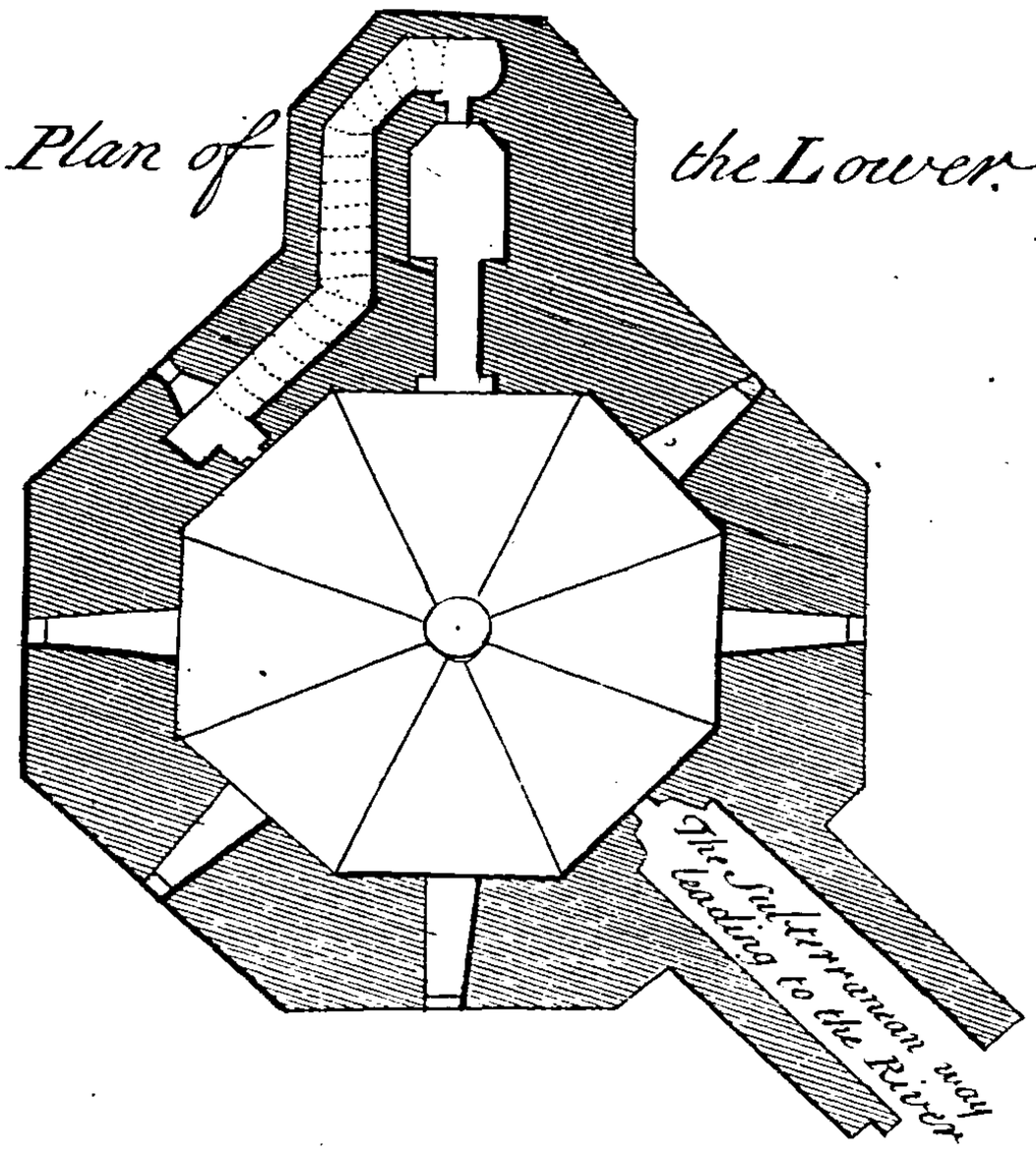




Plan of the Upper.

The side on wch the eight figures stand over the Temple gate.

Plan of the Lower.



The Eight Figures over the Gate of the Temple.



P. Simms Sculpt

which they may frame an idea of the *Gauliſh* taſte in architecture. All that we ſhall add here is, that, by the multitude of niches that appear in ſome of them, they ſeem to have had a vaſt number of ſtatues in them, which are ſince moſtly demoliſhed, upon their converſion to chriſtianity; and ſome of them, ſince dug up out of their ruins, are ſo ſadly broken and mangled, that it is hard to gueſs, whether they were *Gauliſh* deities, or ſtatues of any other kind. Our two authors differ in their judgment about them; but, ſince the *Gauls* were grown ſo fond of multiplying their deities, as to dedicate one oak to an hundred of them, as we lately hinted, why may we not believe with *Montfaucon*, that they might ſhew the ſame fondneſs for multiplying their idols in thoſe temples, in imitation of the *Romans?* A great many of theſe edifices have been preſerved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of chriſtianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were then demoliſhed, of which there are ſtill ſome fragments remaining, and may be ſeen more particularly deſcribed in the authors above quoted.

The gods worſhiped by the Gauls.

We are now come to ſpeak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worſhiped by the *Gauls*. We have already ſeen how their ancient *Eſus* came to be changed into *Jupiter*, at firſt indeed under the ſymbol of an oak, and even of a ſhapeleſs ſtump of a tree. But at length, as they gave wholly into the *Roman* ſuperſtition, they came to erect altars and ſtatues to him, and to repreſent him after the *Roman* manner: thus in ſome ancient ſtatues and bas-reliefs he is carved with a lance in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and boſom bare; his head is ſometimes ſurrounded with a radial crown; his name of *Jupiter* is never met in any of his inſcriptions, but only that of *Jou*, or *Jovis*, which, being of *Celtic* extract, was deſignedly retained by them, inſtead of the *Roman*. He is likewiſe ſurnamed *Taran*, which, in the ſame tongue, ſignifies *thunderer:* we would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this laſt name is the *Taramis*, or *Taranis*, of *Lucan*, or that the *Gauls* did not give it to any other god but the great *Jupiter:* but we may be well aſſured, that that of *Jovis* was peculiar to him, and has been preſerved not only by the ancient *Gauls* and *Welſh*, but is ſtill retained by the *French* in many of their compound words (L). In that part of *Gaul* nearer the *Alps* he was called *Peninus*, and thoſe high mountains *Peninæ*, from the old *Celtic* word *Pen*, which ſignifies a *head*, a *height*, a *ſummit* (M). He was repreſented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of mount *St. Bernard the Leſs*, by *L. Lucilius*, and is ſtyled *Optimus Maximus*; whence it is concluded, that he was the ſame with the *Gauliſh Jovis*. What ſeems to confirm this beyond all queſtion is, that the column on which it ſtands is indifferently called the column of *Jove* and of *Peninus*, and the carbuncle that was placed on it, the eye of *Jove*, and the eye of *Peninus* [l]; but, ſince by the eye of *Jupiter* was meant the ſun from all antiquity [m], and the carbuncle was a very proper emblem of this laſt deity, why may we not as well ſuppoſe this ſtatue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it rather than to *Jupiter?* However that be, as this laſt ſucceeded their great *Eſus*, they paid much the ſame worſhip to him, and, in particular, offered human victims to him;

Jupiter.

[l] Guichenon. hiſt. of Savoy, tom. i. l. i. c. 4. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 21.

[m] Vide

to have been deſigned for her prieſts. But if the naked one, ſuckling two ſerpents, ſignifies the new moon, may not the other, which is dreſſed in a cloſe-bodied gown reaching up to her neck, have been deſigned to expreſs the old one, and to ſignify, that, after ſhe is paſt the full, ſhe ceaſes to communicate her influence? for the druids, being well verſed, for thoſe times, in aſtronomy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and much addicted to aſtrology, it was natural for them to think, that as the increaſe of that planet did daily approximate her virtue to the earth, ſo her decreaſe did divert and elongate it from it. But whither are we running with our conjectures?

(L) Particularly in thoſe that follow *Joudy* or *Jeudy*, *Thurſday*, or day of *Jove*; *Joumont*, *Joubarb*, the mount of *Jove*, a mountain ſo called by the *Romans*, and the beard of *Jove*, an herb ſo called, from its reſemblance to it; and many more of the like nature. As for that of *Taran*, which is ſtill kept in many words which expreſs any loud and fearful noiſe, and from which we take the *Greek* ταραχὴ and ταράττω to be derived, it is not unlikely, that it may have been alſo given to *Mars*, on account of the thundering noiſe which the *Gauls* made upon their ſhields, when they invoked him, either before an onſet, or after a victory.

(M) This deity is called *Apenina* by *Cato* the elder, who derives it from *Apis*, the firſt king of *Italy*, with whom, according to him, ended the golden age (20). *Servius* (21) calls her *Penina*. But the figure and inſcription which *Guichenon* has given us of it, ſhew it to have been erected to a male deity. The inſcription is, Lvcivs Lvcilivs deo Penino optimo maximo donvm dedit. The column was of marble, and about fourteen feet high.

(20) *Apud Macrob. Saturn. l.* i. *c.* 21.

(21) *Comment. in Æneid.* x.

him, as the *Romans* did to their *Jupiter Latialis*; some instances of which we have given in the last section of this chapter, and in a former volume[m].

Mars. THEIR next deity was *Mars*, whom they esteemed as the chief protector of the *Gaulish* nation. Their invincible warlike temper inspired them with such a veneration for, and confidence in, him (N), that whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their possessions, and about the time of the onset they vowed to him all the plunder[n]. If they came off with victory, they frequently sacrificed their prisoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their slain enemies about the necks of their horses, in token of their valour. They even inclosed some of the most considerable ones in frames of cedar, and, upon proper occasions, shewed them to strangers, and at no time could be prevailed upon to part with them[o]. b

Their cruel vows to him.

Another barbarous custom they are justly branded with, of poisoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a quite deadly quality[p]. In times of sickness, or imminent danger, they immediately sacrificed some human victims to *Mars*, or vowed to do it, as soon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common with them, in pressing dangers, to vow all their enemies to that deity, and to massacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or distinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worshipped under the emblem of a naked sword, and under the name of *Mars*, or *Mavors*, or *Mawr-ruisc*, which signifies *warlike* or *powerful*. Since then, we find him represented in the habit of a *Roman* warrior, with a spear in one hand, c and a shield in the other, and with the surname of *Camulus* (O). We are told, that the *Accitani* of *Spain*, or the inhabitants of *Cadiz*, a *Gaulish* colony, represented him surrounded with rays of light, because, says our author[q], the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal spirits, which are the cause of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the sun. The variety of inscriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, shews him to have been in the highest esteem. We took notice formerly, that all the treasures and plunder, that were vowed to him, were laid up in heaps in the next convenient place in the open fields, and were looked upon as so sacred, that no *Gaul* dared to meddle with them. Some stones have been found, with eight or nine human heads buried under them, which, by the inscription, appear to have d been

[m] P 349, & seq. (D), and vol. vi. p. 27, & alib. [n] Ulp. fragm. tit. 21. Comment. l. vi. Diod. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. Athen. l. iv. [o] Strab. l. iv, Diod. Sic. ubi sup. [p] Rhodig. l. xxiii. c. 12. [q] Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 19.

(N) *Julian* the apostate, among his many other chimerical notions, attributed all the bravery and success of the *Gauls* to the influence which the providence of the Creator of all things had endued that deity with, when he put them under his protection (22). But it is far more reasonable to think, that their natural bravery, joined to their hatred of the all-conquering and enslaving *Romans*, directed them to the choice of that deity for their protector, and which they anciently worshipped, not as a god, but as one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity, which squared most with their warlike temper, as we have had occasion to hint in a former note (23).

(O) This appears from two inscriptions which *Gruter* has given us. the one on a bas-relief, with figures of five gods, *viz. Arduinne*, *Camulus*, *Jove*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*; all which have their names engraven over their heads. The inscription underneath shews it to have been dedicated to them by one *Quartinus*, who is there styled *Civis Sabinus Remus*; from which that great critic, not observing, that the last word shews him to have been a citizen of *Rheims*, mistook those deities to be of *Sabinian* extract, and *Camulus* to be the same as *Camillus* (24), one of the names which the *Sabines* gave to *Mercury*.

But there is another inscription, of older date by an hundred years, which shews, that the *Rhemenses* in *Gaul* worshipped *Mars* under that title. It runs thus: Marti Camulo ob salvtem TiberI Claudi Cæs. cives. Remi templvm constitvervnt (25). Hence it is plain, that if *Camulus* was known in that part of *Italy*, it was by the means of this *Quartinus*, a *Rhemish* citizen, who dedicated this inscription there to him, under the reign of *Antoninus*; whereas that city appears, by the second inscription, to have dedicated their temple in that of *Claudius*: so that, upon the whole, all these five deities here appear to have been *Gaulish*, not only by their names, which are of *Celtic* extract, but from the resemblance of their dress, attitudes, &c. with those that have been found among the ancient monuments of *Gaul*, especially in the great cathedral of *Paris* (26).

As for the etymon of *Camulus*, it is not easily decyphered. It may be derived from the *Celtic camp*. a *field of battle*; from *campa*, *to fight*, and *ulvu*, a *fire*, *blaze*; whence perhaps the *Greek cammonia*, by which they called the victory gained in single combat. It may perhaps also come from the *cam* or *chant*, or *songs*, which the *Gauls* used when they went to fight. But we have had frequent occasion to observe throughout this work, that there is nothing more uncertain, and apt to mislead men, than strained etymologies. Besides, the *Gauls* having received, as we have seen, their polytheism from the *Romans*, it were unreasonable to expect, that names and surnames of those deities should all be of *Gaulish* extract. As for *Arduina*, her dress, as well as name, shews her to have been *Diana*, who was worshipped in *Gaul*, as well as in *Greece* and *Rome*.

(22) *Vide Cyril. Alexand. l.* iv. *cont. Jul.* (23) *Before, p.* 329. *not.* (E). (24) P. 40. *ium.* 9. (25) *Idem, p.* 56. *n.* 11. (26) *Vide relig. des Gaul. l.* ii. *c.* 36.

a been dedicated to him, and theſe heads to have belonged to thoſe human victims, which they were accuſtomed to vow to him in times of peril and ſickneſs. In ſome of theſe inſcriptions he is called plainly *Mars*; in others he has the title of *Segomen*; in others *Vincius* or *Britovius*, the meaning of which names is not very clear. The reader may ſee the moſt probable conjectures about them in the next note (P).

Apollo was another of their deities, and in as great veneration, on account of his being the god of phyſic, as *Mars* was for being the god of war. The druids, who were as famed quacks as prieſts, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their *materia medica*, which chiefly conſiſted in vegetables, accompanied with a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh, which they uſed in b the gathering, preparing, and adminiſtring (Q). The *Aquileians* and *Tectoſagi* choſe him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vaſt territory about *Tholoſa*, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that is mentioned by an ancient author[r], on account of *Conſtantine*'s repairing thither, to give thanks for his late ſucceſs (R), and the extraordinary preſents he made to it; upon which occaſion that author ſtyles it the fineſt temple of *Apollo* that was then in the world. The building was a decagon, in which there was a vaſt number of niches and ſtatues, and, among the reſt, that of *Apollo*, repreſented as a lively youth; upon which account, the panegyriſt compliments that monarch with joining to the youthfulneſs of the god, c the grandeur of an emperor. Some words he adds, which ſeem to imply, as if the oracle of the god had juſtly promiſed him the empire of the world; from which one might be induced to believe, that there had been likewiſe an oracle of that god there, in imitation of that of *Delphos*; and that *Conſtantine* had been conſulting it. But we would not lay too great ſtreſs on the ſwoln expreſſions of a panegyriſt. However that be, as *Apollo* was the ſame deity with the ſun, the *Gauls* worſhipped him under ſeveral names and different forms. He is ſometimes called *Apollo*, *Belenus*, and *Abellion*, which ſignify *fair*; ſometimes by the *Perſic* name of *Mithras*; ſometimes that of *Pennius*, of which we have ſpoken under that of *Jupiter*; and at other times *Dolichenus*. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with diving for freſh etymons of all thoſe names, which may, perhaps, have riſen from the places where he was more

Apollo.

[r] EUMENIUS, panegyr. Conſtant. ſub fin.

(P) That of *Segomen* appears to be *Celtic*, and ſignifies rich, or making rich. Hence the *Segones*, who inhabited the moſt fruitful part of *Gaul*, and were reckoned the moſt opulent, are thought to have had their name. That of *Vincius* ſeems to have been given him an account of his ſtately temple at *Vincia*, now *Vences*, in *Provence*; and, in all likelihood, that of *Britovius* from ſome other city, where he was more particularly worſhipped; perhaps that of *Britonium*, in *Galicia*, which was a colony of the *Gauls*, and became afterwards an epiſcopal ſee, but is now deſtroyed (26).

(Q) We have already given ſome hints of this, in ſpeaking of their miſleto, and their time and method of gathering it. It were needleſs, as well as tedious, to follow them through all their other ſuperſtitious quackeries; but one inſtance we cannot omit; becauſe it ſhews not only the ſtupidity of them, but likewiſe their fondneſs for them; ſince this laſt continued in vogue, it ſeems, till the eleventh century.

They had an herb dedicated to *Apollo*, or *Belenus*, which they called, from him, *Belinuncia*, and the *Romans Apollinaris*; and is ſuppoſed to have been a kind of henbane. The *Spaniards* and *Hungarians* retain ſtill the former of theſe names, the one calling it *Velene*, and the others *Belend*. With the juice of this herb they poiſoned their darts, when they went a ſtag hunting; and could poiſon the creature with a ſlight wound, and eſteemed the fleſh the more tender and luſcious for it. Amongſt other ridiculous uſes they made of this plant, the following is remarkable, as well for its oddity, as long continuance.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women aſſembled themſelves, and choſe from amongſt them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She ſtripped herſelf naked, and went at the head of the reſt, in ſearch of this herb, which they then called *Bæliſa*: When ſhe had found it, ſhe plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of the right hand, and tied it to a ſtring, the other end of which was faſtened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company did then cut off each ſome boughs, and carried them in their hands after her, whilſt ſhe dragged the plant after her, towards the next river, where ſhe plunged it in the water: the reſt dipped, likewiſe, their boughs, and ſprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they ſet out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (27).

(R) *Conſtantine* had, it ſeems, juſt taken the city of *Marſeilles*, and in it *Hercules* his father-in-law, who had ſworn his ruin; ſo that he was now enabled to reſume the purple which he had been forced to quit. And this being before his converſion, he went to pay his acknowledgement to *Apollo*, at this ſtately temple, which, upon many accounts, is ſuppoſed to have been that of *Tholouſe*.

The ſame panegyriſt tells us, that there was another temple of that god at *Autun*, where there was likewiſe a ſpring of hot waters, which were uſed for the puniſhment of perjury, and which, though they ſent up a continual ſmoak, had neither ill-taſte or ſmell, but were both pleaſant and wholeſome.

(26) *Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat.*

(27) *Idem ibid. Burchar. decret. l.* xix. *c.* 5.

more particularly worshiped, or from other circumstances not now to be come at. He was generally represented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden tresses[t]. In some ancient bustoes found of him, as well as in some ancient coins, he is represented with a pole or ring (S), and a link of a chain fastened to his scull, by which he was, it is supposed, suspended to the roof, in imitation of the sun, whom they fancied to be suspended by a golden chain[u]. But, after all, might not such hanging figures of that deity have been the effects of some vows which the *Gauls* and others used to make to that deity in time of sickness; and who, upon their recovery hung up the promised figure in his temple, without any regard to the ridiculous notion above-mentioned? One head of his was dug up at the castle of *Polignac*, which place is supposed to have been so called from *Apollo*, and is still there [b] to be seen against the wall that surrounds it. It is but ill carved, on a bluish stone, between four and five feet in height and breadth, and is surrounded, all over, with rays, which, when the sun shines upon it, cast a kind of golden or fiery lustre, and shew that those rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open; from which it is concluded, to be here represented as delivering his answer[w]. And, truly, the druids were, by this time, become such zealous mimics of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that we need not doubt, but they had some one or more of these oracles among them, though we could not find any other footsteps of it. There is an inscription, in this temple, of *Polignac*, out of which the head above-mentioned had been taken, which the antiquary [c] above quoted judges to have been put up by the emperor *Claudius*, who was of *Lions*, and consequently had lived in the neighbourhood of this castle, and had been there, perhaps, either to consult the oracle, or, more probably, to pray to that god for the recovery of his health, as he was a very sickly prince, when he caused his name and titles to be set up there. For *Cæsar* tells us, that even in his time the *Gauls* looked upon *Apollo* as the god of physic[x]; and another author adds[y], that the sick persons, that addressed themselves to him for health, used to send thither that part of their body where the ailment was, carved out in wood, or cast in brass. At *Marseilles* was found a statue like that of a *Roman* warrior, armed cap-à-pé, about eleven or twelve feet high, and standing on the crupper of a bull, between the belly [d] of which, and the pedestal on which it stands, is carved an eagle, as it were, sitting squat; and on the pedestal an inscription, importing, that *Octavius Paternus* had dedicated it to the god *Dolichenius*. The bull and the eagle have made some antiquaries suppose that deity to have been *Jupiter*; but another author, often quoted in this section, has given some convincing proofs that it was *Apollo*: we shall refer the curious, for those proofs, to the book itself[z], to prevent running into too great a length. All that needs to be added, with respect to this antique, is, that the name, which is a *Greek* one, and signifies, according to some, a hippodrome, according to others, the posts that directed the races, seems to intimate, that *Apollo* was looked upon by the *Gauls* to preside over those exercises. [e]

Mercury. But the deity in greatest veneration among the *Gauls* was *Mercury*. We have already given some reasons for it in the *Celtic* history[a]. Other deities had particular cities and provinces where they were more particularly worshipped; but this, after he was adopted as the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was anciently esteemed the author and chief promoter, in *Gaul*, but likewise of arts and sciences, of the highways and travellers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers,

[t] Vide Euripid. Phœniss. Ælian. varior. l: i: c. 20. [u] Idem ibid. Vide & Anaxag. & al.
[w] Simoni Limag. d'Auvergne, p. 123, & seq. Corneil. diction. histor. relig. des Gaul. l. xi. c. 2.
[x] Com. ubi supra. [y] Greg. Turon. vit. patr. c. 6. [z] Relig. des Gaules, ubi supra.
[a] Vol. ii. p. 255, (D). 263, & seq. & (Y) (Z).

(S) To understand what the ancients meant by these kinds of poles, we must have recourse to *Diodorus Siculus*, who is the only one that has given us any light in it, and who, speaking of *Alexander*'s funeral procession from *Babylon* to *Alexandria*, tells us, that in the canopy which was over the car or herse, there was a pole so nicely wrought, that neither the roughness of the roads nor the jolting of the wheels could move it (28). Hence his interpreters have concluded this pole to have been a kind of hinge or ring, to which a certain number of springs were fastened, which kept the whole machine tight and immoveable (29). And hence it is supposed to have been called a pole, from the number of chains and springs which centered in it, to keep the hanging statue steady. But whether they have hit the point, we will not affirm.

(28) *Histor. lib.* xviii. (29) *Antiquit. expliq. tom.* v.

a robbers, ſtatues, altars, and temples, were erected to him every-where throughout this country. He is called, by ſeveral ancient authors, *Theutat*, and *Theutates*[b], the ſignification of which name we have given, as well as that of *Mercury*, in the volume above quoted; and we need not doubt, but they both meant the ſame deity, or that he was worſhipped under both by the *Gauls*, ſince both are of *Celtic* extract, and expreſſive of the excellent notion they had of him, upon both accounts (T). That of *Theutat* ſignifying the father of his people, they acknowledged him under that name, at firſt, as their founder; and afterwards boaſted themſelves to be ſprung from him (V), in imitation of the *Thracian* kings, who were another branch of the ancient *Celtes*. *Mercury* was with them the god of riches[c]; no man could attain to b them without his help: and hence he came to be confounded with *Pluto*, and to ſhare in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to gueſs nearer to the truth, *Mercury*, being dead, became *Pluto*, the god of riches and of the lower regions; and hence both *Gauls* and *Thracians* claimed their deſcent from theſe two deities, after they had, by length of time, ſplit them into two, in imitation of their neighbours. Some inſcriptions ſhew, that not only *Mercury*, but even *Venus* and *Mars*, were

[b] LUCAN. Pharſal. l. i. LIV. decad. iii. l. vi. c. 44. LACTANT. & al. [c] CÆSAR, com. l. vi.

(T) To theſe two names, and thoſe we mentioned in a former volume, we muſt add that of *Ognius*; mentioned by *Lucan*, and which, tho' that author gives to *Hercules*, by miſtake, yet, in all appearance, belonged to *Mercury*. The deſcription he gives of him, as he ſaw it in *Gaul*, being ſomewhat curious, though the humour of it be ſomewhat exaggerated, we ſhall give our *Engliſh* readers the ſubſtance of it.

" The *Gauls*, ſays he, call *Hercules Ognius*, and " repreſent him as a decrepit old man, bald, and " wrinkled, and weather-beaten, like ſome old ſailor. " One would ſooner take him for old *Charon*, or any " one elſe, than for *Hercules*. But if one conſiders " him with his lion's ſkin, the bow and quiver in " his left, and the club in his right, hand, he looks " quite like a *Hercules*. What is moſt curious is, " that the good old man holds a multitude of people " tied to him by the ear; the chains are of gold " and amber, and, though very fine and ſlight, not " one of them ſeems to ſtrive to break them, or " even unwilling to follow him. On the contrary, " they ſeem ſo pleaſed, and the chains ſo looſe, " that there appears a viſible eagerneſs in them to " keep cloſe to him. His Hands being both full, " the painter has repreſented thoſe chains as faſten- " ed to a hole through *Ognius*'s tongue, whilſt he " looks back ſmiling on his followers."

Lucan, having expreſſed his ſurprize at the oddneſs of the picture, introduces a *Gaul* accounting to him for it, in words to this effect: " You will " ceaſe to be ſurpriſed at it, when I tell you, that " we *Gauls* make *Hercules* the god of eloquence, " contrary to the *Greeks*, who give that honour to " *Mercury*, who is ſo far inferior to him in ſtrength. " We repreſent him as an old man, becauſe elo- " quence never ſhews itſelf ſo lively and ſtrong as in " the mouth of old people. The relation which the " ear hath to the tongue, juſtifies the picture of the " old man, who holds ſo many people faſt by his " tongue; neither do we think it any affront to *Her-* " *cules*, to paint him with his tongue bored; ſince, " to tell you all in one word, it was that which made " him ſucceed in every thing; and that it was by " his wiſdom that he ſubdued all hearts unto him." Thus far *Lucan:* and it is not eaſy to gueſs whether he was impoſed upon by his *Gaul*, or whether he himſelf introduces this ſtory as a burleſque upon the *Gauliſh* nation, who depended ſo far on their ſtrength and bravery, whilſt they as much valued themſelves upon their eloquence, as if they had excelled the world in it; and ſo expoſe themſelves for their veneration for *Hercules*, rather than *Mercury*. It is plain, however, that theſe ſlight and brittle chains, which held ſo many pleaſed captives faſt by the ear to the tongue of the god, could not belong to *Hercules*, in any caſe, but to *Mercury*, the god of eloquence; and, accordingly, attributed to him by the generality of ancient mythologiſts. On the other hand, the club, the quiver, *&c.* were indifferently given to *Mercury*, to whom, we are told, *Hercules* conſecrated them, after ſome ſucceſsful fight againſt the giants (30). Accordingly, we read, that the emperor *Commodus*, who affected to appear at public ſhews in the habit of *Mercury*, uſed to wear the caduceus in his hand, whilſt his officers carried the club, lion's ſkin, *&c.* before him. And in giving theſe to that god, the meaning was plainly this, that where-ever wiſdom and eloquence were, there could be neither ſtrength nor courage wanting; becauſe the former was ever able either to procure, or, at the worſt, to ſupply the want of, the latter.

Many other reaſons might be aſſigned to prove, that this picture of *Ognius* repreſented a *Mercury*, and not an *Hercules*; however *Lucan* came to give it to the latter (31), wherein he has been followed by the multitude of antiquaries. As for us, we think it unneceſſary to dwell longer upon it, in a work of this nature; and thoſe who rather chuſe to follow that author, have a *Hercules* here as worſhipped by the *Gauls*, under the name of *Ognius*, or, rather, as joined into one with *Mercury* by them, as he was anciently by the *Egyptians* and other nations. But it is plain, *Lucan* had no mind to admit the latter amongſt the *Gauliſh* gods, when he makes him tell *Jupiter*, that he doth not know which way to ſummon theſe to the aſſembly; becauſe, as he was a ſtranger to their language, he could neither underſtand them, nor be underſtood by them (32).

(V) We are told, that the famed *Pythagoras*, having paſſed over into *Gaul*, to learn the myſteries of the druids, was ſo taken with this notion of theirs, that he boaſted the ſame deſcent, and that god had promiſed to grant him whatever favour he ſhould aſk, except that of being made immortal (33).

(30) *Vide Pauſan. Corinthiac. Lil. Gyrald. hiſt. decr. ſyntagm.* ix. (31) *Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dion. in Commod.* (32) *Vide antiq. expliq. tom.* i. *relig. des Gaul. l.* ii. *c.* 11, *& ſeq.* (33) *Dial. Jupit. tragœd.*

were reckoned among the infernal gods (W). As he was worſhipped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in thoſe ſtatues and inſcriptions erected to him, with the goddeſs *Poſtverta*, to aſſiſt women in labour. This goddeſs has much puzzled all mythologiſts, and may be only an epithet of *Proſerpine*, whom, *Strabo* ſays, they worſhipped as their mother[d] (X); or, perhaps, of *Diana*, who had the ſame office. According to all theſe diſtinctions, one may reckon three *Gauliſh Mercuries*, or rather the ſame god worſhipped under three different titles, and repreſented in three different forms.

Three Mercuries *among the* Gauls.

As the god of eloquence, he was repreſented in the manner we have deſcribed him from *Lucan*, in a late note, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's ſkin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travellers, he was repreſented naked, and without ſex and beard, and with his winged cap, his caduceus, *&c.* He is under this head, likewiſe, repreſented with a purſe in one hand, and ſometimes with a cornucopia in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the meſſenger of the gods. In ſome ſtatues he has a creſcent, over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the *Gauliſh* worſhip; and that, probably, upon theſe two accounts: Firſt, as the one was the diſpenſer of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, ſecondly, as both preſided over the highways, upon which account the latter was called *Trivia*; and both protected the roads, the travellers, thieves, ſhepherds, and ſhepherdeſſes[e], as he is affirmed to have followed their life; upon which account, theſe likewiſe offered ſacrifices to him[f]. As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been repreſented with a beard; his winged cap rather reſembled a diſk, and inſtead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of ſceptre, and in the other a purſe. His body was ſurrounded with a kind of imperial mantle, or *paludamentum*, tyed, or faſtened, by ſome ornament, on one of his ſhoulders. This we infer from an ancient monument, an account of which may be ſeen in the margin (Y), in the inſcription of which he is ſtyled *Auguſtus*. There have been many other conjectures offered, both concerning this ancient monument, and the title there given him, as well as ſome others, which are met with in thoſe old inſcriptions[g]; ſuch as that of *Artaius*, *Ciſſonius*, *Arvernus*, and ſome others, which we ſhall not tire our readers with: we ſhall likewiſe paſs by ſome other dreſſes and attitudes with which the luxuriant fancies of the *Gauls* have repreſented him, and only add, that from what we have obſerved of thoſe mounds in which the *Gauls* and *Britons* buried their dead, ſuch as thoſe we deſcribed on *Saliſbury* plain, and what *Livy* ſays of ſuch a kind of *tumulus*, or ſepulchral mount, which *Scipio* takes notice of in the neighbourhood of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and which the natives called *Mercury Teutat*[h], one may draw a probable conjecture, that he was buried there. We have formerly ſhewn, that he reigned in *Gaul*[i], which

His tomb.

[a] L. iv. [b] Porph. de abſt. l. ii. Macrob. ſomn. Scip. l i. Auct. hymn. in Merc. verſ. 15. 290.
[c] Eustat. Odyſſ. ξ, Iliad. ξ. [d] See relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 17, & ſeq. [e] Decad. iii. l. vi. c. 44. [f] See vol. ii. p. 263, & ſeq. & chronic. Alex. Suid. Pezron. relig. des Gaul. Pelloutier. & al.

(W) Diis infernis Veneri, Marti, & Mercurio *ſacrum* (34). With relation to his being the god of riches, we find an ancient witty inſcription at *Lyons*, in *Latin*, to this effect: "*Mercury* promiſes you gain here, *Apollo* health, and *Septumanus* a lodging; but he that brings his dinner with him, will fare the better. After this, ſtranger, you muſt look out where to lodge (35)." As this city was one of the moſt trading ones in *Europe*, the ſcarcity of inns in it, at that time, might make the opulent and generous *Septumanus* give ſtrangers this odd invitation.

(X) As ſhe was ſuppoſed to aſſiſt women in labour, the names of *Poſtverta*, and *Anteverta*, might be given her on account of her turning the child to the right poſition for the birth. Thoſe who make two goddeſſes of them think, that the one had power to remedy what was paſt, and the other to prevent what was to come. In one of thoſe inſcriptions, under a double buſto, one of *Mercury*, and the other of that goddeſs, ſhe is called *Roſmerte*; in ſome others it is *Mercury*, and *Fort. Verte*, or *Fortuna Verte*, or happy return; as he is often ſtiled in others, *Mercurio Negotiatori*, *Nundinatori*, &c. (36).

(Y) This appears, from a large bas-relievo, between five and ſix feet long, and about three in breadth, and near two in thickneſs, dug up out of a gentleman's vineyard, near one of the gates of the city of *Beauvais*. The inſcription is, *Sacrum Mercurio Auguſto C. Julius Healiſſus* V S L M. It is plain, from ſome other inſcriptions in *Gruter*, that a bearded *Mercury* was common in *Gaul*, though not among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and the title *Auguſtus*, which we find in ſeveral ancient medals given to other gods and goddeſſes, or rather to emperors and empreſſes deified under their names, inclines us to think, that this monument was dedicated to *Mercury*, after he had been deified by the *Gauls*, and reckoned among the infernal deities. Some diſtinction, doubtleſs, there muſt have been of his dreſs, *&c.* under this laſt denomination, and this ſeems the moſt likely to have been it; but it is here offered only as a probable conjecture.

(34) *Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l* i. *Diog. Laert. l.* viii.
(35) *Hiſt. de l'academ. des inſcriptions, tom.* iii.
(36) *Menet. prép. à l'hiſtoire de Lion, p.* 56.

a which comprehended then the greateſt part of *Europe*, and particularly *Spain*; and may be reaſonably therefore ſuppoſed to have been there interred, after the *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* manner. Other heaps or mounds there were, which likewiſe bore his name: but thoſe were of a different nature, as the reader may ſee in the next note (Z). *Worſhip.*
How he was worſhipped by the *Gauls* under any one of theſe three denominations, is hard to gueſs; only as he was, in imitation of the *Romans*, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may ſuppoſe they borrowed ſome of their rites from the worſhip which the *Roman* merchants paid to him there, and which is beautifully deſcribed by the poet [k], who cloſes his account of it with this reflection, that *Mercury* could not but be inclined to forgive all the cheats and perjuries of theſe his votaries, when
b he remembered how himſelf had been guilty of the like [l]. The chief victim, with which they concluded his feaſt, was a ſow with pig.

THESE were the chief male deities which we find worſhipped by the *Gauls*; ſome others they had likewiſe adopted, ſuch as *Mithras*, from the *Perſians* (A), *Neptune*, *Erebus*, and *Orcus*, ſuppoſed both to be the ſame with *Pluto*; *Bacchus*, and ſome others, whom they adopted from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, concerning which we know very little, either of their worſhip, or of the notion which the *Gauls* had of them. As to their goddeſſes, the chief of them were, *Diana*, or *Luna*, *Juno*, *Goddeſſes.* *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Proſerpine*, *Arduina*, whom we take to be the moon, as we hinted a little higher, and *Cybele*, a ſtatue of which was dug up at *Paris* with a head
c crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, and was particularly in great veneration in the city of *Autun*, and whoſe prieſts were, it ſeems, all caſtrated in honour of her (B), and from thence called *Galli* (C). Before we cloſe this ſection, it will be *Galli, who.* neceſſary

k Faſt. l. v. ver. 663, & ſeq. l See hymn. in Merc. LACTANT. l. vi. SUID. in voc. EUSTAT. Iliad. ξ.

(Z) Theſe laſt are known to have been heaps of ſtones, and other obſtacles, of which the highways were either cleared by his command; or in honour of him, as he was thought the god that preſided over them. Whenever, therefore, any traveller met with any ſuch, he took them up, and carried them till he found one of theſe heaps, which were in great numbers, and flung it in among the reſt; by which means they grew larger, and higher, and were called by his name (37).

The author of the vulgate verſion has alluded to this cuſtom, where he makes *Solomon* ſay (38), that "He who doth honour to a fooliſh man, is like him "that throws a ſtone in one of *Mercury*'s heaps." But the text in the original has no ſuch alluſion, but only compares the latter to one that binds a ſtone in a ſling. Theſe heaps were generally gathered up at ſome croſs-ways, and placed where roads divided, and where there generally ſtood a *terminus*, or figure at half body; at the foot of which they threw thoſe ſtones (39).

Theſe ſerved, likewiſe, to remind people of the heavy curſes which this deity was thought to inflict on thoſe who abuſed travellers, or refuſed to put them in the right way (40). Their repreſenting him of no ſex, as he was the god of commerce and riches, was, in all likelihood, to intimate, that neither of them were confined to either ſex, but that both had an equal title to his protection and bleſſing; and we may add, that it might be likewiſe done in a modeſt oppoſition to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who repreſented him as ambiſex, and with a ſpear in one hand, and a diſtaff in the other (41).

(A) It appears from ſeveral ancient monuments and inſcriptions, that *Mithras*, the Sun, and *Mercury*, were worſhiped, among the *Gauls*, as one and the ſame deity; at leaſt, *Mithras* being the ſun, among the *Perſians*, is often repreſented as conjoined with him, that is, with a ſun over his head, and ſometimes on his breaſt, and with this inſcription, *Mercurio ſoli ſacrum.* Hence the author of the *Gauliſh* religion has been at the pains to collect a number of other arguments to prove that thoſe two deities were looked upon here as one and the ſame, or, at moſt, as aſſociated both in their virtues, and in their worſhip. And might not this be an account of the great and conſtant nearneſs the two planets, which bear theſe names, have to each other (42)?

(B) This appears, from what we read in the acts of *Syphorianus*, a zealous chriſtian ſince ſainted, who, being brought before the governor of that city, for refuſing to worſhip her idol, on a day in which her ſtatue was carried about in proceſſion, alledged, among other reaſons for his refuſal, that he could not acknowledge a deity, whoſe myſteries and worſhip conſiſted in a ſhameful and unnatural caſtration. But whether theſe *Galli*, or prieſts, were *Gauls*, or ſent for from *Phyrgia*, or elſewhere; or whether the *Gauls*, who appear to have had an abhorrence for all kinds of mutilations allowed of theſe *Galli*; or whether they did not rather belong only to the *Romans*, as ſome authors believe (43), we ſhall examine in the next note.

(C) That *Cybele*, or the mother of the gods, as ſhe is called, was a deity of *Syrian*, and not of *Gallic*, extract, is univerſally acknowledged. So that if her worſhip was introduced into *Gaul*, it was either by force, or in imitation, of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. If we conſider their abhorrence to all mutilations, we ſhall hardly think that they could willingly give into ſuch a kind of worſhip as this, which required every prieſt, and encouraged every votary of the goddeſs to become an eunuch, as *Heliogabalus* is ſaid to have done, in one of his mad fits (44). We are, moreover, told, that thoſe *Galli* were had in ſuch abhorrence, that no other people would converſe with them; and that they were put upon the level with ſorcerers, gladiators, and hangmen (45); ſo that they had

(37) *Vide Gruter. ubi ſupra, & relig. des Gaul. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (38) *Proverb.* xxvi. 8. (39) *Nicander.* Ἑρμαι. *ſcholiaſt. odyſſ.* ii. *Anyt. in epigram.* (40) *Vide Theodocrit. idyl* xxv. *v.* 5. (41) *Albric. de deor. imag. Huet. demonſt. evang. & al.* (42) *L.* ii. *c* 36, *& ſeq.* (43) *Idem ibid. l.* i. *c.* 33, *ad fin. Pelloutier. Keyzler. & al.* (44) *Lamprid. in Heliogab. Victor. epitom.* (45) *Tertul. de reurrect. c.* 16.

neceſſary to give our readers ſome account of the *Gauliſh* druids, bards, &c. and of ſuch of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at leaſt as far as we can gather them from ancient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we ſhould know much concerning that ſet of men, conſidering that they made a myſtery of their religion and philoſophy, and a conſtant rule never to commit any thing relating to either to writing [m]. a

Their druids. We have already obſerved, that the order of the druids had the ſole care of all religious matters, which they ſo artfully and dexterouſly introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation [n]; and that this abſolute ſway of theirs laſted till at leaſt ſome time after their conqueſt by the *Romans*. They were called by ſeveral names (D), beſides that of druid, of which we have given the etymon in a former volume [o]. Their antiquity is looked upon of the ſame date with the brachmans of *India*, magi of *Perſia*, the *Chaldees* of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, and, in a word, with the oldeſt ſects of philoſophers [p]. And, indeed, conſidering their vaſt diſtance from each other, and the conformity of their doctrine, we can ſuppoſe no other but that they all received it from the ſame hand, *viz.* from *Noah* and his immediate deſcendants, and carried it b

each

[m] Vide Cæs. com. l. vi. & alib. paſſ. [n] See before p. 348. b. (B). [o] Vol. ii. p. 259, & ſeq. ſub not. [p] Vide int. al. Laert. in proœm. Orig. cont. Celſ. l. v. Cl. Alex. ſtrom. l. iii. Poly. hist. ap. eund. l. i. Cels. ap Orig. ubi ſupra.

had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddeſs about, and begging charity for her ſake; all which was moſt oppoſite to the genius of the *Gallic* nation.

Accordingly, St. *Jerom* has a paſſage which plainly intimates, that the *Romans* forced this emaſculated prieſthood upon the *Gauls*, and called thoſe eunuchs *Galli*, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, aud beſieged their capital (46). And we are told, by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, that no *Roman* took that office upon him, but that they had a *Phrygian* male and female to perform it. This might be true, in part; and if what is reported of *Heliogabalus*, who became one of them, be to be credited, it will only ſhew, that he minded the laws and cuſtoms of *Rome* no more in this caſe, than he did in all others (47).

However, St. *Jerom* ſeems to have been miſtaken in his derivation of the word *gallus* and *galli*; which, if we may believe *Pliny* and other *Roman* authors, were ſo called from a river of that name in *Phrygia* (48); and, in particular, *Ovid*, who, probably, to expoſe the unnatural caſtration of theſe prieſts, tells us, that the waters of that river had ſuch a dangerous quality, that whoſoever drank of them did run ſtark mad (49). But be that as it will, the contemptible name of *Gallus* may well enough have been given to the *Gauls* by way of pun upon their national one, let thoſe prieſts have been called ſo on any other account. So that, upon the whole, if any *Gauls* were ever ſeen in that office, they muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have been forced into it by their imperious conquerors: but, after all, this worſhip of *Cybele*, though eſtabliſhed in *Gaul*, as well as in *Rome*, may yet, for aught appears, have been countenanced by the latter, and diſapproved by the former.

Before we cloſe this note, it will not be amiſs to mention a noble teſtimony which a *Roman* writer gives of this averſion of the *Gauls* to mutilation (50); where, having amply expatiated on their known valour and bravery, their contempt of difficulties and dangers, and even of death, he adds, "We "never find any of them do, as ſome of us do in "*Italy*, cut off their thumbs, for fear of going to "the wars, and upon which account they call us "in deriſion, *Murci*."

To underſtand the ſting of this ſaying, it muſt be obſerved, that *Murcia* was reckoned, amongſt the *Romans*, the goddeſs of cowards and idle fellows; whence her infamous votaries were called *Murci* (15). And from this ſhameful cuſtom of cutting off their thumbs, to diſqualify themſelves for ſervice, came the old *Gallic* word *poltron*, from *pollex* and *trunco*, which is ſtill retained to this day, by many other nations beſides the *French*.

(D) One of them was that of *Semnothei* (52), given to them, doubtleſs, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowledge of, the godhead. *Diodorus Siculus* gives them that of *Saronides*, on account of their great regard to ſuch old oaks as were decayed, and ſtripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of that word, according to *Heſychius*.

A *Gauliſh* antiquary, not content to derive that of druid from the *Celtic derw*, an oak, compounds it with that and *hud*, inchantment; whence he infers the *Greek dryades* to have come (53): but though they are charged, and that perhaps juſtly, to have uſed many ſuch practices, and in a moſt inhuman manner; yet it is not reaſonable to think, that they would add ſo odious a ſyllable to their name: neither can the *Greeks* or *Romans* be ſuppoſed to have done it, becauſe the monoſyllable, being *Celtic*, was unknown to them. *Dryades* was, therefore, no more than a *Greek* termination of the word druid.

The laſt name we ſhall take notice of was, that of *Senani*, which we hinted above was, probably, taken up by them as more pleaſing to the *Romans*, it properly ſignifying a wiſe or venerable man; as their druideſſes were called *ſenoe*, and *ſenes* (54). This was probably done in imitation of the ſect of gymnoſophiſts, who agreed with them in many things, prrticularly in having their ſocieties compoſed of males and females, like the *Gauliſh* druids, in ſtudying philoſophy, aſtrology, prying into futurity, living in celibacy, and the like (55). Theſe were by the *Greeks* called *Semnones*; the *Gauls*, among whom the *mn* was, and is ſtill, in many provinces, pronounced like *nn*, called them *Sennones*, and, in the *Latin* termination, *Sennoni* and *Sennani*.

(46) *Comment. in Hoſ. c.* 4. (47) *See his horrid actions, vol.* vi. *p* 135, *& ſeq.* (48) *Plin. nat. hiſt. l.* v. *Luc. de dea Syr.* (49) *Faſt. l.* iv. *v.* 316, *& ſeq.* (50) *A Marcell. in fin. l.* xv. (51) *Vide Valer. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 3. *Sueton. in vit. Auguſt. Arnob. l.* i. *c.* 4. *Aug. de civit. l.* iv. (52) *Diog. Laert. in proœm. Suid. in voc.* (53) *Orig. de la nat. Celt.* (54) *Mela, l.* iii. (55) *Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra. Clem. Alexand. ſtromat. l.* iii. *Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 21.

a each to the different places of their diſperſion; for they can never be imagined to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in thoſe early times; at leaſt the druids of *Britain*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter, and from whom the *Gauls* received all their religion and philoſophy, cannot be ſuppoſed to have had it from any of theſe foreign ſects, to whom they were utterly unknown. The *Gauls*, tenacious as they were till their conqueſt, of their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, never belyed their origin, but owned themſelves to have received all from the *Britiſh* druids: thither they ſent their own to be inſtructed. Here was the grand ſeminary where they received their inſtruction, and here was the ſeat of the arch-druid, or head, and high-prieſt of their b religion; to whom they appealed, as to their dernier reſort, in all doubtful and controverted caſes [q]. It were, therefore, abſurd to ſuppoſe, as ſome have done, either that theſe travelled into ſuch vaſt remote parts to learn their doctrines from the *ſemnes* of *India*, or any other ſects; or much leſs, as others too eagerly contend, that theſe travelled into *Gaul* and *Britain* to learn theirs from them. And it is much more reaſonable to derive that great reſemblance which is obſerved between them all, from thoſe ancient times, when they were, in ſome meaſure, but one people, or great family; and that each carried, and carefully preſerved them in thoſe parts of the world where they ſettled themſelves (E).

Their exceſſive power.

Among other inſtances of the exceſſive power of the druidiſh tribe, *Cæſar* men- c tions one [r], by which we may gueſs at the reſt, *viz.* that they choſe the annual magiſtrates of every city, who had during that year the ſupreme authority, and ſometimes the title of king. And yet theſe could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not ſo much as call a council; ſo that, notwithſtanding their great pomp and ſtate, ſays another author, they were but the creatures and ſlaves of the druids [s]. They uſed the ſame arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other caſes, and were every-where eſteemed as the chiefs of every *Gauliſh* commonwealth; and had the ſole management and inſtruction of youth in every thing but the training up in the art of war. For in this laſt reſpect, the druids, and their diſciples, were not only exempt from going to war unleſs they pleaſed, but from all kind of tribute d likewiſe [t]; and this did not a little increaſe their credit with the people, as well as the number of their diſciples. For their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of *Gaul*, but every man had power to ſtand candidate for it, and, if approved by the ſociety, was admitted into it. As for their grand druid, he was choſen from amongſt them by the plurality of votes; and, when any diſpute aroſe, it was often terminated here, as in other caſes, by the ſword, as we ſhall have occaſion to hint in the ſequel. We have already obſerved, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their myſteries and learning in verſe; and theſe, it ſeems, were multiplied in time to ſuch a number, that it took ſome of them twenty whole years to learn them all by heart. And *Cæſar* e aſſigns theſe two reaſons for this cuſtom, *viz.* that their doctrines might appear more myſterious, by being unknown to all but themſelves; and, ſecondly, that having no books to recur to, they might be the more careful to preſerve them in their memory [u]. And what contributed much to this laſt was, their living in ſeparate ſocieties, chiefly in woods, and obſerving a conſtant celibacy.

The three grand fundamentals of their religion conſiſted, 1. In their worſhip of the gods; 2. In abſtaining from all evil; and, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all

[q] Cæs. comment. l. iv. [r] Ibid. l. vii. Dio. Chrysost. orat. xlix. [s] Cæsar. l. vi. A. Marcel. l. xv. D. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. Lucan. l. i. & al. [t] Lucan. ubi ſupra. [u] Comment. ubi ſupra.

(E) Some ancient *Roman* authors, ſuch as *Cæſar*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Am. Marcellinus*, &c. have indeed affirmed, that the druids learned their doctrines from *Pythagoras*; and the ſame ſome have affirmed of *Numa* (56), though he was of ſo much older date. But we have formerly obſerved, that *Pythagoras* had made a voyage into *Gaul*, and had learned a great deal of his from them, as he did alſo from the brachmans (57). The truth is, *Pythagoras* was in ſuch high eſteem, that no man was hardly eſteemed wiſe or learned that was not his diſciple (58). And the *Gauliſh* druids, being found to have many doctrines in common with him, were of courſe ſuppoſed to have received them from him. Though that of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which was likewiſe attributed to them, doth not appear to have been at all held by them, and it is likely that philoſopher brought them from thoſe of *India*.

(56) *See Cicer. quæſt. Tuſcul. l.* i. *p.* 38.
(57) *Clem. Alex. ubi ſupra, l.* i. *Diog. Laert. l.* viii.
(58) *Cicero, ibid.*

Their principles.

all occaſions [x], In order to enforce this laſt, on which they valued themſelves moſt, a they taught the immortality of the ſoul, and a life after this, of bliſs or miſery, according as they had lived. And this inſpired them with incredible courage, and contempt of death, of which we ſhall give ſome pregnant inſtances in its due place. This notion of a future life was ſo firmly believed by the people, that we are told, they uſed to fling the account-books of the deceaſed into his grave, or, if he was burnt, into the fire, that he might make ſuch uſe of them in the next world, as would make his life more eaſy and comfortable there [y]. Several other ridiculous cuſtoms are recorded of them, with reſpect to this notion of a future life, which can hardly be credited, and which, for that reaſon, we ſhall juſt mention in the margin (F). They alſo pretended to great ſkill in ſome branches of geography and aſtronomy, b ſuch as the knowledge of the bigneſs and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the ſtars; from which they aſſumed a knowledge of the divine will, to pry into futurity [z], and to foretel ſtrange events. And if that paſſage which *Diodorus Siculus* has preſerved to us out of *Hecateus* [a], and which the reader may find in the margin (G), be to be depended upon, and that the druids of *Britain*, for that ſeems to be the iſland meant by that author, could, as with teleſcopes, ſhew the moon nearer, and diſcover therein mountains, rocks, *&c.* it cannot but be ſuppoſed that they had made greater progreſs in theſe arts and ſciences, than is generally imagined. The nineteen years converſe of *Apollo*, which is the cycle of the ſun, and the notion of the moon's opacity, of its mountains, rocks, *&c.* argue c them to have been no bad aſtronomers; and if they had really any inſtruments to draw the moon nearer, and make ſuch diſcoveries upon its ſurface, we may conclude them to have been pretty good artiſts for thoſe early times. *Pliny* adds, that they ſtudied natural philoſophy, and practiſed phyſic [b]. This laſt conſiſted chiefly in the knowledge and uſe of ſimples, but they ſoon found out a way to render it more intricate and myſterious, by intermingling aſtrology, and other ſuperſtitious traſh, amongſt it. The configuration of the planets muſt be conſulted, the herb muſt be gathered with one hand, and not with the other; the hand muſt be covered with the oppoſite lappet of the man's robe; he muſt be dreſſed in white, his feet waſhed and unſhod, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe; but all which rather betrays d that author's fondneſs of expoſing the *Gauls*, than to inform mankind. To give one inſtance for all, the reader needs but hear what he ſays of their ſerpents egg, which, as it is related by him, would ſcarcely, upon any other account, be worth inſerting in this hiſtory, but that, whilſt we give him the ſubſtance of it in the margin (H), we ſhall endeavour to ſtrike out a more probable and advantageous meaning

Practiſe phyſic.

[x] Diog. Laert. l. i. [y] Cæs. ubi ſupra. [z] P. Mela, l. iii. c. 1. [a] L. iii. c. 11. [b] Vide nat. hiſt. l. xxiv. & ſeq.

(F) They are ſaid to have lent and borrowed money, *&c.* in order to repay it in the next world; to have ſent letters to the deceaſed perſon, by flinging it into the fire, or into his grave (59). There have been alſo found in thoſe ancient ſepulchres, on *Saliſbury* plain, ſpoken of before, ſome ſmall plates of ſilver, and other metals, ingraved with a kind of old writing, which are ſuppoſed to have been ſent from the living to the dead by this conveyance. But theſe, and ſuch-like ridiculous cuſtoms, ſeem rather invented by thoſe authors in diſparagement of the *Gauliſh* nation, and are juſtly laughed at (60).

(G) This paſſage is to the following purport: That there is, according to that author, a northern iſland of conſiderable bigneſs, little leſs than *Sicily*, ſituate over-againſt the *Celtæ*, and inhabited by thoſe whom the *Greeks* call *Hyperboreans*. It is fruitful, pleaſant, and dedicated to *Apollo*; that god, for the ſpace of nineteen years, uſed to come and converſe with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could (as if they had the uſe of teleſcopes) ſhew the moon very near them, and diſcover therein mountains, *&c.* He concludes, that over their ſacred grove and temple there preſided a ſet of men called (by the then *Greeks*, it is ſuppoſed) *Boreadæ*, who were their prieſts and rulers.

From the author's deſcription and ſituation of this iſland, every body will eaſily perceive that it could be no other but either *Great Britain* or *Ireland*; for the *Mona*, or *Angleſey* of *Rouland* (61), is vaſtly too ſmall and inconſiderable to have been meant here. It is mentioned as known to the *Greeks*, as well it might, by means of the tin which the *Phœnicians* fetched from it, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time. The author adds, that one *Abaris*, who became afterwards a diſciple of *Pythagoras* (62), went from hence into *Greece*, and contracted an intimacy with the *Delians*. And might he not be ſuppoſed to have followed that philoſopher from *Gaul* thither? But we ſubmit that to the reader.

(H) According to his fabulous account, this egg, which was unknown to the reſt of the world, was formed by the ſcum of a vaſt multitude of ſerpents twiſted and conjured up together. As ſoon as they began to hiſs, it was raiſed up into the air, and muſt be caught before it touched the ground; and he that caught

(59) *Valer. Max. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *Diod. Sicul. l.* vi. *c.* 9. *Cæſ. ubi ſupra. Septentr. p.* 132, *& ſeq.* 175. *Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celt. relig. des Gaul. & al.* (60) *See Keyzler ant. ad fin.* (62) *See biſhop of Worceſter's letter to Dr. Bentley, ap. cund. ibid.* (61) *Mona antiq. ſect.* 8.

a ing of this pretended piece of ſuperſtition, than that author could, or was, perhaps, willing to do.

We muſt firſt take notice of an ancient *Gauliſh* monument in the great cathedral of *Paris*, on which this ceremony of catching the egg is repreſented pretty near in the ſame manner as *Pliny* has given it. Another has been found in *Italy*[c], on which are carved two ſerpents, the one holding the egg in its mouth, and the other ſhaping and poliſhing it with its ſpittle. If the reader remembers what has been ſaid in the coſmogony of the world, at the entrance of this work[d], of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* looking upon the egg to be the principle of all things; that it was repreſented as coming forth out of the mouth of a ſerpent, the emblem of the God-
b head, or perhaps rather of wiſdom; and if we add what *Plutarch* obſerves, that the theology of the ancients did aſcribe to the egg the priority of time, and the ſeed of all things; he will eaſily decypher a much ſublimer meaning in the mythology of this egg, than that *Roman* author could, or was perhaps willing to, ſee in it, either from thoſe emblematic monuments, or fabulous reports, from which he took his ridiculous account. For it muſt be further obſerved, that the druids were very fond of wrapping up all their learning, and even moral precepts, in ſuch kinds of myſterious and enigmatic figures. However, we would not deny, but after their power came to dwindle, as it began to do from the coming in of the *Romans*, they might ſlacken apace from their ancient purity, and make a trade of ſuch ſuperſtitious fooleries as
c they would have deſpiſed whilſt in the height of their wealth and ſway, when nothing could well tempt them to it. It is, doubtleſs, to theſe latter times, that we muſt ſuppoſe the ancient comedy, called *Querulus*, or *Aulularia*, which expoſes the druidiſh knavery with ſo much wit and ſharpneſs, to have referred to; and perhaps, alſo, that which another author ſays of them[e], that in their lectures of morality they gave this for a maxim, that the fertility of their fields depended upon their riches and the largeneſs of their revenues. One doctrine, he tells us, they taught, that fire and water would at length abſorb all things.

Their druideſſes, or female druids.

Before we leave this ſubject, we muſt not omit ſaying ſomething of their famed druideſſes, and the great eſteem they were in among the *Gauls*, as well as among
d the *Germans*[f]. We have already ſhewed, that anciently the *Gauliſh* women bore a great ſway in this country, of which the druids, in time, ſtripped them; but it is likely, that the druideſſes held ſtill great part of their own credit, eſpecially on account of their being thought endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed for any thing elſe; and ſome of them, we find, were among the loweſt rank of people. Witneſs *Dioclefian*'s hoſteſs, who, when he was but a private man in the *Roman* army, then in *Gaul*, foretold him, that he ſhould become emperor after he had killed a boar, or, rather, *Aper*, as the iſſue ſhewed it[g] a little time after. We have ſeen, likewiſe, in the *Roman* hiſtory, that their emperors were not above conſulting, and being adviſed by, them; particularly *Severus*[h] and
e *Aurelian*, the latter of whom aſking ſome of them how long the empire would laſt in his family, they made no difficulty to tell him boldly, that that of *Claudius* would one day become the moſt illuſtrious[i]. We ſhall not take upon us to inquire how they came

[c] Antiquité expliq. Relig. des Gaules, l. i. c. 26. iii. c. ult. [d] Vol. i. p. 13, d. 17, a. 18, a.
[e] Strabo, l. iv. [f] Tacit. l. iv. c. 54, & ſeq. de mor. German. Dio, in fragm. xlix. Plin. & al.
[g] See vol. vi. p. 206, a—e. [h] Ibid. p. 145, b. [i] Vopiscus in Aurel. ſub fin.

caught it muſt immediately get on a fleet horſe, and ride for his life, from the fury of the ſerpents, which purſued him till a river ſtopped them ſhort. The egg was then to be flung into the water, with a golden ring, which they faſtened about it, and muſt ſwim on the ſurface with it. Its virtues were then almoſt as numberleſs as thoſe of *Fortunatus*'s cap, a great many of which our author mentions, as well as its colour and ſhape; and concludes with telling us, that the emperor *Claudius* cauſed a *Gauliſh* nobleman to be put to death merely for having been found with one of theſe eggs in his boſom, and which, it ſeems, he wore there with a view of gaining a law ſuit in which he was engaged (63).

What increaſes our wonder of this ridiculous credulity is, that a modern author (64) has endeavoured to confirm, in a great meaſure, what *Pliny* has related, by aſſuring us, that in ſeveral parts of *Dauphine*, eſpecially one place he names near the confines of *Savoy*, there is ſuch a prodigious concourſe of all kinds of ſerpents from the 5th of *June* to the 15th of *Auguſt*, that there is not one to be ſeen for the ſpace of ten miles round the place. He adds, that the ground where they aſſemble is left covered with a kind of ſcum, which fills one with horror. But he ſays, that no care had been taken to inquire after the ſtory of the egg, whether it was fact, or only an impoſture of the druids. If any thing could perſuade us that the ancient *Gauls* could give into ſuch ridiculous ſuperſtitions, it would be the ſeeing of them ſo eaſily ſwallowed by the modern ones.

(63) *Plin. l.* xxix. *c.* 3. (64) *Chorier hiſt. du Dauphiné.*

came by this extraordinary gift, or whether it was real, or a mere cheat and pre- a
tence; only we would obſerve, that the latter cannot be ſuppoſed, without allowing at the ſame time, that the druids themſelves were likewiſe impoſed upon by them; elſe it is not likely they would have allowed them to reign ſo long, and bear ſuch ſway in all religious and civil matters, contrary to the practice of the *Indian* brachmans, and other ſects of ancient philoſophers, who never admitted their women into any of their myſteries[k]. There were three claſſes of druideſſes in *Gaul*, the chiefeſt

Three orders of them.

of which was of thoſe who kept a perpetual virginity; for theſe were thought to have the ſpirit of prophecy. The next was that of thoſe, who, though married, were yet obliged to abſtain from the matrimonial intercourſe, except one ſingle time in the whole year, in which they were allowed to go and have children by them; b
after which, they returned to their office, which was, to aſſiſt the druids at their religious functions. The laſt were a kind of attendants, or ſervants, on the others; and this we learn rather from ſome ancient monuments and inſcriptions[l], than from ancient authors, who have ſaid little more of them than that they were propheteſſes. Both druids and druideſſes pretended to a great knowledge in aſtrology, calculated peoples nativities, erected figures, and foretold ſtrange things, both by that, and, much more, by their inhuman auguries; of which bloody cuſtom, we ſhall give a ſpecimen in the margin (I): but thoſe which were ſtyled propheteſſes, were thought to have a gift ſuperior to the reſt, and which was looked upon as ſupernatural; theſe were called by ſome ſuperior title, ſuch as that of dame was heretofore among us; c
and were in the higheſt requeſt, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among foreign nations. As for the others, they were much leſs regarded, and their night-aſſemblies about ponds and marſhes, to worſhip and conſult the moon, and ſome other ſorceries they pretended to uſe, made them be looked upon as downright witches, canibals, *lamiæ*, *pythoniſſæ*, *ſtriæ*, and every thing that is black and horrid, by chriſtian authors, from the ſixth century downwards[m].

The bards, their office.

THE next order amongſt them, in great eſteem, was that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and looked upon the former to be only a more modern name given to them. But there is a paſſage in *Strabo* which quite explodes that notion, where he ſays[n], that the druids were in the higheſt d
power, and gave laws to the *vates*, *eubages*, and bards, who were every-where to give them place, when they pleaſed to challenge it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their conſent and approbation. Beſides, we are told by that, and a number of other authors, that theſe bards were ſo called from their office, which was to ſing the praiſes of their heroes[o], and to accompany their ſongs with muſical inſtruments. And we are told, that their compoſitions were held in the higheſt eſteem, as the moſt effectual means of eternizing the memory of thoſe who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors laſt quoted adds, that they could at any time put a ſtop to a whole army's engaging, by their interpoſition: ſo great a power had wiſdom and the muſes over thoſe barbarians[p]. e
It was their buſineſs to accompany the *Gauliſh* armies with their ſongs, which were generally calculated to inſpire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death[q]. During the onſet, they uſed likewiſe to give ſome

[k] Vide PLIN. ubi ſupr. TACIT. l. iv. STRABO, l. xv. [l] GRUTER. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 27. [m] Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat. [n] L. iv. [o] DIOD. SICUL. l. vi. c. 9. LUCAN. l. i. verſ. 447. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xv. [p] DIOD. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [q] PAUSAN. in Phoc.

(I) It appears, by comparing what antiquaries have been able to collect from ſome ancient *Gauliſh* monuments concerning this bloody ceremony, with what *Strabo* ſays of it (65) as it was practiſed among the *Cimbri*, who were a branch of the old *Celtes*, that there was no material difference between them in this reſpect. We ſhall, therefore, give the purport of what that ancient author has left us of it, which is as follows:

The druideſſes were, on theſe occaſions, like the druids, cloathed in white tunics, faſtened with hooks, and girt with a braſs girdle, and without ſhoes. As ſoon as the *Cymbrians* had taken any captives, theſe women flew upon them with drawn ſwords in their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a large capacious *labrum*, or ciſtern, by the ſide of which was a kind of foot-ſtool, on which the druideſs then officiating ſtood, who plunged a long knife into the breaſt of each of theſe unfortunate wretches, one after another, as faſt as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood ſhe formed her predictions. The other druideſſes, who aſſiſted, took up the breathleſs bodies, opened and examined their entrails, and from thence likewiſe foretold ſome new things, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

(65) *Lib.* vii.

a ſome loud ſhouts, ſometimes as of victory, other times to intimate their danger, in caſe they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way. So that, though they did not really fight themſelves, they were ſo intermingled with the army, that they ran, in ſome meaſure, the ſame riſque with thoſe that did (K). By this means they were eye-witneſſes of the behaviour of the combatants, and either celebrated their praiſes in their ſongs, or cenſured thoſe that had not done their duty. And as theſe might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol thoſe who had been faulty, or in praiſing either too much or too little, for favour or intereſt, it is thought they acquired the name of paraſites [r]. But this ſeems very inconſiſtent with what we read of the great eſteem they were in, unleſs we allow that epithet to have antiently car-
b ried a more favourable meaning than it doth now (L). To theſe two orders we may add thoſe of the *vates* and *euvates*, or *eubates*, which ſeem to have been ſtill inferior to that of the bards; but whether they were ſo to each other, or the ſame under two names, is not eaſy to gueſs, with that little light we have from antient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole is, that the druids preſided over all religious matters, and bore a great ſway in thoſe of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all tranſactions, and treaſured up in their poetic compoſitions the knowledge of things and perſons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their ſongs, as the druids thought proper. The *vates* and *euvates* might be ſingers of theſe bardiſh compoſitions, and be further retained in the families of the great, to
c celebrate their praiſes and heroic acts; but as the druids were more known to ſtrangers than the reſt, their name was given to all indifferently, by antient hiſtorians.

Vates and euvates.

Diodorus and *Cicero* ſeem to mention a fifth ſort, *viz.* the *ſaronides*; but we have ſhewn, a little higher, that it was but another name for that of the druids, as the learned *Bochart* has fully proved [s]. As for the *flamens*, or *flamines*, though they have been ſuppoſed to have belonged to the druidiſh order, yet biſhop *Stillingfleet* has ſufficiently diſproved them to have been of *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* extract. They were of the *Roman* kind, and of much later date than either druids or bards. We have ſpoken of them in a former volume, and to that, and the learned prelate above quoted, we ſhall refer our readers, and cloſe this ſection of the *Gauliſh* religion with
d obſerving, that, in ſpite of all the ſevere edicts of the *Roman* and *Chriſtian* monarchs, there were ſtill very viſible traces of it, and of the very worſt part of the druidiſh rites practiſed, not only long after the ſettling of chriſtianity in *Gaul*, but even to the middle of the ſixth century, as appears by a notable inſtance of it, which we ſhall give in the margin (M).

The end of druidiſh ſuperſtition.

SECT.

[r] POSIDON. ap. Athenæ. l. vi.

[s] Vide & PELLOUTIER. hiſt. des Celt. l. ii. c. 9.

(K) This may be inferred from what we read of one of them, named *Pomponius*, a man in great eſteem, both as a bard, and a poet; who finding himſelf in great danger from the enemy, made a vow to *Mars*, their great protector, to ſacrifice to him a boar, if he eſcaped ſafe (66). It was likewiſe, as we formerly hinted, cuſtomary among their generals, upon all ſuch occaſions, to vow to that god all the plunder, and even the priſoners of war, if they came off victorious.

(L) This epithet, though by length of time become a term of reproach, might not carry ſo harſh a meaning in our author; if it had, it is hardly credible thoſe bards could have kept up their credit ſo long, and in ſo brave and warlike a nation. But, in our opinion, that name was given only to an inferior ſet of bards, who are judged to have been a kind of clients, or *ſolduri*, who entered themſelves into the ſervice of ſome noblemen or generals, and bound themſelves to live and die with him, and whoſe buſineſs it was to ſing the praiſes of their patrons, in poems compoſed by the bards, before numerous crouds of people, who never failed to ſurround and liſten to them (67).

(M) This fact is taken from *Procopius*, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of it, and is as follows: *Theodebert* I. having penetrated into *Italy* at the head of a conſiderable army, and taken poſſeſſion of the bridge of *Pavia*, his men offered in ſacrifice the wives and children of the *Goths*, whom they had ſurpriſed, and caſt their bodies into the river, as the firſt-fruits of that war. "For, ſays he, the *Franks*, "though chriſtians, do ſtill obſerve a great many of "their antient ſuperſtitions. They offer up human "victims, and uſe many execrable rites in their au-"guries." And another author, who lived till the latter end of the ſeventh century, has a long catalogue of ſuch ſuperſtitions, againſt which, as he was a biſhop, and ſince ſainted for his piety, he forewarns his chriſtian flock. The reader may ſee the paſſage at length in the authors quoted below (68).

(66) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* vi. *c.* 9. *Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l.* xvi. *c.* 6. (67) *Caſaubon. in Athen. l.* vi.
(68) *Vide father Coint. tom.* i. & iii. *Fleury's eccleſ. hiſtor. tom.* viii. *Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 7.

SECT. IV.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, learning, arts, ſciences, commerce, and cuſtoms, of the antient Gauls.

Their government.

WE have already ſpoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the *Gauls*, in the hiſtory of the *Celtes*, their anceſtors [a]; of their migrations and ſettlement in *Europe*, and of their antient monarchical government there [b]. How and when it came afterwards to dwindle, and ſplit itſelf into that variety of forms in which the *Romans* found them afterwards, were in vain to inquire after, conſidering their inbred contempt of learning, and that they kept neither hiſtory nor records, but what was couched in the ſongs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as poſſible, from public knowledge, and only ſung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occaſions, rather to ſtimulate the people to an imitation of their heroes, than to preſerve any regular ſeries of their tranſactions. All that can be offered concerning this great change, would be only ſuch conjectures as are obvious to every reader; which may, therefore, be eaſily ſpared here, ſince all our intelligence, concerning this their new government, muſt be fetched from hints and ſcraps of ſuch foreign authors who have written of them, ſince they became more known to their neighbours, and of which this is the beſt account that can be given.

THE *Gauls* were by this time (though ſtill under the ſame name, uſing the ſame language and cuſtoms, and governed by the ſame general laws) under different governments, ſome of which were monarchical, others ariſtocratical, others partly ſo, and partly democratical, and theſe were, by way of diſtinction, called free [c]. *Tacitus* reckons no leſs than ſixty-four of theſe cities, or, as *Cæſar* better explains it [d], regions, or diſtricts, who were under this kind of government. Theſe little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they choſe a magiſtrate for civil, and a general for military, affairs [e]; yet theſe, as well as thoſe that were under a kingly government, obſerved one conſtant law, to

Grand council of the nation.

call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common intereſt of the whole nation, was debated and ſettled. And, indeed, theſe warlike people were in no ſmall need of ſuch a general council, ſince they made war one of their chief employments, and were no ſooner free from a foreign one, but they immediately fell a quarelling among themſelves: ſo that, to prevent theſe inteſtine broils, the chief buſineſs of that grand aſſembly was, to find out ſome plauſible pretence for carrying it againſt ſome of their neighbours, either to pull down thoſe that were over-grown, and raiſed their jealouſy, or to protect the oppreſſed, or furniſh ſome allies with a number of auxiliaries, and ſuchlike [f]. The free commonwealths had, moreover, a law common to them all, that whoever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common intereſt, they were obliged to acquaint their magiſtrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magiſtrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the reſt; for it was not lawful for any perſon to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council [g]. All that can be gathered, relating to this grand aſſembly, out of the ſame hiſtorian, the reader may ſee in the ſubſequent note (A). Upon the whole, then, this grand council

[a] Vol. ii. p. 241, & ſeq. 244, 246, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 250, & ſeq. [c] CÆSAR. comment. l. 1. c 1. vi. c. 4. TACIT. ann. l. iii. [d] Iidem ibid. [e] STRAB. l. iv. [f] Comment. l. vi. c. 6. STRABO, l. iv. MELA, l. iii. c. 3. CÆSAR, ibid. l. vi. c. 4. [g] Comment. l. vi. c. 4.

(A) The *Gauls*, ſays that conqueror (1), demanded that a general council of their whole nation ſhould be ſummoned, and that it might be done by his conſent. A council was, accordingly, aſſembled at *Bibracte*, where was a vaſt concourſe from all parts of the nation (2). And elſewhere he tells us, that he ſummoned that *Gauliſh* council to meet in the ſpring; and the *treviri*, *ſenones*, and *carnuti*, not coming with the reſt, he adjourned it to meet at *Paris* (3).

Among them who oppoſed his meaſures were *Dumnoriz*, one of the chiefs of the *Æduan* commonwealth, againſt whom he had ſent an order to have

(1) *L.* i. *c.* 12. (2) *L.* i. *c.* 12. (3) *L.* vi. *c.* 1.

a council was the dernier reſort of the *Gauls*, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, diſtribution of plunder, and ſuch-like, between diſtrict and diſtrict, was finally determined. For if, for inſtance, after ſome ſucceſsful victory, or excurſion, any debate happened about the plunder, as it ſeldom failed to be followed with a great deal of bloodſhed, if not timely prevented, and, if *Polybius* may be credited, ſuch bloody frays did often happen for ſuch trifles as the plunder of a good ſtore of victuals, and eſpecially of wine [h]; the diſpute was deferred to the aſſembly of the diſtrict, or commonwealth. *Common-wealths.*
But whenever it happened, as it often did, between diſtrict and diſtrict, the grand
b council muſt either determine between them, or elſe they were ſure to butcher one another, till one ſide was forced to give over. So that *Tacitus* had great reaſon to ſay of them, as he did of their neighbours the *Germans*; "If they will not be in "friendſhip with us, let them at leaſt fall out among themſelves: fortune can do no "greater ſervice, than to ſet them at variance among themſelves [i]." All that needs be further added, with relation to theſe ſmall commonwealths, is, that they ſeem to have had ſuch an averſion to kingly government, that one of them, that of the *Ædui* (B), ordered the great *Certillus*, the father of *Vercingetorix*, mentioned a little higher, a man in great power and credit, and eſteemed the firſt man in *Gaul*, to be put to death, for having aſpired to the kingdom [k]. At the ſame time, they were ſo extremely jealous of each other's power, that they were obliged to enter into com-
c binations againſt each other, and the little ones to put themſelves under the protection of the great ones; an inſtance of which we gave in the laſt note. *Cæſar* doth ſometimes call the former tributary and ſubject to the latter, but moſt commonly confederate with them. Upon his firſt entrance into *Gaul* he found it divided into two factions: the *Ædui* were at the head of one, and the *Arverni* at the head of the other; and both, he tells us, had for many years contended for the ſuperiority [l]. What increaſed the diſſenſion ſtill more, was, that the *Bituriges*, a people in the province of *Berri*, and neighbours of the *Arverni*, were ſtill in ſubjection to the *Ædui*; and the *Sequani*, who lived in *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*, and neighbours to the *Ædui*, were under the protection of the *Arverni*.

d SUCH were the unhappy diviſions between the *Gauliſh* commonwealths (C), which *Kings.* gave ſo great an advantage to the *Romans* againſt them, and which they failed not to

h L. ii. i German. c. 33. k Vide & comment. l. vi. c. 11. l Idem, l. i. c. 12. vi. c. 4.

have him ſlain, who, thereupon, applied himſelf to the council, alledging, that he was a member of a free commonwealth, and begged to be protected by them (4). Another was *Vercingetorix*, who, *Cæſar* ſays, flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to unite ſuch commonwealths to him, as diſſented from the reſt of the *Gauliſh* cities, and to form ſuch a general council of all *Gaul*, as the whole world ſhould not be able to withſtand (5).

This is all that we can meet with concerning thoſe grand councils; but as to other particulars relating either to the extent of their power, the time, manner, and place of their being ſummoned and held, and the like, hiſtory leaves us wholly in the dark.

(B) The *Ædui* were one of the three chief commonwealths in *Gaul* (6), and ſituate near *Autun*; the country is now called *Lower Burgundy*.

The other two were the *Arverni* and the *Rhemi*. The former of theſe were ſited on the river *Loire*; their capital was called *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of *Guienne*; and they became, in time, ſo powerful, that, according to *Strabo*, they made war againſt *Cæſar* with 400000 men (7), and, a little before the arrival of their conqueror, had quite weakened their rivals the *Ædui*, by withdrawing moſt of their clients and dependents (8): and it was, probably, upon this juncture, that they condemned that great commander of theirs to loſe his head, and choſe his ſon in his ſtead.

The *Rhemi* were the antient inhabitants of the country of *Rheims*, whoſe antient and famous metropolis ſtill bears the ſame name, and is one of the greateſt, and moſt populous cities of *France*.

(C) Accordingly, we find the *Senones*, or rather *Semnones*, who inhabited ſome part of the *Lionois*, joining in league with that of the *Pariſians*, and both ſoon after putting themſelves under the protection of the *Ædui*. The *Bellovaci*, a very populous commonwealth, and in great repute and authority among the *Belgæ* (9), were likewiſe allied with them. Their capital, then a very conſiderable city, was called *Bellovacum*, and *Cæſaromagus*; their country ſtill retains the name of *Beauvois*.

Cæſar reckons, moreover, five different people under the dominion of the *Nervii* (10), another antient, fierce, and warlike people of *Belgia*, ſuppoſed to have dwelt in the now dioceſe of *Cambray*; theſe were the *Centrones*, or inhabitants of *Courtray*. *Grudii*, ſuppoſed to have dwelt about *Bruges*; the *Lævaci*, about *Louvain*; the *Pleumoſii*, or *Pleumaſii*, whoſe ſituation is uncertain; and the *Gorduni*, ſituate in the neighbourhood of *Ghent*. The *Eburones* and *Condruſii*, who lived in the territories of *Liege* and *Namur*, were clients to the *Treviri*, or inhabitants of the country of *Triers*, the then principal nation in *Belgia prima*. The *Veneti*, or inhabitants of *Gallia Armorita*, or *Britany*, compoſed ſo powerful a commonwealth, that our author (11) tells us, their dominion was one of the moſt extenſive.

(4) *L.* v. *c.* 3. (5) *L.* vii. *c.* 6. (6) *Tacit l.* iii. *Cæſar. com. l.* v. (7) *Strab. l.* iv.
(8) *Comment. l.* vi. *c.* 4. vii. *c.* 10. (9) *Idem, l.* ii. *c.* 4. vii. *c.* 7. (10) *L.* v. *c.* 11.
(11) *L.* iv. *c.* 2.

to improve, according to their wonted policy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. *Cæſar*, finding the *Arverni* too ſtrong for, and averſe to, him, entered into an alliance with the *Ædui*, who were by this time become vaſtly inferior to them, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the *Roman* people. Their example was ſoon followed by others, ſo that partly by cajoling ſome, and ſowing jealouſies and diſcords among others, he facilitated the conqueſt of that noble and warlike nation, which, had it been more united in intereſt and form of its government, muſt, in all appearance, have proved too hard for him.

BUT, notwithſtanding this great multitude and variety of commonwealths, it is plain, that both *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, ſtill ſwarmed with petty kingdoms, that is, with diſtricts, governed by kings, whom the *Romans* ſtyled *reguli*, or petty kings, but the *Gauls* ſtyled kings (D), though their dominions were ever ſo ſmall. Theſe differed from the magiſtrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary (E), but ſometimes conferred by the people upon ſuch as were in the greateſt eſteem for juſtice, wiſdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the *Bituriges* did one over the *Celtæ*, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*[m]; ſometimes a brave and powerful man forced himſelf upon the throne: and even thoſe who ſeem to have come to the crown by ſucceſſion, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as thoſe that were choſen by them. This is, at leaſt, what *Ambiorix*, king of the *Eburones*, owns, with relation to himſelf. "The conſtitution of our government, ſays he, is ſuch, that "the people have no leſs power and authority over me, than I have over them[n]." This form has been, indeed, much admired by *Ariſtotle*, *Polybius*, *Cicero*, and eſpecially by *Plato*, as by far the ſafeſt and moſt excellent; becauſe, as the laſt of theſe rightly obſerves, ſhould kingly government be left without a bridle, when it hath attained the ſupreme power, as it ſtands upon ſuch ſlippery ground, it eaſily falls into tyranny. "For this reaſon, ſays he, it ought to be reſtrained, as with a curb, by "the authority of the nobles, and of ſuch choſen men as the people have impow-"ered for that end and purpoſe[o]."

How choſen.

Their power limited.

IT

[m] LIVY, l. v. [n] Comment. l. v. c. 8. [o] Vide HOTTOMAN. Franco-Gall. in fin. c. 1.

(D) The word *rex* ſeems plainly enough to be of *Celtic* extract, *viz.* from *rhey*, prince, or lord: hence we have ſhewed in a former volume (12), *Rhea*, *Jove*'s mother, to have had that name given her, as implying a lady, or princeſs, as ſhe really was. The name of *Rhey* might therefore be given to thoſe antient monarchs, till their vaſt kingdom came to ſplit itſelf, as we have ſeen above, into ſo many petty principalities and commonwealths; at which time, it is probable, thoſe petty kings came to be called *Tyrannes*, or, according to the old *Celtic*, *Tyr-rhanwir*, from their being the perſons who divided the people into ſuch diſtricts, or communities, and ſettled the boundaries of each, as well as the portions of land which every family under them was to be intitled to. Hence the *tyrannoi* of the *Greeks*, and the word tyrant, might at firſt carry a much better meaning, till their degeneracy made it to become ſo odious, that they changed it for thoſe of princes, dukes, earls, *&c.* (13).

The author of the *Mona antiqua*, above quoted, thinks the name and office of theſe *tyrans* to be of much older date; and that, in all probability, ſome ſuch power or dignity is tacitly implied in one of the *ſtatutes of the ſons of* Noah, called *de judiciis* (14). We have formerly given our ſentiment concerning that rabbinic book (15) ſo much diſcredited by ſome, and ſo ſtrongly defended by our learned *Selden*. But, without having recourſe to ſuch queſtioned authorities, reaſon plainly tells us, that from the firſt diſperſion there muſt have been ſome ſuch *tir rhanwirs*, or land-aſſigners, as the word implies, to prevent the continual quarrels that muſt inevitably happed for want of them. And theſe were moſt likely the heads of families, whoſe paternal authority carried a kind of divine right. For if mankind ſprung from one man, then the original of government muſt be ſuppoſed, of courſe, to have been not only monarchical, but ſuch by divine appointment, and veſted in the heads of families.

Moſes further obſerves (16), that the three families of *Noah*'s ſons were, after the flood, divided after their tongues and families, *begojehem*, in their nations, that is, into ſeparate communities, over whom the chief, or head, preſided, and was the *rhey*, or lord, and *tyr-rhanwir*, or aſſigner of their proper lands in each ſettlement. But however that be, in ſuch a change of government as here happened among the *Celts* or *Gauls*, nothing can be more evident, than the neceſſity of ſuch a kind of deſpotic diſtributers and aſſigners of lands in each new kingdom or commonwealth; and who could be fitter for ſuch an office, than thoſe who bore the greateſt authority?

(E) At leaſt *J. Cæſar* mentions ſeveral eminent private men, whoſe anceſtors had been formerly inveſted with the regal dignity, and, among theſe, *Caſticus*, whoſe father had been many years king of the *Sequani* (17); *Piſo*, whoſe grandfather had reigned in *Aquitania* (18); and *Taſgetius*, whoſe anceſtors had been kings of the *Carnutes* (19), and whoſe territories retain ſtill the name of *Chartrain*. So that they ſeem rather to have been magiſtrates for life, than real kings, eſpecially as their power is affirmed to have been limited by the people.

(12) *Vol.* ii. *p.* 260, (R). (13) *See Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p.* 41, *& ſeq.* (14) *Hottoman. Franco-Gal. c.* 1. (15) *Vol.* i. *p.* 114, *& ſeq.* (16) *Geneſis* x. (17) *L.* i. *c.* 2. (18) *L.* iv. *c.* 3, (19) *L.* v. *c.* 8.

a IT is not eaſy to gueſs from *Cæſar*'s commentaries, from which we have the greateſt part of this intelligence, either how many of theſe kingdoms there were in *Gaul*, or what nations were governed by them, and which by a commonwealth; but both were equally courted by the *Romans*, and for the ſame reaſon, *viz.* to withdraw from, and weaken the force of thoſe that oppoſed their conqueſts. Theſe petty kings, eſpecially, were often corrupted by dint of gifts, promiſes, or ſome fine titles, ſuch as that of *friends and confederates of* Rome, to embroil the *Gauliſh* affairs, and foment diſſenſions among their little kingdoms and republics: even the pooreſt and moſt inconſiderable amongſt them were thought worth their while to bring over to them; and if they found them buſy and active in their intereſt, they b failed not to reward them in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to draw others into the ſame treacherous practices. Among thoſe, whom *Cæſar* mentions among the friends and allies of *Rome*, was *Catamantales*, king of the *Sequani* [p], the grandfather of *Piſo*, mentioned a little higher, who reigned in *Aquitain*, and [q] whoſe name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and *Olevico*, king of the *Nitiobriges*, or people of *Agenois*, who had that title beſtowed upon him by the *Roman* ſenate [r]. Among thoſe who made the nobleſt reſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, was *Divitiacus*, king of the *Sueſſones*, a brave people of *Gallia Belgica*, who was one of the moſt potent princes of all *Gallia*. His territories were large and fruitful: he had twelve conſiderable cities, one of which, *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*, *Cæſar* afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, as we have elſewhere ſhewn [s], notwithſtanding they c had brought 500000 fighting men againſt him. This prince's dominions is ſaid to have extended even to *Little Britany*. He was ſucceeded by *Galba*, at the time when *Cæſar* invaded them [t]. Thus much for the *Gauliſh* government, which we ſhall cloſe with a ſevere reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will ſhew how much their inteſtine feuds contributed to his conqueſt of them. "Among the "*Gauls*, ſays he [u], not only all their cities, cantons, and diſtricts, but even almoſt "all families, are divided and torn by factions. Theſe are generally cauſed and "fomented by their princes and demagogues, who exerciſe a kind of arbitrary "power and authority over their inferiors and dependents, and manage all public d "matters with an uncontroulable ſway." *Tacitus* obſerves much the ſame thing [w] of it; ſo that, in ſpite of all their bravery, their ruin ſeems no leſs than inevitable, when ſo torn and diſmembered from within, and invaded by ſuch powerful and politic enemies from without.

Careſſed and corrupted by the Romans.

WHETHER theſe diſaſters were occaſioned through the want of a good body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not eaſy to determine. We have, indeed, obſerved, in a former volume, that *Mercury* is ſaid to have civilized the *Celtic* nation, in many reſpects, and, amongſt other things, that he gave them a ſet of laws [x]. Another author gives the credit of this to one *Samothes*, a man of profound learning and wiſdom among them, and ſaid to have been the founder of e the *Celtic* monarchy [y]. But what thoſe laws were, if any ſuch were, indeed, compiled for them, we are wholly in the dark. The druids and bards, who had the keeping and interpreting of them, were too cautious to divulge them to ſtrangers, or even to any of their own nation, except to thoſe of their own order; ſince they obſerved the ſame ſhyneſs with relation to all other branches of learning, which they carefully concealed from the people. But whatever that ſyſtem of laws may have been, it muſt have ſuffered a total change, upon the abolition of the monarchy, and the diſmembering of the whole into ſo many petty kingdoms and commonwealths. And, indeed, by all we can gather from *Cæſar*, or any other antient author, they ſeem ſo far from having been tyed by any common body of laws, that, except that f of holding a general aſſembly every year, and another of permitting all private quarrels and conteſts to be decided by ſingle combat [z], which every community was obliged to permit, they rather appear to have been wholly governed by the deciſions of the council, whether of each diſtrict, or of the whole nation, unleſs where kings did bear an abſolute ſway, if any ſuch there were; for, as far as we can find, moſt of this ſort were as much ſubject to the people, as they to them. If we may, however, gueſs from ſome inſtances of their hiſtory, they ſeem to have held one general maxim

Their laws.

[p] Comment. l. i. c. 2. [q] L. iv. c. 3. [r] L. vii. c. 6. [s] See before, vol. v. p. 119.
[t] L. ii. c. 1, & ſeq. [u] L. vi. c. 11. [w] Annal. l. i. c. 11. [x] See vol. ii. p. 264, b.
[y] See LEWIS hiſt. Brit. and the authors quoted by him, book i. ch. 2. [z] Concerning the origin of this cuſtom, ſee hereafter, p. 581, f, & ſeq.

They founded their right on their ſwords.

maxim, *viz.* that the longeſt ſword had the beſt title, and that it was the deſign of a the ſupreme being that the ſtrongeſt ſhould ſtrip the weakeſt; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The following inſtance, out of *Livy* [z], is a pregnant one, that this was an eſtabliſhed principle amongſt them.

The *Senones*, of whom we have ſpoken a little higher; finding themſelves too much ſtreightened in their territories, fell foul upon the city of *Cluſium*, whoſe territories happened to lie very convenient for them; upon which, the beſieged applied to the *Roman* ſenate for help, who being, at that juncture, unwilling to enter into a war with the aggreſſors, contented themſelves with ſending them three young patricians of the *Fabian* family, in a friendly embaſſy to them. Theſe opened their b commiſſion before the general aſſembly of the *Gauls*, which was, in ſubſtance, to require the *Senones* to ceaſe all further hoſtilities againſt the *Cluſians*, otherwiſe the ſenate would be obliged, againſt their will, to ſupport the oppreſſed, againſt whom they could alledge no cauſe of complaint. To this the *Gauls* anſwered, with their uſual politeneſs, to the following effect; *viz.* that though they were not acquainted with the *Romans*, they could not but have a great notion of their bravery, ſeeing the *Cluſians* had implored their aſſiſtance under their preſent unhappy ſituation.

"Your principals, continued they, having choſen to ſend an embaſſy to us, rather "than their forces to ſupport their allies, we do not refuſe the peace which you offer "to us, provided the *Cluſians*, who hold more lands than they can cultivate, agree c "to yield ſome of them to us, who are in want of them. This is the only con-"dition upon which we can make peace with you, and we deſire a poſitive anſwer "before your departure. If the *Cluſians* will not agree to it, we are ready to give "them battle, even now, before you, that you may be able to inform your country-"men, how much the *Gauls* are ſuperior to other nations, in point of bravery."

Their ſharp anſwer to the Roman *embaſſadors.*

To this the embaſſadors replied, without ſeeming to underſtand the force of the laſt words, that they could not but look upon it as a piece of great injuſtice, to inſiſt upon a people's yielding the territories they were lawfully poſſeſſed of, and to wage war againſt them becauſe they refuſed to do ſo. Whereupon *Brennus*, the *Gauliſh* leader, without farther ceremony, anſwered, that the *Gauls* carried the d right at the point of their ſword; and that the brave had the beſt title to all things.

"You yourſelves, ſaid he, have made no ſcruple to ſtrip the *Albans*, *Fidenates*, "*Volſcii*, &c. of the greateſt part of their territories; and yet you did nothing, in "all this, that we pretend to cenſure, as either ſtrange, or unjuſt: for you did only "follow the prime and moſt antient of all laws, which obliges the weak to give "way to the ſtrong. This law ſeems to be derived from the deity itſelf, and ex-"tends down to the very brutes, amongſt which, the ſtrongeſt naturally ſeek to "ſubdue the weakeſt. Ceaſe, then, to take the part of the beſieged *Cluſians*, leſt the "*Gauls* ſhould one day think themſelves obliged, in their turn, to ſhew the ſame "compaſſion towards thoſe whom you have oppreſſed." This was, indeed, an e argument *ad hominem*, and ſuch as the *Romans* could never anſwer, but tacitly approved and followed, though they had not the ingenuity to own it, as the *Gauls* did, upon all ſuch occaſions (F). What the ſucceſs of this embaſſy was, is foreign to our preſent ſubject: we have given a full account of it in a former volume [a], and only repeat it here to ſhew, by what laws this nation was chiefly governed, *viz.* that of

[z] Livy, l. v. c. 35, & ſeq. Plutarch. in Camil.

[a] See before, vol. iv. p. 562, c, d, & ſeq.

(F) A remarkable inſtance of this, we have in the ſame *Gauliſh* general, who having promiſed the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege of the capitol, and to retire from them, upon condition they paid him a thouſand pounds weight of gold, when the money was brought to be weighed to him, ordered falſe weights to be made uſe of; and being aſked by the *Roman* tribune what he meant by them, proudly anſwered him, "What ſhould it mean, *but woe to the con-*"*quered* (19)?"

In like manner, a little before the battle which *Marius* gained over the *Cimbri*, another tribe of the *Gauls*, we find one of theſe ſending a challenge to fight the ſtouteſt of the *Romans* in ſingle combat, and overcome by the brave *L. Opimius* (20). Soon after this, *Bojorix*, one of their kings, came in perſon to *Marius*'s camp, and challenged him to appoint a day and place for a battle, there to decide their right to the territories they were then diſputing about, purſuant to their general and received maxim, that providence was always on the ſide of the ſtrongeſt and braveſt (21). The ſame notion was common among the *Germans*, and was alledged by their king *Arioviſtus*, who, having conquered the *Sequani*, told *Julius Cæſar*, that the right of conqueſt intitled the conqueror to uſe the conquered as he pleaſed (22).

(19) L. v. c. 8. (20) *Livy, l. v. c. 48. Plutarch. in Camil.* (21) *See before, vol. v. p. 57, b.* (22) *Livy & Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

a of the ſtrongeſt arm; and that if ever they had any other laws, they ſuffered them to be ſuperſeded by this, which they falſely called the law of nature.

NEITHER was this maxim of theirs confined to foreign conqueſts, but extended itſelf to the deciſion of private right among themſelves; for when any debates aroſe amongſt them, about their poſſeſſions, about any injury or affront, given or received, eſpecially among thoſe of the better ſort, in caſe the council or public magiſtrate did not give ſentence to the ſatisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by ſingle combat. Neither could their magiſtrates deny them that liberty, when once inſiſted upon by either party; nor could the oppoſite decline the challenge, without giving up the point, and being branded with ignominy. An-

Decided their law-ſuits, &c. by ſingle combat.

b tiently, indeed, that is, whilſt the whole *Gauliſh* nation were under a monarchical government, the druids and bards, who, as we have formerly hinted, were the keepers and interpreters of their laws, and preſided in all their courts and councils with ſuch an uncontrouled ſway, that it was the moſt dangerous thing to contravene their deciſions, ſuch diſputes may have been, and, it is moſt likely, were actually decided by theſe courts and councils; but after they came to be ſeparated into ſo many different governments, they began to look upon ſuch ſubjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to ſubſtitute this way of ſingle combat to it, not only as the ſhorteſt, but as the more honourable, and more agreeable to that received maxim of theirs, that providence was engaged to ſide with the right party; and that ſucceſs was a ſure token that the conqueror had the beſt title to the thing

c in diſpute. And as the party who thought himſelf injured had a right to appeal to this way of duel, to juſtify his diſſatisfaction, even though the king himſelf had given ſentence againſt him, and his opponent was obliged to ſubmit to it; ſo if the caſe of the two contenders was ſo intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they uſed to adjudge them to this method of ending the conteſt. Even the very witneſſes, if their depoſitions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themſelves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by ſingle combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any ſentence, that was paſſed either by king, or court of judicature. Accordingly, we read of

d two contending brothers in *Spain*, between whom *Scipio* would fain have compromiſed their diſpute about the ſucceſſion, who told him, with one accord, that they would ſubmit to no judgment, either of God or man, but to that of *Mars* [a]. *Herodotus*, who often confounds the *Scythians* with the *Celtes*, tells us, that they were wont to keep, and ſhew to the ſtrangers, that travelled through their countries, the heads of thoſe whom they had thus overcome in ſingle combat, in quarrels about property, honour, and ſuch-like [c]. The ſame cuſtom was alſo practiſed among the *Germans*, who are reported to have lulled *Varro* aſleep, by complimenting him with having found out means to end quarrels and diſputes by the way of juſtice, which they were wont to decide by the ſword [d].

e To ſuch a degree of fondneſs for theſe ſingle combats were they grown, that the very candidates for places of honour and truſt, when their pretenſions or merit were eſteemed nearly equal, had recourſe to it; and even among the druids themſelves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any diſpute aroſe about the number or validity of the votes of thoſe who had the chuſing of him [e]. And, what was ſtill more prodigious, theſe challenges were often ſent for mere punctilios and trifling piques, eſpecially at their feaſts and drunken revels, and many times but of mere oſtentation, and to make parade of their ſtrength and bravery; of which, the two following are pregnant inſtances, and plainly ſhew how tenacious they were of this general law of deciding all controverſies by the

f ſword. *Livy*, ſpeaking of the funeral obſequies which *Scipio Africanus* performed to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the *Spaniſh* wars, tells us, that there came vaſt crowds of perſons of diſtinction to *Carthagena*, a city in *Spain*, ſaid to have been built by *Aſdrubal*, to honour that ceremony by ſingle combats. "Theſe, ſays he, did not fight like the common gladiators, either by force, or for "money, but of their own accord, and free will." Some were ſent thither by their princes, to diſplay their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight there out of oſtentation; and

Strange fondneſs for duels.

[b] LIVY, l. xxvii. c. 21. [c] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 65. [d] VELLEII PATERC. l. i. c. 118.
[a] Comment. l. vi. c. 13. TACIT. ann. l. xiii. c. 57. N. DAMASCEN. VEGET. de re milit. & al.

and others because they could not refuse the challenge that was sent to them. a
Amongst them there were some, who having law-suits, or some controversies with others, agreed among themselves to put off the decision of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the estate or thing in dispute should fall to the conqueror [f]. The other instance, which we have out of the same author [g], is of some *Gaulish* mountaineers, who were generally looked upon as some of the rudest and fiercest of that nation, whom *Hannibal* had taken prisoners; these the *Carthaginian* general ordered to be brought at the head of his army, and, having provided them with a sufficient number of *Gallic* arms, offered them their liberty, upon condition that they should engage in single combat, and vanquish every man his antagonist; promising, moreover, that every victor should be presented with a horse b
and a set of warlike accoutrements. This they readily accepted, and, in sight of the whole army, fought with such intrepid bravery, that the spectators knew not which to admire most, the victor, or the vanquished (G).

How long this duelling humour has been preserved among some of our neighbours, and how little to their credit, in spite of their specious pretence of honour, we need not here observe: their ancestors, it is plain from their history, made war their chiefest trade and highest glory; and if they carried that favourite passion to excess, this may be said, in extenuation of it, not only that the same warlike phrensy reigned all over *Europe*, and far beyond, but, likewise, they were under a kind of necessity of indulging it to the utmost, in order to put a stop to the encroachments c
of a neighbouring nation, who aimed at no less than the enslaving of all the world (H). No wonder, then, if in such a case they used all possible means to inure themselves to martial deeds, to inspire their youth with a contempt of death, and thirst after glory and liberty, and to prefer an honourable death to an ignominious slavery. This became, accordingly, such a settled maxim among them, that they seemed to have no other concern in this world, than either to preserve their liberty, or to avoid slavery by a noble death [h]. Whenever, therefore, we shall see their descendants encourage these kinds of single combats from the same laudable motives, we shall readily own them to follow in the steps of their warlike ancestors. But if their views rather tend to rob other nations of their liberty, than to preserve their own, d
they will be justly chargeable with having improved the *Gallic* ferocity, by the superaddition of the *Roman* ambition and tyranny. But to return to the antient *Gauls:* They had such a singular contempt of life, when not accompanied with liberty and martial deeds, that either upon the appearance of servitude, or incapacity of action through old age, wounds, or any chronic diseases, they either put an end to their days, or else prevailed upon their friends to do it, esteeming this last state as

Excessive love of liberty.

[f] Livy, l. xxviii. c. 21. [g] L. xxi. c. 42. [h] Tacit. ann. l. ii. c. 15.

(G) The *Romans* seem to have preserved some such barbarous custom, at an antient temple of *Diana*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where the high priest was to be a fugitive slave, and could keep his dignity no longer, than he had the good luck to kill such other fugitive slaves as came to dispute it with him. Whoever killed him, was immediately declared his successor, and continued in that office till another took it from him in the same way (23). But whether this custom was introduced in imitation, or, rather, as seems most likely, in contempt, of the *Gaulish* and *Celtic* duelling, we leave to our readers.

Some think, however, that when the *Romans* exchanged the old *Italic* religion for that of the *Greeks*, they thought fit to turn over that pontifical dignity to their slaves, which exposed the owner of it to such continual and dangerous inconveniencies (24). *Caligula* is reported to have put an end to it, by sending an expert gladiator, who deprived him at once of his dignity and life (25).

(H) The *Gauls*, as well as *Germans*, *Spaniards*, &c. had the more reason to oppose the *Romans*, with all their might, because they knew, by the experience of other nations, that where-ever these new conquerors got the better, they overturned their fundamental laws, put an end to all their public councils, gave them new governors and magistrates, disarmed the people, loaded them with such heavy taxes, and subjected them to such a new form of government, as appeared to them intolerable.

To all these we may add a much greater instance of the *Roman* tyranny, which was, that when any of these brave nations, that had been unfortunately brought under their heavy yoke, did make any attempt, as it was natural and laudable in them to do, or were even but suspected by their despotic masters to have a design, to regain their liberty, they were sure to be made such dreadful examples to the rest, as can hardly be mentioned without horror: we shall refer our readers to the *Roman* history, for numberless instances of their cruelty to those brave nations, and only observe here, that nothing could more effectually inspire such a brave warlike one, as this of the *Gauls*, with a spirit of liberty, and detestation of the *Roman* tyranny, than those dismal catastrophes of their unfortunate neighbours, which they had before their eyes.

(23) *Vide comment. l.* i. *c.* 36. (24) *Strabo, l.* v. *Ovid. art. amand.* (25) *Serv. in Æneid.* vi. *verf.* 136. *Vide Pelloutier. hist. Celt. l.* ii. *c.* 11.

a as much a kind of ſlavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themſelves ſo ſtreightly beſieged by their enemies, that they could hold out no longer, inſtead of thinking how to make the moſt honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care, many times, was, to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into ſlavery. In the field, when they were forced to make ſuch a haſty retreat, that they could not readily procure carriages for thoſe who were not able to follow them on foot, as the ſick, wounded, and the like; they made no ſcruple to diſpatch them out of hand. And this was ſo far from being reckoned a hardſhip on them, that it was what they beged, with the greateſt vehemence and earneſtneſs; of all which we have ſeen very
b many inſtances through the courſe of this work, and ſhall beg leave to add two more, very remarkable in their kind.

Signal inſtances of it.

THE firſt is of their famous, and, till then, ſucceſsful general, *Brennus*, who being dangerouſly wounded, in that unfortunate expedition which he undertook againſt *Greece*, and ſeeing his army deſtroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, called together the broken remnant of his troops, and adviſed them to chuſe *Cichorius* for their leader, who ſhould firſt diſpatch him, and all the ſick and wounded, and afterwards head them back into their own country. The thing was accordingly executed by him, and 20000 of thoſe unhappy wretches were put to death. *Brennus*, only, choſe to die by his own hands, as the moſt
c glorious death of the two, in his opinion [i]. The other is of thoſe *Gauls*, who, being on the eve of giving battle to *Antigonus*, and being threatened by their aruſpices with a total overthrow, went firſt, and killed their wives and children, and then reſolutely marched to meet that glorious death, which their ſoothſayers had foretold
to them [k]. With the ſame ſpirit of liberty did thoſe act, who were unfortunately taken priſoners by their enemies, before they had time to diſpatch themſelves: for if once the conqueror began to treat them as ſlaves, to load them with chains, or condemn them to hard labour, they ſeldom failed taking the firſt opportunity of putting an end to their ſlavery by a voluntary death; even the very loading them with chains, as was commonly uſed by all nations, has raiſed this ſpirit in them to ſuch a
d height, that they have ruſhed upon, and butchered one another, by mutual conſent [l]. Neither was this love of liberty confined to the men, their women are no leſs famous for it in hiſtory; nor did they come ſhort of the *Spartan*, and other female heroines, but rather excelled them, in this deſperate kind of fury; inſomuch that, when they have perceived their men to give ground, they have ſallied out, armed with axes, and ſuch other weapons as came firſt to hand, and, with moſt hideous outcries, fallen foul both on the fugitives, and on their enemies; on the firſt, as betrayers of their country; and on the others, as invaders of their liberties. We ſhall give ſome remarkable inſtances of this female valour under the next head.

IN the mean time, it will not be improper to take notice of a judicious reflection
e which *Strabo* makes upon this exceſſive love of liberty, and contempt of death, which reigned among the *Gauls*, *viz.* that it did very much facilitate the conqueſt of that nation; becauſe their pouring thus furiouſly their numerous troops upon ſuch an experienced enemy as the *Romans* were, under *Cæſar*, their want of conduct and circumſpection, made them rather increaſe the number of the vanquiſhed, than ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror; whereas thoſe in *Spain*, by dividing their forces, and a prudent choice of the moſt advantagious grounds, and ſtrongeſt paſſes, and diſputing with them every ſuch place, inch by inch, made their conqueſt more difficult, and longer in completing [m]. This remark is certainly very juſt, and the *Spaniards*, by joining policy to their valour, did put off their ſlavery ſome few years longer; whereas the *Gauls*, truſting too much to their number and bravery, were more ſpeedily reduced: yet were the former wanting in a main point of politics, and as they were, like the *Gauls*, divided into ſo many petty ſtates, had they, like them, joined their forces againſt the common enemy, they might, in all likelihood, have baffled all the *Roman* valour and policy. For, as the ſame hiſtorian obſerves, in another place [n], it was by this way of conquering one little ſtate after another, that

[i] Excerpt. ex. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxii. ap. legal. HOESCHEL. p. 158. Vide PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 14. JUSTIN. ex. Trog. l. xxiv. c. 8. PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 23. [k] JUSTIN. l. xxvi. c. 2.
[l] Idem ibid. Vide & FLORUM, l. ii. c. 11. iv. 12. [m] STRAB. l. iv. [n] L. iii.

that both *Carthaginians*, and, after them, the *Romans*, made themselves masters of that country.

This is not a proper place to inquire into the causes that occasioned the loss of liberty to the *Gaulish* nation: it will more properly be done, when we have brought their history down to that sad catastrophe. The point we are upon is, their valour, and love of their country, laws, and liberty, in which noble virtues no nation ever distinguished themselves more than this, or was more dreaded by the *Romans* for them. Witness that law which the latter made, and is recorded by several of their own writers [o], whereby all dispensations formerly granted to priests, old men, and invalids, were to be made void, in case they were threatened with any tumult or danger from the *Gauls*; which law is, moreover, taken notice of by *Cicero* [p], and by *Cæsar* himself [q]; so that there was a time when they were more afraid of the *Gaulish* valour, than of any other nation, or even their neighbours the *Germans*, whose superiors they proved themselves so far in this point, that they forced their own colonies upon them beyond the *Rhine*, whenever their vast increase made their own territories too streight for them. *Tacitus* doth, indeed, tell us, in his life of *Agricola*, that they were by that time very much degenerated from their antient valour; which is neither improbable, nor a great wonder, considering how many of their petty kings, and little states, had been corrupted, partly by *Roman* gold, partly by pompous titles, and high promises, which introduced amongst them luxury and indolence, hastened on the loss of their virtue and liberty, and turned them into traitors against the rest of their countrymen. We shall beg leave, in justice to them, to conclude this article with a remarkable passage or two out of *Justin*, which are as follow [r]:

"The *Gauls*, finding their multitudes to increase so fast, that their lands could not "afford them sufficient sustenance, sent out three hundred thousand souls to seek for "new habitations: part of these settled in *Italy*, and these both took and burnt the "city of *Rome*; another part penetrated as far as the shores of *Dalmatia*, and, having "destroyed there an infinite number of barbarians, settled themselves at last in *Pan-*"*nonia*. A bold, hardy, and martial nation this, who ventured (next after *Hercules*, "who, by the like attempt, raised himself to the highest pitch of reputation, and "title to immortality) to cross the almost inaccessible rocks of the *Alps*, and places "scarcely passable through their excessive coldness; where, having totally subdued "the *Pannonians*, they waged war with the neighbouring provinces for many years."
---And a little after,---"Being encouraged by their success, others subdivided their "parties; some took their way to *Græcia*, some to *Macedonia*, destroying all before "them with fire and sword. And so great a terror did the name of *Gauls* spread round "about them, that several kings, not in the least threatened by them, came of their "own accord, and purchased their peace with large sums of money."---And in the very next book he adds, that, "So great was the fruitfulness of the *Gauls* at that "time, that they filled all *Asia* with their swarms; insomuch, that none of the eastern "monarchs either ventured to make war without a mercenary army of them, or, if "driven out of their kingdom, fled to any other but to them, for refuge."

We shall have the less room either to doubt of, or to wonder at, what we read in antient authors concerning the singular valour, and love of liberty, of the *Gaulish* nation, if we consider, that it was as remarkable in their women as in their men; so that both sexes had it, in some measure, transfused in their blood; they sucked it at the breast, and learned the first rudiments of it in the very nursery. We have hinted a little higher, what pains these viragoes took to keep up their men from giving ground to the enemy, and with what intrepid fury they fell, indifferently, upon those who turned their backs upon them, and upon those who pursued them: we shall now, according to our promise, add some few instances more of this female bravery, from undoubted authority.

In their women.

The *Ambrones*, says *Plutarch* [s], a *Gaulish* people, who lived near the foot of the *Alps*, between *Switzerland* and *Provence*) having been defeated by *Marius* near *Aix* in *Provence*, were pursued by the *Romans* quite to their carriages: there they found

[o] Livy, l. viii. Appian. l. ii. Vide & Plutarch. in vit. Marcel. & Camil. & Tacit. de morib. German. [p] Philippic. ii. [q] Comment. l. vi. [r] Hist. l. xxiv. [s] In vita Marii. Vide & Oros. l. vi. c. c. 16. Flor. l. iii. c. 3. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 1. ad fin. Hieron. epist. ad Geront.

a found the women armed with ſwords and hatchets, who, mingling themſelves with victors and vanquiſhed, did, with one hand, ſtrive to wrench their bucklers from them, and, with the other, to diſpatch them, and never let go their hold but with their lives. This might be imputed to their fury and deſpair; but when they found themſelves loſt beyond recovery, they ſent to demand of the conqueror three things (I); *viz.* firſt, Their liberty, that is, that they might not be condemned to ſlavery: ſecondly, That their chaſtity might be preſerved inviolate: and, thirdly, That they might be employed in the ſervice of the veſtals. Theſe conditions having been rejected by *Marius*, they were all found, on the next day, either hanging on trees, or wallowing in their own blood, with their children butchered by them, and by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume [t], another, and even b more dreadful, inſtance of this female love of liberty, in the *Cimbrian* women; the circumſtances of which are ſo ſhocking, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the trouble of repeating them here. The ſame deſperate reſiſtance *Julius Cæſar* is reported to have met with from the *Helvetian* women, when, having defeated their huſbands, he came to take poſſeſſion of their camp, and their baggage: for both the women, and their young ſons, defended themſelves to the laſt, chuſing rather to be cut in pieces, than to be carried into ſlavery [u]. The *Dalmatian* women are likewiſe reported to have ſet fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themſelves, and their children, into it; whilſt others hurried themſelves, and them, into the next c river [w]. The ſame we read of thoſe of *Iſtria*, *Illyrium*, *Spain*, and other *Gauliſh* nations [x], as well as of thoſe of *Germany*, who retained more of the old *Celtic* ferocity than any of the reſt: of theſe laſt we ſhall give a remarkable inſtance, as they ſhewed this love of liberty, not in the heat of deſpair, but in cool blood; for a number of theſe being taken priſoners by the *Romans*, and ſcorning to be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, had it offered to their choice, whether they would be publicly ſold, or be maſſacred; did, unanimouſly, prefer the latter. The emperor, however, not taking them at their word, cauſed them to be expoſed to ſale; upon which they all ruſhed into a voluntary death, many of them having firſt ſent their children before, in the ſame way [y]. The ſame ſpirit may be ſaid to have run through *And children.* d all the deſcendents of the antient *Celtes* [z], and extended even to their children. The author laſt quoted mentions a ſtripling, in *Spain*, who, ſeeing his whole family taken priſoners, and having, by chance, ſtumbled upon a ſword, fulfilled the orders which his father had given him, to free them from their miſery, and put them all to death with it. He mentions, likewiſe, a woman, who ventured to free a number of other priſoners in the ſame way: ſo that we may conclude this article with what *Oroſius* ſays of the *Gauliſh* nation, when, ſpeaking of thoſe *Iſtrian Gauls* who choſe to burn themſelves, rather than capitulate with the beſiegers, he adds, that there was neither man, woman, nor child, that did not prefer death to ſlavery [a].

WHAT their military diſcipline was, is hard to gueſs: by what we have hitherto *Their martial diſcipline.* e ſeen, it ſeems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in ſuch vaſt multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than diſcretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hoſts as occaſion required, but truſting altogether on their numbers, and reinleſs bravery, ſufficiently ſhews them to have been greatly wanting in this reſpect: and this ſeems the true reaſon why they had ſuch ill ſucceſs, whenever they engaged with other nations, eſpecially the *Romans*. One might, at leaſt, have expected that thoſe continual wars which they waged with theſe laſt, and their being ſo conſtantly hired as auxiliaries, ſometimes by them, and oftener by other warlike people, would have, in time, rendered them the moſt expert nation in the art of war, conſidering their hereditary fierceneſs, intrepid f valour, contempt of death, thirſt for glory and conqueſt, and their invincible dread of

[t] Vol. v. p. 38, c. d. Vide & auct. ſup. citat. [u] PLUTARCH. in vit. Cæſar. [w] DIO CASS. in excerpt. Valeſ. l. lvi. & lxxvii. [x] APPIAN. Illyr. OROS. &c. [y] DIO ubi ſupra. [z] STRABO. l. iii. [a] L. v. c. 14.

(I) *Florus*, in the place above quoted, attributes this embaſſy to the *Cimbrian* women: theſe were another branch of the *Gauliſh* nation, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume (26), and whoſe women were no leſs brave and warlike, as will appear, by their deſperate defence, and cataſtrophe, o which we are going to ſpeak. But he is, moſt likely miſtaken here, as he is in many other inſtances: the other authors give the glory of it to the *Ambronian* females.

26) *Vol.* v. *p.* 4 *c.*

of ſlavery; all which were ſo ſtrongly rooted in them by education (K), and continual exerciſe in martial deeds, as we have ſeen under the laſt article. But whether a it were owing to their too tenacious fondneſs for their antient cuſtoms, or to a contempt of thoſe of other nations, their hiſtory plainly ſhews, that they never ſtrove to excel in foreign martial diſcipline. Their chief talent ſeems to have conſiſted, principally, in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberleſs troops with incredible fury and ſpeed, and ſpreading terror where-ever they came; in ſurmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardſhips that fell in their way, and falling upon their enemies with dreadful ſhouts, and deſperate eagerneſs, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almoſt peculiar to them; and, when all theſe failed, as it often did, whenever they were engaged with troops that were better diſciplined, and trained up in all the politic arts, and ſtratagems of war; their laſt b reſource was, to ſignalize their valour and love of liberty, by ſuch deſperate exits as thoſe we have lately hinted. Much of their ſucceſs was owing to their horſe, and armed chariots, in both which reſpects they diſplayed ſuch a wonderful dexterity, as, joined to their bravery, ſeldom failed of doing conſiderable execution. When they came to be divided into ſmall kingdoms, and commonwealths, their method was, to divide their armies, in time of action, in the ſame manner, that the merit and proweſs, as well as the faults and miſbehaviour, of every nation and tribe, might be better known, and that every man might be thereby ſpurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. But this, though excellently well deſigned at c firſt, was attended with great inconveniencies, and often threw things into confuſion, either for want of a general diſcipline, or through the jealouſy and miſunderſtanding between their commanders, and eſpecially from the time the *Romans* undertook the conqueſt of *Gaul*, through the treachery of thoſe who had been corrupted by them.

One thing more we muſt not omit, concerning their military diſcipline, which is, their extreme ſuperſtition, in which they ſeemed to outdo all other nations: they were very careful in obſerving the moon, in particular; and avoided, as much as poſſible, engaging the enemy before it was paſt the full. An eclipſe of it was looked upon as ſuch a bad omen, that no appearing advantage, how great ſoever, d or, indeed, any thing but abſolute neceſſity, that is, nothing but their being attacked, and forced either to defend themſelves, or die, could induce them to fight; and then they did engage more like deſperadoes, than regular troops. They gave, moreover, particular heed to their druids and aruſpices, who, in their auguries, are branded with uſing ſome very inhuman ceremonies, of which we have given ſome hints in ſpeaking of their religion. If the augury promiſed them ſucceſs, thoſe diviners uſed to march before them with ſongs, and dances, and muſical inſtruments, until the onſet began; but if it proved otherwiſe, they forbore fighting, if poſſible, till they met with a more favourable one: and ſuch a ſway had this order of men amongſt them, that they have protracted, or even hindered, the fight, even e at the very inſtant they were going to engage. But dreadful was their caſe, whenever they were forced to engage after a ſiniſter omen, or threatening augury; for then ſuch panic horror and deſpair reigned through their hoſts, that they rather

ſtrove

(K) Beſides what we have lately ſaid of their excellent way of training up, and inuring their youth to the military trade, we muſt remind our readers of an excellent method they learned of their anceſtors, the *Celtes*, which was, to have their martial laws couched in ſome kind of verſes, or ſongs, ſet to proper tunes, and adorned with all the embeliſhments of rhetoric and poetry. Theſe the youth were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions; ſo that they had learned all the rudiments of military diſcipline long before they were able to bear arms (27); and it is not unlikely that they likewiſe initiated them in the practice before that time.

In theſe ſongs, or poems, were, moreover, recorded, the actions of the great and brave, the victories which they gained over their enemies, the names of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in them, and the monuments which were erected in memory of them. For as theſe bards and ſongſters never committed any thing to writing, or (if they did, for their own ſakes, and the better remembring the vaſt number of ſuch pieces, which time, and their continual wars, muſt of courſe occaſion,) yet they never let them go out of their keeping, they were wont to rear up monuments, which were nothing but rude heaps of huge ſtones, artfully, and by main ſtrength, laid one over another, without any inſcription: ſo that the people were obliged to have recourſe to thoſe poems for the meaning of theſe monumental heaps, of which the reader will find many inſtances in the authors quoted in the margin (28).

(27) *See before, vol.* ii. *p.* 253. *c.* (28) *Rowland Mona antiqua. Stukeley's Stonehenge. Keyſler. antiq. ſeptentr. Borel. antiq. Gauloiſ Cluver. Ital. & German. antiq. paſſ.*

a ſtrove to avoid ſlavery by a ſpeedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy, and give the lye to their knaviſh aruſpices, and their conjuring tricks.

THEIR weapons and armour, as they were antiently in uſe among the *Celtes*, we have elſewhere given an account of them b; but whether through a ſhew of bravery, or a contempt of thoſe which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others in their wars with the *Romans*, but their bows and arrows, the ſword and lance, which laſt was either longer or ſhorter, according to their fancy, and the ſhield; and yet it was with theſe weapons that they performed ſuch aſtoniſhing feats, as made them, a long time, a terror to their enemies. They deſpiſed the helmet, cuiraſs, and other ſuch defenſive armour, and rather choſe to fight half, and
b ſome quite, naked. They were utter ſtrangers to thoſe machines which other nations uſed in ſieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather laid their chief ſtreſs on a briſk and fierce attack, which they began with throwing clouds of ſtones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which, they ſcaled them, with the utmoſt fierceneſs and rapidity. This fierceneſs did often prove fatal to them, eſpecially when they have chanced to meet with a ſtout repulſe, as they frequently did, from the *Romans*; for, in all ſuch caſes, they loſt all their courage, and preſence of mind, and ſuffered themſelves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence. Thoſe who choſe rather to ſurrender, did lay down their arms, and preſented their left ſhoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked boſoms, in token of ſubmiſſion; after which, they ſcattered
c ſome of their money, plate, and fine cloaths, amongſt them, to bribe their conquerors. Theſe inſtances, however, of ſubmiſſion were but ſcarce and rare amongſt them, in compariſon of thoſe in which they preferred death to ſlavery. But we have, by this time, followed them long enough in that bloody tract; let us now take a view of them in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and ſciences, trade and navigation, &c.

Their language.

WE begin with their language, which being univerſally allowed to have been the old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, of which we have given a full account in a former volume c, we ſhall have the leſs to ſay of it here, except it be as far as relates to the changes
d it underwent, after it divided itſelf into as many dialects as the whole nation was into little eſtates. There is ſcarcely any doubt but this old *Celtic* was the common language ſpoken all over *Europe*. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which, barely to abſtract, would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a ſubject for the greateſt part of our readers; but he has further confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the *German* language was originally a dialect of the old *Celtic* d. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of his proofs, in the hiſtory of the antient *Germans* immediately following: in the mean time, ſo far as relates to the *Gauls* we are now treating of, it is manifeſt, that they all uſed this language, and that it was that ſame which is ſtill
e preſerved in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Biſcay*, *Britany*, *Cornwal*, and *Wales*, but no-where more purely than in *North Wales*.

WHAT occaſioned this to be called in queſtion, by ſeveral learned men, was, that *Julius Cæſar* e, in his diviſion of the *Gauls* into the *Belgæ*, *Aquitani*, and *Celtæ*, affirms, that they differed not only in their cuſtoms, but language. To which we may add what *Strabo* f and *Ammianus Marcellinus* g ſay of them, that they were not of one language, but differed a little from one another; or, as we take their meaning to be, uſed different dialects of the ſame language: for ſo it will appear plainly, to thoſe who ſhall take the pains to trace thoſe antient dialects to their true origin,
f as it was brought from the *Gauls* into our iſle, and is ſtill retained in its priſtine purity, in that part of it called *North Wales*, and compare it with thoſe alterations which it did, in time, undergo, in thoſe other parts of *Europe* where it is ſtill preſerved, though nothing ſo pure and unmixed, ſuch as are *South Wales*, *Cornwal*, *Ireland*, the iſles of *Man* and *Angleſey*, and ſome parts of the highlands of *Scotland* amongſt us, and in *Britany*, *Biſcay*, and ſome other parts of the continent: ſuch a ſcrutiny will eaſily diſcover, not only the true original mother from her ſpurious offſpring, but the different chanels by which this odd and corrupt mixture conveyed itſelf into the latter. We formerly obſerved, that not only moſt of the modern

b Vol. ii. p. 253, a, b. iv. 561, & ſeq. c Vol. ii p. 253, & ſeq. d PELLOUTIER hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 15. See alſo before, vol. ii. p. 254, a, (C). e Comment. l. i. c. 1. f L. iv. g L. xv.

modern *European* languages were manifeſtly dialects, more or leſs diſtant, of this old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, but that even the *Greek* and *Latin*, and other antient ones, had ſuch a ſurpriſing affinity with it, as if they had ſplit themſelves from the ſame block, and that very many of them plainly appeared to be of *Celtic* extract (L). We may add what *Quintilian* obſerves of the antient *Latin*, that till about the middle of the conſular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expreſſions, having in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, moſt of them *Gauliſh* [h]; ſo that if thoſe which have been ſince loſt, or changed, were to be added to thoſe which ſtill remain, the conformity would appear ſtill greater. And if thoſe *Gauls*, which were afterwards conquered by the *Romans*, had not, partly out of neceſſity (M), partly out of mere complaiſance, adopted a great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might ſtill behold a much greater nearneſs between the *Low Briton*, *Biſcayaneer*, *Iriſh*, &c. and the pure *North Welſh*. So that the only reaſon why theſe laſt have retained it in ſuch purity, muſt be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themſelves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the *Iſraelites*, during their long abode in *Egypt*, preſerving their original *Hebrew*, which they ſuffered to be greatly corrupted, and, amongſt a great part of them, almoſt loſt in a ſeventy years captivity. Now, as it is

[h] L. i. c. 5.

(L) Of this we have interſperſed ſome inſtances, in a former volume (29); but ſhall, for the ſatisfaction of our *Engliſh* readers, add a few more, and place them ſo, that they may have ſo much of them at one view, as will clearly make out what we have ſaid; and refer them, for a more copious number, to the authors quoted in the margin (30).

Tir terra
Mor mare
Engil ignis
Awyr aer
Aur aurum
Avon amnis
Ghwydr. vitrum
Ffynnon fons
Mur murus
Marw mori
Trev tribus
Offrail offertorium
Anival animal
Tirva turma
Terwin terminus
Calav calamus
Arva arma
Gayau hyems
Llyvr liber
Nyver numerus
Geveil gemelli
Priv primus

The ſame may be ſaid, alſo, of the heathen gods, whom we have ſhewed, under a former article, to have been of *Celtic* extract, as well as their names, which are thus etymologized:

Jupiter, Jovis, { *Jeuanc, Juvenis princeps*, the youngeſt of *Saturn*'s ſons (31). *Taran*, thunderer — *Tonans*,

Mars, Mavors, { *Maur ruysk*, warlike, powerful; whence, probably, *Maurice*

Neptune, { *Nofddyfn*, ſwimming on the waves

Mercury, { *Merk wr*, a merchant; or *March wr*, a ſwift runner, or meſſenger

Talamon, al. Atlas, { *Telmon*, a tall man, ſuch as he is feigned to have been

Hermes, { *Armes*, diviner; in which art he is ſaid to have excelled all the reſt.

Teutat, { *Duw Taith*, the traveller's god; or from *teu tat*, the father of the people

Hercules, { *Erchyl*, horrid, dreadful, whether on account of his deeds, or that attitude in which he was repreſented

Vulcun, { *Wael gin*, or *ginta*, the inventor of ſteel, or ſteel armour

Apollo, { *Ap haul, ap heulin*, the ſon of the ſun

Titan, *Ti taan*, the houſe of fire

Triton, { *Trwydon*, a wanderer on the waters

Rhea, *Jove*'s mother, *Rheys*, a princeſs, or lady

Juno. { *Jevanc*, a young princeſs; or from *Ghuin*, fair

Venus, *Ghuin*, white, fair

Diana, { *Di anaf*, ſpotleſs, chaſte, untouched

Minerva, { *Min arfau*, the temperer of ſharp tools and weapons

(M) There is another proof of the antientneſs of this old *Gomerian*, or *Celtic*, *viz.* its ſimplicity, and near reſemblance to the *Hebrew*, and other primitive tongues, of which we have formerly ſpoken (32), and to which we ſhall only add an inſtance, to ſhew by what ſteps they came to adopt words of other languages to ſupply the poverty of theirs.

The antient *Celtes*, as well as their deſcendants the *Gauls*, were, as we have had frequent occaſion to ſhew (33), excellent horſemen and charioteers; and yet the *North Welſh*, among whom the language is preſerved in its antient purity, had not, neither have they to this day, proper names for a bridle, ſaddle, ſtirrup, or ſpur, becauſe they antiently deſpiſed the uſe of them; but are forced to expreſs them by circumlocution; as a leading and a covering leather, for a bridle and ſaddle; a mounting and pricking iron, for a ſtirrup and ſpur. Theſe, and many more ſuch deficiencies there are in that language, which their neighbours the *South Welſh*, as well as the *Britons*, &c. have ſupplied by *Greek* or *Latin* words: ſuch as that of *ffruyn, frænum*, for a bridle, *&c.* which the others would never adopt; though, in other points, they are now grown very remiſs in preſerving that antient tongue; and, if they go on in the ſame neglect much longer, it is much to be feared, will ſuffer it to be intirely loſt.

(29) *Vol.* ii. *p.* 261. (30) *Pezron. antiq. nat. Celt. ad fin. Mona antiq. paſſ. præfert. p.* 43. *&* *ſeq.* 252, 308, 315, *&* *ſeq.* *Hickes's theſ. ling. ſeptentr. Lluyd's lexic. Keyſler. antiq. ſeptentr. in addend. Edwards's ſpecim. ling. Celtic. & Hebr.* (31) *Vol.* ii. *p.* 255, (*D*). 263, *&* *ſeq.* (32) *See before, vol.* ii. *p.* 253, (*B*). (33) *Ibid.*

a is univerſally allowed, that moſt of the *Aſiatic* tongues, ſuch as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Armenian*, &c. borrowed moſt of their radical or primitive words from the *Hebrew*, ſo this old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, which was the language of *Gomer* and his deſcendants, who firſt inhabited *Europe*, was the mother of moſt of the *European* languages, at leaſt as far as *Scythia* and *Sarmatia*, which were peopled by *Gog* and *Magog*, two other branches of *Japhet*'s offspring: and as there is ſuch a vaſt affinity between thoſe two mother-tongues, we mean the *Hebrew* and *Gomerian* [i], or antient *Celtic*, it is not to be wondered, if we find the ſame reſemblance diffuſing itſelf through all their derivatives; ſuch as the *High* and *Low Dutch*, the *Latin* and *Greek*, the *Arabic*, *Perſian*, &c. and, particularly, between the *Greek*, *Roman*, and old *Celtic*, b as the authors laſt quoted have ſufficiently ſhewed, as well as accounted for.

WE have been the more particular on this ſubject, becauſe ſeveral learned men have maintained, that the *Gauls* commonly uſed the *Greek* tongue [k]. Nothing can be more wild, or more contrary to all that we meet with in antient authors concerning the *Gauliſh* language, than ſuch an aſſumption, which may be eaſily overthrown, by one or two expreſs paſſages we meet with in *Julius Cæſar*. The one is, that in a conference which he had with *Divitiacus*, an *Æduan* or *Gauliſh* lord, he was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter; and yet *Cæſar* was a perfect maſter of the *Greek* [l]. The other, which is ſtill more expreſs, is, that when that conqueror found himſelf under a neceſſity to write to *Quintus Cicero*, who was then beſieged in his camp, he c made uſe of the *Greek* tongue, leſt his letter ſhould fall into the hands of ſome of the *Gauls*, and diſcover his deſigns to them [m]; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of that nation. *Strabo* doth indeed tells us, that the *Maſſilians* cultivated all ſorts of polite literature, and, particularly, that of the *Greek*, to ſuch a degree, that the reſt of the *Gauls* were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, inſomuch, that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it [n]. But then it is plain, firſt, That he only ſpeaks of thoſe *Gauls* who were neighbours to *Marſeilles*, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited ſeveral learned men out of that famed city to inſtruct their youth, or ſent their children to be educated there: ſecondly, If the d reſt of the *Gauls* did afterwards follow their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own: and, thirdly, That this faſhion of learning and uſing the *Greek* tongue did not begin till *Strabo*'s time. Accordingly, St. *Jerom* tells us, upon the authority of a paſſage which he has preſerved out of *Varro*, that the *Maſſilians* ſpoke three ſorts of languages, the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gauliſh* [o]. Hence we may conclude, that the *Greek* tongue was only introduced among the learned, but was not the original language of the *Gauls*. We might further confirm this from a number of antient monuments, and eſpecially from the antient names of provinces, cantons, rivers, cities, mountaies, *&c.* but we think the caſe ſufficiently plain, without any ſuch further proofs. The *Greek* characters, indeed, e were in uſe among them in *Cæſar*'s time, as we ſhall hint under the next head; but as for their tongue, it plainly appears to have been brought into uſe much later ſtill, and that only among the learned and polite (N). As to the preſent language of that

The notion of their ſpeaking Greek, *exploded.*

[i] Vide EDWARD's ſpecimen. LLUYDS grammar. PEZRON. antiq. nat. Celt. HICKES's theſaur. Mona antiqua, p. 278, & ſeq. [k] Vide HOTTOMAN. Franco-gallia, cap. ii. [l] Comment. l. i. c. 19. [m] L. v. c. 12. [n] L. iv. [o] HIERON. opera, tom. ix. p. 135. Vide HOTTOMAN. ubi ſupra & PELLOUTIER. ii. c. 10.

(N) There is, indeed, one paſſage in *Cæſar*'s commentaries, from which ſome authors pretend to prove the contrary. It is that where he affirms, that in all other public and private concerns, *Græcis utuntur literis* (34); which, compared with the explication which *Strabo*, who wrote after him, gives of it (35), ſeems to imply, that they made uſe not of their characters, but of their language. But to this it is anſwered, by two learned critics (36), that the word *Græcis* has been foiſted into *Cæſar*'s text. And, indeed, it plainly appears, that *Cæſar* meant no more in this place, than that the druids did not ſuffer any of their doctrines or principles to be committed to writing, though, in other matters, they allowed them to write letters, accounts, and the like; which they did, accordingly, in the *Greek* character, as we ſhall prove by-and-by.

But whether the phraſe, *uti literis*, properly ſignifies to uſe the letters, or character, as it often doth among *Latin* authors; or, as others would have it, to uſe the language, as it may ſometimes do, though in a kind of figurative ſenſe; yet, in this place, if the word *Græcis* be really part of the text, it can only be meant of the character; elſe it would be abſurd in our hiſtorian, after he had ſaid a little higher, that the *Gauls* were unſkilled in the *Greek*, to ſay, that all their public and private accounts, tranſactions, *&c.* were written in that tongue.

(34) *L.* vi. *c.* 14. (35) *L.* iv. (36) *Joſ. Scalig. epiſt. l.* i. *epiſt.* 16. *Hottoman. Franco-gall c.* 2.

that country, thoſe who are ever ſo little ſkilled in antient ones, may eaſily perceive a it to be a medley of other tongues, the greater half of which is taken from the *Latin*, as the *Romans* were very induſtrious to propagate it, and cultivate it, in all their conquered dominions (O). The reſt is plainly a mixture of the old *Celtic*, of the *Frank* or *German*, as this did afterwards greatly deviate from its original; and the reſt ſeems to be of *Greek* extraction. For it has been obſerved, by judicious men of that nation, that many *Greek* words have been adopted by them into common uſe, which were not borrowed from the academies of the druids, who, for aught that appears, knew little of it, but from the ſchools of the *Maſſilians* we have lately ſpoken of.

The genius of their ſtyle, and language.

Before we diſmiſs this article of the *Gauliſh* language, it will not be amiſs to make b a ſhort remark on its pretended rudeneſs and harſhneſs, againſt which both *Greek* and *Roman* authors have raiſed ſuch an unanimous outcry. According to them, it was enough to hear a *Celte* or *Gaul* ſpeak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greateſt part of their words, eſpecially of their proper names of men, women, towns, rivers, *&c.* were ſo very harſh, that they could not be pronounced by ſtrangers, or written in other languages, without great difficulty; neither could they be inſerted in a poem, without murdering the verſe [p]. A foreigner could hardly hear them ſpoke without having his ears grated, or almoſt flayed with it [q]. The emperor *Julian* ſays, that it reſembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of ſome wild beaſt [r]. There muſt needs be allowed to be ſome exaggeration in theſe c expreſſions, conſidering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears, to thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to, or ignorant of, it. It is not to be queſtioned, but even the *French* and *Italian*, emaſculated as they have been of late, do appear ſo at firſt hearing: it muſt, however, be confeſſed, that, with reſpect to the *German*, there is leſs of the hyperbole; and perhaps the antient *Gauliſh* might originally have a great deal of that kind of harſhneſs, which guttural and ſome other hard conſonants, as well as too great a colluvies of them, will naturally cauſe, unleſs ſoftened by the interpoſition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly to diſculpate the latter, but would only obſerve, that there is a vaſt difference between thoſe two languages in this reſpect; and that the true *Celtic*, or *North Welſh*, though ſeemingly crouded with a d number of conſonants, has yet a peculiar ſweetneſs, and is much more adapted for muſic and poetry, than we are apt generally to imagine: and, for proof of this, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume [s]. And here it will not be amiſs to remind them, that their cuſtom of couching and preſerving all their laws, records, hiſtory, *&c.* in verſe, inured them to a ſtyle more ſwollen, figurative, and emphatic, than that of other nations (P); on the other hand, their fierce and warlike diſpoſition might, in all probability, make them fonder both of that, and of their ſonorous and maſculine language, than of the ſmoother *Greek* and *Roman* proſe. To which we may add, that their natural averſion for the *Roman* nation might not e a little contribute to this oppoſition, eſpecially as they had reaſon to conſider all their ſweetneſs of language, ſtyle, and behaviour, as ſo many ſnares to entrap people out of their liberty. If we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* [t], their ſtyle was not only ſwollen, conciſe, and Laconic, but intricate and obſcure, full of ſynecdoches and hyperboles; which the reader will find, perhaps, better accounted for by what we ſhall ſay, in the ſequel, concerning their manners and cuſtoms; in which, as well as their loftineſs and pompouſneſs of ſtyle and language, they ſeem to have been more cloſely imitated by the *Spaniards*, than by any other *European* nation.

Their writing and characters.

The *Gauls* had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in proceſs of f time, the *Greek* ones; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not do it till very late,

p Plin. jun. l. viii. epiſt. 4. q Diod. Sicul. l. v. Ovid. de triſtib. eleg. xii. ver. 55. r Miſopog. s Vol. ii. p. 253, & ſeq. (B) t L. v.

(O) This plainly appears, from what *Valerius Maximus*, *Tacitus*, and *Auſonius*, tell us, of their ſetting up ſchools at *Autun*, *Lyons*, *Bezançon*, and other places of that kingdom, as faſt as they conquered them. And we need not doubt, but according to their wonted lordlineſs over all their vaſſals, they uſed all proper means to encourage and oblige them to learn it.

(P) Hence the *German* poetry, which preſerves ſtill its antient roughneſs, is judiciouſly enough compared to thoſe cataracts of the *Nile*, whoſe ſounding falls are rather apt to inſpire one with dread, than to afford pleaſure to the hearers; and their ſwollen ſtyle to that of men that are ever mounted upon ſtilts.

a late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to it; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obſtacle to it, and their druids or bards, whoſe intereſt it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this their prejudice againſt committing any thing of moment to writing, under pretence that it rather tended to deſtroy, than preſerve, the memory of them, as it was likely to be a kind of diſcouragement to them to learn them by heart out of their poetical compoſitions; whereas this laſt, they pretended, was the moſt effectual means of preſerving them, both from oblivion, and from falling into the hands of ſtrangers [u]: ſo that it was looked upon as a diſhonour for any of them to learn to read or write (Q). And even after they began to introduce the uſe of letters, in their contracts,
b bargains, and the like civil concerns, the druids never ſuffered them to commit any thing relating to their hiſtory, laws, and much leſs of their religion, to writing [w]. Hence *Origen* might well tell his antagoniſt [x], that he never heard of any of their writings; and hence that ſcarcity of materials we meet with, with relation to their hiſtory, ſince they committed all their learning, laws, religion, and tranſactions, to thoſe ſongs and verſes which they carefully kept from ſtrangers; and periſhed, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or, at leaſt, with their old heatheniſh religion, upon their embracing chriſtianity (R). It were to be wiſhed, that the chriſtian prieſts and monks had not imitated, ſo cloſely, this druidiſh policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monaſteries; eſpecially in *Gaul* and *Germany*: for they
c ſeem to have ſo well cultivated this prejudice againſt it, among the laity, that they were forced to have recourſe to them whenever any will, grant, or public act, was to be made; and then both the perſons concerned in it and the witneſſes ſet their own marks, and the ſcrivener their names to it. But, with reſpect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of abſolute neceſſity to make uſe of writing, the *Greek* character ſeems to have been that which was in uſe amongſt them, according to *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others, above quoted (S); and was brought amongſt them from *Marſeilles*, which was a colony of the *Greeks*, or *Gallogreeks*. How their conqueſt, and intercourſe among the *Romans*, did afterwards introduce their character amongſt them, is obvious to every one, and we need not dwell any
d longer upon it.

As

[u] Comment. l. vi. c. 14. [w] Idem ibid. STRAB. l. iv. [x] Con. Celſ. l. i.

(Q) *Ælian* has preſerved us a paſſage out of *Andretion*, to this purpoſe (37), that the antient *Thracians*, and, in general, all the barbarian nations, ſettled in *Europe*, were not only quite ignorant of letters, but had a ſingular contempt for them, though they were commonly uſed by thoſe that ſettled themſelves in *Aſia*. The ſame is affirmed of the *Huns* by *Procopius* (38); and this humour ſeems to have been ſo deeply rooted among them, that even *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, could never be prevailed on to learn to write his own name, though he had ſpent a conſiderable part of his younger days among the *Romans*; but is reported, whenever he was obliged to ſign an edict, to have only made uſe of a golden plate, that had the four initial letters of it, *Teod*, engraven upon it, and which he traced with his pen (39).

(R) It is probable, indeed, that upon their converſion to the goſpel they might, by degrees, be ſo far ſhamed out of their ſuperſtitious fondneſs for concealing their laws, hiſtory, &c. that they might ſuffer them to be committed to writing from thenceforward: but as for thoſe hymns and poetic compoſitions, of which we are ſpeaking, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they were ever preſerved, ſeeing both parties, that is, both the new converts, and thoſe who remained in their antient idolatry, were equally concerned to ſuppreſs them; the latter out of their natural zeal to conceal them, and the former on account of thoſe praiſes that were ſung in them, to their falſe deities, heroes, &c. and of thoſe abominable and inhuman rites that were performed in the worſhip of them. *Jornandes* tells us, indeed, that thoſe, which were in uſe among the *Goths*, were ſtill extant in his time. If they were, it is plain they have ſince periſhed, and, moſt probably, for the very reaſon juſt now aſſigned.

(S) We have obſerved, a little higher, that this paſſage is controverted by ſome learned men (40), who think that the word *Græcis* is interpolated in the place there quoted: however, as they do not ſubſtitute any other character to it, and ſome other paſſages ſeem expreſs, ſuch as the muſter-rolls, and ſome other public writings which were found amongſt them; we make no doubt, but the *Greek* were the firſt and chief letters in uſe amongſt them.

This carries ſuch an evidence with it, that the author of the religion of the *Gauls*, who makes theſe to have come originally out of *Phœnice*, and to have brought their own character from *Aſia* into *Europe*; doth yet allow it undeniable, that they likewiſe uſed the *Greek* amongſt them: and to the authorities above quoted adds ſome others, taken from antient medals, and, particularly, an antique inſcription, whoſe legends are in the *Gauliſh* tongue, and *Greek* characters (41). So that if theſe be really as old, and as authentic, as he, and the authors from whom he has taken them, do ſuppoſe (42), there is not the leaſt room to doubt of thoſe letters having been in common uſe among the *Gauls*.

(37) *Var. hiſt. l.* viii. *c.* 6. (38) *Goth. l.* iv. *c.* 18. (39) *Excerpt. auct. incog. ap. Valeſium, ad calc. Ammian. Marcel.* (40) *Sup. not.* (N). (41) *Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 4. *p.* 39. *& ſeq.* (42) *Bruteroue, p.* 43, *& ſeq.* 191. *Roma ſubterran. Mabillon. ap. eund ibid.*

The probable origin of their poetry.

As to their poetry, as it is altogether loſt, we can ſay little of it; yet it will not be amiſs to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern hiſtorian [y], who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expreſſes it, the reigning ignorance and contempt of letters gave birth to thoſe poetical compoſitions, at leaſt in *Europe*. This was, indeed, the moſt effectual method to preſerve the memory of ſuch momentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to, commit to writing, and which, by this means, were not only eaſily learned, and remembered, but, likewiſe, concealed from other nations (T). And ſuch fondneſs did both *Gauls* and *Germans* conceive for theſe kind of performances, eſpecially as they were ſet to proper tunes, that they ſeemed to reliſh nothing elſe, and ſhewed a natural contempt for thoſe of the proſaic ſort. And this humour did ſtill prevail ſo ſtrongly, even ſo low as the ninth century, that when *Lewis the Debonnaire* undertook to have the *Saxons* inſtructed in the holy ſcriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into *Saxon* verſe [z]. The ſame was done by *Ottofridus*, with reſpect to the four goſpels, which he cauſed to be tranſlated into *German*, and put into verſe: for, as they could neither read, nor cared to learn, they conſented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verſe, and ſet to muſic for them, and they permitted to ſing them on proper occaſions. Some ſuch compoſitions *Charles the Great* is ſaid to have found amongſt them, which were very antient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their antient kings, and which he cauſed, likewiſe, to be tranſcribed, for the ſame end [a]. We have already hinted, more than once, what were the chief ſubjects of thoſe antient poetic compoſitions: as to their metre, and other particulars relating to them, we are wholly in the dark, unleſs we gueſs at them by ſome of a more modern date; ſuch as thoſe which the author of *Mona Antiqua* has given us [b] out of *Talieſin*, who was poet laureat to *Maelgwyn*, about the time of *Auſtin* the monk's coming into *England*. But neither from theſe, nor from the character which antient authors have given us of the old *Gauliſh* language, can we conclude them to have been either ſmooth or elegant, except with reſpect to the loftineſs of their expreſſions and figures: yet would it not be fair to conclude, that they were all of the ſame kind; and we ſhould have framed but a very wrong idea of the *Greek* poetry, if we had had no other poems to judge by than thoſe of a *Pindar*, *Lycophron*, and ſome others of their bards.

Arts and ſciences.

We need not here repeat what we obſerved, in the laſt ſection, concerning their ſkill in aſtronomy and geometry, from which we may juſtly infer, that if they were maſters of thoſe two ſciences, they muſt, of courſe, have cultivated many others, eſpecially ſuch as are depending on, or leading to, them; but to what a number, or degree, cannot be eaſily determined, any more than what new ones thoſe were which they afterwards learned from the *Maſſilian* ſages. As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, as we have ſhewed above, eloquence was that wherein they prided themſelves moſt, and which, indeed, was moſt natural to them. They received, from their infancy, moſt of their inſtructions from thoſe poems which were compoſed by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occaſions, either read, or ſung; and as the greateſt part of them were of the heroic kind, ſo it inured them to a pompous and high-flown ſtyle. We have ſeen, that they repreſented *Mercury*, the god of eloquence, with the ſymbols of *Hercules*, to ſhew what vaſt power that art had over them, above all others.

[y] Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 10. [z] Vide Du Chene rer. Francar. tom. ii. ap. Pelloutier ubi ſupra. [a] Eginhard in vit. Carol. magn. c. 29. [b] P. 150.

(T) This remark, however, is far from being deſigned to derogate from that purer and nobler origin, which pious chriſtians have given to this excellent art, *viz.* the love of the Supreme Being, and the contemplation of his attributes and works. But, however true this laſt may be, with relation to the people of God, who ſo early, and ſo much, excelled all other nations in it, as we have fully ſhewn, in a former volume (43), it can never be imagined to have been the caſe of the fierce *Gauls* and *Germans*, whoſe religion and genius was quite oppoſite to ſuch a ſuppoſition. As for thoſe who make *Bacchus* and *Venus* the parents of poetry, if they will but add *Mars* to it, they may be well enough allowed to have gueſſed righter, with reſpect to the nations we are here ſpeaking of; and though their compoſitions have not reached our times, we find reaſon enough to gueſs, from their tempers and diſpoſitions, their banquets and drunken revels, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place, that great part of thoſe ſongs and poetic compoſitions owed their riſe to them.

(43) *Vide ſup. vol.* i. *p.* 709, *& ſeq.*

a others. Theſe emblems they ſeem to have taken from the *Romans* (V); and though they were ſo far from imitating them in their long-winded periods, flow and pompoſity of words and figures, but affected, in the main, a conciſe and nervous ſtyle, yet they could not forbear being taken with ſuch artful declamations and pieces of oratory. This is, at leaſt, what *Cerealis*, a *Roman* general, upbraided them with in *Veſpaſian*'s time [c]; and *Cato* the cenſor tells us, that the *Gauls* made this eloquence, and exerciſe of arms, their chief ſtudy. And, indeed, nothing could be more natural, or neceſſary, in ſuch a country as this, where every little kingdom and commonwealth had its particular council, before which all matters relating to peace and war, and every matter, both public and private, was debated by the parties con-
b cerned, beſides the grand council of the whole nation, where the rights, privileges, pretenſions, and other concerns of every private ſtate, were to be debated, and finally determined, as we have ſeen above. But, after all, we would not venture to affirm, that this art was equally cultivated all over *Gaul*; it is more likely, that theſe countries, which remained ſtill unconquered by the *Romans*, retained ſtill ſomething of their natural ferocity, and contempt for ſuch arts and ſciences as were moſt admired among foreign nations: and we may very well ſuppoſe, that the druids, where-ever they ſtill bore any ſway, did all they could to cheriſh this antipathy. And it is, perhaps, in order to leſſen this averſion, as well as to inſpire thoſe that were ſubdued, with a greater love of this art, that ſeveral emperors thought fit to found
c academies in ſeveral parts of *Gaul*, with conſiderable rewards and honours to thoſe who gained the prize of it. We are told, that that of *Autun* had, in *Tiberius*'s time, 40000 ſtudents [d]: we read, beſides, that other public ſchools were erected at *Lyons*, *Bourdeaux*, *Tholouſe*, *Narbonne*, and other places, beſides that ſo famed one of *Marſeilles*, of which we have already ſpoken [e]. Hence we need not wonder, that this country has been ſince ſo celebrated for the great number of its rhetoricians and orators [f]; and if it has not been equally famous for their excellency in this kind, as for the number of them, it is becauſe it has happened here, as it doth every-where, and in moſt other ſtudies, many labour hard at them, but few are qualified for them [g].

d We have already taken notice, from the great regard they paid to the god *Mercury*, as he was the god of traffick, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is, moreover, proved, from a great number of antient inſcriptions, and, particularly, a famous one ſet up by the *Paris* merchants, and dedicated to *Jupiter the good*. The reader will ſee it in the margin (W), together with a hint or two of ſome curious conjectures, which a modern author has drawn from it, which would be too long for us to dwell upon. The whole country ſeems to have been divided into three eſtates, *viz.* the druids, with their underlings, the bards, *&c.* *Commerce.*

the

[c] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 73. [d] Idem, ann. l. iii. c. 43. [e] Sueton. in Calig. c. 20. Juven. ſatir. l. i. c. 6. & Auson. profeſſor. [f] Hieron. adv. Vigilant. & epiſt. ad Ruſtic. Juvenal. ſat. xv. ver. 3. [g] Pelloutier, hiſt. des Celt. l. ii. c. 10, ad fin.

(V) It is known, that the *Romans*, in all places of their public exerciſes, placed *Mercury* and *Hercules* in full view. The *Greeks* uſually ſet a *Cupid* between them, to ſhew, that love hath its origin from the other two, *i. e.* from ſtrength and eloquence (44); and we read, that the *Megalopolitans* had but one temple for thoſe two deities (45), or even repreſented them under one and the ſame emblem (46).

(W) The inſcription runs thus: Tib. Caesare Avg. Jovi optvm. maxvm. m. navtae Parisiaci posvervnt. From the diſpoſition of ſome of the letters, which, for want of room at the end of the line, are put juſt under it, inſtead of beginning the next, our author ſuppoſes the *Gauls* to have had the antient way, which is aſcribed alſo to the *Greeks*, of writing βυϛροφηδὸν, that is, as the oxen ploughed, backwards and forwards (47). He endeavours to confirm his notion by ſome antient coins, whoſe legend runs, in ſome, from the right to the left; and, in others, from the left to the right: we do not, however, mention it here, as if we were ſatisfied, that he has fully proved it from either, but only to excite our curious antiquaries to a fuller inquiry into it, from ſuch old coins and monuments as may fall into their way.

Our author further pretends, that the *Celtes*, or antient *Gauls*, brought the *Greek* letters with them from *Phœnice* (48), contrary to the general conſent of antient authors, who affirm, that they borrowed them from the *Greeks*. As his arguments for it ſeem very far from concluſive to us, we have followed the current opinion, until ſomething more evident ſtrikes out from thoſe hints he has given us; which is far from being impoſſible, conſidering the difficulty there is to imagine how it was poſſible for the druids to retain in their heads ſuch a vaſt variety of the moſt copious and important ſubjects, by dint of memory, and without having ſome kind of books, or writeings, to refreſh it, or to have recourſe to, when that failed; and how eaſily might they conceal ſuch a help, if any ſuch they had, as they did ſo many other things, from the reſt of the world?

(44) *Euſtat in Odyſſ.* θ. (45) *Pauſan. in Arcad.* (46) *Ariſtid. orat. in Hercul.* (47) *Pauſan.* l. v. *Vide Relig. des Gaul. l.* iii. *c.* 14. (48) *Ibid. l.* i. *c.* 4.

the nobles, and the mercantile part, which was, by far, the greateſt. The two former a
had their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the
ſpoils of war; and were ſo opulent, that riches ſeemed to flow upon them on all
ſides, ſo that their chief buſineſs, eſpecially in time of peace, was to encourage
arts and ſciences, as the beſt means to preſerve, if not to increaſe, their opulence.
What ſeems moſt ſurpriſing, if what an antient author tells us may be depended
upon, is, that ſome of the *Gauliſh* nations interdicted the uſe of gold and ſilver,
which was to be all dedicated to *Mars*, and ſo become ſacred and inviolable; and
allowed of no coin, but that which was made of copper and braſs [h]. The paſſage
is too curious to be wholly omitted, eſpecially as it will convince the reader, that
the war, which the *Gauls* waged againſt the temples of other nations, was not owing b
to their greedineſs after thoſe treaſures that were ſtored up in them, but from the
averſion they had, in common with the *Perſes*, ſpoken of in a former volume, againſt
all ſuch buildings, they being looked upon by both as derogatory to the Supreme
Being, which cannot be confined within walls, but fills, with his preſence, both
heaven and earth, We ſhall give the ſubſtance of this paſſage in the next note (X).
But it is too likely, that this contempt of theſe two ſuperior metals did vaniſh
away, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, eſpecially upon
their becoming ſubject to the *Romans*; who, as we obſerved before, made no
ſcruple to rifle thoſe treaſures [i], which, before that time, lay expoſed to the wide
world untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into ſlavery with it, as *Herodian* c
reports them, and eſpecially *Severus*, to have done by the *German* nation.

Hunting, and other exerciſes

The *Gauls*, as well as all the other northern people, made hunting a conſiderable diverſion; and, indeed, conſidering the vaſt foreſts which the country abounded with, and which bred vaſt multitudes of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, wolves, wild boars, foxes, &c. (Y), if they had not made it their buſineſs to hunt and deſtroy them, they

h Athenæus, l. vi. c. 5

i Sueton. in Cæſar.

(X) "Among the *Gauls*," ſays that author (49), "the *Cordiſti*" (he means the *Scordiſci*, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume (50), as is plain, by the ſequel) "do not ſuffer, to this day, any gold "to be brought into their country, though they "make no ſcruple to ravage other nations. They "are a remnant of thoſe who went to beſiege the "temple of *Delphos*, under the conduct of *Brennus*. "*Bathanatius* cauſed them to be ſtopped on the "banks of the *Danube*, and forced them to ſettle in "that neighbourhood; and, from his name, they "have called that voyage *Bathanatia*, and his de-"ſcendents *Bathanates*. The *Scordiſci* conſecrate all "their gold, and ſuffer none to uſe it in their coun-"try: but they would do much better to proſcribe "their ſacrileges, inſtead of that metal; for it can "be no credit to forbid the uſe of it, whilſt they "commit ſo many unjuſt robberies to procure iron "and copper; for if they chance to be in want of "theſe, they take up arms, and lay them not down "till they have got a ſufficient ſupply."

Thus far *Athenæus*. And though he only mentions one nation of the *Gauls*, yet, if we remember what hath been ſaid of their leaving their treaſures of gold and ſilver, and conſecrated to *Mars*, expoſed in the open fields, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones which were thrown into the lake of *Thouloufe*, and which conſiſted in ingots, and rich utenſils of thoſe metals; and that, according to *Poſidonius* and *Strabo*, thoſe treaſures remained ſacred and untouched; and if we add, to all this, what another author ſays, that the *Gauls* never ſhut to their doors (51); we may ſafely conclude, that all the reſt of the *Gauls* ſuffered no other uſe to be made of thoſe metals, but to dedicate them to their deities, at leaſt till ſuch a time as the *Romans*, coming to plunder theſe *aſyla*, as *Cepio* did that of *Thouloufe* (52), uſed thoſe metals againſt them, leſſened their veneration for the one, and made them ſet a greater value upon the other.

(Y) *Cæſar* (53), *Pliny*, and other authors (54) mention ſeveral other wild beaſts which uſed to be hunted by the *Gauls*, of which we know nothing now but the names; and ſome of them, by the deſcription there given us, ſeem to have been of a very ſtrange kind, if there ever were any ſuch in being: ſuch are the *alces*, the *bonaſſus*, the wild aſs, &c. The *alces*, according to *Cæſar*, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to ſleep leaning againſt a tree. The ſame animal is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Solinus*, without that particularity. The *bonaſſus*, according to ſome authors (55), had a horſe's face, and the reſt reſembled a bull, its horns bending ſo far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the ſame wonders they relate of ſome of their birds, one ſort of which caſt ſuch a bright light from their feathers (56), that travellers made uſe of them to ſee their way in the darkeſt nights: but enough of theſe fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called *urus*, and which, *Cæſar* ſays (57), was a little leſs than the elephant, though it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or ſledge (58); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; beſides badgers, otters, and other ſuch, not worth mentioning.

For all theſe kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the ſport, and generally hunted on horſeback, unleſs it be ſome of

(49) *Athen. l.* vi. *c.* 5. (50) *See vol.* v. *p.* 3, *f*, *& ſeq.* (51) *Strab. l.* iv. *N. Damaſc. in excerpt. ex Valeſ.* (52) *See before, vol.* v. *p.* 27, *d—f.* (53) *Comm. l.* vi. (54) *N. H. l.* viii. *Pauſan. in Bœot.* (55) *Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. l.* ix. *c.* 45. *Plin. ubi ſupra.* (56) *Solin. polyhiſt. c.* 32. *Vide & Strab. l.* iv. (57) *L.* vi. *c.* 28. (58) *Martial. epigr. l.* i. *Paul. Diacon. hiſt. Longobard.*

a they muſt, in time, have been over-run with them. But, beſides theſe, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmleſs animals: they made, likewiſe, fowling a diverſion, and were, it ſeems, ſo dextrous at it, that they killed them flying, with a dart [k] thrown by hand, though they are likewiſe ſaid to have uſed the ſling, and the bow and arrow. We have, in a former ſection, taken notice of a way they had of poiſoning thoſe darts and arrows which they uſed in hunting, with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, *lineum*, or *limeum* [l], which ſome have taken for ellebore [m], ſome the nightſhade. *Strabo* ſays, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whoſe fruit, he had ſomewhere read, reſembled the *Corinthian* chapiter. The wound failed not, it ſeems, to kill the creature, and make its fleſh more ſweet and b tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The profeſſed huntſmen held a feaſt every year to *Diana*, and, among other offerings, each of them preſented her with a purſe, in which was a certain ſum for every beaſt they had taken during that year; ſuch as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and ſo proportionally for the reſt. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a ſumptuous entertainment, and concluded the day with it [n]. Other exerciſes, of the manly kind, they were, likewiſe, very fond of. We have often obſerved, what excellent horſemen and charioteers they are ſaid to have been, above all other nations in *Europe*, which ſkill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly, we find, they had their hippodromes, horſe and chariot races, tilts and tournaments; c at all which the bards aſſiſted, and, with their poems, ſongs, and muſical inſtruments, in which they celebrated the praiſes of thoſe who had formerly won the prize, inſpired the new candidates with a noble ardor to ſignalize themſelves upon all ſuch occaſions. And happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in thoſe records of fame. All their exerciſes in general tended to render them lighter, ſtronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compaſs of a girdle of a certain ſize, either by faſting, running, riding, ſwimming, or any other laborious diverſion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a diſgrace to them, but they were, likewiſe, fined for it [o]. Swimming was alſo an excellent expedient, not only d to harden their bodies, but to fit them for paſſing the wideſt and rapideſt rivers; in which they were ſo very expert and famed, that they could croſs the *Rhine*, *Danube*, and *Rhoſne*, without breaking their ranks [p].

THESE may be looked upon as ſome of their laudable and beneficial diverſions; but they had a moſt predominant one, which can ſcarcely be ranked in that claſs, and yet ſeemed generally to accompany all the other public ones, or, rather, the others ſerved only to introduce this; we mean their feaſtings, in which they were generally very profuſe, though very negligent in the order and decorum of them [q]. All their public aſſemblies and exerciſes, all their feaſts, birth-days, weddings, burials, and anniverſaries of them, were always accompanied with ſuch ſumptuous e banquets, in which they intermixed with their good chear both vocal and inſtrumental muſic. The nobles, eſpecially, were moſt fond of them, becauſe their greatneſs and intereſt conſiſting chiefly in the number of their clients, vaſſals, and *ſolduri*, there was not a more effectual way, either to ſecure the old, or procure new ones, but ſuch kind of entertainments: for the *Gauls*, as well as the *Germans* and other northern nations, were ſuch exceſſive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than theſe kind of feaſts: and to what height theſe were carried, may be ſeen by ſome few inſtances we ſhall give in the margin (Z). To

Feaſtings.

f [k] STRABO, l. iv. [l] AUL. GEL. noct. Att. l. xvii. c. 15. PLIN. ubi ſupra. l. xxv. c. 5. Geogr. l. iv. [m] ARRIAN. de venat. [n] EPHOR. ap. Strab. l. iv. DAMASCEN. ap. Stob. ſerm. xxxvii. [o] CÆSAR ubi ſupra. MELA de ſit. orb. l. iii. AMM. MARCEL. l. xxv. & al. [p] TACIT. Germ. c. 14, & ſeq. [q] Vide XENOPH. exped. Cyr. l. vii. ATHEN. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. ſympoſ. vii. c. 9. VARRO, & al.

of thoſe creatures which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to hunt on foot (59). So fond were they of their hounds, that the antient *Burgundian* laws obliged a man, publickly convicted of ſtealing one of them, to pay five ſhillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treaſury; and, if inſolvent, he was obliged to kiſs the dog's poſteriors (60).

(Z) We read of the famed *Luernius*, king of the *Arvernians*, and father of *Bituitus*, who was afterwards defeated by *Fabius Maximus*, that he made an incloſure of twelve furlongs ſquare, in which he enter-

(59) *Arrian. de venat. & al.*

(60) *Vide Pelloutier. ubi ſupra. l.* ii. *c.* 12.

To theſe feaſts, thoſe who were moſt famed for valour and wiſdom were always reckoned the chiefeſt gueſts, becauſe their example did bear the greateſt ſway in all ſuch elections. The reader may not be diſpleaſed, perhaps, to ſee a ſhort deſcription of theſe feaſts of the antient *Gauls* out of *Poſidonius*, who had himſelf been in that country: we ſhall give it in the margin (A). It was likewiſe cuſtomary, to drink hard at theſe kinds of feaſts; yet it ſeems, according to the ſame author, that the coryphee, or head-gueſt, always began firſt, and put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round: for, it ſeems, they all drank out of the ſame veſſel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuſe when it did. And hence, in all probability, the cuſtom of drinking to one another, which was, it ſeems, common to the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* [r], as well as to the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, and northern people. The misfortune was, that at theſe feaſts they uſed to begin to talk of affairs as ſoon as the cups went round, and as they generally ſat at them till the next morning, they ſo heated themſelves with liquor, and wrangling, that they ſeldom ended without duels, the *Gauls*, ſays our author, ſetting ſo little value upon their lives. If the feaſt proved a peaceable one, it was generally accompanied not only with muſic and ſongs, as we obſerved above, but with dances, likewiſe, in which the dancers were armed cap à pé, and beat the meaſure, with their ſwords, upon their ſhields. On certain feſtivals, likewiſe, ſuch as that of *Mithras*, they uſed to dreſs themſelves in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as were dedicated to him, and accompany the proceſſions that were made on that day: others dreſſed themſelves in maſquerade habits, ſome of them very indecent, and played ſeveral antic and immodeſt tricks; and this cuſtom was retained ſo long among them, even ſince their converſion to chriſtianity, that ſome of their councils and biſhops not only cenſured and condemned them, but appointed faſts, and proper prayers, to be uſed on thoſe days [s], to divert them from that heatheniſh cuſtom.

a b c

THEIR chief liquors were beer and wine, the former the moſt common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. *Strabo* obſerves, of the *Luſitanians*, that one ſuch feaſt, as thoſe we have ſpoken of, uſed to exhauſt all the vintage of that year [t]; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the *Germans* and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor.

d

Contempt of agriculture, &c.

Their martial temper inſpired them originally with ſuch contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at firſt, to their wives, old men, and ſlaves. The *Germans* and they are juſtly blamed for it by the *Romans*, and a great piece of pride and folly it was in them, to chuſe to purchaſe the conveniencies of life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by the ſweat of their brow [u]. But the ſame

[r] Diod. Sicul. l. v. Vide & Polyb. l. ii. [s] Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 34. & ſeq. [t] L. iii. [u] German. c. 14, & 23.

entertained all comers, during ſeveral days, with all manner of exquiſite meats and liquors (61); and of one *Ariamnes*, who cauſed lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred perſons, and treated them in the ſame ſumptuous manner a whole year (62). Neither ſuffered they any ſtrangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of theſe feaſts, or were travelling that way, to paſs by without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take ſhare of them; and, if their time could not permit them to ſtay, they obliged them to drink a glaſs or two (63).

The following is a remarkable inſtance of their fondneſs for theſe entertainments: The ſame *Luernius* having given another ſuch feaſt, and invited a famed bard to come and ſing his praiſes, as it was uſual for them to do; the bard coming juſt at the latter end of it, was ſo deeply affected at the diſappointment, that he tried, in vain, to ſing out his deſigned panegyric: he was at length, conſtrained to change it into deep lamentations, for being forced to take up with the reliques of ſo ſumptuous a banquet (64).

(A) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and eaſy to break into pieces; but devoured a great deal of fleſh, boiled, roaſted, and broiled, which they did in a very ſlovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphee, or chief of the feaſt, who was either one of the richeſt, or nobleſt, or braveſt, ſat in the middle, with the maſter of the houſe on his ſide: the reſt took their places next, each according to their rank, having their ſervants behind them, holding their ſhields. The guards had their table over-againſt them and after their maſters had done, the ſervants were, likewiſe, regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a diſh, till the coryphee had taſted of it (65).

Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the *Gauls* uſed to eat ſitting upon the ground, which was covered with ſkins of wolves and dogs; and the diſhes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a ſtove, or fire-place, which abounded with ſpits, pots, pans, and other ſuch kitchen-furniture (66).

(61) *Tacit. ubi ſupra, c.* 21. (62) *Poſidon. ap. Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 12. (63) *Idem ibid.* (64) *Idem ibid. Appian. in Celt.* (65) *Athen. l.* iv. *c.* 13. (66) *L.* v.

a ſame may be ſaid of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as vaſtly below the care of a warlike nation; but one may ſay, in general, that when the *Romans* came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure thoſe things by their labour, which they were formerly wont to get, either by the ſword, or by commerce: neceſſity ſoon made them feel the ſweet of encouraging agriculture, and all other kinds of trades; and, by degrees, likewiſe of the liberal arts and ſciences; in both which branches they became, in time, as expert and famed as any other nation. So that one may ſafely look upon their conqueſt by the *Romans* to have been the mother of all theſe.

Their vices. We ſhall conclude this ſection with a ſhort review of the other vices and virtues

b which are recorded as being peculiar to the antient *Gauls*. As for their vices, they are reducible to theſe three, which are attributed to them by the generality of antient writers, *viz.* drunkenneſs, lazineſs, and fierceneſs; all which we ſhall have the leſs occaſion to dwell upon, becauſe we have occaſionally given ſo many pregnant inſtances, in the courſe of their hiſtory. As for their drunkenneſs, we have given *Drunkenneſs.* ſome inſtances of it in ſpeaking of their feaſtings; but we cannot ſee why that vice ſhould be reckoned more peculiar to them, than to their neighbours the *Germans*, who vaſtly exceeded them in it. Beſides theſe, *Plato* has given us a liſt of other people who were equally guilty of it, *viz.* the *Lydians*, *Perſians*, *Carthaginians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Spaniards* [x]; and we need not direct our readers where to

c look for ſome others, who may juſtly come under the ſame cenſure. But the *Gauls* were more envied for their bravery, both by *Greeks* and *Romans*, and were, therefore, made oftener the ſubject of their reflections. Accordingly *Livy* and *Plutarch* [y] pretend to have it from antient authors, that thoſe *Gauls*, who lived near the *Alps*, having once taſted the *Italian* wine, became ſo enamoured with it, that they immediately reſolved to go and conquer that country. And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that they were ſo fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their ſlaves, for a gallon of wine [z]; which made the merchants very ready to furniſh ſuch cuſtomers with that beloved commodity, both from *Greece* and *Italy*. It is likewiſe pretended, that they were more than ordinary greedy of it, on account that

d it made them fight more courageouſly, or rather furiouſly, and more apt to deſpiſe all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet, in fact, nothing is plainer, than that, if thoſe authors have not exagerated their accounts, the *Gauls* could not encounter a worſe enemy than wine proved to them, upon all occaſions, ſince, according to them, it ſeldom failed throwing whole armies of them into diſorder and confuſion; and, which was ſtill worſe, by baiting them with ſome large quantities of that liquor, it either ſo overcame them, that they fell down dead-drunk, and expoſed, as it were, naked and defenceleſs to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in pieces; or, as it often happened, it ſet them a fighting one againſt another, ſo that they became an eaſier prey to them [a]. One would, therefore, be apt to think,

e that, after they had ſo oft and ſeverely ſmarted for their greedineſs, after that deſtructive liquor, their kings and generals would have made ſome wholſome prohibitions againſt ſo dangerous a cuſtom: and what may incline us to believe they did ſo, is, that though the *Greek* and *Roman* authors charge the whole *Gauliſh* people, in the lump, with this vice, yet the inſtances they give are but few, and happened ſometimes to one nation, ſometimes to another of them (B). However, though this abuſe has been ſomewhat exagerated, yet we own, that there muſt have been ſome foundation for it, ſince *Charles the great* was forced to make ſome ſevere laws againſt it; one of which obliged the judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue faſting; others, which forbad the forcing of any one to drink more than

f he cared for; others, which forbad the ſoldiers, whilſt in the field, to invite any man whatever

[x] De leg. l. i. Vide & ATHEN. l. x. CLEM. ALEX. pæd. l. ii. [y] Hiſt. l. v. PLUT. in Camil. [z] L. v.
[a] Vide JUSTIN. ex. Trog. l. xxiv. c. 7, & ſeq. APPIAN. Celtica. PLUTARCH. LIVY ubi ſupra, & al.

(B) Thus, for inſtance, we are told, that thoſe *Gauls* who took the city of *Rome*, and thoſe who ravaged *Greece*, were moſtly cut off in their drunken revels (67). The ſame fate, we are told, overtook the *Goths* in *Thrace* (68); one ſort were defeated by *Cyrus*, in the ſame manner; and another by the *Romans* (69). But theſe are hardly more than ſingle inſtances, that happened to one tribe or other of them.

(67) *Appian. Celt. Plutarch. in Camil. Juſtin. l.* xxiv. (68) *Zoſim. l.* iv. *c.* 23, *&c. ſeq.* (69) *Juſtin. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Livy, l.* xli. *c.* 4.

whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink a
water till they had been ſufficiently puniſhed for their fault [b]. This vice, it ſeems,
was ſo univerſal, that even the *Myſians*, a kind of monkiſh tribe among the *Scy-*
thians, who were obliged to abſtain from all fleſh, wine, and ſtrong liquors, had
yet a way amongſt them of intoxicating themſelves by the ſmoak of ſome odori-
ferous weeds, ſomething, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them
exceeding chearful and merry, though without being attended with the ill effects
which are commonly cauſed by exceſs of wine, *&c.*[c] (C).

Idleneſs. The lazineſs, imputed likewiſe to them, appears, by what we have ſaid a little
higher, to have been rather owing to their pride, than to any diſlike they had to
labour, under an honourable title: for it is plain, that in their exerciſes, as well as b
their wars, they accuſtomed themſelves to hardſhips and fatigues of any kind; ſo
that if they neglected agriculture and handicraft trades, it was rather becauſe they
looked upon them as a kind of ſlavery unbecoming their martial genius. And it was
upon this account, that they ſo readily ruſhed upon any deſperate death, to avoid
being taken priſoners, eſpecially by the *Romans*, who, they knew, were wont to
make ſlaves of them, and condemn them to the hardeſt and meaneſt employments.
And though, after their conqueſt, we have ſeen them take up with a laborious life,
cultivate their lands, vineyards, and uſeful trades; yet the ſame ſpirit reigns ſtill
among their gentry and nobility, both in *Gaul* and *Germany*, where they retain ſtill
a contempt for all the laborious and mercantile part, and chuſe rather to live in a c
ſhameful ſloth, and even poverty, than ſupport themſelves and families by any
other way than that of arms. They even carry this punctilio of honour ſo far, as
to look upon it as diſhonourable, to the laſt degree, for a nobleman, in how low
circumſtances however, to marry the daughter of a mechanic, or even merchant,
though her fortune was ever ſo large, and capable of enriching him and his
family.

Ferocity. As to their laſt vice, *viz.* their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the leſs occaſion
to wonder at it, if we conſider, that they were brought up with a peculiar con-
tempt of death: for how can it be expected they ſhould be tender of other peoples
lives, that were ſo careleſs, and even laviſh, of their own? And if ſlavery appeared d
ſo terrible to them, that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a
mercy in them, to maſſacre their priſoners of war, or ſacrifice them to their gods,
rather than to make ſlaves of them? But we obſerved before, that this exceſſive
love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other people, eſpecially upon the
Romans, not only with a jealous eye, but inſpired them with an invincible hatred
againſt them, and all whom they obſerved, like them, diligent and ſucceſsful in
enſlaving other nations. And this might add not a little to their native fierceneſs,
and to that cruelty with which they thought they ought to treat ſuch open invaders of
public liberty, as well as thoſe who baſely aſſiſted them in it. This will appear leſs
improbable, if we come now to examine ſome of thoſe ſocial virtues for which they e
were famed, even by the confeſſion of their enemies, ſuch as their hoſpitality, fru-
gality, juſtice, and fidelity.

Their virtues, and hoſpitality. It will, doubtleſs, be thought ſtrange, that a nation, ſo cruel to their enemies,
and ſo touchy and fierce among themſelves, as to have recourſe to ſingle combat
upon every trifling affront, ſhould yet be ſo famed for their hoſpitality and humanity,
not only to ſtrangers, but to ſuch as refuged themſelves among them; and yet they
are highly cried up for this admirable virtue, both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. It
was, it ſeems, a conſtant cuſtom among them, to invite their ſtrangers to all their
feaſts, and, after it was over, to inquire who they were, and wherein they
might be ſerved [d]. This was practiſed, according to the ſame author, by the very f
Celtiberians, who were looked upon as ſome of the cruelleſt among the *Gauls*, in-
ſomuch,

[b] Vide addition. Carol. Mag. ad leg. Salic. an. 803. & Pelloutier. ubi ſupra, l. ii. c. ult. [c] Posidon ap. Strab. l. vii. Vide & Casaubon. in loc. & Pelloutier. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sicul. l. v.

(C) The ſame, we are told, was practiſed by the *Scythians* and *Thracians*, who had no wine (70). The men and women, it ſeems, ſat round a good fire, into which they threw theſe weeds: ſome call it a grain, or ſeed (71), the ſmoke of which they ſucked up in ſuch large draughts, that, in a little time, it ſet them all a laughing, dancing, and ſinging.

(70) *Herodot. l.* i. *Mela, l.* ii. *Max. Tyr. l.* xi. *Plutarch. de fluv.* (71) *Solin. c.* 15. *Mela, ubi ſupra.*

a ſomuch, that they came in crouds to invite a traveller to their houſes; and happy was he thought whom he choſe for his hoſt: if he pitched upon one whoſe circumſtances would not permit him to afford him a very long entertainment, (for they generally treated them very ſumptuouſly) he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any *Gaul* was convicted of having refuſed this courteſy to a ſtranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magiſtrate: witneſs that law which was enacted among the *Burgundians*, which laid a fine of three crowns on all ſuch inhoſpitable delinquents; and one of double that ſum to any *Burgundian* that ſhould direct a ſtranger to the houſe of a *Roman*. In ſome other places they added a corporal puniſhment to the fine;

b and *Tacitus* doth that juſtice even to the *German* nation, as to give ſeveral inſtances of their tender regard to ſtrangers [g]: and *Cæſar* adds, that they eſteemed all ſuch perſons as ſacred and inviolable, and to whom every houſe was to be opened, and every table free [h]. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and puniſhed thoſe upon the ſpot, from whom they had received any damage, or ill treatment [i]. They even puniſhed the murder of a ſtranger more ſeverely than that of one of their own nation, *viz.* the former by death, and the latter by baniſhment. As for thoſe who took refuge amongſt the *Gauls*, and a more ſafe and ſtedfaſt ſanctuary they could not meet with in any other nation, they were ſure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence that great number of di-

c ſtreſſed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither, preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence, of which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former ſections of this hiſtory; and with what faithfulneſs they were protected by them, may, out of many more inſtances, be inferred, from that which we ſhall give our readers in the margin (D), to avoid dwelling too long upon ſo known a ſubject.

Fidelity and juſtice.

THESE inſtances are no leſs an argument of their juſtice and fidelity: the confidence which the emperors, princes, and commonwealths, placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendſhip, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewiſe in the former chuſing them for their life-guards, is another proof of it. And if they could be thus faithful to even *Roman* emperors, ſuch as

d *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Claudius*, and others; we need not doubt of their being ſo to other nations, to whoſe ſervice they had not ſuch a natural reluctance: though it muſt be owned, that the *Germans* gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in thoſe monarchs than the *Gauls* had done; and, perhaps, on this very account, that they did not ſhew ſuch natural averſion to the *Roman* yoke as the *Gauls* did, who took all opportunities that offered to ſhake it off. But before even the time of *Auguſtus*, we find the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in great credit and truſt with *Juba*, king of *Mauritania* [l], with *Herod*, king of *Judea* [m], with *Cleopatra* [n], and with moſt princes far and near; an account of which hath been given in every proper place of this work, They have, indeed, been branded with the reverſe vice, by ſeveral *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtorians [o]; and it muſt be owned, that they have

e ſometimes receded from their fidelity, notwithſtanding their valuing themſelves ſo much upon it, above all other nations; and we have formerly given ſeveral inſtances of it, though, for want of knowing what motives induced them to it, we have been obliged to condemn them for actions, which, if thoſe authors had rightly informed us of the true ſprings of them, might have paſſed uncenſured. Neither *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*,

[g] German. c. 21. [h] Comment. l. vi. [i] ARISTOT. de mir. Aud. N. DAMASC. ap. Stob. ſerm. 165. [l] CÆSAR. com. l. ii. c. 40. [m] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 21. [n] Idem ibid. c. 5. [o] CÆSAR ubi ſupra, l. iv. c. 11. POLYB. l. ii. LIVY, l. XXV. c. 33. Vide PATERC. & al.

(D) *Toriſin*, king of the *Gepidæ*, had a noble refugee at his court, named *Ildiſgus*, who had a lawful right to the crown of *Lombardy*, but had been excluded from it, after the death of king *Vaces*, by *Aduin*, who ſeized upon it. This laſt cauſed *Ildiſgus* to be demanded of the *Gepidæ*, and procured his demand to be backed by the emperor *Juſtinian*'s embaſſadors. *Toriſin*, who had juſt concluded a peace with the *Romans* and *Lombards*, called a council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with *Aduin*'s requeſt, and the danger he was in, if he refuſed. Upon this, that truly auguſt aſſembly unanimouſly agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children, ſhould periſh, than to give way to ſuch a ſacrilegious demand (72).

Even among the ruder *Slavonians*, who lived on the other ſide of the *Elbe*, it was permitted to ſet any man's houſe on fire, who refuſed ſanctuary to a ſtranger; and, in ſuch caſes, every one ſtrove to puniſh the violation of hoſpitality (73).

(72) *Procop. hiſt. Gothor. l.* iii. *c.* 35. *l.* iv. *c.* 27. (73) *Helmold. chron. Slavon. c.* 82. *Pelloutier. l.* ii. *c.* 16.

ginians, nor *Romans*, were famed for their ſtrict adherence to their treaties, any more a than ſcrupulous about the means of obtaining them: and *Cæſar*, for inſtance, has laid the blame on the *Gauliſh* perfidy, which *Cato* has bravely retorted upon him [p]. And who knows what provocations they may have had, whenever they have departed from their uſual fidelity and juſtice? But not to dwell too long upon uncertainties, we may affirm, that, in the main, they long enjoyed that noble character, however their conqueſts afterwards, and ſince them their unmeaſurable ambition, have hurried them into the quite oppoſite extreme.

Frugality. Of their frugality we have likewiſe given ſeveral inſtances, ſuch as their contempt of gold and ſilver, of trades and manufactures, and the like; the antient plainneſs of their diet, dreſs, houſes, *&c.* Their cloathing was a kind of veſt and breeches, b light and neat; they wore their hair long, and a collar about their neck, and bracelets about their wriſts, and above the elbow. Thoſe who were raiſed to dignities wore them of gold, the reſt of braſs. The druids were always cloathed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occaſions, appeared with their arms [q]. We know little of their marriages, except that they do not ſeem to have allowed polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives: at leaſt this laſt plainly appears, from a paſſage of *Pomponius Mela*, who, being a *Spaniard*, muſt underſtand the *Gauliſh* laws and cuſtoms better than any *Greek* or *Roman* author that has written of them. We ſhall give the ſubſtance of it in the margin; firſt, becauſe it contains ſome curious particulars about the *Gauliſh* funerals, c with which we ſhall cloſe this ſection: and, ſecondly, becauſe the author doth therein clear that nation from having entertained the *Pythagorean* doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which other writers have abſurdly charged them with, and which we promiſed, in a former ſection, to diſprove (E). Their burning of the dead bodies, we have ſeen, in a former ſection, by thoſe urns which contained their bones and aſhes, with ſome other trinkets which they mingled with them, of more or leſs value, according, as may be ſuppoſed, to the condition of the deceaſed; but that they likewiſe buried without burning, may be alſo gathered from thoſe intire bodies which have been found, eſpecially in the mounds of *Saliſbury* plain, of which we have given an account: for as the *Gauls* received their religious laws and cuſtoms d from the *Britiſh* druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in them, in both countries.

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of the antient Gauls, *from the* Roman *invaſion, and their conqueſt by* Julius Cæſar, *to the irruption of the* Franks.

WE ſhall have the leſs room to inlarge upon this ſubject, firſt, becauſe we e have little or no account of this nation before they were viſited by the *Romans*, but what we have given an account of in ſome part or other of this chapter: and,

[p] Vide Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 24. Plutarch. in eund. Cato Min. Dio Cass. & al. [q] Strabo, l. iv. Pliny, l. xvi. c. 24. De diis Germ. & al.

(E) Among other tenets which the druids hold, ſays that author (74), there is one, which they endeavour to inculcate into every *Gaul*, in order to inſpire them with greater bravery; namely, that of the immortality of the ſoul and a future life. Accordingly, ſays he, when they burn the bodies of their dead, and bury their aſhes, they bury, likewiſe, with them, their books of accounts, and the notes of hand of the moneys they had lent whilſt alive, that they may be of ſervice to them in the other world. Sometimes, likewiſe, their near relations and friends have flung themſelves into the funeral pile, to go and live with them there. Hath this doctrine of a future life any thing in common with the *Pythagorean* tranſmigration? Could theſe account-books, receipts, and notes, be of any ſervice to ſouls which paſs into other bodies, either of men, or brutes? Can thoſe, who affirm it, imagine that ſouls, thus tranſmigrated, into whatever body it be, could be ſtill the ſame perſons whom thoſe accounts concerned? And would thoſe friends have been ſuch fools, as to chuſe to die with them, for the ſake of living with them hereafter, had they had the leaſt notion of ſuch a tranſmigration? How could they ever expect that happineſs, if they really believed that, upon their going out of this world, their ſouls were to enter into freſh bodies, of either men, women, brutes, or vegetables, the one, perhaps, in one

(74) *De ſit orb. l.* iii.

a and, ſecondly, becauſe what happened to them from that time to the irruption of the *Franks*, has been fully ſpoken of in the *Roman* hiſtory. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and ſhort, for the ſake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may ſave our readers the trouble of collecting the particulars of it out of our former volumes, by having recourſe to every index, we ſhall give them here a ſummary of them in one view, and in as ſuccinct a method as we can, with proper references in the margin, of the places where thoſe facts have been more fully diſcuſſed, and add to it an account of ſuch other tranſactions as have not yet, or have but ſlightly been touched upon. All which we ſhall endeavour to couch, as well as it can be done, in a chronological order, and near as we can to its epocha, according

b to ſuch of our chronologers as may be beſt depended upon: we ſhall only add here, that the *Gauls*, being a ſtrong and hardy people, and multiplying ſo faſt, that their country could not contain them, was one conſtant cauſe of their excurſions into other countries far and near, and in ſuch vaſt multitudes, that they ſpread terror where-ever they came. It often happened, likewiſe, that theſe colonies, thus ſettled in a foreign country, were ſo moleſted by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being diſpoſſeſſed, they ſent into their native country for freſh aſſiſtance, and eaſily obtained it, the *Gauls* being always ready to pour out their numerous ſwarms, upon all ſuch occaſions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back unto them. Hence their vaſt multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceneſs, and

c cruelty to thoſe who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable neceſſity, upon all ſuch expeditions, either to conquer or ſtarve, added not a little to the dread of their name. We ſhall paſs by thoſe which they antiently made out of *Europe* into ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, where they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral fine countries, and under different names, and for which we ſhall refer our readers to the *Celtic* hiſtory in a former volume [a].

THEIR earlieſt and moſt conſiderable ſally, we have recorded, is that which they made into *Italy*, under their famous leader *Belloveſus* (A), who, croſſing the *Rhoſne* and the *Alps*, ſettled himſelf in that part of *Italy* called *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, then inhabited by the *Hetrurians*, about the year of *Rome* 160 [b]. *Year of the flood* 2377. *before Chriſt* 622.

d THE *Cænomani*, who dwelt between the rivers *Seine* and *Loire*, made the ſecond grand expedition under their general *Elitonis*, and ſettled in the *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, *Mantuan*, *Carniola*, and *Venetian* [c]; the time of this and the next is uncertain.

THE third was made by the *Læves* and *Ananes*, the former of whom ſettled in *Novara*, on one ſide of the *Po*; and the latter in *Piacentia*, on the oppoſite ſide.

IN a fourth, the *Boii* and *Lingones*, having paſſed the *Pennine Alps*, ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Ravenna* and *Bologna*.

IN the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of *Belloveſus*, the *Senones*, ſeated between *Paris* and *Meaux*, were invited into *Italy* by an *Hetrurian* lord, and ſettled themſelves in *Umbria*. *Brennus*, who was their king, had laid

e ſiege to *Cluſium*, and here it was that he gave that noble anſwer to the three *Fabii*, who were ſent from *Rome* to expoſtulate with him, of which we have had occaſion to take notice in a former ſection. We have ſeen, in the volume laſt quoted [d], that the treachery of the *Fabii*, in entering and defending that city, and of the *Romans* in countenancing, inſtead of puniſhing, it, did ſo exaſperate the *Gauliſh* general, that, raiſing the ſiege of the place, he immediately turned all his force againſt the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to *Rome*, whoſe inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch terror at his approach, that they abandoned it to his mercy. When *Brennus* entered the place, which appeared to him like a very deſert, he ſecured all the avenues round the capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by

Brennus *enters and plunders* Rome.

[a] See vol. ii. p. 245, & ſeq. [b] See vol. iv. p. 561, d, e. [c] Ibid. f. [d] See vol. iv. p. 562.

one corner of the world, and the other in another? What likelihood is there, that the *Gauls*, ſo jealous of their liberty as they were, would, by thus ruſhing into immediate death, run the riſque of paſſing into the bodies, I won't ſay of either plants or beaſts, but even into thoſe of ſlaves, or even of women, over whom they had the power of life and death?

(A) *Ambigatus*, then king of *Celtogallia*, finding his kingdom overſtocked, ſent his two nephews, *Belloveſus* and *Segoveſus*, each at the head of a numerous army, to go and ſeek ſome new ſettlements. The firſt croſſed the *Alps*, and the latter the *Rhine* and *Hercynian* foreſt, and ſettled in that part of *Germany* ſince then called *Boiemia*, and *Bohemia*, from the *Boii*, who accompanied him in that expedition (1), as ſhall be further ſhewn in the next chapter.

(1) *See before, vol.* iv. *p.* 561, *e.*

Burns and deſtroys it. Year of the flood 2614. *before Chriſt* 385.

by his men, who preſently after reduced it to aſhes, and all its ſtately temples and palaces into an heap of rubbiſh. Finding the capitol too ſtrong for him, he turned the ſiege of it into a blockade, and marched againſt *Ardea*, where he was eaſily defeated by *Camillus*, who had been a refugee there about two years: for the *Gauls* were, by this time, ſo intoxicated with their ſucceſs at *Rome*, and with the wine of that country, that they kept neither order nor diſcipline; ſo that *Camillus*, at the head of the *Ardeates*, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. His next attempt was, to ſurpriſe the capitol, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded in it, had not the noiſe of ſome geeſe awaked the brave *Manlius*, who ſounded the alarm, and gave them ſuch a fierce repulſe, that moſt of the *Gauls* flung themſelves headlong down the ſteep rock, and loſt their lives. However, the beſieged in the capitol were reduced to ſuch ſtreights on the one hand, and the *Gauls* on the other, who were themſelves beſieged in the city by *Camillus*, now choſen dictator, that the ſenate thought fit to ſend *Sulpitius*, a tribune, to treat with *Brennus*; and between theſe it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould pay him a thouſand pounds weight of gold, and he depart out of the *Roman* territories. But when the money came to be paid, and *Brennus* had brought falſe weights with him, *Camillus* ordered the gold to be carried back, and told the *Gaul*, that *Rome* ſhould be ranſomed by the ſword, and not with money. He proved as good as his word; for a dreadful conteſt enſuing upon it between the two armies, the *Gauls* were ſo diſheartened on the ſudden, that they made a running fight of it; but being purſued by the dictator, were all cut off, it ſeems, to one man, not one of them being left to carry the news into their own country[e].

The Gauls *all cut off.*

The next expedition was ſtill more unfortunate; for thoſe *Gauls* who had ſettled themſelves in thoſe parts of *Italy* we have lately ſpoken of, led but an uneaſy life there, being continually haraſſed by the *Romans*; upon which, they ſent into *Gaul* for freſh reinforcements; but theſe came in ſuch vaſt numbers to their aſſiſtance, that they became more dreadful to them than the *Romans*: ſo that they made no ſcruple to turn their arms againſt them, and, having killed their two leaders, eaſily put the whole army to flight. The *Romans*, however, were in no ſmall dread of them, when they found how active they were in *Italy*, and what vaſt armies they could draw out of *Gaul*; and it was to diſſipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of ſuperſtition at *Rome*, which we formerly mentioned, of burying a *Greek* and a *Gauliſh* man and woman alive in the ox-market. But they did not truſt to this ſo far, as not to make vaſt preparations, when they heard that the *Gæſatæ*, another brave *Gauliſh* nation, were invited, by their *Italian* countrymen, to their aſſiſtance. Theſe were of a fiercer nature than any of the reſt; they ſcorned all kind of defenſive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally choſe to fight naked. Had but their martial ſkill been as great as their courage (B), it is likely they might, at that juncture, have diſabled the *Romans* from ever conquering any more nations: for their approach had ſpread ſuch a terror all over the *Roman* territories, that they raiſed one of the vaſteſt armies that had ever been known amongſt them. If we may believe *Polybius*[f], it conſiſted of no leſs than 800000 men, horſe and foot. The *Gauls*, however, nothing terrified at it, though they had but 50000 foot, and 2000 horſe, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military diſcipline, as they were in number, they met with a total defeat: 40000 of them were killed on the ſpot, and 10000 taken priſoners, and amongſt them *Concolitanus*, one of their kings; whilſt the other, named *Aneroeſtus*, and by far the moſt experienced warrior, only eſcaped to a neighbouring

The Gæſatæ *defeated.*

[e] Ibid. p. 566, & ſeq. [f] L. ii. c. 22.

(B) We have purpoſely omitted ſeveral other defeats which they met with in ſome other expeditions, and which the reader will find in the places of the *Roman* hiſtory quoted in the margin (2); where he will find, that the *Romans* were by that time ſo well appriſed of their ſuperiority to them in this point, that they generally truſted to it, and with good ſucceſs, ſince it appears, by all theſe inſtances, that it was by that that they gave them ſuch frequent and ſurpriſing defeats.

They fought much after the ſame undiſciplined manner in ſingle combat; witneſs that gigantic *Gaul*, who, by his golden collar, ſeems to have been one of their generals, and, *Goliah* like, challenged any of the *Romans* to fight with him, and was, like him, overcome by a brave ſtripling (3). For the *Gaul*, truſting to his ſuperior ſtrength, began the fight by diſcharging a great blow on his antagoniſt, whilſt the dexterous youth, ruſhing under his ſhield, ſtabbed him to death with his ſword (4).

(2) *See before, vol.* iv. *p.* 581, & *ſeq. p.* 588, & *ſeq. p.* 593, *paſſ.* 633.
(3) *Ibid. p.* 588, *a*, *b*.
(4) *Livy*, *l.* viii. *c.* 9.

a bouring village, and there killed himſelf, as did moſt of the officers who followed him, according to the *Gauliſh* maxim, of preferring death to ſlavery.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe ſucceſſes, the *Romans* had no ſmall reaſon to fear, that the *Gauls* would, at length, be made ſenſible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial diſcipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become, in time, as expert ſoldiers as they (C); in which caſe, they could not but become a very formidable enemy to their nation, conſidering their hatred to it, their hardineſs, intrepidity, and readineſs to join every foe againſt them. The aſſiſtance they gave *Hannibal*, as he was croſſing their country, and over the *Alps*, of which we have given an account elſewhere [h]; and, after him, to *Mago* and the b *Carthaginians*, during their war [i]; their being ſo frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other ſtates and kingdoms, moſt of them at war with *Rome*, and among which they were ſure to perfect themſelves more and more in the martial trade, whilſt they themſelves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifeſt danger (D); theſe conſiderations obliged them, at laſt, to retaliate upon them, and invade their country, upon the firſt favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war for them: but, before we come to ſpeak of this, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of their other expeditions and exploits, in *Aſia*, *Macedonia*, and other countries.

THE firſt of this kind was in the year after *Pyrrhus* paſſed into *Italy* [k], when the *Year of the flood* 2720. *before Chriſt* 279. c *Gauls*, finding themſelves again overſtocked at home, ſent out three vaſt colonies to ſeek new habitations. *Brennus* (perhaps a deſcendant of him who had ſome two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into *Italy* we have lately mentioned) was the chief adviſer of this expedition, and head of one of the *Gauliſh* armies; *Ceretbrius* commanded the ſecond, and marched into *Thrace*; and the third, under the command of *Belgius*, marched into *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*: as for *Brennus*, he was entered into *Pannonia*, or *Hungary*, a poor country in compariſon to thoſe which *Belgius* had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himſelf with immenſe plunder; ſo that envying his ſucceſs, he reſolved to join him, and ſhare it with him. *Belgius* being ſoon after defeated, to ſuch a degree that we hear no more of him or his d men, he haſtened thither, under pretence of revenging and aſſiſting him; and it is not improbable, that the remainder of *Belgius*'s army lifted themſelves under him. The army with which he entered into thoſe two provinces, conſiſted of 150000 foot, and 15000 horſe; but a revolt happened in it, in which *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, the two chief leaders of it, carried off 20000 men, and marched into *Thrace*, and, joining themſelves to *Ceretbrius*, ſeized on *Byzantium*, and the weſtern coaſts of *Propontis*, and there ſettled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

TO retrieve this loſs, *Brennus* ſent for freſh ſupplies from *Gallia*, inliſted ſome *Illyrians*, and, with a new army of 150000 foot, and above 60000 horſe, entered *Macedonia*, defeated *Soſthenes*, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched e towards the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, with an intent to invade *Greece*, but was ſtopped by the forces which were ſent to defend that paſs againſt him. This obliged him

[h] Ibid. p. 695, d, e. p. 699, f, & ſeq. vol. vii. p. 15, & ſeq. [i] Ibid. p. 73, & ſeq. [k] POLYB. l. i. c. 6. Vide PAUSAN. Phoc. JUSTIN. l. xxiv. & ſeq.

(C) We are told (5), that their very weapons, eſpecially their ſwords, were ſo wretchedly tempered, that, upon the very firſt onſet, in which they conſtantly charged with incredible fury, they uſed either to break, bend, or be ſo blunted, againſt the *Roman* javelins, as to become uſeleſs; ſo that before they could have time to ſharpen or ſtraiten them, the enemy preſently cloſed in upon them, and, throwing by the javelin, and ſhortening their ſwords upon them, ſtabbed them, like ſo many ſheep.

(D) They gave a dreadful inſtance of it from the beginning, when *Scipio*, after the defeat which the *Carthaginians* had given him, on the banks of the *Ticinus*, retired to *Placentia*, to cure his own and his ſoldiers wounds: for here about 2000 foot, and 200 horſe, of thoſe *Gauls* which the conſul had in his pay, upon ſome diſcontent, roſe up in the dead of the night, and, whilſt the *Romans* were aſleep, entered their camp, ſlew a great number of them, cut off their heads, and carried them to *Hannibal*, who gave them a kind reception, and invited them, with vaſt promiſes, into his ſervice.

This treachery ſo diſheartened the conſul, that, fearing leſt the reſt of their countrymen, that were left in his army, ſhould follow their example, and make the miſchief ſtill greater, he wiſely choſe to give them the ſlip, and lead his own troops to a place of more ſafety. The *Carthaginians*, finding the *Roman* camp cleared, plundered and ſet it on fire, whilſt the *Gauls* flocked, in great numbers, to their general, and liſted in his ſervice (6); an action, one would think, ſufficient to deter the *Romans* from ever truſting a *Gaul* again.

(5) *Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Marcel. Oroſ. & al.* (6) *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 66, *& ſeq.*

him to get him ſome guides over thoſe mountains, over which *Xerxes* had paſſed his forces before; upon which, the guards retired, to avoid being ſurrounded by him. He then ordered *Acichorius*, the next to him in this expedition, to follow him at a diſtance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched ſtrait towards *Delphos*, with a deſign, as is ſuppoſed, to plunder that rich city and temple; but met, it ſeems, with a terrible repulſe, from a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which deſtroyed a great number of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army: ſo that the remainder, being ſeized with a panic fury, fell upon, and murdered each other, all that night. The next morning they found their miſtake, and near one half of their army deſtroyed, and the *Greek* forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in ſuch numbers, that though *Acichorius* joined him in the nick of time, yet were they not able to make head againſt the *Greeks*, but were defeated, with a terrible ſlaughter. *Brennus* himſelf was deſperately wounded, and ſo diſheartened at his miſcarriage, that he aſſembled all his chiefs, and having adviſed them to ſlay all that were wounded and diſabled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put an end to his life. *Acichorius*, immediately after, led the remainder of this ſhattered army back, as well as he could; but their long marches through enemies countries, the oppoſitions and hardſhips they met with from them, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, did, it ſeems, ſo thoroughly exhauſt them, that not one of them returned from that expedition[m]: a juſt judgment, indeed, upon them, if they really went with that ſacrilegious deſign which is charged upon them by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and in which we make no doubt but they have as much exaggerated their puniſhment in their above-mentioned defeat, as they have their guilt, as the reader may ſee, by what is added in the margin (E).

Their dreadful defeat and end.

Whilst this expedition was carrying on in *Greece*, the other colonies under *Leonorius*, parting from the others who were ſettled in the *Propontis*, marched into the *Helleſpont*, and made themſelves maſters of *Lyſimachia* and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. Here ſome great miſunderſtanding happening between thoſe two chiefs, they parted their forces; the former returned to *Byzantium*, and the latter ſtayed where he was. They did, however, rejoin their forces ſome time after, and paſſed into *Aſia*, being invited thither by *Nicomedes*, whom they aſſiſted againſt his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowledgment of which, he aſſigned them that part

[m] Iidem ibid. Vide & Memnon. excerpt. ap. Phot. c. 19, & ſeq. Eclog. Diod. Sicul. l. xxii. Livy, l. xxxviii. Callimach. hymn. in Delum. Suid. in voc. Galatai.

(E) We promiſed, in a former ſection, to explode the virulent charge which *Cicero* lays againſt the *Gauls* and their religion, founded chiefly on this action of their plundering the *Delphic* temple, and that of their beſieging the capitol, and, as he adds, (to aggravate it the more) the great *Jupiter* in it; from which he infers, that their religion conſiſted only in a diametrical oppoſition to all others, and in waging war againſt the gods of other nations, *&c.* and that the *Gauls* were a moſt irreligious, wicked, and dangerous people, not fit to live; and much more to that purpoſe.

Now if it be true, that the *Gauls*, before their conqueſt, did worſhip the one Supreme Being, and, like the *Perſes*, *Brachmans*, and other antient nations and philoſophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or repreſent him by idols of any kind, as we have formerly ſhewed they did, then will their deſtroying thoſe temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treaſures, if they had really done ſo by this of *Delphos*, ſtands juſtified, and rather deſerves commendation, than ſuch a black reproof. The plunder of ſuch ſuperſtitious treaſures, to men of theſe principles, and for the ſupport of a numerous army that ſtands in need of it, will be juſtly deemed applying them to a better uſe.

But it plainly appears, from the majority of thoſe authors quoted above, that they did not plunder the *Delphic* oracle, but that they were ſcared from it by a ſtorm and earthquake, which threw them into ſuch a panic, as made them be eaſily overcome by thoſe *Greek* forces, which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle againſt them; upon which it is ſuppoſed, that all theſe diſaſters befel them as a juſt judgment for their ſacrilegious deſign againſt that temple and treaſure: but this laſt is at beſt but a ſurmiſe, founded on a wrong, though common, notion, that ſuch diſaſters always argued ſome atrocious crimes in the ſufferers: all which is here dreſſed up, by authors who were profeſſed enemies to the *Gauliſh* nation, and have, doubtleſs, exaggerated both at their pleaſure, though without any real foundation.

Juſtin, and after him *Cicero*, indeed, accuſe them of having plundered the *Delphic* treaſure; and the laſt adds, that they carried it home too; but being grievouſly plagued for their ſacrilege, they were adviſed to throw their ill-got pelf into the lake of *Tholouſe*. This, though plainly oppoſite to all thoſe authors who have written of that expedition, ſeems to us only an invidious improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a ſcandal on that vaſt treaſure which was conſecrated and repoſited in that lake, and which *Strabo* and *Athenæus*, on the authority of *Poſidonius*, tell us was (ſo far from being fetched from *Delphos*) dug up out of ſome rich mines in that neighbourhood, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve in the laſt ſection. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with any ſeeming juſtice, againſt the *Gauls*, it was their ſending ſuch powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither *Greeks* nor *Romans* could have any pretence to find fault with that which was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

a part of *Leſſer Aſia* which we deſcribed at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called *Gallogræcia*, and *Galatia*. Thither came alſo a great number of thoſe other *Gauls* who had ſettled in *Thrace*, and who were driven from thence by *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had ſeized the kingdom of *Macedon* upon the death of *Soſthenes*. A greater number of them diſperſed themſelves about in other countries, and either periſhed, or ſo intermingled themſelves, as not to be heard of any more; ſo that of this great and threatening *Gauliſh* army, none remained but thoſe who ſettled in *Galatia* [n]. Theſe likewiſe, in time, increaſing in number, and being ſtreightened in their territories, endeavoured, according to cuſtom, to inlarge them where they could, and to ſend their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (F), which b did not a little annoy and alarm all their neighbours; but they were at length ſuppreſſed by the proconſul of *Aſia*, *Corn. Manlius Vulſo*, who gave them ſeveral defeats, and obliged them to live quietly, and keep within their old limits [o]. They are, however, affirmed by ſome authors to have been ſubdued about fifty-three years before, by *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus* [p]; and if ſo, they muſt have found out ſome means of recovering their liberty, to have been ſo powerful in *Manlius*'s time, unleſs we ſuppoſe theſe authors to have confounded the *Gauls* with the *Galatians*. However that be, theſe laſt were ſtill, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom, named *Deiotarus*, was, for his ſervices done to *Pompey the great*, created king by him (G), and had the *Leſſer Armenia*, and ſome other terc tories, added to his own [q]. Thus much may ſuffice for the *Gauliſh* expeditions abroad. It is time now to return to thoſe at home, and to give an account of their conqueſt by the *Romans*.

Some ſettled in Galatia.

Year of the flood 2811. *before Chriſt* 188.

We hinted a little higher, that the *Romans* were grown ſo fearful of the *Gauls*, that they thought it proper, in order to humble them, to lead their armies into their country. After many attempts, not worth mentioning, the perſon that opened the moſt effectual way into *Gaul* was the great conſul *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*, to whoſe lot this province was fallen, as well as the ſupreme power, by the death of his collegue in *Numidia*. *Marcius*, the better to carry on his deſign, opened a way between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, a work of immenſe labour, in which he was d ſtoutly oppoſed by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Stæni*, who lived at the foot of the *Alps* [r], and who, finding themſelves overpowered by him, ſet fire to their houſes killed their wives and children, and threw them and themſelves into the flames. *Marcius*, having accompliſhed his work, planted a colony, for the ſecurity of it, in the country of the *Volſcæ Tectoſagi*, between the *Pyrenees* and the city of *Tholouſe*; and built a city in it, and called it *Narbo Marcius*, ſince *Narbonne*, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of ſuch a conſiderable part of *Gaul*, and the opening and ſecuring ſuch a way between the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, as it laid the foundation for the conqueſt of the whole country, was thought ſo conſiderable a ſervice to *Rome*, that the ſenate ordered him a triumph for it [s]. His ſucceſſor, e *Scaurus*, not only conquered ſome other nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Gentiſci* and *Carni*,

Marcius *ſubdues part of* Gaul.

[n] Iidem ibid. [o] Livy, l. xxxviii. [p] Ibid. l. xxxiii. Strabo, l. xiii. Suid. Polyæn. &c. [q] Strabo, l. xii. Eutrop. l. vi. [r] Steph. de urb. [s] Faſt. capit. Cicer. pro Fronteio.
See before, vol. v. p. 3, a, b,

(F) *Juſtin* tells us, that all *Aſia* ſwarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eaſtern prince at war that did not hire them as mercenaries (7). This was, in particular, the caſe of *Antiochus Hierax*, in his war againſt *Seleucus*, whom he defeated at *Ancyra* (8), by the help of the *Gauliſh* auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have coſt him dear: for theſe, having heard a rumour, that *Seleucus* had been ſlain, formed, it ſeems, a project to murder him, and ſeize upon his kingdom; ſo that he found no better way of ſaving himſelf, than by giving them all the treaſure he had (9).

The ſcene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed to *Meſopotamia*, it is not improbable, that the battle of *Babylonia* happened between the *Babyloniſh Jews* and the *Gauls*, in which 8000 of the former defeated and killed 120000 of the latter (10): for *Babylon* was then a province of *Meſopotamia*, and *Antiochus*, then in confederacy with the *Gauls*, who were then very numerous there, and all over *Aſia*, as we mentioned out of *Juſtin*, was totally defeated by *Seleucus* (11). But whether theſe were the *Galatians* of *Aſia minor*, or troops ſent out of *Gaul*, is not eaſy to gueſs, from either *Juſtin*, or the book of *Maccabees*, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter.

(G) This is the ſame *Deiotarus* that ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed the other three tetrarchs, and ſeized upon all *Galatia*. For this he was ſummoned before *Julius Cæſar*, upon which occaſion *Cicero* made a ſpeech in his behalf, which is ſtill extant, under the name of *Oratio pro rege Deiotaro*.

(7) L. xxv. c. 2. (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Idem, l.* xxvii. *c.* 2. (10) 2 *Maccab.* viii. 20.
(11) *Juſtin, ubi ſupra. Polyæn. l.* iv. *c.* 19.

Carni (H), but, to facilitate the ſending of troops from *Italy* thither, he made ſome excellent roads between them, which before were almoſt impaſſable [t], and was likewiſe honoured with a triumph. a

The ſacred treaſure of Thouloufe *plundered. Year of the flood* 2898. *before Chriſt* 101.

IN the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, taking the alarm at theſe ſucceſſes, took up arms againſt them, and gave them ſeveral conſiderable overthrows, in one of which the *Tigurini* (I), having ſurpriſed them, made them, and their general *Popilius*, paſs under the yoke [u]. The *Cimbri*, in particular, had retaken ſome parts of *Gaul* from the *Romans*, and, in particular, the famed city of *Tholouſe*; upon which, *Cepio* marching his army to retake it, it opened its gates to him; notwithſtanding which, he not only gave it up to be plundered by them, but carried off all that vaſt treaſure that had been conſecrated there by the *Gauls*, and of which we have lately given an account, to the amount of 100000 pounds weight of gold, and the ſame of ſilver, even according to the moſt moderate accounts of it; and, in ſpite of his treachery, avarice, and ſacrilege, was continued proconſul of the *Narbonneſe Gaul*. This vile action ſo exaſperated the *Gauls*, that they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, taking the advantage of the ſquabble that was between the general and his collegue *Manlius*, they fell upon them ſo furiouſly, that they gave them ſuch an overthrow as they had ſcarcely ever met with, killed 80000 men, beſides 40000 ſervants and ſutlers, in one day; only ten men, of their whole army, eſcaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave *Sertorius*, who ſaved himſelf by ſwimming over the *Rhine*. The *Gauls*, who, according to cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, had devoted all the ſpoil, threw all the ſilver and gold into the *Rhoſne*, drowned all the horſes, and murdered all the priſoners they had taken. What conſternation this loſs threw the city of *Rome* into, and what puniſhment was inflicted on the ſacrilegious *Cepio*, we have elſewhere ſhewn [w]. As to the victorious allies, they held a general council, whether to march immediately into *Italy*, or reduce thoſe provinces which the *Romans* held in *Gaul*: they agreed, however, to conſult the brave *Æmilius Scaurus*, whom they had taken priſoner in a preceding action, and who, *Roman* like, ſtrove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic, but was, for his bold ſpeech, ſtabbed to death by *Boiorix*, king of the *Cimbri*. b c

THE *Roman* ſenate, expecting nothing leſs than a freſh irruption of the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, thought fit to recal *Marius* from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt *Jugurtha*; and, having honoured him with a triumph for it, appointed him general againſt the enemy, and *Sylla* to ſerve under him. They both ſet out accordingly, and *Sylla* gained ſeveral advantages againſt the *Tectoſagi*, and took *Copillus*, one of their kings, priſoner, whilſt *Marius* reſolved not to engage ſuch a numerous army as appeared againſt him, till he had received ſufficient reinforcements to his own. In the mean time, the *Marſi*, another people of *Germany*, had joined the *Cimbri*, with a deſign to enter *Italy* with them, and *Sylla* was ſent to oppoſe them; but he, inſtead of engaging them, found means to gain the former over to the *Roman* intereſt. The *Cimbri*, enraged at this, ceaſed not to infeſt the *Roman* general till they forced him to remove to *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix* in *Provence*, and in his way was briſkly attacked by the brave *Ambrones*, now the canton of *Bern*, to whoſe valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave *Cepio* and his collegue. They fought with the utmoſt fury and intrepidity, indeed, but wanted diſcipline; ſo that, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of ſuch regular troops as they engaged, ſo dreadful a ſlaughter was made of them, that the next river ran ſtained with their blood. Here the *Ambronian* women did likewiſe ſignalize themſelves, ran with their axes againſt the purſuing *Romans*, and made a ſtout oppoſition. But being at length overpowered, and offering to ſurrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied them by the enemy (K), they murdered all their children, and themſelves; ſo that not one of them was found alive [x]. d e f

AFTER

[t] See before, vol. v. p. 10.

[u] Ibid. p. 12, & ſeq. p. 19, d, e.

[w] Ibid. p. 27—29, & [I].

[x] Ibid. p. 35, c, d, e.

(H) Theſe inhabited part of *Noricum*, and the name of the latter is ſtill retained in the province of *Carniola*.

(I) The two former are only different names for the *Germans*, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter; as to the *Tigurini*, they inhabited that part of *Switzerland* called *Zurich*.

(K) Theſe conditions were, as we hinted in a former ſection, that their honour ſhould be preſerved; that they ſhould not be ſold into ſlavery; and that they ſhould be employed in the ſervice of the veſtals. Theſe conditions being denied, they would have contented themſelves with the firſt; but that being inhumanly refuſed, their love of chaſtity made them prefer

a AFTER this defeat, the *Gauls* ſeem to have been quiet for ſome time, whether too much ſuppreſſed by the *Romans*, or that they left it to the *Germans* to harraſs them, as they in fact did, and gave the conſul much trouble, though to very little effect, they being conſtantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, ſoon after, with a more dreadful enemy in *Sylla*, and *Rome* was ſo rent, and in ſuch conſternation, on account of thoſe two factions, as we have ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory, that they rather ſought the friendſhip of the *Gauls*, than their reduction. But *Sylla* found means, by his addreſs, to draw them to his ſide[y]. Hence it is likely, that he ſuffered them to live in peace, during the whole time of his dictatorſhip; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for ſome ſpace after his death, though the ſcene of war was by this time removed into *Spain* and *Portugal* b by *Sertorius*, and where he had very great ſucceſs againſt *Pompey*, who was ſent againſt him. This war was no ſooner ended there, than a new one began in the heart of *Italy* under *Spartacus*, who was at the head of an army conſiſting chiefly of *Gauliſh* ſlaves, and whom he deſigned, after ſome notable ſucceſſes againſt the two conſuls, to have led back over the *Alps* into their own country. But this they ſtifly refuſed, and were ſoon after totally defeated by *Craſſus*, who was ſent againſt them, and *Spartacus* himſelf ſlain, after having fought with incredible bravery, and ſacrificed heaps of *Romans* round about him: 40000 of the *Gauls* were killed on the ſpot, the reſt fled into *Luſitania*, where they were ſoon after cut off by *Pompey*[a]. Whether c the *Tranſalpine Gauls* had any hand in this rebellion, doth not appear. In that famed conſpiracy of *Catiline* they were indeed invited into it by ſome of his partiſans, in hopes of drawing ſome conſiderable helps from thence; but the embaſſadors of the *Allobroges* (L), then at *Rome*, who had been alſo tampered with, made ſuch a full diſcovery of the whole deſign to their protector *Q. Fab. Sanga*, and he to the conſuls, that it was happily prevented and diſconcerted[b].

Gauliſh ſlaves defeated.

FROM all this it ſeems, as if the *Gauls* had lived all this long while in quiet and good friendſhip with *Rome*, whatever feuds there might be among them in the heart of their country: the *Helvetii* were they which kindled that freſh war which brought *Cæſar* over the *Alps*, and ended in the conqueſt of that brave and warlike d nation. *Orgetorix* was the firſt cauſe of it, who, whether through want of room, or a deſire to exchange his inclement country for a better, or for ſome other cauſe not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a vaſt number of his countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in ſearch of new conqueſts. *Julius Cæſar*, to whoſe lot the whole country of *Gaul* was fallen, made ſuch haſte to come and ſuppreſs them, that he was got to the *Rhoſne* in eight days, broke down the bridge of *Geneva*, and, in a few days more, finiſhed the famed wall between that city and mount *Jura*, now St. *Claude*, which extended ſeventeen miles in length, was ſixteen feet high, fortified with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (M). Whilſt this was doing, and the reinforcements he e wanted were coming, he amuſed the *Helvetii*, who had ſent to demand a paſſage through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had got his reinforcements, and then flatly refuſed it to them; whereupon a dreadful battle enſued, in which they loſt 130,000 men, in ſpite of all their valour, beſides a number of priſoners, among whom was the wife and daughter of *Orgetorix*, the leader of this unfortunate expedition; the reſt ſubmitted, and begged they might be permitted to go and ſettle among the *Ædui*, from whom they originally ſprung; and, at the requeſt of theſe laſt, were permitted to go (N). This action and victory, joined to the policy and

Cæſar's ſwift entrance into Gaul.

His ſucceſs.

[y] Ibid. p. 46—71. [z] Ibid. p. 85—96. [a] Ibid. p. 97, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 106, b—d.

prefer ſuch an honourable death, as could not but caſt a more ſhameful brand on thoſe who ſtyled them barbarians, and yet uſed ſuch brave matrons in ſo inhuman a manner (12).

(L) Theſe inhabited the regions at the foot of the *Alps*, known now by the names of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, and *Piedmont*.

(M) If his own account of it may be relied upon (13), he did not ſet out till the beginning of *April*, and yet this huge work was finiſhed by the ides or 13th of the month: ſo that ſubtracting the eight days he was a coming, it muſt have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! conſidering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had given him a helping hand.

(N) The *Ædui* were ſituate between the rivers *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Saone*, and were the only allies *Cæſar* then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they had promiſed

(12) *Vide Plutarch. in Mario. Valer. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 1. *Frontin. ſtratag. l.* iv. & v. (13) *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 1, & *ſeq.*

and incredible diſpatch with which *Cæſar* had carried it againſt them, gained him ſuch reputation, and, at the ſame time, ſtruck the *Gauls* with ſuch a dread, that they ſtrove who ſhould pay him the firſt homage and congratulations, and procure his friendſhip. So that we may look upon it as the baſis of all his glory and conqueſts in this country. a

We formerly took notice of the ſad divided ſtate he found them in at his firſt coming amongſt them, their vaſt variety of governments, their jealouſy over each other, the overgrown power of ſome, and the reduction of others into a ſtate of dependence next to ſlavery: *Cæſar*, who knew beſt how to make the moſt of theſe inteſtine broils, ſoon became the protector of the oppreſſed, a terror to the oppreſſor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among thoſe who applied to him for help, were his allies the *Ædui*, againſt whom *Arioviſtus*, king of the *Germans*, joined with the *Arverni* (O), in their late wars, had taken the country of the *Sequani* from them, and obliged them to ſend hoſtages to him. *Cæſar* forthwith ſent to demand the reſtitution of both, and, in an interview which he ſoon after obtained of that haughty and treacherous prince, was like to have fallen a ſacrifice to his perfidy; upon which, he bent his whole power againſt him, forced him, againſt his will (P), out of his ſtrong intrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. *Arioviſtus* eſcaped, with difficulty, over the *Rhine*; but his two wives and a daughter, with a great number of *Germans* of diſtinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. *Cæſar*, after this ſignal victory, put his army into winter-quarters, whilſt he went over the *Alps* to make the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign [c]. By this time, all the *Belgæ* in general were ſo terrified at his ſucceſs, that they entered into a confederacy againſt the *Romans*, as their common enemy, of which *Labienus*, who had been left in *Gaul*, ſent him word; upon which, he immediately left *Rome*, and made ſuch diſpatch, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival, the *Rhemi* ſubmitted to him, but the reſt, appointing *Galba*, king of the *Sueſſones*, general of all their forces, which amounted to 150,000 men, marched directly againſt him. *Cæſar*, who had ſeized on the bridge of the *Axona*, now *Aiſne*, led his light horſe and infantry over it, and, whilſt the others were incumbered in croſſing that river, made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of them, that the river was filled with their dead, inſomuch, that their bodies ſerved for a bridge to thoſe who eſcaped. This new victory ſtruck ſuch terror into the reſt, that they diſperſed themſelves; immediately after which, the *Sueſſones*, *Bellovaci*, *Ambiones*, and ſome others, ſubmitted to him. The *Nervii*, indeed, joined with the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui* againſt him, and, having firſt ſecured their wives and children, made a ſtout reſiſtance for ſome time, but were, at length, defeated, and the greateſt part of them ſlain; the reſt, with their wives and old men, ſurrendered themſelves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns, as formerly. The *Aduatici* were next ſubdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (Q), were ſold for ſlaves, to the number of

Arioviſtus *defeated.*

The Belgæ *ſubdued.*

b

c

d

[c] Comment. l. i. c. 1, & ſeq. See before, vol. v. p. 117, & ſeq.

promiſed to ſupply him with corn, but made ſo many delays, that he began to ſuſpect their fidelity, and to find himſelf in great diſtreſs for want of it. *Divitiacus*, one of the lords of it, was then in his army, with *Liſcus*, one of their magiſtrates: *Cæſar* examined them both about it ſeparately, and the latter told him, that *Dumnorix*, the younger brother of *Divitiacus*, deſigning to ſeize upon the ſupreme power, had allied with the *Helvetii*, and ſent that corn to them, which ſhould have been conveyed to him. *Divitiacus* confirmed what *Liſcus* had ſaid, but without naming his brother; and when *Cæſar* would have puniſhed him for his perfidy, generouſly interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (14).

(O) The *Arverni* were ſeated on the *Loire*, and were ſo called from their metropolis, *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of the *Guiennois*. They were once the moſt powerful people of the *Gauls*, their territories are ſaid to have reached from the ocean to the *Rhine*, on one ſide, and the *Pyrenees*, on the other (15).

The *Sequani* were neighbours to the *Ædui*, and inhabited that part of *Gallia Belgica* called *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*.

(P) *Cæſar*, who loſt no advantage he could get on an enemy, had intelligence that ſome *German* propheteſſes, and ſuch were in high eſteem among them, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a ſuperſtitious notion common among them and all the *Gauls*; and this it was made him ſo eager, and *Arioviſtus* ſo averſe, to come to blows before that time.

(Q) Theſe were the remains of thoſe *Cimbri* whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*, and had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage. They made a ſham ſubmiſſion to *Cæſar*, and ſurrendered their arms to him, but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell foul on the *Romans* in the night: upon which, he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves (16).

(14) *Ibid. Vide ſupra. vol.* v. *p.* 117, *d, e.* (15) *Strabo, l.* iv. (16) *Comm. l.* ii. *c.* 1, *& ſeq.*

a of 50000. Young *Craſſus*, the ſon of the *triumvir*, ſubdued likewiſe ſeven other nations, and took poſſeſſion of their cities; which not only completed the conqueſt of the *Belgæ*, but brought ſeveral nations from beyond the *Rhine* to ſubmit to the conqueror. The *Veneti*, or antient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Britany*, who had been likewiſe obliged to ſend hoſtages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations, by ſea and land, to recover their liberty. *Cæſar*, then in *Illyricum*, was forced to equip a fleet on the *Loire*, and, having given the command of it to *Brutus*, he went and defeated them by land, as *Brutus* did by ſea; and, having put their chief men to death, ſold the reſt for ſlaves. The *Unelli*, with *Veridorix*, their chief, together with the *Lexovii* and *Aulerci*, were, about the ſame time, ſubb dued by *Sabinus*, and the *Aquitani* by *Craſſus*, with the loſs of 30,000 men. There remained nothing but the countries of the *Morini* and *Menapii* (R) to be conquered, of all *Gaul*. *Cæſar* marched himſelf againſt them, but found them ſo well intrenched in their inacceſſible fortreſſes, that he contented himſelf with burning and ravaging their country; and, having put his troops into winter-quarters, paſſed again over the *Alps*, to give a more watchful eye over ſome of his rivals there[d]; but he was ſoon after obliged to come and defend his *Gauliſh* conqueſts againſt ſome nations of the *Germans*, who were coming to ſettle there, to the number of 400,000, and whom he totally defeated, and then reſolved to carry his conquering arms into *Germany*. As this laid the foundation for that bloody war which he afterwards carried againſt them, it will be more properly ſeen in the ſubſequent chapters, as c well as his ſeveral expeditions into this iſle in that which immediately follows, and to which we ſhall refer our readers.

Veneti *ſubdued.*

UPON his return into *Gaul*, he found it labouring under a great famine, which had cauſed a kind of univerſal revolt. *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, who were left in the country of the *Eburones*, now *Liege*, were betrayed into an ambuſh by *Ambiorix*, one of their chiefs, and had moſt of their men cut off. The *Aduatici* were fallen upon *Q. Cicero*, who was left there with one legion, and had reduced him to great ſtreights: at the the ſame *Labienus*, with his legion, was attacked by *Indutiomarus*, at the head of the *Rheni* and *Senones*: but had better luck than the reſt, and, by d one bold ſally upon them, put them to flight, and killed their general. *Cæſar* acquired no ſmall credit by quelling all theſe revolts, but each victory loſt the lives of ſo many of his troops, that he was forced to have recourſe to *Pompey* for a freſh ſupply, who readily granted him two of his own legions to ſecure his *Gauliſh* conqueſts[e].

BUT it was not long before they, ever reſtleſs under a foreign yoke, raiſed up a new revolt, and obliged him to return thither. His fear, leſt *Pompey* ſhould gain the affections of the *Roman* people, had obliged him to ſtrip the *Gauls* of their gold and ſilver, to bribe them over to his intereſt; and this gave no ſmall handle to theſe frequent revolts which happened during his abſence. He did, however, ſoon e reduce the *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii*, and *Treviri*, the laſt of which had raiſed the revolt, under the command of *Ambiorix*; but he ſoon found the flame ſpread much farther, even to the greateſt part of the *Gauls*, who had choſen the brave *Vercingetorix* their generaliſſimo. *Cæſar* was forced to leave *Inſubria*, whither he had retired to watch the motions of *Pompey*, and, in the midſt of winter and ſnow, repaſs the *Alps*, into the province of *Narbonne*, where he gathered all his ſcattered troops with all poſſible ſpeed, and, in ſpite of the hard weather, beſieged and took *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*; and defeated *Vercingetorix*, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the ſtrongeſt in *Gaul*, and which had a gariſon of 40000 men, of whom he made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter, f that hardly 800 eſcaped. Whilſt he was beſieging *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, he was informed that the *Nitiobriges*, or *Agenois*, were in arms and that the *Ædui* were ſending to *Vercingetorix* 10000 men, which they were to have ſent to reinforce him. Upon this news, he left *Fabius* to carry on the ſiege, and marched againſt the *Ædui*. Theſe, upon his approach, ſubmitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but ſoon after that the whole nation roſe up in arms, and murdered all the

Cæſar *repaſſes into* Gaul.

Italian

[d] Ibid. p. 119, 121.

[e] Ibid. 122—124.

(R) Theſe are the territories, now called *Ferouennes*, *Cleves*, *Gelder*, and *Juliers*. Thoſe of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* are now the *Eureaux* and *Liſieux*. As to the *Unelli*, their abode is differently gueſſed at, but without any certainty.

Italian troops in their capital. *Cæſar*, at this, was in great ſtreights what meaſures a to take, but reſolved at length, to raiſe the ſiege of *Gergovia*, and at once attack the enemy's camp, which he did with ſome ſucceſs; but when he thought to have gone to *Noviodunum*, or *Noyons*, where his baggage, military cheſt, &c. were left, he heard that the *Ædui* had carried it off, and burnt the place. *Labienus*, juſtly thinking that *Cæſar* would want his aſſiſtance in the condition he now was, went to join him, and in his way defeated a *Gauliſh* general, named *Camulogena*, who came to oppoſe his march; but this did not hinder the revolt from ſpreading itſelf all over *Celtic Gaul*, whither *Vercingetorix* had ſent for freſh ſupplies, and, in the mean time, attacked *Cæſar*, but was defeated, and forced to retire to *Aleſia*, a ſtrong place, now *Aliſe* in *Burgundy*, as is ſuppoſed. Hither *Cæſar* haſtened, and beſieged b him, and, having drawn a double circumvallation, with a deſign to ſtarve him in it, as he was likely to have done, upon that account refuſed all offers of a ſurrender from him. At length, the long-expected reinforcement came, conſiſting of 160000 men, under four generals: theſe made ſeveral fruitleſs attacks on *Cæſar*'s trenches, but were defeated in three ſeveral battles, which, at length, obliged *Vercingetorix* to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Cæſar* uſed all his priſoners with great ſeverity, except the *Ædui* and *Arverni*, by whoſe means he hoped to gain their nations, which were the two moſt potent of *Celtic Gaul*, as he actually did; for both of them ſubmitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he ſpent the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one c of the hardeſt he ever had, ſo he gained more glory by it than any *Roman* general had done before [f]; yet could not all this procure him from the ſervile ſenate, now wholly dedicated to his rival, a prolongation of his proconſulſhip; upon which, he is reported to have laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, that that ſhould do it [g]. He was as good as his word, and the *Gauls*, upon their former ill ſucceſs, reſolving to have as many ſeparate armies as provinces, in order to embarraſs him the more, *Cæſar* and his generals, *Labienus* and *Fabius*, were forced to fight them one after another, which they did, however, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, notwithſtanding the hardneſs of the ſeaſon, they ſubdued the *Bituriges*, *Carnuti*, *Rhemi*, and the *Bellovaci*, with their general *Correus*, by which he at once quieted all the *Belgic* d provinces bordering on *Celtic Gaul*. The next who followed were the *Treviri*, the *Eburones*, and the *Andes*, under their general *Dunmarus*. The laſt place which held out againſt him was *Uxellodunum*, which was defended by the two laſt acting generals of the *Gauls*, *Drapes* the *Sennonian*, and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*. The place being ſtrong, and well garriſoned, *Cæſar* was obliged to march thither from the furtheſt part of *Belgic Gaul*, and ſoon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he cauſed the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms, to be cut off, to deter the reſt from revolting afreſh. Thus was the conqueſt of *Gaul* finiſhed from the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* to the *Rhine*, all which vaſt tract was now reduced to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor. The ſum of all the provinces, cities, and pri- e ſoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and *Plutarch*, the reader may ſee in the *Roman* hiſtory above quoted [h].

Suppreſſes the revolted Gauls.

Reduces it into a Roman *province.*

Thus ended, in a great meaſure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their ſingular valour, as *Tacitus* obſerves, in the life of *Agricola*. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, we are told [i], were permitted to remain free; ſuch as the *Nervii*, *Ulbaneſes*, *Sueſſones*, and *Leuci*; and others retained the title of confederates to *Rome*, *viz.* the *Ædui*, *Lingones*, *Rhemi*, and *Carnutes*: as to the reſt, who were reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, we may gueſs at their miſerable condition, by what *Critognatus* the *Arvernian*, as quoted by *Cæſar* [k], tells us of it. "If, ſays he, you would know after what manner diſtant nations f "are uſed by the *Romans*, you need but look at our neighbouring *Gaul*, now re- "duced into a province, which having its laws and cuſtoms changed, and being "brought under the power of the axes, is oppreſſed with perpetual ſlavery." To underſtand rightly the difference of theſe three conditions, or, more properly, degrees of ſlavery; the firſt was, the having a number of ſoldiers quartered upon them, to keep

[f] Ibid. 126, & ſeq. [g] Cicer. ad Attic. l. v. epiſt. 15, & ſeq. Vide & Plutarch. in Cicer. & Cæſar. Vol v. p. 123, a, b. [i] Plin. hiſt. l. iv. c. 11. [k] Comment. l. vii.

keep them in awe (S); the next was, when the province was laid under tribute, in
a which caſe they were compelled to endure a vaſt number of tax-gatherers, which, like ſo many leaches, or harpyes, ſucked out the very vitals of the country (T). The third was, when they were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magiſtrates, but had governors ſet over them, with full power and authority *(cum imperio & ſecuribus)* over their lives and eſtates, and ſent to them from *Rome*. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they ſo often revolted; for, as *Tacitus* himſelf obſerves, in the reign of *Tiberius*, the continuance of thoſe taxes, the extortions of uſurers, and inſolence of the ſoldiers, were become ſo intolerable, that it drove the *Gauliſh* cities into a freſh rebellion. And *Suetonius*, in
b the life of *Nero*, tells us, that the world, having for near thirteen years groaned under his tyranny, did at length ſhake it off, the *Gauls* ſetting the firſt example to all the reſt.

Gaul was ſoon after divided into ſixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the margin (V), each of which groaned now, more or leſs, under the *Roman* tyranny, according as they were, more or leſs, favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors ſent thither to rule them. However, neither under *Cæſar*, whilſt he lived, nor even under his ſucceſſor *Auguſtus*, do we read of any conſiderable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a cenſus, which is the firſt we read of made out of *Italy*, and which
c could not but be galling to them, they ſeem to have ſubmitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when *Druſus* was ſent thither to ſtop the incurſions which the *Germans* were frequently making upon them (W), and had there begun a ſecond, and perhaps a more ſtrict one, taking a particular account of each perſon's eſtate, in order to tax them according to it; they then began to expreſs an univerſal diſcontent, and an inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. *Druſus*, however, without ſeeming to ſuſpect any thing like it of them, ſummoned all the *Gauliſh* chiefs to aſſiſt at the conſecration of the temple, which the *Lugdunenſes* had built in honour of *Julius Cæſar*, and, upon their coming, behaved with ſuch addreſs and complaiſance to them, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to
d *Auguſtus*, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty *Gauliſh* nations, it ſeems, contributed to the rearing and adorning of this magnificent altar, which was conſecrated on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, and games were, at the ſame time, inſtituted, in honour of this new kind of deity, not unlike the *Iſthmians* and *Nemeans* of *Greece*[1].

Gallia *divided into* 16 *provinces.*

Year of the flood 2977, *before* Chriſt 22.

THIS

[1] Vide STRABO, l. iv. SUETON. in Auguſt. LIVY, &c. & ſupra, vol. v. p. 319.

(S) In which caſe, if theſe provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it ſeems, no great armies quartered in them, ſince *Joſephus* tells us (17). that, in *Titus*'s time, they had no more than 1200 ſoldiers in gariſon in all *Gaul*. although, adds he, they had fought for their liberty againſt the *Romans* above 800 years, and had near as many cities as theſe had then ſoldiers there.

(T) We are told, accordingly, that, after *Julius Cæſar* had finiſhed the conqueſt of *Gaul*, he laid it under a tax, or tribute of HS. *quadringenties* (18), that is, about a million of *Engliſh* crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in ſubſequent reigns, may be eaſily gueſſed, by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints againſt thoſe extortions and oppreſſions, ſome inſtances of which we ſhall have occaſion to mention by-and-by.

(V) *Viennenſis, Narbonenſis prima, Narbonenſis ſecunda, Aquitania prima & ſecunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritimæ, Belgica prima & ſecunda, Germania prima & ſecunda, Lugdunenſis prima, ſecunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Græcæ*; of all which the reader may ſee a further account in the authors hereunder quoted (19).

This diviſion, however, was not made by *Julius Cæſar*, ſince we find it ſtill under the three diſtinctions in which he left them, when *Auguſtus* cauſed the firſt cenſus to be made in it (20); but was begun towards the latter end of this laſt's reign, and finiſhed by ſome of his ſucceſſors.

(W) It is hardly to be doubted, but the *Gauls*, who did ſo grievouſly brook the plundering and inſolences of the *Romans*, and found themſelves too weak now to make head againſt them, did, by ſome private means, either invite the *Germans* as friends, or hire them as auxiliaries to their aſſiſtance; and this ſeems to have been the firſt beginning of the colonies of the *Franks*. For thoſe *Germans*, whether defeated by the *Romans*, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to ſettle on the borders of *Gallia*. For we are told, that *Auguſtus* tranſplanted the *Suevi* and *Sicambri*, who ſubmitted to him, into *Gallia*, and aſſigned them lands along the *Rhine* (21). And of *Tiberius* we read, that he brought 40000 of thoſe that ſurrendered themſelves, in the *German* war, over into *Gallia*, and ſettled them on the banks of the *Rhine* (22).

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor *Probus*, in whoſe reign above ſixty cities had revolted from the *Romans*, and made a bold puſh for the recovery of their liberty. This prince ſays he (23), marched with a vaſt army into *Gaul*, which,

(17) *Antiq. l.* ii. (18) *Eutrop. l.* vi. (19) *Anton. itiner. S. Ruf. Ammian. Marcel. l.* xv. (20) *See before, vol.* v. *p.* 298, *f.* (21) *Sueton. in vit. Aug.* (22) *Idem in Tiber.* (23) *Vopiſc. in vit. Prob. Hottoman. Francogal. c.* 3.

This fulsome flattery to that monarch, which might, probably, be owing to the presence of *Drusus*, did not, however, divert them long from their favourite view of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune should favour them with a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, seem, upon this occasion, to have exerted themselves to cherish that noble design in them, to prevent any further defection from their antient religion; and hence, most likely, arose those frequent revolts, as well as threatening edicts, that came out against them in the succeeding reigns, and of which we have had occasion to speak in a former section: however that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries, which they underwent under *Caligula*[m], were of themselves sufficient to have spirited up a less warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their design, and under the next they either enjoyed more respite, or, which is as likely, were more narrowly observed. But in that of *Nero*, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave and noble *Julius Vindex* (X), at that time governor of *Celtic Gaul*, declared his resolution to free his country from slavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As soon as his design was known, the *Gauls*, harrassed and reduced to beggary by intolerable imposts, flocked to him from all parts to assist him in it; so that, though he had no *Romans* under his command, yet he soon saw himself at the head of 100000 armed men. When *Nero* heard the news of this revolt, he appeared quite glad at it, as it would afford him occasion for fresh extortions and cruelties. What he seemed most affected with was, that *Vindex*, in some of his edicts against him, among other contemptuous language he had given him, did call him a bungling harper; so that, instead of making proper preparations to oppose him, he only strove to display his skill in music, to wipe off the scandal, as he thought it, that was thrown upon him. But when messengers came to him thick and threefold, and acquainted him with the progress *Vindex* had made in *Gaul*, and with *Galba*'s revolt in *Spain*, he left *Naples*, in a fright, and repaired to *Rome*: however, a frivolous, but lucky omen, as he imagined it, having dispelled his fears, he returned again to his musical amusement, without taking one step to suppress either revolt. We shall not need repeat here the unworthy behavior, and dreadful end, of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume[n]: all that needs be recapitulated here concerning the ill success of our *Gallish* general is, that his army, having been surprised by that of *Rufus Virginius*, who was marched against him, whether by treachery or accident, is not agreed, the *Gauls* were defeated, with the loss of 22000, who were killed on the spot; upon which, *Vindex*, in a fit of rage and despair, laid violent hands upon himself, and the rest dispersed themselves for want of a leader. *Galba* had much better success, and was soon after raised to the empire[o]; but the *Gauls* were so heavily oppressed by him, and so loaded with taxes, that they dared not undertake any thing against him. In the great struggle between his two successors, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, though they heartily hated them both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by *Fabius Valens*, who, in his march through their territories towards *Italy*, whither he was leading a gallant army, committed the greatest plunders and extortions. This threw the nation into such a terror, that every province and city sent their embassadors to meet him, and bribe him with large presents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (Y).

Vindex's revolt in Gaul.

His ill success and death.

They

[m] See vol. v. p. 475, b, c. [n] Ibid. p. 569, & seq. [o] Ibid. p. 573, & seq.

which, after *Posthumius*'s death, was all in commotion, and, when *Aurelian* was killed, was, in a manner, possessed by the *Germans*. There he gained so many victories, that he recovered from the barbarians sixty of the most noble cities of *Gallia*; and whereas they had overspread all *Gaul* without controul, he slew near 400000 of those who had seated themselves within the *Roman* territories, and transplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers *Neckar* and *Elb*: but of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the subsequent chapters.

(X) He was descended from the antient kings of *Aquitain*, and bore a natural aversion to all tyrants. Upon his first resolution of revolting, he sent to persuade *Galba*, then in *Spain*, to do the same, who neither followed his advice, nor betrayed his design, though some other governors, to whom he wrote on the same subject, sent his letters to *Nero*: but *Galba*, upon receiving a second letter from him, actually raised a revolt there (24).

(Y) Amongst those that suffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of *Vienne*, against which that of *Lyons* had instigated him, as having aided the late noble *Vindex* in his revolt. They were therefore forced to buy their pardon from him by an immense sum, besides a donative of 300 sesterces, the surrender of all their arms, and furnishing his army with provisions.

(24) *Plutarch. in Galb. Dio, l.* lxiii. *Sueton. in Ner. Tacit. l.* i. *c.* 16.

a THEY did, however, recover themſelves ſo far, notwithſtanding all theſe oppreſſions, as to make ſeveral bold puſhes for their liberty, eſpecially in the reign of *Veſpaſian*. We have given an account of it in a former volume [p], as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to clap up with them, rather than to exaſperate them to turn their arms againſt him at that juncture [q]. In *Adrian*'s time this province was viſited by that emperor in his progreſs through the empire, and as it had been greatly oppreſſed and impoveriſhed during the former reigns, he left, wherever he paſſed through it, ſome tokens of his pity and munificence to that nation, and built ſome ſtately edifices there, eſpecially a ſumptuous palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s widow. He forgot not, at the ſame time, to repair all the *Roman*
b towns and fortreſſes in that country, to keep them in ſubjection [r], as it actually did, no conſiderable revolt happening during his and ſome of the ſucceeding reigns. All this while they ſeem to have made no inconſiderable figure, or bore a ſmall ſway, ſince, in that famous conteſt between *Severus* and his competitors, the *Gauls* having firſt ſaluted him emperor, their example was followed by almoſt all the provinces in *Europe*, and he was every-where acknowledged and received with the loudeſt acclamations [s]. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at leaſt to the chriſtians in this country, having raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt them, inſtigated thereto by his favourite *Plautianus*, who took occaſion of a ſoldier's refuſing to wear a crown as a donative, to ſeize on the eſtates of all the chriſtians of rank and quality, and to
c put a great number of them to death, and amongſt them *Ireneus*, the worthy biſhop of *Lyons* [t]. *Gaul* was again made the ſcene of war, in the famed conteſt between *Gallienus* and *Poſthumius*, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the *Germans*, under which it had groaned for ſome time, and for which he had been acknowledged emperor both there, and in *Spain* and *Britain*, of which we have already given a full account in the *Roman* hiſtory [u]. The latter having been murdered by his ſoldiers, for debarring them from the plundering of *Mentz* [w], *Lollianus* got himſelf proclaimed emperor of that part of it which borders upon the *Rhine*; whilſt *Victorinus*, whom *Poſthumius* had taken for his collegue, governed over the reſt. Both theſe being ſoon after murdered, as we have there related, and
d the ſon of the latter, then an infant, being named his ſucceſſor, the *Gauls* murdered him likewiſe, and ſet up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and ſtrength; but he being likewiſe run through by a ſoldier, who had been formerly his journeyman, and with a ſword, as himſelf told him, of his own making, *P. Piveſus*, or *Peſuvius Tetricus*, a man of ſenatorial and conſular dignity, was proclaimed in all this province, and ſoon after acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*. *Tetricus* did not long enjoy his dignity, before the conſtant jars and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor *Aurelian*, who had reſtored peace in all other parts of the empire, and was marching to reunite *Gaul* and *Britain* to it, made him wiſh to
e be fairly rid of it. There is even ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that he invited him into *Gaul*; and though he made a faint oppoſition againſt him at the battle of *Chalons*, yet, upon the firſt onſet, he yielded himſelf to that emperor; ſo that the *Gauliſh* troops, for want of a leader, were intirely cut off, and this province again reduced to its former obedience [x]. This action quite completed the conqueſt of *Gaul*, and *Tetricus*, whether to cover his treachery in abandoning his troops, or becauſe he did not make his ſubmiſſion ſoon enough, was led in triumph by that emperor; but was ſoon after advanced, and loaded with honours and titles by him, as we have formerly ſeen [y]. In *Conſtantine*'s time, who is ſuppoſed to have been the perſon who firſt divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of
f provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceſes, and each of theſe four parts put under

Chriſtians in Gaul *perſecuted.*

[p] See vol. v. p. 641, & ſeq. [q] Ibid. p. 643, b, c. [r] See vol. vi. p. 35, b—d. [s] Ibid. p. 105, paſſ. [t] Ibid. p. 115, b, c, & ſeq. [u] Ibid. p. 176, & ſeq. p. 183, f. [w] Ibid. & ſeq. [x] Ibid. p. 192, d, & ſeq. [y] P. 193, c. p. 194, e.

As he drew nearer the *Alps*, he ordered the city of *Lucus*, a municipal town of the *Vocontii*, now *Dauphiné*, to be ſet on fire, becauſe they expreſſed a backwardneſs to pay him the large ſum he had exacted from them; and thus he went on extorting all the way he paſſed, whilſt *Cæcina* did the ſame among the *Helvetii*, who, not having been appriſed of *Galba*'s death, refuſed to acknowledge *Vitellius*; but, upon their ſubmiſſion, they were at length pardoned by him (25).

(25) *Tacit. c. 60, & ſeq. ſee vol. v. p. 599, & ſeq.*

under the government of a diſtinct *præfectus prætorio*, which was before only under two, *Gaul* being made one of thoſe dioceſes, and had its provinces aſſigned to it; we have already had occaſion to mention them in this chapter, and in a former volume[y]; and ſhall not repeat it here, but only had, that the *Gallic* præfect had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, under him. a

We ſhould now come to the latter part of the *Gauliſh* hiſtory, and give an account of the horrid ravages this country ſince ſuffered from the *Germans*, the *Huns*, eſpecially under *Attila*, under the *Vandals*, and eſpecially under the *Goths*, or *Viſigoths*, and *Burgundi*, who formed themſelves into diſtinct kingdom here, and held them, through a ſeries of princes, till diſpoſſeſſed of them by the *Franks*: but as theſe have already been ſpoken of in the courſe of the *Roman* hiſtory[z], and muſt be b reſumed in that of thoſe northern invaders, in the chapters hereafter following, we ſhall refer our readers to them as they come in courſe, and proceed now to the hiſtory of the antient *Germans*.

CHAP. XII.

The hiſtory of the antient Germans, *to their breaking into the* Roman *empire, invaſion of* Gaul, *and expulſion out of it by the* Franks.

Germans, *their origin.*

IT is univerſally acknowledged, that the farther northward we move from antient *Gaul*, the more we are in the dark about the nations that inhabited the vaſt c regions beyond the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, which, we have ſeen in the laſt chapter, were, in a great meaſure, the limits between the *Gauls* and them. Nothing is more uncertain than their origin, the countries they came from, and the territories they ſettled themſelves in: antient authors[a] commonly confound them under the names of *Celtes*, *Scythians*, and *Celtoſcythians*; and, among them, ſuch a great variety of people are comprehended, that it would be dangerous to apply that to the antient *Germans*, which they write of them under thoſe other names, without ſome concurring circumſtances to confirm it. Yet we may venture to affirm, after no ſmall number of modern[b], and ſome of the antient, writers[c], that they were originally d one and the ſame nation with the *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and both deſcended from the antient *Gomerians*, or deſcendants of *Gomer*, the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*. Only the *Germans* were very much intermixed with the old *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, on that ſide which joined with their territories, and particularly, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, between the two great rivers *Rhine* and *Danube*[d]: and theſe, no doubt, had adopted a great many of their cuſtoms among them, as well as intermingled ſome of their language with their own; but in all other parts of *Germany* we find ſuch an exact conformity in their religion, laws, cuſtoms, and (what may appear ſtill more ſurpriſing to the generality of readers, but has been fully proved by ſome of the modern authors laſt quoted) in their very language[e], as leaves ſcarce any e room to doubt, but that they were deſcended from the ſame antient ſtock with the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and came, by gradual migrations, from *Aſia*, as we have already ſhewn theſe did, both in a former volume, and at the entrance of the laſt chapter[f]. The truth is, as *Pliny* rightly obſerves[g], that the *Germans* were little known to the *Romans*, or, indeed, to any but their very neighbours, till a long time after the coming of *M. Agrippa* into thoſe parts; and many things which even *Tacitus* has written of them, pretendedly from their own relation, are apparently fabulous; ſo that we muſt fetch

y Ibid. p. 270. paſſ. z Ibid. p. 283, 350, 353, & ſeq. 494, e, f. 514, a, & ſeq. a Cæsar. Comment. Tacit. Plin. Strab Justin. ex. Trog. & al. See alſo, vol. ii. p. 241, & ſeq. b Cluver. Bochart. Picag. Pezron. Antiq. Celt. Relig. des Gaul. Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. Calmet. Comment. in Geneſ. & al. c Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Eustat. Antioch. in Hexamer. Hieron. tradit. Hebr. Jos. Ben. Gor. ap. Bochart. Isidor. Orig. Euseb. Cæsar. Chronic. Zonar. & al. d See ch. xi. p. 344, b. c. e Pelloutier. Hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 15. p. 165, & ſeq. Pezron. Antiq. Celt. Keyzler. Antiq. Septentr. paſſ. f See before, vol. ii. p. 253. ſection 1. p. 1, & ſeq. g N. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 28.

a fetch our intelligence from another quarter, even from thoſe moderns who have with indefatigable pains endeavoured to ſtrike light out of darkneſs: among whom, beſides thoſe already mentioned, we may add two celebrated ones, *viz. Rener* and *Maſcov*, whoſe curious diſcoveries, in many points, have added no ſmall evidence to thoſe who had written before them on this head. So that, abating the almoſt unavoidable fondneſs, with which they have all of them endeavoured to give the preference to their own nation, in point of antiquity, into the merit of which it is not our buſineſs to enter, unleſs we could do it with greater certainty than the ſubject will poſſibly admit of, we may venture to follow them as ſure guides in other reſpects. If the evidence ſeems to lean on one ſide more than the other, we ſhould
b conclude it to be on that of the *Gauls*, not only as their origin can be more clearly traced from the antient *Gomerians*, as we have formerly ſeen; but as they are found ſeated in the beſt and nobleſt climate of the two, whilſt the *Germans*, as a younger branch, were, perhaps, forced to ſpread themſelves towards the more northern and inclement parts of *Europe*, till length of time gave them an opportunity of croſſing the *Rhine*, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſouthern provinces, as we have ſeen they did, at the cloſe of the laſt chapter, and ſhall farther ſhew at the ſequel of this.

How this country came to be called *Germany*, and its inhabitants *Germans*, is not eaſy to gueſs; the reader may ſee the various conjectures about its etymon in the following note (A): but it is plain, it was not their original name, but is of a more
c modern date, and ſeems to have had its riſe on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, when the *Condruſi*, *Eburones*, *Cæraſi*, and *Pæmani*, croſſed that river, after the example of ſome others of their countrymen, and went to ſettle in *Gaul*. Theſe, it ſeems, were the firſt to whom the name of *Germans* was given, and which therefore extended no further than the *Rheniſh* ſhore on the *Gallic* ſide, but ſoon after paſſed over to the other, and became common to other nations of the ſame original language and cuſtoms, till at length it became the general name of the whole nation, and the country called, from them, *Germania*, or *Germany* h. But whether it was given to them by the *Gauls* on their coming over to their aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, or by theſe on account of the affinity of their religion and cuſtoms, or, laſtly, whether
d aſſumed by them on their ſettling themſelves among the *Gauls*, and claiming by it a kindred to them, we will not venture to determine. One thing is plain, that it is not of *Dutch* extract; ſo that if they really called themſelves by it, as *Tacitus* ſays they did, it is ſurpriſing it ſhould not have been rather preſerved by them, and handed to us in their own language. If we may be allowed to offer a conjecture as to their primitive and general name, both from what we have obſerved from their original deſcent from the antient *Gomerians* or *Celtes*, and from ſeveral monuments they have left in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, eſpecially towards the north, ſuch as *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and ſuch-like; it is not improbable, that they called themſelves *Cimri*, or *Cymbri*, which is but a harſher pronunciation of the original *Gomerai*:
e for theſe *Cimbri* are allowed to have been an antient, if not the antienteſt, people of *Germany*, and inhabited a very conſiderable part of that country. We have already hinted, that they gave their name to the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, which was a kind of peninſula

Names.

Cimbri *probably the oldeſt inhabitants of* Germany.

h Antiq. Germ. hiſt. Ant. Germ. Engl. by LEDIARD.

(A) It is not eaſy to determine whether this word be of *Celtic* or *Roman* extract; if the latter, it muſt have been given by the *Gauls*, either on account of their nearneſs of kindred to them, or of that frequent aſſiſtance they called upon them for, againſt the domineering *Romans*, of which we have ſpoken in the concluſion of the laſt chapter. *Tacitus*, indeed, thinks they were called ſo by other nations, on account of their ſimilitude of religion, manners, *&c.* with the *Gauls* (1): but though this reſemblance was really true, in fact, yet the etymon itſelf ſeems too far fetched and ſtrained.

The other, which makes it of *Celtic* extract, is, indeed, much more natural, *Ger* and *man*, in that antient tongue, ſignifying a warlike or martial man, as, indeed, it is plain, that the *Germans*, as well as *Gauls*, did highly value themſelves on that account. They were likewiſe known by another name, *viz.* that of *Allemani*, which, though ſuppoſed to have been given them by the *Gauls*, or *French*, becauſe only preſerved by them, who ſtill call them *Alemans*, and their country *Alemanie*, and *Alemagne*, and, as is pretended, on account of their intermixing, after *Maroboduus*'s retreat, with ſtrolers of all nations; yet to us that name appears to be rather of *German* extract, and ſignifies nearly the ſame as *Ger-man*, that is, altogether warlike: and this name may have been carried thither either by thoſe *Germans* who went thither to aſſiſt the *Gauls* againſt the *Romans*, or by thoſe who at length conquered that country, and are better known by the name of *Fra-*

(1) *Mor. Germ. ſub init.*

peninſula extending from the mouth of the river *Elbe* into the north ſea [i]: and if they really were the ſame, as they were antiently ſuppoſed, with the *Cimmerians* that inhabited the countries about the *Palus Mæotis*, and *Poſidonius* ſeems to confirm it, from the great likeneſs of their names [k], they muſt have ſpread themſelves vaſtly along that northern tract. We are, moreover, told, by *Strabo* and *Livy*, that the *Cimbri* alone penetrated into *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, and, about the 640th year of the *Roman* æra, defeated the conſul *Papyrius Carbo* near *Noreia* [l]. Some years after, they ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to deſire the ſenate to aſſign them lands to inhabit in, in conſideration of which they would ſerve them in their future wars. Their ſuit being denied, gave occaſion to a bitter war which they waged againſt them, in conjunction with the *Tigurini*, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak, and which is only hinted here, to ſhew how powerful and numerous they were by this time, and how, probably, they were ſome branch of the old *Gomerai*, and the antienteſt inhabitants of *Germany*. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, their valour, and various fortunes, againſt the *Romans*, *Gauls*, and other nations. As for thoſe who remained in their native country, or returned thither after their defeat, they, in time, joining in their excurſions with the *Saxons*, who likewiſe inhabited ſome parts of the forementioned peninſula, it is ſuppoſed, that they became ſo blended with them, that their name was ſwallowed up in that of *Saxon*, ſo that nothing was retained of it but the denomination of *Cimbrica*, which was ſtill given both to their country, and to the ſea that ſurrounded it. The name of *Allemans* and *Alemans*, ſtill retained by the *French*, we have ſpoken of under the laſt note; that of *Teutones*, from which their preſent one of *Teutſchen*, or *Dutch*, is thought to be derived, is another by which they were antiently known, and is of a much older date than that of *Germans*, but the etymon of which is not eaſily gueſſed at, unleſs we fetch it from the *Celtic Theut*, as we ſhall ſhew further in the ſequel. Theſe, according to *Mela* [m], antiently inhabited the neighbouring coaſts and iſlands of the eaſt, or *Baltic*, ſea; but growing too numerous for thoſe narrow territories, the moſt daring part went, with their wives and families, to ſeek new ſettlements in other countries; but when, and where, is not eaſy to gueſs (B). We ſhall ſee them, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, often joined with the *Cimbri*, *Cimbrones*, and others, and making excurſions into *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, till at length a number of them, who were left to guard the heavy baggage along the *Rhine*, being greatly harraſſed on all ſides, fought their way quite to *Belgic Gaul*, where they ſettled, and became, in time, known by the name of *Atuatici* [n].

Teutones.

Atuatici *in* Belgia.

Thus much ſhall ſuffice for the moſt noted common names of the antient *Germans*. A vaſt variety of others they had, according to their particular tribes, cantons, kingdoms, and commonwealths, which being in a continual fluctuation, as they were continually either warring and joſtling each other out of their habitations, or were joſtled out of them by the *Gauls*, who were frequently throwing in new colonies over the *Rhine*, ſometimes penetrating as far as the *Hercynian* foreſt, at others ſpreading themſelves far and wide, along the ſides of it, and beyond; inſomuch, that, as we obſerved in the laſt chapter, there was ſcarcely a country from that river to the eaſt ſea, or the moſt northern verge, but had ſome of that nation either intermixed with the *Germans*, or ſettled in ſome territories between them; it were labour loſt to endeavour to fix their different abodes, or even to offer any conjectures about them, or of their various governments, laws, and manner of life. They, like the *Gauls*, never committed any thing to writing concerning either that or their own hiſtory, and were ſtill more unknown than they, both to the *Romans* and *Greeks*, even in their very names, till the times that, by intercourſe with, or by their wars againſt, the former, they became, by degrees, more and more known unto them, and their names, countries, and hiſtory, recorded by their writers. In our

[i] Cæs. Comm. l. ii. c. 4. Tacit. Germ. c. 2. See Mascov. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 6. Plutarch. in Mario. [k] Vide [l] Apud Strab. l. vii. [m] Liv. epit. Strabo, l. v. [n] L. iii.

(B) According to one author, they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, having croſſed the *Rhine*, invaded ſome of the *Gauliſh* territories (2); but we have ſeen, a little higher, out of *Livy* and *Strabo*, that the *Cimbri* had long enough before invaded ſome of thoſe provinces, then under the *Roman* yoke, and had ſettled themſelves in them: ſo that it is not eaſy to determine whether this *Teutonic* expedition fell upon *Gaul*, *Italy*, or any ſtill more diſtant regions.

(2) *Vel. Patercul. l.* ii. *c.* 8. *Viae & Cæſar. comment. l.* ii. *c.* 19.

MARE HYPERBOREUM
OR
NORTHERN OCEAN

ANTIENT
GERMANY

EAST
BAL-
TIC

SCANDIA
alias
SCANDINAVIA

SINUS
CODANUS
OR
BALTIC SEA

Cimbrorum Reliquiæ

Teutoni

Teutoni

CHERSONESUS CIMBRICA nov. DENMARC

Mouth of the R. Weser

Mouth of the Ems

MARE SUEVICUM

Sinus Venedicus

Insulæ Electridis

Fosi qui et Saxones

Angli

Varini

Eudoses

Suardones

Lemovii qui et Hermuli

Gothones

Rugii

Rugium

Sidini

Veritium

Burgundiones

Carini

Aviones

Marionis altera

Laciburgum

Chauci sive Cauchi majores

Fabrianum

Reudigni

Langobardi

Amisia Flu.

Flevum Statio Castellum

Frisiabo Flu.

Frisii majores

Frisii

Marsaci

Vatialis

Bructeri

Chamavi

Angrivarii

Tencteri

Marsi

Sicambri qui et

Lupia Flu.

Usipii seu Usipetes

Menapii

Mosa flu.

Toxandri

Ubii

Colonia Agrippina

CATTI

Mattium

Mattiaci

Fontes Mattiaci

Augusta Trevirorum

Treveri

Vangiones

Nemetes

Mediomatrici

Decem Pagi

Argentoratum

Marcomannorum antiqua sedes

Marcomannorum

Sedusii

Narisci

Boiohemum

Novæ sedes

Quadi

Marsingi

Lugii

Logiones

Buri

Harudes

Decuriates agri

Augusta Vindelicorum

Fons Danubii

Brisiacus Mons

Campodunum

Augusta Rauracorum

Juvavia

Noricum

Vindobona

Cetius Mons

Adpontum

Carnuntum

Limes Germaniæ magnæ

Batava Castra

Casurgis

Celemantia

Eburum

Eburodunum

Vistula Flu.

Vistula Flu. terminus Germaniæ

Aestii

Sinus Codanus

Venedi

Venedici Montes

Sciri

Lazyges

Carpates Montes

Alpes Bastarnicæ

Tibiscus Flu.

Hierassus flu. hodie Prut

Clepidava

Tyras Flu. hodie Niester

Vidantavonium

Carrodunum alterum

Cusus flu.

Godini

Vistulani

GERMANIA MAGNA

PARS

PARS

PARS

a our ſettling, therefore, the confines of *Germany*, and of thoſe cantons and territories which each different nation of that vaſt tract of ground poſſeſſed, we ſhall go no further back than the epocha in which they became fully known to them.

The extent and limits of Germany.

We took notice in the preceding chapter, that the *Rhine*, according to the *Roman* authors, divided the antient *Gauls* from the *Germans* on the weſt, and the *Danube* on the ſouth; the *Hercynian* foreſt, at that time reckoned impenetrable, confined them on the north, and the *German* and northern ocean on the north-weſt, and *Scythia* and *Sarmatia* on the eaſt, where they were as much intermixed with thoſe two nations, as they were on the weſt with the *Gauls*, and where it is ſtill more difficult to fix their boundaries, by reaſon of their conſtant fluctuation, and change of

b abode, as they ſo frequently invaded and drove each other out of them.

Of thoſe ſeveral nations which the *Romans* reckoned of *German* extract, we ſhall have the leſs to ſay in this chapter, becauſe we have given as full an account of them as could be extracted out of thoſe antient writers in a former volume, to which we ſhall refer, as we go on, in enumerating them, that the reader may readily find all that can be known of them, and the authorities there referred to for what is ſaid of them. We have already ſpoken of the *Cimbri*, and their neighbours the *Saxons*, who inhabited the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, on the other ſide of the *Elbe*. On this of ſide that river were the *Chauci*, upper and lower, who were divided from each other by the *Viſurges*, now the *Veſer*; their country contained what is now called *Bremen* and *Lu-*

The Chauci.

c *nenburgh*, *Friezland* and *Groninghen*; and the upper had the *Cheruſci*, and the lower the *Chamavi* on the ſouth-eaſt, and the *German* ocean on the north-weſt [o]. The *Friſii*, upper and lower, were divided from the lower *Chauci* by the river *Amiſia*, now *Ems*; and from each other by an arm of the *Rhine* [p]. Their country ſtill retains the name of *Friezland*, and is divided into eaſt and weſt; but the latter of the two is now diſmembered from *Germany*, and is one of the ſeven united provinces: from them were parted by the *Iſela*, now *Iſel*, the country of the *Bructeri*, ſince called *Broekmorland*, and the *Marſi*, ſituate about the river *Luppia*, or *Luppe*, of whom we have alſo formerly given an account [q]. On the other ſide of that river were the *Uſipii*, or *Uſipetes* [r], but theſe were famed for often changing their habitation, and

Friſii.

Bructeri, Marſi *and* Uſipii.

d are therefore found in other territories; the *Tencteri* were next to them, and next to theſe the *Juhones*, or inhabitants of *Juliers*, between the *Maeſe* and the *Rhine*: the *Cotti*, another antient warlike people, who inhabited part of *Heſſe* and *Thuringia*, from the *Hartzian* mountains to the *Rhine* and *Weſer*, and of whom we have formerly ſpoken [s]; among whom were comprehended the *Mattiaci*, whoſe capital was called from them *Mattiacum*, by ſome taken to be *Marpurgh*, and by others *Baden*, on account of its hot waters [t]. Next to them were the *Seduſii*, bordering upon *Swabia*; *Nariſci*, or antient inhabitants of *Northgow*, whoſe capital is the famed city of *Nuremburgh*; and the *Marcomani*, whoſe country antiently reached from the *Rhine* to the head of the *Danube* and to the *Neckar*: here were the famed *Agri de-*

e *cumales*, ſo called, among other reaſons, for their being taxed a tenth part of their produce by the *Romans*. The *Marcomani* afterwards went and ſettled in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, under their general *Maroboduus*, and ſome of them in *Gaul*, whence they drove the *Boii*, who had ſeated themſelves there [u].

On this ſide of the *Rhine*, between that river and the *Moſa*, or *Moeſe*, were the *Ubii*, who were brought over by *Agrippa*. Their metropolis was *Colonia Agrippina*, ſo called from the empreſs of that name, who founded it, and now *Cologn* [w]; and next to them the *Tungri*, which are ſuppoſed to be the ſame whom *Cæſar* calls *Eburones* and *Condruſi*, and whoſe metropolis, then called *Attuatica*, is ſince known by the name of *Tongres* [x]. Higher up from them, and on the other ſide of the *Moſel*,

f were the *Treviri*, whoſe capital was *Auguſta Trevirorum*, now *Triers* (C); next to them

[o] Cæsar. Comm. l. ii. c. 29. [p] See before, vol. v. p. 319, d. 366, (H). [q] Ibid. p. 374, (C). [r] Ibid. p. 33, c. 370, (Q). [s] Ibid. p. 122, (B). 370, (S). [t] Ibid. p. 372, (T). [u] See ibid. p. 373, (W). [w] Ibid. p. 513, (E). [x] Ibid. p. 112, a. 364, (D). 366, a, (F).

(C) As *Germany* came to be divided into *Prima* and *Secunda*, the former being that which was neareſt the *Alps*, the *Treviri* have been ſuppoſed to have belonged to it (3), as they boaſted themſelves of *German* extraction; but this is much queſtioned by others, who rather think, that they, with ſome others who obtained their liberty, and are by *Pliny* (4) called *liberæ civitates*, were excluded from that diviſion

(3) *Bucherius, Belg. Rom. l.* i. *c.* 12. (4) *Nat. Hiſt. l.* iv.

them were the *Tribocci*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*; the former dwelt in *Alsatia*, and their metropolis was called *Argentinæ*, and *Argentoratum*, now *Strasburgh*. The others lived in the cities of *Worms*, *Spire*, and *Moguntia*, now *Mentz*. Those three, besides the *Treviri* mentioned in the last note, made the *Germania prima*; and those below them the *Germania secunda*, and reached as far as the *Maes* and lower *Rhine*, and was divided from *Belgia* by the *Demer* and *Scheld*, which latter has always divided the sees of *Liege* and *Cambray*. The *Mediomatrici* were situate along the *Mosel*, about the city of *Metz* in *Lorrain*; above them, on the same river *Rhine*, were seated the *Raurici*, called also *Rauraci*, and *Rauriaci*, another antient *German* nation, who inhabited that part of *Helvetia*, or *Switzerland*, about *Basil*: their capital was *Rauracum*, or *Augusta Rauracorum* [y]. a b

Vindelici.

Between the heads of the *Rhine* and of the *Danube*, were seated the antient kingdoms of *Vindelicia*, whose capital was called *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Ausburgh* [z]; and below it, along the banks of the same river, those of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, the former of which was divided into *Noricum Ripense* and *Mediterraneum*, and contained a great part of the provinces of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, and some others of less note [a]; and the latter the kingdom of *Hungary*, divided into upper and lower, and extending from *Illyricum* to the *Danube* and the mountains *Cætii*, in the neighbourhood of *Vindebona*, now *Vienna*, the metropolis of *Austria* [b]. On the other side of the *Danube*, which was more properly called *Germany*, and *Germania magna*, besides the *Marcomans* (D), whom we have mentioned above as more properly situate between the *Rhine* and it, were the *Hermunduri*, whose country ran northwards from it, and extended itself along the *Hercynian* mountains quite up to the river *Sala*. These possessed, particularly, the country now called *Misnia*, in *Upper Saxony*, though some make their territories to have extended much farther, and to have reached quite to, and even beyond, the kingdom of *Bohemia*. On the other side of those mountains was the abovementioned kingdom of *Boiohemum*, now *Bohemia* [c], once one of the seats of the *Boii*; and beyond them, north of the *Danube*, was another seat of the *Marcomani* along the river *Albis*, now *Elbe*; from which they spread themselves into *Bohemia*, and drove the *Boii* out of it, as we hinted a little higher: we have spoken of these in a former volume, to which we refer the reader [d]. The *Quadi* were situate next to *Bohemia*: their territories extended from the *Danube* to *Moravia*, and the northern part of *Austria* [e]; these are likewise comprehended under the antient name of *Suevi*, part of whom forced their way into *Spain*, and settled a kingdom there, as hinted under the last note. The c d e

Bastarnæ.

Bastarnæ were situate eastward of the *Quadi*, and parted from them by the *Granna*, now *Gran*, a river that falls into the *Danube*, and by the ridge of the *Carpatian* mountains, called from them *Bastarnicæ Alpes*: their country made, indeed, part of the *European Sarmatia*, and so out of the limits of *Germania propria*; but they antiently lived on this side of the *Danube*, were concerned with the *Marcomans*, *Quadi*, *Hermunduri*, *Suevi*, and a number of other *German* nations, in the famed war against *M. Antoninus* [f], and are accounted of *German* extract by *Pliny* [g]; and it was not till the reign of *Probus* that they were transplanted over the *Danube* thither by that emperor, to repeople those countries which were become desolate by the wars and pestilence. These soon conformed to the *Roman* laws, and became one nation with the other inhabitants of that country [h]. We have formerly taken notice of that colony of them which was settled in *Thrace* by *Probus* [i]; but where the original seat of e

[y] See Mascov. l. iii. c. 5. [z] See vol. vi. p. 290, d. [a] Vol. v. p. 4, (C), p. 313, (E). [b] Ibid. p. 314, sub not. [c] Ibid. p. 317, (F). [d] Ibid. p. 313, (E). [e] Ibid. p. 334, (S). [f] Ibid. p. 396, (O). [g] Jul. Capitol. in vit. Marc. c. 22. [h] Nat. hist. l. iv. c. 28. [i] Vopiscus in vit. Probi, c. 18.

division (5). The other cities mentioned by that author were those of the *Nervii*, *Suessones*, *Sylvanectes*, and *Leuci*; those on the other hand of the *Rhemi* and *Lingones* in *Gaul*, that is, of the provinces of *Rheims* and *Champaigne*, he there calls *civitates fœderatæ*.

The *Treviri*, however, became in time the principal nation of *Belgica prima*.

(D) These, the *Quadi*, and some others we shall have occasion to mention, were of that tribe of antient *Germans* known by the name of *Suevi*: they antiently possessed a considerable part of *Germany*, that is, the greatest part of it from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*; but, in process of time, some of them removed more northward, and settled along the *Danube*, whilst another part went into *Spain*, and formed a kingdom there, as we shall shew in a subsequent chapter.

(5) *Vide Mascov. l.* iii. *c.* 5.

of them was before their removal, is not eaſy to gueſs; it has been, for that reaſon, much queſtioned whether they were of *German* or *Sarmatian* extract: we, however, quoted *Pliny* in favour of the former opinion, who in another place makes them one of the five principal tribes of the *German* nation [l]. We may add to his evidence that of *Strabo*, who plainly diſtinguiſhes them from the *Sarmatians*; and that of *Tacitus*, who ranks them among the former [m]. We read of their aſſiſting *Perſeus* and *Mithridates* againſt the *Romans* [n], but, after their conqueſt by the latter, we hear no more of them by that name; probably the remainder of them united with the *Goths*, and as for thoſe who ſtayed in their native country, if any ſuch there were, they were, in all likelihood, blended with thoſe *Piecinigi*, or *Patzinicæ*, which we find mentioned in the *Byzantine* and *Poliſh* hiſtory, and which *Strabo* and *Tacitus* mention in the place above quoted with the *Baſtarnæ* and ſome other *German* tribes [o].

BETWEEN thoſe nations we have ſeen ſeated along the other ſide of the *Danube* and the *Hercynian* foreſt, were ſeveral other antient nations, of whom we know little more than their names, and about whoſe exact ſituation we are quite in the dark: ſuch as the *Martingi*, *Burii*, *Borades*, *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, and ſome others, who are placed by our geographers along the foreſt abovementioned, between the *Danube* and the *Viſtula*. The *Burii* are reckoned the ſame with the *Borades*, and are mentioned as aſſiſtants to the *Marcomani* in their war againſt *M. Antoninus*; and the *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, as aſſiſting *Vibillius*, king of the *Hermunduri*, againſt the haughty *Vannius*, king of the *Suevi*: and their bordering one upon another is collected from a paſſage of *Pliny* which places the latter between the *Danube* and the foreſt above-mentioned [p], but with no ſufficient exactneſs to lead us to the right ſituation of either: only the *Sileſian* hiſtorians affirm, that the *Lygii* and part of the *Quadi* remained ſtill in their own original country [q]. The laſt we ſhall mention on this ſide the *Hercynian* foreſt, were the famed *Rætii*, now *Griſons*, who were ſeated on the *Alps*: their country, which was antiently called *Weſtern Illyricum*, was divided into *Rætia prima*, or *propria*, and *ſecunda*, and was then of a much larger extent, ſpreading itſelf towards *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Auſtria*. This country, and that of *Noricum*, and others, became a *Roman* province, and belonged to the kingdom of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*; but upon the declenſion of it they fell under the dominion of the *Franks*, about which time the name of *Bavarians* firſt became noted in hiſtory [r].

Burii.

Rœtii.

ON the other ſide of the *Hercynian* foreſt were the antient ſeats of the *Suevi*, whom we have ſhewn above to have been an old tribe of *Germans* (E), and ſpread themſelves from the *Viſtula* to the *Elbe*, and beyond, though they in time did, at leaſt a great part of them, either penetrate through that foreſt, or wind themſelves about it, and came and ſettled in the more pleaſant ſouthern parts of *Europe*, ſuch as *Belgium*, *Gaul*, and even *Spain*, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel. The moſt famous of theſe were the *Longobardi*, ſo called, according to ſome, on account of their wearing long beards; but, according to others, on account of their conſiſting of two nations, *viz.* the *Bardi* and *Lingones*; theſe dwelt along the river *Elbe*, and bordered ſouthward on the *Chauci*, mentioned a little higher, and both theſe were reduced by *Tiberius*, as we have ſhewn in a former volume [s]. But the *Longobardi*, having paſſed the *Danube*, invaded and defeated the *Heruli* [t], did afterwards croſs the *Alps*, and ſettle in *Italy*, where they founded the kingdom of *Lombardy* [u], and, in proceſs of time, quite forgot their antient *German*, and adopted that of *Italy* [w]. The *Burgundi* are the next of note. *Pliny* affirms them likewiſe of *German* extract, and ranks

Suevi.

Burgundi.

[l] Vol. vi. p. 201; d. p. 215, d. Nat. hiſt. l. ii. c. 4. [m] Geogr. l. iii. p. 306. Mor. Germ. c. 46. [n] Vide PLUTARCH. in vit. Æmil. APPIAN. de bell. Mithrid. p. 365. [o] See LEDIARD, vol. ii. add. xxx. p. 389. [p] H. N. l. iv. c. 25. [q] Vide inter al. HANKIUM de major. Sileſior. c. 21. MASCOV. l. xi. § 21. [r] See before, vol. v. p. 313, & ſeq. and notes. [s] Ibid. 334, b; (R). [t] See before, vol. vi. p. 391, d, e. [u] Ibid. 532, a. [w] Vide GIANNON. hiſt. Neapol. p. 294. MASCOV. l. xv. c. 14.

(E) At leaſt we find them ſo ſtyled by *Pliny*, and other antient authors: but we muſt here remind our reader of what has been heretofore occaſionally obſerved with reſpect to thoſe authors, that they ſo often confound the *Celtes* and *Scythians*, that it is not eaſy to gueſs whether thoſe antient *Suevi* or *Germans*, whom they allow to be of *Celtic* extract, were really ſo, or of *Scythian* breed. But from the nearer likeneſs of manners, language, &c. to the latter, one would be more apt to think they derived their original from them. However, the truth ſeems to be, that both *Celtes* and *Scythians* were in all theſe parts ſo intermixed and blended together, eſpecially from the *Rhine* eaſtward and northward, that all thoſe antient *Germans* bid fair to be the offspring of that mixture, rather than of either *Scythic* or *Celtic* original properly ſo called.

ranks them with the *Vindili*, *Varini*, *Carini*, *Guttones* and *Ingevones*, which laſt he a
makes to have been a mixed people, partly *Cimbric*, partly *Teutonic*, and partly *Chauci* [x]. It were labour loſt to inquire after their original ſeat (F), but it is plain they were, like their other neighbours, inticed to exchange it for a better; and, having penetrated firſt into *Germany*, where they aſſiſted *Valentinian* againſt the *Alemani* [y], they afterwards croſſed the *Rhine*, and ſettled in *Gaul*, where they founded a kingdom in that province, which ſtill retains the name of *Burgundia*, as
Semnones. we ſhall ſhew in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters. The *Semnones*, likewiſe, left their old habitation, and ſettled about the *Lionnois* in *Gaul*: we find them ſeated about the *Elbe*, in *Tiberius*'s time, and, in conjunction with the *Hermunduri* and other *Germans*, bravely ſtriving to obſtruct his croſſing that river [z]; but at what time b
they paſſed from thence into *Gaul*, is not eaſy to gueſs: but they fell upon one of the moſt fruitful parts of that kingdom, and there grew ſo rich and conſiderable, that they are thought to have been called *Semnones* on that very account, it being an old *Celtic* word, which ſignifies opulent and venerable (G), as we have had occaſion to ſhew in the hiſtory of the *Gauls* [a]. Theſe three were the moſt noted nations on the other ſide of the *Hercynian* foreſt, to which we ſhall only add the names of ſome others, though ſcarcely known to us by any thing elſe: ſuch are the *Aviones*, *Reudigni*, *Eudoles*, and *Swardones*, whom we find placed between the *Elbe* and the *Suevus*, or *Viader*, on the north of the *Longobardi*; the *Rugii*, *Lemnovii*, *Heruli*, *Gothones*, or *Gothini*, the *Sidui Carini*, between the laſt-mentioned river and the *Viſtula*: as for c
the *Angli*, *Saxi*, *Goths*, *Hunns*, &c. they will be ſpoken of in ſome of the following chapters. But before we paſs further, we muſt not omit the country of
Æſtii, *and their amber trade.* the *Æſtii*, an antient tribe of the *Suevi*, who inhabited along the coaſts of the eaſt ſea (H), ſo famed for the great plenty of amber that was found there, eſpecially along thoſe of *Pruſſia*, and for the vaſt quantity that was fetched from thence both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of which we find particular mention in moſt antient authors, ſuch as *Herodotus* [b], *Diodorus Siculus* [c], *Pytheas Maſſilienſis*, as quoted by *Pliny* [d], but eſpecially by *Tacitus* [e], who has given us a very curious deſcription of it,

[x] Ubi ſupra, l. iv. c. 28. [y] Marcellin. l. xxviii. c. 5. [z] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 106. [a] See before, p. 350, c. [b] L. iii. c. 15. [c] Bibl. l. v. [d] N. H. l. xxxvii. [e] Mor. Germ. c. 45.

(F) Some have imagined the *Burgundi* and *Burgundiones* to have been two different people, but without any probability, ſince they are mentioned by ſome antient authors as the ſame nation, though under thoſe two different names; and that is, *Marcellinus* calls them *Burgundi*, whom St. *Jerom* and *Oroſius* call *Burgundiones*.

(G) Some have, indeed, ſought the etymon of this name from the *Greek*, and think they were ſo called from the word ξένος, ſtranger, new-comer; on account of their being ſome of the laſt *German* nations that came over the *Rhine* into *Gaul* (8). Accordingly, a *Roman* hiſtorian tells us (9), that they were the very laſt of all the ſtrangers that came thither. *Servius*, indeed, thinks they were at firſt called ξένας,, and afterwards ξένωνας becauſe they received *Bacchus* into their country.

But if we muſt have recourſe to the *Greek*, would not the word Σεμνὲς afford us a better etymon, as it is more like the name of the antient *Semnones* than that of *Senonas* or *Xenonas*? We read of *Semna myſteria*, and *Semnai theai*, in which the word implies ſomething venerable or awful, and might be either taken up by the *Semnonic* tribe, or given them by their neighbours, either on account of their opulence, or the great ſway they bore above the reſt, all which doth well agree with their hiſtory. But we would rather chuſe to ſtick to the *Celtic*, which doth ſtill more cloſely ſquare to it than to the *Greek*, which, how like ſoever to it in moſt things, doth yet ſometimes deviate from the original deſign and meaning, eſpecially as to ſuch appellatives as this we are upon: and if we obſerve, that in ſeveral provinces of *Gaul*, even to this day, the natives never pronounce an *m* before an *n*, but like a *nn*, we may perhaps find out the moſt probable etymon for the words *ſenex*, *ſenatus*, *ſenator*, *ſenior*, *ſenioratio*, *ſeneſchal*, *carta ſenica*, and many others of the like import, in which the *mn* was gradually abſorbed into *nn*, and this laſt ſoftened into a ſingle one.

(H) So called, in all probability, from their inhabiting thoſe coaſts of the eaſt ſea, containing part of *Pruſſia*, *Courland*, and *Livonia*. Theſe, as well as their neighbours the *Gothini*, were not unknown to *Tacitus*, who has given us a ſuccinct deſcription of their religion, cuſtoms, and language; in all which they differed ſo little from the *Celtes*, or old *Gauls*, that we may take it as a further proof, that the antient *Germans* and they were but diſtinct branches of the ſame nation, as we obſerved at the beginning of this and the laſt chapter. What is ſtill more obſervable is, that our author tells us, that their language differed but little from the old *Britiſh*, that is, from the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*; the *Britons*, who were a branch of theſe, or rather the ſame nation under a different name, that was given them on account of their painting their bodies, the word *Brit*, in the old *Celtic*, ſignifying the ſame as *Pict* or painted, and both *Britons* and *Gomerians* retaining the ſame tongue not only then, but even to this day, as we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve, both in the laſt chapter, and in the hiſtory of the antient *Celtes* (10).

(8) *Vide Flacc. feſt.* (9) *Tit. Liv. hiſtor. l.* v. *c.* 35. (10) *See before, p.* 331, *& ſeq. and vol.* ii. *p.* 253, *e.*

it, as well as of theſe *Æſtii*, who gathered and ſold it to them. Theſe, he ſays, a worſhipped the mother of the gods, and placed ſuch confidence in her ſafeguard, that they ſcarcely knew the uſe of iron weapons, or any other ſort but cudgels. They were more induſtrious than the reſt of the *Germans* in cultivating their corn and other fields, and dived into the ſeas and rivers for amber, which is a commodity peculiar to them, and which was of little uſe to them, except to ſell it to ſtrangers, rough and unwrought, as they gathered it. He then goes on in deſcribing the nature of that wonderful gum, according to the notion they then had of it, which we need not here dwell upon, but from which, as well as from what other antient authors have writ of it, we may infer, that it was in very high eſteem in thoſe days. b In *Nero*'s reign, by which time the *Romans* had wholly ſet aſide the thoughts of conquering *Germany*, one of that emperor's favourites perſuaded him to ſend thither a kind of embaſſy to buy it there upon the ſpot, and at the firſt hand [f]. The thing was accordingly done, and the *Roman* knight, who was at the head of this expedition, ſetting out from *Carnuntum*, a fortreſs on the banks of the *Danube* (I), arrived at the place, and met with a kind reception from the *Æſtii*, from whom he bought and brought away, acording to *Solinus* [g], 13,000 pounds weight of that commodity, which was deſigned, it ſeems, by one of their kings, as a preſent to the emperor; and among it there was a piece which muſt have been of very great value, if it be true, what another author affirms, that it weighed alone thirteen pounds [h]. We find c in *Caſſiodorus*, a letter ſent by *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, to the *Æſtii*, wherein he thanks them for a noble parcel they had ſent to him of the ſame precious drug [i], and wherein he promiſes them his friendſhip, which, it ſeems, they were endeavouring to obtain by this embaſſy and valuable preſent. By this letter it ſhould ſeem, that the inhabitants were wholly ignorant whence it came, and how it was formed; for ſo their embaſſadors told that monarch; and added, that the ſea threw it upon their coaſts. Theſe *Æſtii* were ſtill famed among other *German* nations on the eaſt ſea, in the time of *Charles the great* [k]. We read of the *Scirri*, *Hirri*, *Galindi*, and *Sudeni*, in *Ptolemy*, which ſome have endeavoured to prove were to be reckoned among the *Æſtii* [l], or antient inhabitants of *Pruſſia*, but with very little d likelihood: as for the name of *Pruſſia*, it is of much more recent date, as ſhall be ſeen in the modern part of this work. All that needs be added, with reſpect to the *Æſtii*, is, that they were at length conquered, with ſome other nations, by *Ermanaric*, king of the *Goths* [m].

Gepidæ, *their extract, and kingdom.*

On this ſide of the *Æſtii*, and, as is ſuppoſed, near the mouth of the *Viſtula*, now *Weychſel*, were the *Gepidæ*; and farther north, on the coaſts of the eaſt ſea, between theſe and the *Æſtii*, were the *Chaiboni*. It is not eaſy to determine whether theſe two were of *German*, *Scythic*, or *Gothic* extract: the *Gepidæ* are indeed affirmed to be *Germans* by ſome antient authors [n]; but we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve, that they frequently confound thoſe nations, ſo that we cannot readily depend upon them: were we allowed to offer a conjecture of our own, we ſhould rather think e them of *Celtic* origin. We have already obſerved, in the *Gauliſh* hiſtory, that the *Celtes* had ſpread themſelves towards the farthermoſt parts of the north, as the *Cimbrians* in the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and the *Teutones* (K) in the iſlands adjacent: and, indeed,

[f] See PLINY nat. hiſt. l. xxxvii. c. 3. [g] POLYHIST. c. 33. [h] PLINY ubi ſupra. [i] Varia, l. v. epiſt. 2. [k] EGINHARD. in vit. Carol. Mag. c. 12. [l] Vide HARTKNOK. Pruſ. A. & M. part. 1. c. 1. [m] JORNAND. hiſt. Goth. l. iv. [n] Vide PROCOP. de bell. Vind. l. i. c. 2. & MASCOV. l. x. c. 6. l. xi. c. 21.

(I) *Carnuntum* was a fortreſs in *Upper Pannonia*, on the ſame ſide with *Vienna*, and was a kind of boundary between the frontiers of the *Germans* and *Pannonians* (11). If, therefore, this embaſſy ſet out from thence, as our author affirms, and it be very unlikely they ſhould ſail up the *Danube*, and down the *Rhine*, in order to coaſt it round to the *Pruſſian* coaſts; it may be inferred, that the *Hercynian* foreſt muſt have had ſome paſſage cut acroſs, for them to go thither by land: and as we are told they paſſed through the country of the *Guthiones*, or *Gothini*, in their way thither, we may conclude it probable, that they ſailed down the *Viſtula*, at the very mouth of which were the *Electridæ inſulæ*, or *Amber iſlands*, ſo called from that commodity being either gathered upon thoſe coaſts, or brought thither as to a mart by the *Æſtii*.

(K) We have already hinted ſome conjectures concerning the etymon of that word, at the entrance of this chapter, and in a former volume, in ſpeaking of the *Titans*. The old *Celtes* boaſted themſelves ſprung from the god *Theutat*, or *Mercury*, whom *Cæſar* calls *Dis* (12), the name of that deity after his death, or *apotheoſis*, as we ſhewed in the laſt chapter, and

(11) *Vide itiner. Ant. Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 12. (12) *Comm. l.* vi. *c.* 18.

indeed, it seems as if those antient *Gomerians* were either elbowed by new comers, a farther and farther northwards, as our *Welsh* were here in *England*; or, if we suppose them to have been *Celtic* colonies, sent afterwards in search of new habitations, as they were often forced to do for want of room, that they found the more temperate parts already so well inhabited, that they were forced to take up with such climates as they found still uninhabited by reason of their extreme coldness. In either case the *Cimbrians*, *Teutones*, *Gepidæ*, *Chaiboni*, and *Æstii*, being found all in one line, and under the same climate, may, probably enough, have been all of the same extract, considering the conformity of their manners, language, &c. but we only offer this as a conjecture. Of the *Chaiboni*, indeed, we know but little, except what we read of their invading *Gaul* in the time of *Diocleſian*[o], and of their being b totally routed by *Constantine the great*[p]. The *Gepidæ* are famed in history for having reared themselves into an early kingdom, and extending their territories into *Pannonia*, and taking the famed city of *Sirmium*, or *Sirmish*, from the emperor *Marcian* (L); as likewise for their wars with the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and especially the *Romans*[q], for their invasion of *Germany* and *Belgia*, and for the terrible havock they made in both, in conjunction with the *Quadi*, *Vandals*, and other northern nations, of which St. *Jerom* gives us a particular and dreadful account[r], as may be seen by the abstract in the margin (M). They kept themselves in possession of all *Dacia*, till the emperor *Justin*'s reign, when, being left in the lurch by that prince, and *Cunemund*, their last king, being overthrown and killed by *Alboin*, king of the *Longobards*, there was a final end put to their kingdom. The *Abares*, who were allied with *Alboin*, took possession of *Dacia*, and the whole *Gepidæan* nation was so thoroughly dispersed[s], as never to recover itself again. Some of them we find accompanying that conqueror's expedition into *Italy*[t], and the rest went and refuged themselves where they could (N), as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. Thus

The end of it, and them.

o Cl. Mamertin. panegyr. l. i. c. 4, & 5. p. 201, d. p Nazar. int. panegyr. vet. ix. c. 18. q See vol. v. r Epist. ad Ager. de monogam. ep. 92. s Excerpt. ex Menand. t Vide Paul. Diac. hist. Longobard. l. ii. c. 26.

and *Tacitus Twiston* (13); and upon that account did, in all probability, take the name of *Teutates* from him, which, by length of time, variety of dialects, and of hands, through which it passed, diversified itself into *Teutoni*, *Teutones*, *Teutonarii*, *Teutobodiaci*, *Tectosagi*, *Tauriſci*, *Tautantii*, *Teudesci*, and *Teuschen*, which two last names they still retain in *Germany* and *Italy*.

That this name is very antient, and common to all the *Celtes*, we have shewn in the parts of their history above quoted, and we shall beg leave to add a pregnant testimony of it, which is as follows: *Servius* observes, that the city of *Pisa* had received its name from *Pisus*, a king of the *Celtes*, who founded it; and presently after, upon the authority of *Cato*, adds, that the *Teutones* were settled in that country long before the *Hetrusci* made themselves masters of it The city itself, says he, was called *Teuta*, and the inhabitants *Theutas* (14).

As to the *Tectosagi*, we find a tribe of them in the neighbourhood of *Tholouse* in old *Gaul*, who were surnamed *Volsci*, of whom we spoke in the last chapter. *Cæsar* and *Strabo* mention another tribe, who were seated about the *Hercynian* forest, and make the former of them to be descended from the *Gallish* (15). We find the *Teutones* and *Teutonarii* spread far and wide about the *Baltic*, and *Scandinavia* had scarcely any other inhabitants but *Teutones*, if we may believe *Pliny* and *Mela* (16). Among the *Gallogreeks*, or *Galatians*, we find two tribes, one of which had the name of *Tectosagi*, and the other *Teutobodiaci*, or *Tolstobogi* (17). The Name of *Tauriſci* can hardly come from any other than *Thaut-rich*, the kingdom of *Thaut*, and that of *Thaulantii* from *Thaut-landt*, the land of *Thaut*. All these, put together, sufficiently shew, that they were originally, or boasted themselves such, the descendants or subjects of *Theut*, or *Mercury*, once the famed monarch of the greatest part of *Europe* (18).

(L) It seems that emperor had suppressed the annual pension which he had engaged to pay to them; upon which, they, under the conduct of their king *Ardaric*, who had already conquered *Dacia*, passed the *Danube*, and added some part of *Pannonia* to their kingdom. As for *Sirmium*, it was the metropolis of *Lower Pannonia*; and though it was afterwards destroyed by lightning (19), and since then reduced to a mere village by the *Turks*, yet it was celebrated heretofore for two *Arian* councils held in it under *Constantius*, *viz. an.* 351. and 357. and for being the birth-place of *Probus* (20).

(M) These barbarians broke down, like an inundation, not only on *Upper* and *Lower Germany*, but into *Gaul* likewise, and as far as even *Spain*. In the former they destroyed, among other cities, those of *Strasburgh*, *Spire*, *Worms*, and *Mentz*; and in *Belgia* those of *Rheims*, *Amiens*, *Tournay*, *Arras*, and *Terouane*; and carried the inhabitants captive into *Germany*. They likewise ravaged, in a woful manner, the provinces of *Aquitania*, *Lugdunensis*, and *Narbonnensis*, and carried off an immense plunder. The rest the reader may find in the letter above quoted.

(N) It is supposed, that the poor remains of the *Gepidæ* took refuge under the emperor *Justinian*, and that he took, upon that account, the title of *Gepidicus*, which we find afterwards added to the imperial ones, as appears by the preamble of some of his successors letters, especially that of *Maurice*, who styles himself there, *Alemanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Anticus*, *Vandalicus*, *Herulicus*, *Gepidicus*, *Africanus*, &c. (21).

(13) *German. c.* 2. (14) *Ad Æneid.* x. *Vide & Cluver. Ital. antiq. c.* 7. (15) *Comm. l.* vi. *c.* 24. *Geogr. l.* xii. (16) *N. H. l.* iv. *c.* 14. *De situ, l.* iii. *c.* 3. *Vide & Ptolem. l.* ii. *c.* 2. (17) *Strabo, ubi supra.* (18) *See before, vol.* ii. *p.* 263, *e, & seq.* (19) *See vol.* v. *p.* 336, *a.* (20) *See vol.* vi. *p.* 364, *f.* (21) *See Mascov. l.* xiv. *c.* 3, & 24.

THUS much ſhall ſerve for the names and ſituation of the antient *Germans*, according to their different tribes and nations at the time of the *Romans* firſt invaſion of them, as far as a ſubject ſo involved in darkneſs and confuſion can be brought into any tolerable light and order. In *Auguſtus*'s reign it was divided into *Germania* *Prima* and *Secunda*, that is, *Upper* and *Lower*, as we hinted above, and guarded by eight legions of *Roman* forces, which were, according to cuſtom, employed in making high roads, new fortifications, and other uſeful works, whenever they were not engaged in the field [u]. This diviſion ſeems to have continued till about the time of the emperor *Jovinus*, when, though the conſtitution ſtill ſubſiſted with regard to *Germania Prima*, yet it was then, in all probability, loſt, with reſpect to *Germania Secunda*, which was by that time become, in a great meaſure, ſubject to the *Franks*: for in the *Notitia Imperii*, which is thought to have been written then about, though the ſtate of *Belgica Prima* and *Secunda* be there ſtill intire, yet there is no farther mention of *Germania Secunda*.

Germany, how divided.

As for the country of *Germany* itſelf, we have ſuch a dreadful account given us of it, both by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* [w], even of thoſe parts of it which lie under a more temperate climate, that one would think it almoſt incredible that ſuch a brave nation as that would have been contented to live in it, when they wanted neither ſtrength nor courage to have broken their way into others, more pleaſant and fruitful. Nor would one be able to know the worſt parts of it, as they are now, by the deſcription they give us of the beſt. According to them, it was barren, uncultivated, and frightful all over; and even its variety of ſoil and climate added to the horror of it, from the dreadful foreſts, ſtinking and unwholſome bogs, the inclemency of its winds, dampneſs of its ſeas, lakes, and rivers, and harſhneſs of its ſoil. But as, on the one hand, we muſt allow for exaggeration in hiſtorians, who plainly ſought in every thing to magnify their own courage and proweſs, by the difficulties and hardſhips they met with in the conqueſts of thoſe countries and nations; ſo we muſt grant, on the other, that the *Romans* proved the means of cultivating thoſe, till then, barren and inhoſpitable territories, by cutting down great numbers of foreſts, draining wet and marſhy grounds, and other ſuch-like improvements as they were able to admit of. So that we need not now tell our readers, that this pretended barrenneſs and unhealthineſs was rather owing to the ſupineneſs of the inhabitants, than to any defect in its ſoil or climate, ſince we find it now capable of bearing all ſorts of grain, vines, fruit, and even foreign plants, in great abundance and due maturity. And thus far may be owned, that the coming of the *Romans* into *Germany*, as well as into *Gaul*, contributed much to the fertiliſing and enriching of thoſe two countries, which, till then, had been wholly neglected by both nations, who, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, thought this, and every occupation, beſides the martial trade, too much below their fierce and warlike genius. We are told, in particular, that the emperor *Probus* was the firſt who permitted vines to be brought into *Gaul* and *Germany*, and to be planted along the *Rhine* and *Moſel*, and other parts [x] (O).

The natural clime, and produce.

Vines, when firſt brought thither.

AMONG thoſe many woods and foreſts with which this country abounded, perhaps, more than any other on this ſide of the *Rhine*, was that famed one called the *Hercynian*, and, by the *Greeks*, *Orcinian* foreſt, the longeſt and thickeſt in *Europe*, and reckoned by *Julius Cæſar* to have extended ſixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. We have given an account of it in a former volume, to which we refer [y]: all that we need to add is, that not only this, but all the foreſts, woods, and groves, in *Germany*,

Foreſts.

[u] BUCHER. Belg. Rom. l. c. c. 12, 17, & 18. [w] M. Germ. c. 2. Comment. l. iii. c. i. [x] VOPISC. in vit. Prob. c. 18. [y] Vol. v. p. 335, (T). 372, (T).

As for the unfortunate *Cunemund*, the uſe which *Alboin* made of his body was, to make a drinking-cup of his ſcull, a cuſtom deſcended to them from their barbarous anceſtors, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak, in the hiſtory of the *Celtes* and *Scythians*, and which, it appears by this, was ſtill riſe among a vaſt many nations of their deſcendants, ſo many ages after their embracing chriſtianity. As to the *Gepidæ*, we have nothing to add concerning them, but that they profeſſed *Arianiſm* in common with the *Goths* (22), as will be ſeen in ſome of the following chapters.

(O) An antient author compares this action of his to that of *Hannibal*, who cauſed olive-trees to be planted in *Africa*, in order to furniſh the ſoldiers with profitable employments in time of peace (23). But if *Probus* knew any thing of that natural propenſity which the *German* nation had to ſtrong liquors, one would be apt to think he had ſomething more in his view, than the bare finding out proper employment for them, when he introduced the juice of the grape among them (24).

(22) *Procop. bell. Vandal. l.* i. *c.* 2. (23) *Aur. Vict. in Cæſ. c.* 37. (24) *See the laſt chapter, p.* 387, *paſſ.*

Germany, even the trees, boughs, and leaves of it, were reckoned ſacred; and this a
is the reaſon why the antient *Germans* made it a piece of their religion not to cut them down, unleſs it be ſome branches of the oak, and ſome other trees which they caried with them, on particular ſolemnities[z]; but ſince their conqueſt by the *Romans*, a good many were cut down, partly for conveniency, and partly out of a diſlike of thoſe ſuperſtitious and bloody rites, which were performed in them. Many more were deſtroyed, ſince their embracing of chriſtianity, upon the ſame account, and ſome are yet ſtill remaining; and, amongſt others, one which is known by the name of the black foreſt: the *Bacenian* is another famed one, which parted the *Suevi* from the *Cheruſci*, by ſome ſuppoſed to be that of *Thuringia*, and by others the black foreſt laſt mentioned. The *Cæſian* foreſt, or *Cæſia Sylva*, was likewiſe very famous: b
ſome ſuppoſe it to have likewiſe been a remnant of the *Hercynian*, and part of it remains ſtill in the duchies of *Cleves* and *Weſtphalia*. *Tacitus* tells us of a famous one dedicated to *Hercules*, and called, from him, the *Hereulean* foreſt[a]; but it doth not appear that they had, as yet, adopted either that, or any other *Roman* deities: ſo that if there was any ſuch foreſt of that name, it muſt have been called ſo upon ſome other account than a religious one. For, as we have obſerved in the laſt chapter, the *Germans* made a much longer ſtand againſt the *Roman* polytheiſm than the *Gauls*[b].

Rivers. Rivers of note they had in abundance, of which we ſhall only mention the moſt conſiderable ones, and what is moſt remarkable in them. At the head of c
Danube. theſe may juſtly be placed the *Danube*, now *Iſter*, by far the largeſt in *Europe*. It has its riſe in *Swabia*, and flowing through that province, and thoſe of *Bavaria*, *Auſtria*, *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldavia*, *Beſſerabia*, and part of *Tartary*, and receiving about ſixty other rivers in its courſe, falls into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, in two arms. It was once the boundary between *Sarmatia* and *Germany*, but became afterwards ſubject to the *Romans* to its very ſource, under the emperor *Trajan* (P).
Rhine. The *Rhine*, another famous river, which antiently divided *Germany* from *Gaul*, and ſprings from the *Rhætian Alps* in the weſtern borders of *Switzerland*, and northern of the *Griſons*: as it riſes from two ſprings, which unite their waves near *Chur*, now *Coire*; ſo it divided itſelf into two ſtreams, one of which falls into the *Maeſe*, and d
the other into the *German* ocean: upon both accounts, perhaps, it is called, by *Virgil*, *Rhenus bicornis*, or *bicorniger*. It has now no paſſage into that ocean, but with the *Maeſe* above-mentioned, below *Briel*, unleſs that branch of the one part of it called the *Yſſel*, which empties itſelf into the *Zuyder-Zee*, may be ſaid to do it[c]. This mouth, which was antiently known to the *Romans* by the name of *Flavum*, and ſtill retains that of *Vlie*, or *Flie*, had a ſtrong caſtle built by it, to guard the paſſage out of the *Zuyder*, or ſouth, into the north, ſea. As for the *Rhine*, it became afterwards a barrier between the *Romans* and the *Germans*, upon the overthrow of *Varus* by the latter, who unwiſely ſpent their time in deſtroying the fortreſſes of the former along that river, inſtead of purſuing the advantage of that ſignal victory; ſo that they only ſhortened the extent of the *Roman* territories, which before reached as far as the *Weſer*, if not beyond[d]. The ſame river did likewiſe part the *Batavi* from the other *Germans*, as has been formerly hinted[e]. *Julius Cæſar*, in one of his *German* triumphs, cauſed among other pageantic figures, that of the *Rhine* to be carried; in imitation of which, it is judiciouſly obſerved, that his ſucceſſors did
Viſtula. oftener triumph over, than conquer, it[f]. The *Viſtula*, now *Weichſel*, was another conſiderable river, which divided *Germany* from the *European Sarmatia*, whence the latter was called *Germania Transviſtulana*. It had its riſe in the *Carpatian* mountains in *Higher Sileſia*, and, croſſing the *Hercynian* foreſt, diſembogued itſelf, by three ſtreams, into the *Baltic* ſea, not far from *Dantzic*. The *Drave*, or *Draw*, ſprings from the *Alps* in the *Tyroleſe*, and, dividing *Upper* and *Lower Hungary* from *Sclavonia*, falls

z Vide Claudian. in laud. Stilic. Lucan. l. iii. ver. 429. Agathias hiſt. l. i. Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentr. c. 4. § 7. a L. ii. c. 12. b See before, p. 337, a. c See Mascov. German. & Lediard. ibid. ſub Ind. d See Florus, l. v. e Vol. vi. p. 211. f Florus, l. v. c. 2.

(P) We are told, that he eſtabliſhed at *Zarmigeſothuſa*, the capital of *Sarmatia*, the famed colony called *Ulpia Trajana*, laid a bridge over the *Danube*, as appears from ſeveral antient medals, and, particularly, by the column erected in honour of him, and the explanation given us of it by the authors quoted in the margin (25).

(25) *See Gruter's inſcriptions. Ciacon. Bellov. & Fabret.*

a falls into the *Danube* near *Esseck*. The *Moraw* rises in the confines of *Bohemia*, divides *Moravia* into two parts, and falls into the *Danube* not far from *Vienna*. The *Nab*, in *Nortgow*, hath its source near that of the *Main*, and falls into the *Danube* a little above *Ratisbon*. The *Neckar*, in *Suabia*, rises from the black forest, not far from the *Danube*, but takes a different course, and falls into the *Rhine*. *Regen* rises in *Nortgow*, on the borders of *Bohemia*, and empties itself into the *Danube* at *Ratisbon*, thence called *Regensburgh*. The *Veser*, antiently *Visurgis*, descends from *Franconia*, and, passing by *Bremen*, falls into the *German* ocean between the mouths of the *Elbe* and *Ems*. The former of these, called by the *Romans Albus*, and by the *Germans Elve*, *Elbe*, and now *Elb*, is a very large and considerable one, and hath b its spring in the mountains called the *Giant Mountains*, *Montes Heroum*, in *Silesia*, on the confines of *Bohemia*, and, passing through it and *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, falls into the above-mentioned sea at *Ritzbuttel*, twenty leagues below *Hamburgh*. The latter, *viz.* *Ems*, antiently *Amisia*, rises in the bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and, passing by *Embden*, the metropolis of *East Friezland*, and through the bay of *Dullert*, falls into the same ocean a little above the mouth of the *Visurgis*, or *Veser*. The *Luppia*, now *Lippe*, and *Isala*, or *Yssel*, fall, the one into the *Rhine*, below *Cologn*, and divided the *Bructeri* and *Marsi* from the *Usipii*; and the other into the *Fossa Drusiana*. The rest, being of less note, we shall pass by.

Moraw. Nab. Neckar. Regen. Veser. Elb. Ems. Lippe.

Cities of any consideration the *Germans* did not begin to build till after the c coming in of the *Romans*, but were divided into cantons and districts, like the *Gauls*; and lived in villages like them: even those famous large ones they now have, were either most of them built by the *Romans*, or inlarged, beautified, and enfranchised by them (Q). Such were the city of *Cologn*, of which we have given an account in a former volume g, and of its being called *Agrippinæ*. It was formerly called *Colonia Ubiorum*, and was their metropolis. It is commodiously situated on the *Rhine*, and in the circle of the lower *Rhine*, and is now the metropolis of the archbishopric of that name, an imperial city, and a famed university. *Colonia Trajana*, another antient *Roman* colony, below the former, by some thought to be the present *Keyserswaert*. *Colonia Ulpia*, now *Cleves*, the capital of *Cleveland* in *Lower Germany*, sup- d posed to have been built by *Julius Cæsar*, as well as that of *Bonn*, antiently *Bonna Julia*, situate above *Cologn*, and on the same river. This last is now the residence of the electors of *Cologn*. *Ausburgh*, i. e. *Augustus-burgh*, antiently called *Augusta Vindelicorum* h, now the capital of *Suabia*; this is likewise an imperial city, very populous and trading, situate on the *Lech*, not far from the *Danube*, and famed, among other things, for the *Augustan* confession, or confession of *Ausburg*, which is that of the *Lutherans*. *Argentoratum*, now *Strasburgh* in *Alzacia*, the antient capital of the *Trebochi* on the *Rhine*, is reckoned one of the antientest cities in *Germany* (R), and is now famed for its magnificent cathedral, and the spire and curious clock of it, of which we shall say something more in the sequel; but, above all, for a living e well, inclosed in that church, which was originally dedicated to superstitious and heathenish uses, such as we have mentioned in the last note. *Triers*, another antient city of *Lower Germany*, said to have been built by *Trebesas*, the brother of *Ninus*, 1496 years before *Christ*, and made a *Roman* colony in the time of *Augustus*. It became afterwards the most famed city of *Gallia Belgica*, and was, for some time, the seat of the western empire, in the reign of *Constantius* i. Here *Valentinian* triumphed

Cologn. Ausburgh. Strasburgh. Triers.

g Vol. v. p. 508, b. Alex. ap. Socrat. l. ii. e. 2.

h Ibid. p. 313, & seq. (E).

i Vide Cod. Theodos. & epist. ad pop.

(Q) These new colonies were, it seems, endowed with most of the privileges of the city of *Rome*; and *Cologn*, we are told (26), was one of them.

(R) And well it may, if what some *German* antiquaries pretend be true, that it was built 33 years before *Abraham*. But it will be time enough to believe it when they give us some further proofs of it than they have hitherto.

This place, we are told, was chiefly famed, in antient times, for a living well, or spring, which was used for the washing and purifying of the victims which were offered up by their priests, and was from thence called *Blotheda*, and *Blotabrum*, from the antient word *blot*, which signifies a bloody sacrifice. Hence some infer, that human victims were thrown alive into the well; others, that they were first dashed to death against the stones, and then flung into it (27). This well was, after the conversion of the *Germans* to christianity, inclosed with a wall, and consecrated, to serve for a baptismal font; and the waters of it became so famous, for some miraculous power attributed to them, that they were fetched or resorted to from all parts: but since the reformation it hath been opened, for common use (28).

(26) *Paul. Diac. de cens. l.* viii. *Schæd. descr. templ. argent.* 1617. *p.* 35

(27) *Vide Keyzler. antiq. sept. in fin. c.* 3.

(28) *Vide Os.*

triumphed, in a magnificent manner, over the *Alemani* [k]. *Triers* had been formerly the ſeat of the *Gallic* prefects, or of the *præfectura Galliarum* [l], and obtained the right of coinage from the *Romans* [m]; at preſent it is only the metropolis of the eccleſiaſtic electorate of that name, though the biſhops of it were formerly ſtyled primate of thoſe of *Gaul*, on account of its having been once the ſeat of the prefects of it, which was afterwards removed to *Arles*, on occaſion of the former being deſtroyed by the *Franks* [n]. *Ratisbon*, in the circle of *Bavaria*, ſaid to have been firſt built by *Tiberius*, and now famous for the diet of the empire being held there.

Ratiſbon.

Mentz, now famous for the invention of printing by *John Fuſt*, alias *Fauſtus*, a gentleman of that city [o], and for being the reſidence of one of the eccleſiaſtic electors, in the lower circle of the *Rhine*, and ſituate on the banks of it; was formerly inlarged and fortified by *Druſus*, with ſeveral others on that river; ſuch as *Bonn*, *Anderb*
nach, and many others on the ſame river, as well as upon the *Maeſe*, *Elbe*, and *Weſer*. He built, likewiſe, bridges over them, eſpecially at *Mentz* and *Bonn*, and kept a fleet, for the ſecurity of thoſe parts [p]: near the former of theſe was erected a monument, in form of a funeral pile, in memory of him, by thoſe legions which he had there commanded, ſome remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen, and are mentioned by ſeveral antient and modern authors [q], and deſcribed by *Hutichius* [r]. It is known by the name of *Eichelſtein*, and ſtands in the now citadel-yard of the city above-named; but that this was the ſame that was erected for that prince, we muſt depend wholly upon tradition, as we muſt for a vaſt number of other ſuch ſtructures, c
with which this country abounds, but which retain neither inſcriptions nor any other indices, by which they may be fixed to their original deſign. As we mentioned theſe cities only on account of their being either built, fortified, or celebrated by the *Romans*, we ſhall not take upon ourſelves to go any farther with the reſt, becauſe we confine our geography to the antient, and not to the modern, *Germany*, which latter is too well known to our readers, to need our expatiating upon it.

Mentz.

SECT. II.

Of the religion, government, laws, and policy, of the antient Germans.

THIS ſubject hath been already ſo copiouſly handled in the laſt chapter, as it d
is ſo naturally knit and interwoven with it, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the pains of a needleſs repetition. The *Gauls* and *Germans*, as nearly allied to each other originally, received their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, from the ſame hand, and both retained them, ſome few particulars excepted, during a long ſeries of ages, with an invincible tenaciouſneſs; and we have had occaſion to obſerve, that the latter continued much longer inflexible againſt introducing the *Roman* ſuperſtition, than the former: ſo that, with regard to their antient religion, they exactly agreed, in worſhipping the ſame ſupreme deity, under the name of *Eſus*, or *Heſus*, falſely ſaid, by *Roman* authors, to have been *Mars*, or *Mercury*. They worſhipped him under the emblem of an oak, conſecrated that tree more peculiarly to c
him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itſelf, but for its leaves and fruit, eſpecially the miſleto, which they call, to this day, by the old name of *guthyl*, or *gutheyl*, and aſcribe extraordinary virtues to it, eſpecially in epileptic diſeaſes [a] (A). Their

The religion of the antient Germans *almoſt the ſame with that of the* Gauls.

[k] Auson. in laud. Moſel. v. 420. Vide Mascov. l. vii. c. 5. [l] See Mascov's liſt of them, l. v. c. 29. [m] Pollio ap. eund. [n] See Pagi annal. ad an. 332. ap. Maſcov. l. vi. c. 32. [o] Vide Malincrot & Palmer hiſt. typogr. Frig. chron. Serrar. rer. Mogunt. [p] Flor. l. iv. c. ult. [q] Dio, Sueton. in Claud. [r] Collect. antiq. [a] Vide Pliny, N. H. l. xvi. c. 44. Vide Cluver. Germ. Keyzler. ant. ſept. diſſert. de viſco paſſ. Colebatch and Douglas on the miſleto, &al.

(A) This name doth in the old *German* ſignify good heal, or good healer, as doth that of *miſtella*, or rather *miſtel dha*, in the *Celtic*; though ſome queſtion whether the word *miſtel* be of *Celtic* extract. Hence, that which we formerly mentioned out of *Pliny*, that they called it by a name which ſignified *all heal*. The inhabitants of ſome parts of *Upper Germany*, who ſtill retain a great number of antient heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, are affirmed to retain the old druidiſh cuſtom of rambling about, at certain ſeaſons, from town to town, and from houſe to houſe, in great troops, rapping at every door and window with hammers, and crying out *gutheyl*, *gutheyl*, alluding to that verſe falſely aſcribed to *Ovid*,

Ad viſcum druides, druides clamare ſolebant. In

a Their method of, and time for, gathering it, was the ſame which was obſerved by the *Gauls* [b]. They held, like them, all other trees, likewiſe, as ſacred, though not in the ſame degree with the oak; all woods, foreſts, and deſerts, as well as groves, lakes, rivers, fountains, &c. in high veneration. The druids had the ſole care and direction in all religious, and the greateſt ſway and authority in civil, matters; only it may be here obſerved, that though both nations held ſome ſort of women, whom they looked upon as propheteſſes, in great eſteem; ſo the *Germans* ſeem to have exceeded the *Gauls* in this kind of ſuperſtition, and to have ſhewn and retained a much greater fondneſs and veneration for their pretended oracles (B). In other things they were, as far as can be gathered from *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*, ſubject to, and b obliged to receive their directions, like the *Gauls*, from, that grand druid, who, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, had his reſidence in *England*, or ſome one of the *Britiſh* iſles. If there was any difference between the *Gauls* and *Germans* in point of religion, it conſiſted only in this, that the latter, being more fierce and untractable, were not only more full and tenacious of their ſuperſtitious rites, but likewiſe more cruel and inhuman in them. They not only offered the ſame expiatory human victims, and uſed them in their auguries and other parts of their religion, but treated them much more cruelly than they. The *Gauls*, in ſome caſes, fattened them for one whole year with the fineſt dainties, put them to a quick death, and ſometimes ſtabbed them unexpectedly in the back: the *Germans*, on the contrary, made theirs undergo c many grievous indignities and torments, before they diſpatched them, ſome inſtances of which we have given in the *Gauliſh* hiſtory [c], that will hardly bear repeating. Other victims they likewiſe offered of domeſtic animals, and of theſe the horſe was reckoned the moſt acceptable. The fleſh of them was, it ſeems, to be boiled, ſtewed, or dreſſed in ſome other way, in the heart of their groves; the fat and the fleſh was ſerved to the votaries, by way of feaſt, and the blood was ſprinkled upon the altar, trees, and by-ſtanders, by way of ablution: but though they did the ſame by that of human victims, it doth not appear, that they eat the fleſh of them. We have formerly obſerved, likewiſe, from *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Athenæus*, and

[b] See before, p. 332, a, b, (H).

[c] See before, p. 336, c.

In ſome other parts, eſpecially in *Alſace*, they give it the name of *marentaken*, or the buſh or ſhrub of ſpectres; probably from thoſe magical virtues which were attributed to it, not only by the *Germans* and *Gauls*, but much more by the more northern nations; concerning which, the reader may ſee ſome extravagant inſtances in the authors quoted in the margin (1). Among other virtues they attributed to it, that of driving off all ſhafts and offenſive weapons from the perſon that wore it, or of effectually directing againſt the perſon or beaſt they intended to ſhoot, was ſo rife, that they never went even a hunting without it (2).

(B) It is not eaſy to gueſs whence this high eſteem for thoſe female ſoothſayers had its riſe; but moſt antient authors agree, that the *Germans* never undertook any thing of importance without conſulting them, and would even forbear fighting an enemy, let the advantage appear ever ſo great on their ſide, if thoſe women diſapproved of it (3). They ſeem to have derived this cuſtom from the *Celtes* and *Cimmerians*, their anceſtors, who, as we have formerly obſerved, looked upon them as inſpired (4); and we have likewiſe mentioned ſome of them, who are reported to have foretold ſome very ſtrange events to ſome of the *Roman* emperors (5), enough to raiſe their reputation, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among the *Romans* and *Greeks*.

If we may, however, be permitted to offer a conjecture concerning the origin of this ſuperſtition, it ſeems to have had its riſe from this: The *Germans*, warlike, fierce, and active as they were, and conſtantly employed either in the martial or hunting trade, might, probably, have committed the care of their ſick and wounded to their women, who, having more time and leiſure upon their hands, began to ſtudy the virtues of herbs, plants, and other medicinal things. From this ſkill, which they generally intermixed with that of aſtrology, they might, in time, pretend to greater, and to be able to pry into futurity. The old ones might likewiſe naturally give into dreams, viſions, and other ſuperſtitious obſervations, ſuch as were then practiſed by almoſt all other nations; ſuch as the flight of birds, the running of rivers, and the colour of their waters; the entrails of victims, and ſuch-like kinds of ſortileges; till they, at length, raiſed themſelves to ſuch credit and admiration, that, if *Tacitus* may be credited, they were looked upon as a kind of goddeſſes: and, in particular, that famed one called *Velleda*, of whom he ſpeaks as of a perſon deified, and worſhipped by the whole *German* nation (6). Some others are mentioned of like high repute, *viz.* *Aurinia* (7), or *Alruna*, *Ganna* (8), *Jettha*, *Sifa*, *Thrudur*, &c. of which we ſhall ſay nothing more, ſeeing we are quite in the dark about them in every reſpect, but that of their being ſpoken of as famed propheteſſes among the *Germans*. The reader may, however, ſee all the different conjectures of the learned about them, in the authors quoted in the margin (9).

(1) *Plin. Tacit. ubi ſupra. Keyzler, Colebatch, Douglas, & al. de viſco. Iſlandorum mytholog. c.* 43. (2) *Vide Keyzler, ubi ſupra.* (3) *Vide Tacit. German. c.* 8. *& hiſtor. l.* v. *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 50. *Strabo, l.* vii. *Plutarch. in Cæſar. Arrian. & Clem. Alexand. ſtrom. l.* i *& al.* (4) *Vide Polyæn. ſtratag. l.* vii. *& vol.* vi. *p.* 145, *b.* 206, *a—d.* (5) *See the laſt chapter, p.* 363, *d.* (6) *Hiſtor. l.* iv. *c.* 61, 65. *l.* v. *c.* 22. *& de mor. Germ. c.* 8. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Suid. ſub voc.* Θυιάζουσα. (9) *Vorm. itinerar. & Keyzler diſſertat. de mulier. fatid. c.* 56, *& ſeq.*

The Germans *had antiently no temples.*

and other antient authors, that the *Germans* had no temples, but performed their religious rites in groves erected for that purpoſe, or in woods, foreſts, and deſert places; tho' this latter ſeems to have been practiſed after their conqueſt, and to avoid the penalties of thoſe ſevere edicts which the *Roman* emperors had iſſued out againſt the druids and their inhuman ſacrifices: however that be, temples were not introduced in *Germany* till long after the *Gauls* had ſhewed them the way; and it is plain, that after the former had introduced the worſhip of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, &c. they dedicated ſtill oaks, groves, woods, and whole foreſts to them, and performed their ſuperſtitious rites in them a conſiderable while, before they could be brought to erect temples to them. This is evident, from what *Tacitus* tells us of the goddeſs *Hertha*, one of their antient deities, whoſe idol was preſerved in a wood, or grove, *Caſtum Nemus*, upon a covered cart, and had but one prieſt to miniſter to her, and the only one who dared come near it. He adds, that whenever the deity had a mind to go out and air herſelf, or to take a view of mankind, that prieſt, who was her only confident, gave notice of it to the whole nation; upon which, nothing was to be ſeen but feaſting and jollity amongſt them, whilſt ſhe was carried about in her covered car, drawn by two heifers, and attended by the prieſt above-mentioned. His chief buſineſs was to obſerve when ſhe appeared ſatiated with rambling, and to convey her into her ſacred grove again [d]. He doth indeed mention a temple which he there calls the temple of *Tanfana* [e] (C), and which, he ſays, the *Romans* levelled to the ground: but as in the foregoing inſtance of *Hertha* he firſt calls it a temple, though he ſays in general, that the *Germans* had none, and afterwards explains his meaning by calling it a grove and a private lake; might not this of *Tanfana* be of the ſame kind? However, ſuppoſe it to have been a real temple, there will be no wonder, that ſuch a building ſhould be erected by the *Marſi*, or, at leaſt, in their country, and, perhaps, by the *Romans*, who had, by this time, ſubdued them [f]; for this was in *Auguſtus*'s reign, about eighty years before the time in which *Tacitus* wrote. For though this be the only one we read of, yet there might as well have been

The goddeſs Hertha.

[d] Annal. l. v. c. 9. [e] Ibid. l. i. c. 51. [f] See before, vol. v. p. 33. & 369, & ſeq.

(C) It will be, in a great meaſure, labour loſt, to inquire who this *Tanfana* was, whether a *German* goddeſs, or the place where the temple was: if the former, her name is quite foreign, and no footſteps are left of her or her worſhip, unleſs our author, or his copiers, miſtook *Tanfana* for *Onfana*, the name of *Minerva* among the *Gauls*.

There are ſome inſcriptions, one in particular, dug up in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, in which theſe words are engraven on a marble ſtone: *Pro ſalute Dom. N. Imp. L. Sept. Sever. Aug. totiuſq; Domus ejus Aufanis Matronis & Matribus Pannoniorum & Delmatarum. Ti. Cl. Pompeianus*, &c. from which a modern antiquary (10) would conclude, that it ſhould be *Tanfanis*, inſtead of *Aufanis*, as bearing ſome relation to the goddeſs *Tanfania*, whoſe temple *Tacitus* here ſpeaks of. But ſince there are other inſcriptions which agree with this, and call theſe *Matres Aufaniæ*, his conjecture will hardly be allowed.

Who theſe *Matronæ* were, is as hard to gueſs; the author laſt quoted thinks them to have been *Campeſtrian* deities, ſuch as preſided over woods, rivers, lakes, &c. and were, by this time, worſhipped both by the *Gauls* and *Germans*, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter: but why ſuch aereal beings ſhould be called *Matres* and *Matrones*, cannot well be conceived; and to us it ſeems more probable, that they were thoſe famed druideſſes, or propheteſſes, of whom we have ſpoken in the laſt note, and who, being deified after their death, were ſtill invoked by the living, nd had altars, and other inſcriptions, reared to them by their votaries, as they were ſuppoſed to preſide ſtill on health, life, pregnancy, &c. whereas thoſe aereal beings, which were thought to live in, or preſide over fire, water, earth, woods, &c. and have been ſince diſtinguiſhed by the names of ſalamanders, ſylphs, nymphs, and gnomes, were ſuppoſed to have been created from the beginning, and to have had thoſe elements aſſigned them by the Supreme Being.

Hence we may ſee whence the *Roſicrucian* notion, ſo much in vogue ſtill among the *Germans* and other northern people, had its riſe; and that it is no other than a relict of the old northern heatheniſm, improved by the enthuſiaſtic help of a warm imagination: for, to this day, the ſame, and even much more prepoſterous, ſuperſtitions are ſtill preſerved, in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, among the vulgar, and much more ſo as you go farther northwards, eſpecially among the *Icelanders*, *Samojedes*, *Laplanders*, &c. ſome of which can hardly be read without horror, and might be much better paſſed over in ſilence, were it not, that they plainly ſhew to us how far unaſſiſted reaſon may be depraved and warped by education and cuſtom; ſince all the pains that have hitherto been taken, eſpecially ſince the reformation, have not been able to root it out.

Before we diſmiſs this ſubject of theſe *Deæ Matres*, or *Matronæ*, we beg leave to mention an inſcription found upon an altar-ſtone at *Lowther* in *Weſtmorland*, with theſe words: DEABUSMATRIBUS TRAMAITRAMAIVEXCERMA. P. V. R. D. PROSALUTE, &c. in which a *German* antiquary has endeavoured to ſhew, that the word *Tramai* ſhould be read *Tarami*, or *Tarani*; *Taran* being one of the *Celtic* names of *Jupiter* (11). But we think our learned *Gale* (12) hath much better corrected the lection, by reading it *Bramæ*, the name of a place in that country, mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and from which theſe *Matres* might, in all likelihood, be denominated.

(10) *Reineſ. ſynt. art.* 175. *Vide Keyzler ubi ſupra*, c. 39.
(11) *Schedius de diis Germ.* c. 8.
(12) *Comment. in itiner. Anton. p.* 7.

a been ſome others built by this time, either in imitation of, or obedience to, the conquering *Romans*, who, as we have formerly hinted, were very induſtrious to propagate their religion amongſt thoſe nations they ſubdued. For if, either through complaiſance or fear, they once adopted their deities, why might they not, from the ſame motives, erect alſo temples to them?

Their deities.

We have already ſpoken of thoſe inferior ones introduced among the *Gauls*, ſuch as *Jove*, or *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury Venus*, *Diana*, &c. The ſame, and very nearly under the ſame notion, were adopted by the *Germans*, though ſome of them under different names: we ſhall juſt mention ſome of thoſe names and attributes as they were peculiarly given by the *Germans* to each of them. *Jupiter* was

Jupiter.

b worſhipped under the name of *Thor*, *Tharam*, or *Taran*, i. e. the thunderer. This name we have already ſeen, in the laſt chapter, was given by the *Gauls* to *Mars* alſo, on account of the clattering noiſe of the martial trade, The ſame was done by the *Germans*, who gave it to their *Odin*, or *Woden*, which was the ſame deity, as we ſhall ſee under the next article. As for the name of *Jupiter*, we have formerly ſhewn, that it was never adopted by the *Gauls*, nor doth it appear to have been ſo by the *Germans*: if theſe had any other names for him than thoſe we have mentioned, they have been ſince loſt, and are not worth ſeeking further after.

Mars, called by them *Odin*, *Othin*, and *Woden* (D), has ſometimes been con-

Mars, *or* Odin.

founded with *Mercury* by the *Roman* authors, and no wonder, when they were ſo

c unacquainted with their language, and could have ſo little information from them concerning their religion or politics. For the *Germans*, as well as the *Gauls*, made it a conſtant maxim, not to communicate any thing of either to ſtrangers; and hence may be aſſigned the reaſon why ſome of them have even more abſurdly imagined this *Odin* to have been the ſame with *Heſus*, or *Eſus* [g], the Supreme Deity. The great veneration they obſerved to be paid to the former, their calling upon him at the beginning of a fight, and vowing to him all the plunder, and even lives, of their enemies, might eaſily lead thoſe authors to miſtake him for the latter. *Mars*, when his worſhip came to be adopted, was always, as far as can be gathered from antient monuments, repreſented in armour, though antiently under the type of a naked

d ſword [h]; whereas *Heſus* was only worſhipped under the type of an oak, or even the bare ſtump of one. *Mars* was looked upon not only as the god of war, but as the patron and guardian of thoſe who were ſlain, whoſe ſouls the ſurvivors bequeathed to him, in words to this effect, Odin *receive thee*; *mayeſt thou be with* Odin (E)! If you aſk what they ſuppoſed was to be their employment in that place of bliſs which was called by them *Valhalla*, and of which *Odinus* was the chief diſpoſer; ſome of their antient poets will tell you, that one of them was, to carouſe with exquiſite beer in human ſculls, whilſt *Odinus* alone is allowed to drink wine. They were, moreover, to be ſerved by elegant virgins, whoſe buſineſs it was to furniſh them with a conſtant ſupply of whatever could make them happy and merry;

The diſpenſer of future happineſs.

e and this notion of a *Mohammed*'s paradiſe was no ſmall ſpur to warlike actions, ſince every

[g] Lucan, Pharſal. l. i. Lactant. l. i. c. 12.

[h] See before, vol. ii. p. 272, d.

(D) This deity had ſeveral other names, according to the ſeveral offices they attributed to him; ſuch as *Walfader*, and *Walladur*, the father of ſlaughter, and of arms; *Sigmundur*, the giver of victory, and the like. This of *Odin* ſeems derived from the antient word *Audun*, which ſignifies exterminator, as they prayed to him to exterminate their enemies. The *Gauls* did, moſt likely, give him that of *Ollodius*, as has been found by an inſcription dug up near *Aix* in *Provence*, which runs thus: *Vigilia Melia Maſſa filia Marti Olloudio*, which laſt word is thought by ſome to be of *Greek* extract, as it was found ſo near *Marſeilles*, where *Greek* had been ſo long introduced; and may be either from ὀλλύω, or ὄλλυμι, to put to death, to deſtroy (13). In the ſame ſenſe he is called, by *Homer*, οὐλὸς, fatal, or murderer; as his chief buſineſs, according to the heathen theology, was, to ſupply hell continually with new-comers.

Yet, after all, it may not improbably be derived from the old *Celtic ohll*, which ſignifies beer. For as neither *Germans* nor *Gauls* had vines till long after the *Romans* invaded them, as we have lately ſhewn, beer was not only their choiceſt liquor, but they believed, that *Mars*, or *Odin*, diſpenſed it in large quantities to his votaries in the next world; as we ſhall ſee by-and-by. So that he might be properly enough called *Ollodinus*, or *Ollodius*, from thence, that is, the god of ſtrong beer.

(E) It ſeems from ſome ſepulchral inſcriptions and funeral orations, ſtill extant, that in ſome of the northern regions they bequeathed the ſouls of the deceaſed to *Odin*, in words to this effect: Odin *preſerve thee, a dear child, faithful friend, an honeſt ſervant*, and the like; even after their embracing chriſtianity: and the ſending any one to *Odin*, was reckoned a very kind and good wiſh, though it is ſince looked upon, eſpecially by the *Suevi*, as bad as ſending one to the devil (14).

(13) *Snorro de reg. Haquino. Vide & Keyzler. antiq. Septentr. c. 2. § 7.*

(14) *See Relig. des Gaul, vol. ii. c. 4.*

every man's felicity there was to riſe in proportion to the number of enemies they a had conquered or killed [i] (F). According to this notion, we need not wonder at their conſecrating ſo great a ſhare, and ſometimes all the plunder of their enemies, making him heir of all their wealth, keeper of all their treaſure, and often vowing their own lives to him; ſince they expected to be ſo amply rewarded by him in the next life, and with ſuch a kind of happineſs as beſt ſuited with their genius [k].

Is made a northern hero by their hiſtorians.

The *German*, and other old, hiſtorians have ſince transformed this deity into a northern hero, whom they bring from *Aſia* into *Scandinavia*, where, after a long and bloody proweſs, and a reign ſtuffed with the greateſt wonders, during which he gave them a body of laws, ſome of which we ſhall ſpeak of in its proper place, that he might end as he began, and inſpire his people with the ſame contempt of b death, he gave himſelf a ſlight wound with an arrow, becauſe he would not go into the other world without one, and ſoon after died; and, after a magnificent funeral, in which his corpſe was laid on a large and magnificent pile, that the brighter and higher the flames aſcended, the greater might be his glory among the gods, he was deified as the protector and rewarder of thoſe who die in battle [l]. This may, perhaps, have been trumped up to wipe off the imputation of their having given into the *Greek* and *Roman* idolatry, and to ſhew, that they only paid a more than ordinary veneration to their heroes and heroines, ſome of whom they ranked in the ſame number as *Hercules* among the men, and *Hertha* and *Fria*, or *Friga*, among the women. The mythologiſts, on the other hand, have ſplit this *Odin* into two; the c antienteſt of the two they ſuppoſe ſome to have been *Mars*, others the ſun, and the youngeſt to have been one of their deified heroes: yet there is no doubt but that one may find a great reſemblance between the antient *Germans*, *Suevi*, *Æſtii*, &c. and other moſt diſtant nations; ſuch, for inſtance, we may reckon the worſhip of the goddeſs *Hertha*, mentioned a little higher, which agreed with that which the

Their worſhip of other deities

Romans and others paid to the earth, under the name of *Magna deorum mater*; or, as *Tacitus* ſays of the latter [m], their worſhip of *Fria*, or *Friga*, under that denomination (G). How

[i] Edda mythol. 34, & ſeq. Carmen in Lodbrog. reg. ex verſ. Barthol. Vide Mascov. & Lediard. Germ. l. xiv. c. 3. n. 1.
[k] Vide inter al. Bartholin. de contempt. mort. in Dan. l. ii. c. 12.
[l] Snorron. Yngliga ſaga, c. 8.
[m] Germ. c. 9, & 45.

(F) We have properly no antient author to vouch for this their belief of a *Turkiſh* paradiſe; our authority for it is only taken from ſome of the oldeſt northern poets (15), who quoted it from more antient ſongs and verſes of their druids, who, as we have often obſerved, couched all their religion and hiſtory in ſuch kinds of poems, and conveyed them down from one generation to another. To this we may, however, add this collateral proof, from the general agreement of *Greek* and *Roman* authors, that the antient *Celtes* and *Scythians* made uſe of the ſculls of their ſlain enemies to carouſe with, and that they were in general, but none more than the *Germans*, very fond of drinking to exceſs. So that it is very natural to ſuppoſe, the druids would carry this notion of happineſs beyond the grave, in order to inſpire the people with courage and a contempt of death.

Accordingly, the famous king *Lodbrog* is introduced ſinging his own *requiem*, in theſe words, as tranſlated out of *Edda*, by *Bartholine*.

Pugnavimus enſibus
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi (Odin) *patris ſcamna*
Parata ſcio in aula
Bibemus cereviſiam brevi
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini *domibus*
Non venio deſperabundis
Verbis ad Odini *aulam* (16).

He concludes thus:

Fert animus finire
Invitant me deæ
Quas ex Othini *aula*
Othinus *mihi miſit*
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis (diis)
In ſumma ſede bibam
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ
Ridens moriar (18).

(G) That hiſtorian is, however, contradicted by ſome *German* authors, who pretend, that *Fria*, *Friga*, or *Frejun*, was the ſun (19). This they pretend to prove by what he adds, that they wore the boar on their ſtandard, and which, theſe pretend, was owing to an acceptable ſacrifice, which *Odinus* had offered of this creature to that planet. But, if they worſhipped the ſun under the name of *Frejun*, or *Friggon*, might they not as well do the ſame by the moon, under the name of *Frea*, *Fria*, and *Frigga*? And might not the wild boar be as fit a ſacrifice to that huntreſs, as to the ſun?

Iſis, who was the ſame with the moon, ſince *Cæſar* calls the ſame deity *Luna* which *Tacitus* calls *Iſis*, was worſhipped by *Germans* and *Gauls*, and is affirmed, by the latter hiſtorian, to have been the chief deity of the *Suevi*. He doth, indeed, there ſay (20), that he could find no footſteps upon what account her worſhip was there introduced; but ſuppoſes, by the figure in which ſhe was repreſented, *viz.* that of a ſhip, or frigate, that it was brought thither from abroad;

(15) *Edda mythol.* 30, & *ſeq. Carm. in reg. Lodbrog. ſupra citat.* & *al.* (16) *Idem ibid. ſtroph.*
(17) *Stroph.* 29. (18) *Vide Vormii literat. Run. p.* 222, & *ſeq.* & *Keyzler. antiq. ſept. c.* 2. §
(19) *Vide Keyzler. ubi ſupra*, § 15. (20) *De mor. c.* 45.

a How much of this kind of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the *Romans*, is not eaſy to ſay; and we ſhall gladly refer our readers to what has been already hinted on that head in the hiſtory of the *Gauls*; but after that time, eſpecially after their being ſubdued by them, there is no doubt but they adopted many of their other deities, as well as a great number of their ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, However, it plainly appears, upon the whole, that their antient theology differed much from the mythology of the *Romans* and *Greeks*, The *Germans*, even according to the teſtimony of *Roman* writers, neither preſumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to repreſent them under any forms [n], nor admitted into that number any but ſuch as they ſaw, and received aſſiſtance and b benefit from; ſuch as the ſun, moon, and *Vulcan* [o], or the god of fire (H). Their veneration for their deified heroes and heroines, and the encomiums they gave them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their ſtrength and courage, victories and conqueſts [p]; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even ſanctified their moſt monſtrous and unnatural vices [q].

Horrid ſuperſtitions.

THE *Germans* as well as *Gauls*, were early taught, by their druids, two momentous truths, *viz.* an over-ruling providence and the immortality of the ſoul. The misfortune was, that theſe two noble ſprings of virtue and religion did not run long uncorrupted; for as, on the one hand, a too eager deſire in the people of c prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in their druids and diviners of being thought more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, introduced an infinite variety of auguries and ſuperſtitions; and ſome of them, as we have elſewhere hinted, were of the moſt inhuman and diabolical kind; ſo, on the other, the belief of a future life and immortality, proved but too fatal a ſpur to raſhneſs, ambition, and cruelty, eſpecially after they came to imbibe that poiſonous notion, hinted a little higher, that the ſureſt way to that happineſs was, to die in the field of battle; and that their felicity in the next world was to riſe according to the number of the enemies they had deſtroyed in this. For this not only inſpired them with a barbarous courage and cruelty in their wars, but made them leſs ſolicitous to in- d quire whether the motives of it were juſt or unjuſt. We have already given ſuch inſtances of theſe bloody ſuperſtitions, in the hiſtory of the antient *Celtes* and *Scythians* [r], and lately in that of the *Gauls* [s], that our readers, we hope, will eaſily ſpare us the trouble of repeating them here, ſeeing they are all of the ſame kind, and of ſuch a nature, that they can ſcarcely be read without horror. Only this we muſt be bound to add, that, whether the *Germans* received them from their neighbours, or whether they crept in amongſt them by degrees, as they did almoſt everywhere elſe, they appear not only to have exceeded other nations in them, but to have retained them much longer than any of thoſe who received the goſpel.

[n] Idem ibid. c. 9. & 43. [o] Cæs. com. l. vi. c. 21. [p] German. c. 2. [q] LACTANT. MINUT. FEL. CLEM. ALEX. & al. [r] See vol. ii. p. 252, c. [s] See before, p. 348, 350, & ſeq. 354, paſſ.

abroad; and it is ſomewhat ſtrange, ſince ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under that type, as preſiding over the ſea and navigation (21), and had a ſet feſtival in their *faſti*, that he ſhould conclude from thence, that the *Suevi*, who were of *Celtic* extract, and given to navigation, ſhould receive that deity from abroad, which was peculiar to all the *Celtes*. However, therefore, *Fria* and *Freius*, *Iſis* and *Mithras*, *Sol* and *Luna*, *Apollo* and *Diana*, may be found confounded in antient hiſtorians, on account of their joint influence on earthly things, and their common courſe in the heavens; yet there is no doubt to be made but they were ſeverally worſhipped by all the northern, as well as ſouthern, nations; and why not more ſo than earth, water, rivers, lakes, woods, foreſts, trees, and plants?

(H) So, at leaſt, that author is underſtood by moſt writers. We are, indeed, told, by *Plutarch* (22), that *Viridomarus*, a king of the *Gauls*, who lived above 200 years before our Saviour, having declared war againſt the *Romans*, made a vow to conſecrate all the arms he took from the enemy to *Vulcan*: ſo that if that author be right in the name, the worſhip of that deity muſt have been very antient among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. But the misfortune is, as a late writer obſerves (23), that the *Roman* writers either miſtook the names of thoſe heroes or deities, or mentioned them by the names of ſuch of their own gods as they imagined them to reſemble moſt; by which means, that part of *German* antiquity is become ſo intricate, that it can hardly be relied on.

Some inſcriptions ſhew, that they had a deity called *Volian*, or *Volianus*, according to the *Roman* termination. Hence ſome authors have concluded, that the two branches of the K were worn out, and that the name was originally *Volkanus*, which ſuppoſition is natural enough. But *Volian* being a *Celtic* word, which ſignifies either a furnace, or a fiery forge, the latter may, probably, have been the original name, though hardened ſince into *Vulcan*.

(21) *Lactant. l.* i. *c.* 11. *Diod. Sicul. Apul. & al.* (22) *In vit. Marcel.* (23) *See Maſcov. Germ. l.* ii. *c.* 35.

goſpel (I). One piece of ſuperſtition, common to all the *Germans* and *Gauls*, was, a never to fight, or undertake any material point, before the moon was full ſix days old, nor even then, if their ſoothſayers, who were moſtly women, did not like the auguries. Theſe were always conſulted, upon all emergencies, as the druids and druideſſes were in *Gaul*. They were always admitted to their councils, bore the greateſt ſway in them, not only as having the chief management of all their augu- ries, without which they did not do any thing, but as being eſteemed by the whole nation to have been endowed with a prophetic ſpirit [r].

Their prieſts. Next in authority to theſe pretended propheteſſes, were the druids, or rather prieſts. *Cæſar* ſays, indeed [u], that they had no druids, as the *Celtes*; but *Tacitus*, who was better acquainted with them, ſpeaks frequently of their prieſts, whoſe b office and authority, according to him, being much the ſame with the *Gauliſh* druids, ſhews them to have been the ſame order of men, though they did not, perhaps, bear the ſame name. For theſe prieſts, he tells us [w], were not only admitted to their public councils, but accompanied them in the wars, and bore a great ſway in both. For we are told, that they were the only ones who had power to impoſe ſilence in thoſe meetings, to reprove or puniſh offenders, which exactly agrees with what *Cæſar* ſays of the *Gauliſh* druids, whoſe office it was to try, con- demn, and even to inflict capital puniſhment [x]. And hence it may be, that the office of hangman is ſtill in ſo much requeſt all over *Germany*, contrary to what we find it in all other chriſtian nations; where they are either taken from the dregs of c the people, or, when that fails, ſome noted delinquent is commonly condemned to it. As, therefore, one main part of the prieſts office among the antient *Germans* *Their office.* conſiſted chiefly in ſtirring them up to martial deeds, in killing and ſlaying victims, and very frequently human ones, both in their ſacrifices and auguries, in condemn- ing and executing criminals, in puniſhing leſſer offenders with milder puniſhments, and the like; we need not wonder, if the external part of their religion was ſo void of the *Greek* and *Roman* pomp, and ſo full of every thing that could ſtrike an awful dread on that fierce and warlike people, whoſe devotion might perhaps be better kept up under the covert of thick and gloomy groves, as well as by the bloody rites performed in them, than by all the ornaments of *Greek* and *Roman* temples, and d the pageantry of their ceremonies and dreſs. It is therefore no ſmall wonder, that ſuch men ſhould chuſe a garb ſo contrary to their butcherly trade, and to affect to be clad in white, and not rather in the deepeſt crimſon: and may not this contraſt *Dreſs.* be a kind of proof, that their office at firſt was of a quite different nature, and that from ſinging the praiſes of their Creator, and of their famed heroes, or killing, perhaps, ſome few harmleſs creatures, in honour to them; their ambition, and thirſt of rule over an untractable people, made them degenerate, by degrees, into this pitch of arbitrary power and cruelty? But we offer this only as a conjecture, which is not, however, without ſome foundation, if we conſider, that they received their religion from the ſame founntain that the *Perſes*, *Brachmans*, and other *Indian* e ſects, did, who yet, either from their living, perhaps, in milder climes, or from a more conſcientious adhering to their primitive inſtitution, have ever been juſtly famed for a character the moſt oppoſite to theirs.

Their laws and government. As for their antient laws and government, we can only ſay, that they diſcover thoſe evident marks, by which men, by degrees, were forced to form themſelves into ſocieties for their general good and preſervation; to have magiſtrates to govern and protect them in times of peace, and generals to command and lead them in war. This, conſidering the extent of their territories, and their fierce and warlike genius, prevented their being long united into one common ſtate, whatever they might have been originally. But every tribe of them had its own form of government, inde- f pendent from the reſt, except, perhaps, that they had ſome laws in common, for the better

[r] Tacit. Germ. c. 8. & alib. paſſ. [u] Comm. l. vi. c. 21. [w] Tacit. ubi ſupra, l. vii.

[x] Idem ibid.

(I) Hence all that ſad trade of witchery and ſorceries ſtill in vogue among the more northern parts; the divining wand, to find out mines, thieves, and murderers, among the ſouthern; their notions of fairies, and other aereal beings, ſome of a benevolent, others of a malevolent, nature; of apparitions, charms, inchantments, faſcination, magical and diabolical contracts, carnal commerce with demons, and a number of other heatheniſh forgeries, which cannot be rooted out from among the vulgar of both; all which plainly appear to be owing to their tena- ciouſneſs of, and fondneſs for, the old leaven of the antient *Celtic* ſuperſtition.

better union and preſervation of the whole body againſt foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance amongſt themſelves, that one nation ſhould not grow too ſtrong for the reſt: in other things each canton held their national councils at leaſt once a year, that is, in the ſpring, and oftener, if need required; and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magiſtrates, and other annual officers, both civil and military; the ſending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other ſuch points, according to their preſent exigence [y]. And theſe aſſemblies were ſo exactly obſerved, that, we are told, the laſt comer to them was ſure to loſe his life (K). It is very likely alſo, that all other matters relating to property, crimes, and ſuch-like, were here alſo finally determined by the plurality of votes, rather than by any body of laws they can be ſuppoſed to have had in theſe early days. Liberty, being by them looked upon as the *ſummum bonum* [z], made them exceeding watchful againſt every thing that looked like an infringement of it; and as they were too impatient to go through the fatigues of long law-ſuits, they rather choſe to have them decided at once by ſuch an aſſembly, and ſometimes by ſingle combat, rather than ſtay for their next meeting. Theſe aſſemblies were commonly accompanied with ſumptuous banquets, as they were judged to promote friendſhip and mutual confidence, to inſpire men with greater freedom of ſpeech, and open a door to wholſome counſels [a]. In thoſe ſtates which were under a kingly government, as a great many of them were, they applied to the prince only in matters of ſmaller moment; but in thoſe which concerned the whole nation, to the grand council of it [b]: neither allowed they any other revenues to thoſe monarchs but a part of the fines, and ſuch free-will offerings as the people thought fit to make to them of cattle and the fruits of the earth; ſo that they had little elſe to keep up their grandeur, except their hereditary eſtates [c]. Their expence was, indeed, inconſiderable, becauſe all their ſubjects, fit to bear arms, were obliged to follow them into the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make part of their retinue; upon which account theſe had the free uſe of the prince's table, and were ſometimes preſented with a horſe, or ſome of his arms [d]. The ſubjects were diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ranks, or claſſes, ſuch as nobles, free-born, freed-men, and bondſmen; in each of which claſſes thoſe were ſtill moſt eſteemed, who had ſignalized themſelves beſt, by their courage, conduct, or any laudable exploit [e]. As for their other laws, if any ſuch they had compiled in a body, they were rather preſerved by tradition and cuſtom, than kept upon record, ſince we have often obſerved, they made it a conſtant maxim, not to commit any thing to writing. But that ſome ſuch laws they had, is apparent from this, that they ſtill retained many of them, even after thoſe of the *Romans* had been introduced amongſt them. Judges they likewiſe had of their own, and their office was held in ſuch eſteem, that men of the higheſt rank were promoted to it, as well as thoſe of the greateſt probity, years, and diſcretion: even their princes ſometimes took it upon them. Every judge had, it ſeems, a number of aſſeſſors, with whom he might conſult upon occaſion; whence, probably, the office of *ſcabinus*, or ſheriff, had its riſe [f].

National councils.

Kings, and their revenue.

THESE general aſſemblies were antiently held in the open country; for the *Germans* deſpiſed cities and fortreſſes, as monuments of ſervitude, rather than places of defence [g]; and were ſome of the lateſt of the *Europeans* that either built any for themſelves, or would take refuge in them: ſo that, whenever they were obliged to fight an enemy, they always choſe to do it in the open field, and, when worſted, to retire into woods, marches, and inacceſſible places, where they could get proviſion for their cattle, and keep their purſuers at a diſtance; rather than to ſhelter themſelves in towns, and fortified places, where they might be caught, as in a trap. It was, moreover, a common ſaying among them, that even wild beaſts would loſe all

Their ſtate of war. Had neither cities, nor fortreſſes.

[y] Idem ibid. & c. 11, & ſeq. [z] LUCAN. Pharſal. l. vii. v. 430. TACIT. ubi ſupra, c. 37. [a] Idem ibid. c. 22. [b] Ibid. c. 11. [c] Ibid. c. 15, & ſep. [d] Ibid. c. 14, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. c. 11. [f] See MASCOV. German. l. ii. c. 38. [g] TACIT. ann. l. iv. c. 64.

(K) This, we are told, they did in imitation of the cranes, to which they, as well as the *Gauls*, in their auguries, paid a ſingular regard: and as theſe birds are ſaid by naturaliſts to ſhift their habitations every year, and to appoint a general rendezvous, in order to take their flight, and to kill the laſt comer to the place; ſo they did the ſame by him who came laſt to the general aſſembly (24).

(24) *See Voſſ. de idololat. l.* iii. *c.* 22.

all their ſtrength and courage, if penned up [g]. And we are told, that this cuſtom a
ſubſiſted in *Gaul* till the eighth century, and much longer in *Germany* [h] (L). The
whole nation being, moreover, naturally of a warlike genius, and eſteeming cow-
ardice as the greateſt reproach and diſgrace that could be thrown upon them, all
ſuch fenced cities and fortified places were looked upon by them as ſo many ſhameful
aſyla for the weak and puſillanimous to flee to, and they, conſequently, deſpiſed them,
as unworthy a brave people, who always ſcorned to take any advantage of their
enemy, whether of weapons, intrenchments, diſcipline, ſtratagems, or, indeed, of
any other kind but thoſe of ſtrength and bravery, intrepidity, and an invincible love
of liberty. It was in theſe that they ſolely trained up their youth, leaving all other arts
of gaining a ſuperiority to thoſe of their enemies, to whom the want of theſe martial b
virtues rendered them more neceſſary. Accordingly, no nation could take more
care than they did to inure them to all hardſhips (M), to inſpire them with a con-
tempt of danger, and even of death, and to rear them up to martial deeds. This
was their chief and ſureſt road to wealth, honour, and preferment, and, as their
prieſts taught them, even to the greateſt happineſs in a future life [i]. It was for this
that the ambitious amongſt them neglected agriculture, and deſpiſed all mercantile
and mechanic employments [k], how neceſſary and advantageous ſoever, and obliged
all who were able to bear arms to go into the field. Hence it was, that they were
never at a loſs how to raiſe, in a very ſhort time, ſuch powerful and numerous armies
either to repulſe an enemy, or to aſſiſt their friends and allies [l]: for whenever any c
country was diſengaged from a war, the ableſt ſoldiers were ſent into foreign ſervice,
not ſingly, or according to their own option, but in conſiderable bodies, and under
the command of ſuch officers as were ſet over them by the ſtate; by which means,
the whole nation not only ſhared in the honour of their exploits, but was likewiſe
furniſhed with more experienced generals. Another advantage was reaped from it,
viz. that, when a canton or ſtate became too populous, they could draw out ſuch
numbers as could be ſpared, to go and ſeek out new habitations; and theſe, by being
trained up to the trade of war, could the better fight their way through, and maintain
themſelves in thoſe countries which they had the good fortune to ſettle in [m].

Their cavalry and foot.

THEY had but little cavalry, in proportion to their foot, in which they placed d
the main of their ſtrength; but what they had of the former was extremely well
diſciplined, though their horſes were, it ſeems, inferior to thoſe of the *Romans*,
either in bigneſs, ſwiftneſs, or dexterity, as well as in thoſe evolutions which were
ſo artfully uſed by the latter [n]. As for ſaddles and ſtirrups, they were quite neg-
lected, by both *Gauls* and *Germans*, who were accuſtomed to mount and diſmount by
their

g Cæs. comment. l. iii. c. 29. l. iv. c. 19. & 29. h Vide Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 5. ſect. 4.
i Cæs. com. l. vi. c. 22, & ſeq. k Idem ibid. See alſo Eſſay on thoſe countries, &c. which helped to
pull down the Roman empire, p. 13—16. l Idem ibid. See Mascov. l. ii. c. 37. m Tacit.
ann. l. iv. c. 12. Cæs. comm. l. vi. c. 23. n Tacit. Germ. c. 6.

(L) We have formerly ſeen, that both antient *Germans* and *Gauls* lived in a kind of cantons, or villages, with their houſes and grounds about them, at a convenient diſtance from each other, that every family might have land enough for themſelves and their cattle (25); and that, as ſoon as they had gathered in their harveſt, they generally removed to new habitations. But when they came to be either conquered by the *Romans*, or enſlaved, perhaps, by ſome of their ambitious princes; either of theſe were forced to build caſtles, fortreſſes, and fenced cities, to keep them in awe, and deprive them of all poſſible means of regaining their liberty. And hence proceeded their averſion to all ſuch ſtrong places, as tending only to bring and hold them the faſter in ſlavery. But, as neceſſity, in proceſs of time, obliged them to have their cities, caſtles, *&c.* for their own defence and preſervation, they fell into the ſame ſuperſtition with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of dedicating them to certain deities, and even perſonifying and apotheoſing them, and to celebrate a kind of anniverſary of their foundation: which cuſtom laſted till long after their embracing chriſtianity, as appears from many antient inſcriptions, which the reader may find in *Gruter*'s collection, and from ſundry prohibitions of chriſtian biſhops againſt all future obſervances of them (26).

(M) We are even told, that thoſe who lived neareſt the *Rhine*, or any other rivers, uſed to dip their children, as ſoon as born, into them, in order to knit and harden their limbs (27). We have, indeed, formerly obſerved, from *Julian* the apoſtate (28), that the waters of that river were ſuppoſed to have ſome peculiar virtue above others, inſomuch, that they threw their children into it whenever they had any ſuſpicion of their mothers fidelity. Whether our authors miſtook the deſign, or confounded the one with the other, we cannot affirm; but it is very probable, that if any ſuch cuſtom they had, it was rather introduced on a perſuaſion, that ſuch children who were not proof againſt the ſeverity of ſuch a trial, were not worth the rearing up, and might as well be left to be ſwallowed up by the waves.

(25) *See before, p.* 325, *e*, (*H*). (26) *Vide Relig. des Gaul. l.* iv. *c.* 27. (27) *Vide Ariſtot. de repub. l.* vii. (28) *See p.* 334, *a*, (*I*). *& Claudian. in Ruf. v.* 109, *& Nonn. ap. Lediard. Germ. l.* ii. *c.* 37. *n.* 2.

a their own agility, and could, whenever occaſion required, fight as well on foot as on horſeback (N). In their order of battle, every canton and diſtrict were placed together, that every one of them might reap either the glory or diſgrace of fighting valiantly or cowardly, which was no ſmall ſpur to them to behave in ſuch a manner as might be a credit to their own tribe; and, by this means, they commonly fought in ſeveral diſtinct bodies. We are told, indeed, that ſome of them, eſpecially the *Cimbri*, formed their whole infantry into one ſquare battalion, and placed their wives, children, and baggage, behind a fence made of their waggons: as ſoon as every thing was ready for the onſet, the ſignal was given, which was anſwered by an univerſal ſhout, which was redoubled in a moſt dreadful manner, till they came to b cloſe engagement. They uſed no art or ſtratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onſet on the enemy, and continuing it with a deſperate intrepidity, till they had either won or loſt the day; by which means, if they once met with a ſtout repulſe, or were put into diſorder, they ſeldom knew how to rally again, but became ſtupified and deſperate, and either fought till they died, or elſe betook themſelves to flight[o]; for it was reckoned ſo inglorious amongſt them to yield themſelves priſoners, that we read but of few inſtances of their doing ſo, in compariſon to thoſe in which they died with ſword in hand. Time and experience did, indeed, at length teach them to truſt leſs to their own ſtrength and courage, and to ſtudy a little more the *Roman* diſcipline, and art of fighting. But they began c too late: had they done ſo from the beginning, they might, perhaps, have continued unconquered to this day. *Way of fighting.*

THEIR weapons were likewiſe vaſtly inferior to thoſe of the *Romans*; the cavalry had their ſhields and ſpears in common with the foot, but the latter had, beſides, their darts, bows and ſlings, and ſeldom had recourſe to their pikes and ſwords[p]. Helmets, armour, and coats of mail, were generally deſpiſed amongſt them; ſome of them did even affect to fight naked: ſo that if any ſuch armour was worn amongſt them, it was rather for diſtinction, than defence: upon which account, they adorned them with the horns and heads of ſome wild beaſts. Hence thoſe frightful figures which *Plutarch* obſerved among the *Cimbrian* cavalry[q], ſome of d which are ſtill to be ſeen upon the ſeals and arms of thoſe antient times. Their ſhields, which they diſtinguiſhed only by different colours, or ſome particular emblem, were reckoned ſo ſacred amongſt them, that they looked upon it as the greateſt diſgrace to loſe them in fight; becauſe none durſt appear either at their religious ceremonies, public aſſemblies, or even funerals, without them (O). Their arms were eſteemed their favourite furniture and chiefeſt ornament; they never appeared in public without them, and nothing was ſo earneſtly wiſhed for by their youth, as the day in which they became qualified to bear them[r]. The ſword was ſo ſacred amongſt them, that no oaths were reckoned more binding than thoſe they took upon a naked one[s]; neither did they appear in public, or aſſiſt at any ſolemn e rite, without their ſword, ſhield, and ſpear[t]. We are even told, that they wore them at their familiar viſits, banquets, religious dances, and the like. When they ſat down, they had their ſword by their ſide, and a ſervant behind, to hold their ſhield and ſpear; and when they roſe, every one took them up again[u]: in a word, they looked upon themſelves as wedded to their arms; and when they had worn them from their youth to their extremeſt old age, they commonly cauſed them to be burnt or buried with them, when they died[w]. It was on account of this exceſſive regard *Weapons.* *Exceſſive fondneſs for them.*

[o] TACIT. & CÆSAR, ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in Mar. VALER. MAX. l. ii. c. 6. See before, p. 375, e, & ſeq. [p] TACIT. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. [q] Idem ibid. [r] TACIT. ubi ſupra, c. 13. [s] AM. MARCEL. l. xvii. c. 12. [t] NIC. DAMASC. ap. Stob. ſerm. 164. LIVY hiſt. l. xxi. c. 20. CÆS. comm. l. vii. c. 21. [u] TACIT. Germ. c. 2, 13, 22. Annal. l. iv. c. 64. ATHEN. ex Poſid. l. iv. c. 12. [w] CLAUDIAN. de bell. Get. v. 501. Comment. l. vi. c. 19. TACIT. Germ. c. 13, 27.

(N) This plainly appears, by *Cæſar*'s own confeſſion (29), who owns, moreover, that he had them in moſt of his wars; and often boaſts of the great ſervices he received from them (30).

(O) *Tacitus* adds, that they were forced to live in diſgrace all the remainder of their days, and excluded from the company of men; inſomuch that they choſe often to put an end to both by a voluntary death (31). He tells us farther, that the *Suevi* were the only people in all *Germany* where private men had not the liberty to wear their arms, or even to keep them at home; and the reaſon he gives is, that they lived under arbitrary princes, who, to maintain themſelves in their tyranny, ſtripped their ſubjects of them, and put them under the cuſtody of their favourite creatures (32).

(29) *Comment. l.* iv. *c.* 2. (30) *Ibid. l.* vii. *c.* 13. *Vide Hirt. com. de bell. Alexandrin. c.* 29.
(31) *Tacit. Germ. c.* 6. (32) *Ibid. c.* 44.

regard they paid to their warlike weapons, as well as from their antient cuſtom of rearing a ſword, pike, or ſpear, at the head of their army, round about which they all gathered themſelves to perform their devotions, that they were ſuppoſed to worſhip them [x]; though it is plain, that they only worſhipped the Deity, or, at moſt, the god *Mars*, ſince adopted their grand patron and protector, under theſe types: but, upon the whole, it appears, that both *Celtes* and *Scythians*, and all their deſcendants, were accuſtomed to wear their arms, as well in the time of the profoundeſt peace, as in war; which was alſo practiſed by all the *Greeks*, *Perſians*, and other antient nations [y] (P).

Sieges. In their ſieges of places they were likewiſe vaſtly inferior to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whether in the offenſive or defenſive, being ſtrangers to thoſe deſtructive inſtruments which were uſed by the latter, ſuch as towers and circumvallations, battering-rams, mining and countermining; and, placing the ſtreſs of their confidence in their miſſile weapons, as darts and ſtones, and their vigorous aſſaults and ſcalings, or in a reſolute and intrepid reſiſtance, if theſe failed, as they too often did, eſpecially when they were engaged againſt the well-diſciplined and artful *Romans*, who, beſides that they uſed all theſe, and many other ſuch warlike engines, in the greateſt perfection, were likewiſe expert in a great variety of ſtratagems, with which the *Germans* were wholly unacquainted, they fell immediately into confuſion, and became an eaſy prey to them. Hence the native ſtrength and valour of the latter is

Valour: the more conſpicuous, as they defended themſelves ſo long, and ſo bravely, againſt ſuch powerful and dexterous enemies, and at length conquered them by their own arts [z].

From what we have ſeen we may infer, that the *Germans* in general, though too long unacquainted with the art of war, did yet obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline with their ſoldiery; and that cowardice and neglect of duty were ſeverely puniſhed amongſt them: they were not, indeed, ſo ſtrict in other caſes, but adapted their puniſhments

Puniſhments. to the different purpoſes of the commonwealth; were ſevere againſt ſome offences, and remiſs towards others; inſomuch, that even murder was not eſteemed capital amongſt them [a], but was puniſhed by ſuch a fine, of great or ſmall cattle, as was deemed a ſufficient compenſation to the family for their loſs. In diſputes and accuſations, whenever the caſe appeared dubious or intricate, they had two expeditious ways of deciding the matter; the one by their pretended divine auguries, and the other by ſingle combat; for in either of theſe they looked upon Providence as the chief director, and therefore ſubmitted to its unerring judgment. When, therefore, *Varus* endeavoured to introduce the *Roman* laws among them, we are told, that they refuſed it; alledging, that it was their way to decide all their controverſies by the ſword [b]; and this cuſtom continued amongſt them ſeveral hundred years [c].

Sciences. Sciences they were altogether ſtrangers to, if we except thoſe who lived by the ſea-coaſts, and had made ſome conſiderable progreſs not only in navigation, and building of ſhips, but probably, alſo, in ſome branches of aſtronomy, as well by obſervation, as by their converſe with other more polite nations: the reſt were all rude and ignorant, and it is even doubted whether they knew the uſe of letters (Q).

Their

x See vit. Dagobert. ap. du Cheſne, tom. i. c. 31. Adam Bremens. & al. y Aristot politic. l ii. c. 8. Thucydid. l. i. c. 6. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. c 6. z See Mascov. Germ. l. ii. in fin. c. 37. a Tacit. Germ. c. 12, & 21. b Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 188. c In vet. leg. Aleman. tit. 44. ap. Maſcov. l. ii. c. 38.

(P) It is not unlikely, that not only the *Perſians*, but likewiſe the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, had this cuſtom from the old *Celtes*. However, the two laſt, when they came to form themſelves into more regular ſocieties, and under a wholſome ſet of laws, probably abrogated this cuſtom, and permitted the people to carry their arms, in time of peace, only at their public ſpectacles, games, &c. (33).

(Q) At leaſt *Tacitus*, who knew them beſt, and may be ſuppoſed to have been converſant with the poliſter ſort, tells us, that neither men nor women knew any thing of them (34); unleſs by *literarum ſecreta* be meant ſomething more than the bare knowledge of letters, which is not unlikely; ſince he tells us, in the ſame book, that both they and the *Switzers* made uſe of the *Greek* characters (35); which is alſo confirmed by *Cæſar* (36), and by ſome antient coins and inſcriptions written in that character (37).

We have already taken notice, that the *Gauls* probably received that character from the *Greek* colony that ſettled at *Marſeilles* (38); from whence it might eaſily paſs into *Switzerland*, and thence into *Germany*, and have been adopted by theſe for the ſame reaſon that they were by the *Gauls*: and this is the only

(33) *Vide Lucian. de gymnoſoph. p.* 803. *Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l.* ii. *c.* 6. (34) *Germ. c.* 18. (35) *Ibid. c.* 3. (36) *Comment. l.* i. (37) *Vide Rom. ſubterran. ap. Mabillon. Bouteroue traité des monoyes, p.* 157, & 379. *Vide & Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 4. (38) *See before, p.* 379, *c—e.*

Their greateſt ſkill in phyſic conſiſted in the knowledge and uſe of certain plants and roots found out by obſervation and experience, in which theſe pretenders intermixed a deal of ſuperſtitious traſh; ſuch as the time of the moon for gathering and applying them, charms, and other occult quackeries, which ſerved only to amuſe and raiſe the admiration of the vulgar. Muſic and poetry were much better cultivated amongſt them, though one would be apt to judge their tongue too harſh and inharmonious for the one, and for the other. But beſides that ſuch foreign languages appear more ſo to us than to the natives, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that both their muſic and poetry being adapted to the genius of the *German* nation and tongue, their harſhneſs might be looked upon rather as a majeſtic beauty, than a defect: however that be, they had a ſet of men whoſe buſineſs it was to couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric poems, and to ſing them to the people, upon proper occaſions, as the *Gauls* did of theirs [d]. And as martial deeds were the common topic of theſe verſes, and one part of the inſtrumental muſic, which accompanied it, was the clattering their ſwords againſt their ſhields, it is no wonder *Julian* the apoſtate, whoſe ears were accuſtomed to more gentle and harmonious ſtrains, gives ſuch a frightful account both of the *German* tongue, muſic, and poetry [e]. *Muſic and poetry.*

THEIR ſports, games, and exerciſes, were all, likewiſe, of the maſculine kind, and fit to inure them to the martial trade. The youth performed them naked, and with incredible agility, ſuch as running, ſhooting, ſwimming, leaping, and the like. Some equeſtrian exerciſes were much in vogue with them, as they were extraordinary horſemen; they were likewiſe fond of gaming, to ſuch a degree, that, when they had loſt all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one caſt more of the dice [f]. Manufactures were not introduced very early amongſt them; *Games and exerciſes.*

Trades.

that of linen excepted, which was, perhaps, one of the firſt, if not the only one, they cultivated, for a conſiderable time, as it was the favourite dreſs of their women, prieſts, and men of quality [g]. Their original dreſs, when they came firſt to cover themſelves, were the ſkins of beaſts (R); the *Germans* and *Britons* ſeem to have been ſome of the laſt who exchanged them for cloaths made of flax and wool: theſe they did not wear long and full, as the *Sarmatians*, but ſhort and ſtrait, and fit to diſplay every limb of their body [h]. As they became more acquainted with the *Romans*, they not only improved in their dreſs, and the manner of weaving, flowering, and embroidering thoſe ſtuffs of which they were made [i], but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have ſince excelled other nations; for it was their contempt of ſuch trades, and not their want of a capacity for them, which made them be ſo long neglected, as beneath a martial genius; but when they came to take them up, they ſoon convinced the world, that their country ſeemed cut out to produce the beſt artificers; and we may add, that, in the number and variety of curious

Dreſs.

[d] Vide TACIT. Germ. c. 2, & 3. [e] Miſopog. p. 336, & ſeq. [f] TACIT. ubi ſupra, c. 24.
[g] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxix. c. 1. [h] TACIT. ubi ſupra, c. 17. [i] Idem ibid.

only way to reconcile *Tacitus* with himſelf, and with *Julius Cæſar*.

With reſpect to the *Germans* being ignorant of the liberal ſciences, we muſt except what a later author ſays of the *Goths* (39), that a *Grecian* philoſopher, named *Diceneus*, finding in them a fit capacity for philoſophy, aſtronomy, &c. took the pains to inſtruct them in every branch of them: for if that be true, the *Germans* could not be long without them. But our author, who was a *Goth*, is too juſtly ſuſpected of partiality for his own nation, in many other particulars as well as this, to be relied on. As for the *Germans*, it plainly appears, that literature of any kind was not introduced amongſt them till even ſome centuries after him, as we have ſhewn in the laſt chapter (40).

(R) Theſe were called by ſeveral names, according to thoſe nations among which they were worn. In ſome parts of *Germany* they were called *reno*, which *Cluverius* thinks is derived from the rein-deer, whoſe ſkins they made their garments of (41). In others, *maſtruga*; ſuppoſed to have been called ſo becauſe it made thoſe who wore them appear like monſters (42), or brutes in human ſhape. *Tacitus* adds, that the only diſtinction between men of quality and the vulgar conſiſted in the richneſs and fineneſs of thoſe furs (43).

And here it will not be amiſs to take notice of a merry jeſt which ſome *Greeks*, ſettled in *Scythia*, had endeavoured to impoſe upon *Herodotus*, as a ſerious truth; *viz.* that the *Neuri*, a northern nation, were once a year changed into wolves, and, after ſome time, reſumed their own ſhape (44). He doth indeed own, that he could hardly give credit to it; but it is plain they only impoſed on his too great credulity in this point, as they did in ſome others, particularly where they told him that on the other ſide the *Danube* the air was, at ſome ſeaſons, ſo full of feathers, meaning of ſnow, that a man could ſcarce ſee two yards before him. Wolves, it is certain, were in ſuch quantities, and ſo dangerous, in all theſe northern countries, that the inhabitants were forced to

(39) *Jornand. de reb. Getar. c.* 11.
(40) *See before, p.* 381, *b, c.*
(41) *Germ. ant. p.* 110.
(42) *Iſidor. Orig. l.* xix. *c.* 23.
(43) *Tacit. Germ.* c. 17.
(44) *Herodot. l.* iv. *c.* 105.

curious mechanic inventions, they have outdone all the world (S). They did not so a
Writing. soon give into the liberal arts, or even that of writing: we are told, that *Charles the great* cauſed ſome of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only ſung by heart, and contained the actions of their antient kings and heroes, to be committed to writing for their uſe, and to encourage them to learn to read [k]. The *Saxons* had ſuch a contempt for letters, that they refuſed to learn to read the goſpels till they were put into verſe, and ſet to ſuch tunes as they could eaſily ſing [l]. Even their laws were not, it ſeems, reduced to writing till about the 12th or 13th century [m]: which plainly ſhews that their *runæ*, or letters (T), are not of ſo antient date as ſome moderns have imagined.

Genius and character. Before we finiſh this ſection, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething concerning b
the character and genius of the antient *Germans*, which was pretty near the ſame through all that large country. They are generally deſcribed to us by *Greek* and *Roman* authors as reſembling one another, and differing from other nations by the largeneſs of their ſtature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and yellow and buſhy hair,
Robuſtneſs. haughty and threatening looks, ſtrong conſtitutions, and proof againſt hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardſhip [n]. Nothing could be more conducive to their bodily ſtrength than their coarſe diet, their living in huts rather than houſes, their conſtant and ſtrenuous exerciſes, and inuring themſelves betimes to all kinds of fatigue; to which *Tacitus* joins another thing, which is not, perhaps, quite ſo authentic, *viz.* their drinking of ſtrong liquors made of barley or wheat [o], and which they drank c
in large quantities. *Cæſar* adds, that their animal ſpirits not being exhauſted in their youth by ſtudy, learning, or any troubleſome occupations, or enervated by early amours and gallantry, their bodies were more apt to grow large and robuſt [p]. *Pliny* attributes much of this to the temperateneſs of their climate [q]; but though it be true, that the perſpiration is not ſo copious in ſuch cold countries, yet it may be much doubted, whether this doth ſo much contribute to the growth and ſtrength of their

[k] Eginhard in vit. Carol. mag. c. 29. [l] Vide Du Chesne rea. Franc. tom. ii. p. 326. [m] See Schottel. de antiq. Germ. jur. p. 254. Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 10. [n] Tacit. Germ. c. 4. & 30. Horat. epod. xvi. v. 7. Juvenal. ſatir. xiii. Auson. idyl. vii. Comment. l. i. c. 39. Apol. l. viii. c. 9, & al. [o] Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 23. [p] Comment. l. iv. c. 1. [q] Nat. hiſt. l. ii. c. 78.

to deſtroy them as faſt as they could. Their ſkins they probably dreſſed, and made them into cloſe garments, to wear during the winter, and, when ſpring came on, they exchanged them for ſome lighter habit: and this is all that could be meant by this pretended transformation. Unleſs we will ſuppoſe, not without ſome probability, that thoſe *Greeks* had ſo far corrupted their native language, by their long abode in *Scythia*, that our author, naturally fond of wonders, underſtood them quite differently from what they meant.

(S) Amongſt theſe, that of clocks, watches, and other ſuch kind of uſeful and curious machinery, they have been long ſince famed for; but for none more than for the noble art of printing, which was found out at *Mentz*, ſoon after the year 1440, by *John Fuſt*, or *Fauſt*, a citizen of that place, and improved by his ſon-in-law, *Peter Shoeffer*, and from thence propagated, by ſome of his countrymen, through all the famous cities of *Europe*, in leſs than half a century (45).

In ſpeaking of this noble and uſeful invention, we cannot paſs by a pathetic reply which a *German* made to a *Frenchman*, who allowed, indeed, that the *Germans* were generally good mechanics, but in other caſes, ſaid, that they had but a low and groveling genius, and no wit. To which the *German* gravely aſked the following queſtion: "Pray, "Sir, which of the two nations ſhewed the brighter "genius; ours, which invented the art of printing; "or yours, which condemned the inventor of it to "the flames for a conjurer?" For it plainly appears, that the parliament of *Paris* had condemned *John Fauſt* to be burnt for magic, and that he with great difficulty obtained his pardon, at the expence of diſcovering his new invention to the archbiſhop of *Paris* (46).

(T) The *runæ*, or antient characters, are ſuppoſed to have been called ſo *ab incidendo*, from cutting out, becauſe they were either cut out of wooden blocks, or cut into the bark of ſome trees (47), and in a very rude manner. The antienteſt author who appears to have made mention of thoſe *runæ*, is *Venantius Fortunatus*, who lived about the beginning of the 6th century; he ſpeaks of them as being uſed by the *Franks*, whoſe manner of writing, as well as of the *Goths*, was as yet but coarſe and uncouth. He gives us their method of painting, or rather graving them upon wooden planks, which were called *runæ*. The *Germans* have retained the ſame etymon in their language, in calling their letters *buchſtaben*, which implies their being engraven on wood, and in ſtrait lines (48). It has been much diſputed whether thoſe letters were *Latin* or *Greek*, and much has been urged on both ſides; but a ſepulchral inſcription, dug up at *Rome*, and the only one, perhaps, that has been preſerved of that old character, ſhews them to have been moſtly *Greek*, with here and there a *Roman* one (49). Some old coins alſo confirm it, in ſome of which the legend is wholly *Greek*, and, in others, partly that, and partly *Latin* (50). And this is, in all probability, the character which is, by *Venantius* above quoted, called the *Eurunic*, and was, at that time, common to all the *Europeans*; only among the northern nations they were very coarſe and ill-ſhaped, in compariſon of the reſt.

(45) *See Palmer's hiſtory of printing, l.* i. *c.* 2, *& ſeq. l.* ii. *c.* 1, *& ſeq.* (46) *Vide Peliſſon. ap. eund.* (47) *See Celſius's letter to Mr. Vignoles, ann.* 1733. *ap. Pelloutier, ubi ſupra, l.* ii. *c.* 10. (48) *Idem ibid.* (49) *Vide Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 4. (50) *Bouteroue, ubi ſupra, p.* 43, 62, *& ſeq.*

their inhabitants: on the contrary, experience ſhews, that there are very ſmall people in ſome of the coldeſt climates, as in *Lapland*; and very gigantic ones in ſome of the warmeſt, as among ſome of the *Ethiopians*, as the ſame author juſtly obſerves. What may have farther contributed to the ſtrength and ſtature of the *Germans* was, their never or rarely intermarrying with other nations, nor adopting any of their ſoft cuſtoms; by which means, they tranſmitted theſe qualities to their children pure and uncorrupted [r].

THEIR native diſpoſition diſplayed itſelf chiefly in their martial genius, and in their ſingular fidelity. The former of theſe they did indeed carry to ſuch an exceſs, as came little ſhort of downright ferocity; but as to the latter, they not only valued themſelves highly upon it, but were greatly eſteemed by other nations for it; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus*, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, committed the guard of their perſons to them, and almoſt all other nations either courted their friendſhip and alliance, or hired them as auxiliaries: though it muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that their extreme love of liberty, and their hatred of tyranny and oppreſſion, has often hurried them to treachery and murder, eſpecially when they have thought themſelves ill uſed by thoſe who hired them: for, in all ſuch caſes, they were eaſily ſtirred up, and extremely vindictive. In other caſes, *Tacitus*, tells us, they were noble, magnanimous, and beneficent, without ambition to aggrandize their dominions, or invading thoſe from whom they received no injury; rather chuſing to employ their ſtrength and valour defenſively, than offenſively; to preſerve their own, than to ravage their neighbours [s]. Their friendſhip and intercourſe was rather a compound of honeſt bluntneſs and hoſpitality, than of wit, humour, or gallantry. All ſtrangers were ſure to meet with a kind reception from them, to the utmoſt of their ability; even thoſe who were not in a capacity to entertain them, made it a piece of duty to introduce them to thoſe who could; and nothing was looked upon as more ſcandalous and deteſtable, than to refuſe them either the one, or the other [t]. They do not ſeem, indeed, to have had a taſte for grand and elegant entertainments; they affected in every thing, in their houſes, furniture, diet, *&c.* rather plainneſs and ſimplicity, than ſumptuouſneſs and luxury. If they learned of the *Romans* and *Gauls* the uſe of money, it was rather becauſe they found it more convenient than their antient way of bartering one commodity for another; and then they preferred thoſe antient coins which had been ſtamped during the times of the *Roman* liberty, eſpecially ſuch as were either milled or cut in the rims, becauſe they could not be ſo eaſily cheated in them, as in ſome others, which were frequently nothing but copper, or iron, plated over with ſilver. This laſt metal they likewiſe preferred before gold, not becauſe it made a greater ſhew, but becauſe it was more convenient for buying and ſelling [u]. And as they became, in time, more feared by, or more uſeful to, the *Romans*, ſo they learned how to draw enough of it from them to ſupply their whole country, beſides what flowed to them from other nations.

Valour and fidelity.

Hoſpitality.

Money.

As they deſpiſed ſuperfluities in other caſes, ſo they did alſo in the connubial way; every man was contented with one wife (U), and both were ſo faithful to each other, and chaſte, true, and diſintereſted, in their conjugal affections, that *Tacitus* prefers their manners, in this reſpect, to thoſe of the *Romans*. The men ſought not dowries from their wives, but beſtowed them upon them [w]. Their youth, in thoſe cold climes, did not begin ſo ſoon to feel the warmth of love, as they do in hotter ones; and it was a common rule with them, not to marry young; and thoſe were moſt eſteemed, who continued longeſt in celibacy; becauſe they looked upon it as an effectual means to make them grow tall and ſtrong: and to marry, or be concerned with a woman, before they were full twenty years old, was accounted ſhameful wantonneſs [x]. They have been, indeed, unjuſtly taxed with permitting a promiſcuous and unnatural commerce of parents with their children, brothers with their ſiſters, and the like; but the only thing that ſeems to have given a colour to this pretended in-

Marriages.

Unjuſtly charged with inceſtuous commerce.

[r] TACIT. ubi ſupra, c. 4. CONRING. de habit. antiq. & nov. corp. Germ. cauſis. MASCOV. LEDIARD Germ. l. ii. c. 32. [s] TACIT. Germ. c. 35. [t] Ibid. c. 2. [u] Idem ibid. c. 5. [w] Ibid. c. 20. [x] CÆS. com. l. vi. c. 21.

(U) Our author, however, excepts ſome caſes, which yet were not frequent among them, as when any of their princes or noblemen allowed themſelves a plurality of wives, more, ſays he (50), out of grandeur and oſtentation, than wantonneſs.

(50) *Tacit. ubi ſupra*, c. 18.

inceſtuous mixture was, their living together in their plain and homely cottages, and a the whole family lying promiſcuouſly in the ſtraw, and ſtark-naked: which cuſtom, though ſhocking to more polite nations, yet, being natural to them, was much more likely to reſtrain ſuch unnatural commerce, than to give birth to it. But though they did lie thus together in the ſame hut, yet we can ſcarcely doubt, but nature taught them to obſerve ſome decency; and that the huſband and wife lay in ſome corner apart, and the boys and girls at a convenient diſtant from each other. We may add, that ſuch a brutiſh intermixture is quite oppoſite to that care which they took to keep their youth chaſte and unmarried, till after twenty; and to that conjugal fidelity for which they are ſo juſtly admired. The women ſhared with their huſbands not only the care of their family, and the education of their children, b but even the hardſhips of war. They attended them in the field, dreſſed their victuals for them, dreſſed their wounds, ſtirred them up to fight manfully againſt their enemies, and ſometimes have, by their courage and bravery, recovered a victory, when it was upon the point of being ſnatched from them. In a word, they looked upon ſuch conſtant attendance on them not as a ſervitude, like the *Roman* dames, but as a duty, and an honour. We find, in moſt parts of *Germany*, eſpecially where vaſſalage is ſtill in uſe, ſome notable relics of this antient female ſubmiſſion; we have even lately ſeen ſome remarkable, and, as they appeared to us, ſhocking, inſtances of it here, in thoſe *Palatines* and *Saltſburghers* whom perſecution and diſtreſs drove hither for ſhelter; young, hale, and luſty fellows, ſauntering c along, with their pipes in their mouths, and a ſtaff under their arm, whilſt their obſequious wives trudged and ſweated after them, under a load of their cloaths, and other lumber, and a child or two in their arms (W). But what appears to have been ſtill a harder fate upon the antient *German* dames was, that their great *Odinus* excluded all thoſe from his *valhalla*, or paradiſe, who did not by ſome violent death, follow their deceaſed huſbands thither. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it in the next paragraph, and conclude this with an obſervation, that, notwithſtanding their having been antiently in ſuch high repute for their wiſdom, and ſuppoſed ſpirit of prophecy, and their continuing ſuch faithful and tender helpmates to their huſbands, yet they ſunk, in time, ſo low in their eſteem, that, according to the d old *Saxon* law, he that hurt or killed a woman, was to pay but half the fine that he ſhould have done, if he had hurt or killed a man [y].

Their funerals

There is ſcarcely any one thing in which the *Germans*, though ſo nearly allied in moſt of their other cuſtoms to the *Gauls*, were yet more oppoſite to them than in their funerals. We have ſhewn, in the laſt chapter, with what pomp and profuſion the latter performed theirs: thoſe of the former were done with the ſame plainneſs and ſimplicity which they affected in all other things: the only grandeur they affected in them was, to burn the bodies of their great men with ſome peculiar kinds of wood; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the cloaths and other fine furniture of the deceaſed, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs e and gums: each man's armour, that is, his ſword, ſhield, and ſpear, were flung into it, and ſometimes his riding-horſe [z]. The *Danes* did, indeed, fling into the funeral of a prince, gold, ſilver, and other precious things, which the chief mourners, who walked, in a gloomy guiſe, round the fire, exhorted the by-ſtanders to fling liberally into it, in honour of the deceaſed [a]. They afterwards depoſited their aſhes in urns, like the *Gauls*, *Romans*, and other nations; as it plainly appears, from the vaſt numbers which have been dug up all over the country, as well as from the ſundry diſſertations which have been written upon them by ſeveral learned moderns of that nation, a liſt and account of which the reader may ſee in the author laſt quoted [b]. One thing we may obſerve in general, that, whatever ſacrifices they f offered for their dead, whatever preſents they made to them at their funerals, and

[y] Specul. Sax. l. i, c. 45. Keyzler ant. ſeptr. p. 115.

[z] Vide Keyzler de mulier. fatidic. c. 2.

[a] Saxo-Gram. l. viii.

[b] P. 109, & ſeq.

(W) We have ourſelves taken upon us to reprove their huſbands for it, and told them, in a friendly manner, that our nation was much offended at it; but have been gravely anſwered, by their paſſive dames, that it was the faſhion of their country, and that it would caſt a much greater diſgrace on their good men to help them off with any ſhare of the burden. And what appeared ſtill more ſurpriſing was, when theſe poor women have been offered a draught of ale or beer to refreſh them, they have deſired it might be given to their huſbands, for that themſelves could drink water: ſo great is the force of education and cuſtom.

a and whatever other ſuperſtitious rites they might perform at them, all was done in conſequence of thoſe excellent notions which their antient religion had taught them, the immortality of the ſoul, and the bliſs or miſery of a future life [c].

Notion of the ſtate of ſouls after death.

It is impoſſible, indeed, as they did not commit any thing to writing till very lately, and as none of the antient writers have given us any account of it, to gueſs how ſoon this belief of their great *Odin*, and his paradiſe, was received among them. It may, for aught we know, have been older than the times of *Tacitus*, and he have known nothing of it, by reaſon of their ſcrupulous care of concealing their religion from ſtrangers: but as they conveyed their doctrines to poſterity by ſongs and poems, and moſt of the northern poets tell us, that they have drawn their intelligence from
b thoſe very poems which were ſtill preſerved among them; we may, rightly enough, ſuppoſe, that whatever doctrines are contained in them, were formerly profeſſed by the generality of the nation, eſpecially ſince we find their antient practice ſo exactly conformable to it. Thus, ſince the ſureſt road to this paradiſe was, to excel in martial deeds, and to die intrepidly in the field of battle, and ſince none were excluded from it but baſe cowards, and betrayers of their country, it is natural to think, that the ſignal and exceſſive bravery of the *Germans* flowed from this antient belief of theirs: and, if their females were ſo brave and faithful, as not only to ſhare with their huſbands all the dangers and fatigues of war, but, at length, to follow them, by a voluntary death, into the other world; it can hardly be attributed to any thing elſe, but a ſtrong perſuaſion of their being admitted to live with them in that
c place of bliſs. This belief, therefore, whether received originally from the old *Celtes*, or afterwards taught them by this ſince deified *Odin*, ſeems, from their general practice, to have been univerſally received by all the *Germans*, though they might differ one from another in their notions of that future life (X). In general, they ſeem to have had a twofold notion of this future ſtate, the one to precede, and the other to come after, what they called, in their language, *ragna rockur*, or the crepuſcule of the gods, or heroes; by which they meant the conſummation of all things by a general conflagration [d]. So that, according to them, there was to be a future life of bliſs and miſery, till the deſtruction of the world; and another which
d was to follow it preſently after, when a new ſun, new heavens, and a new earth, were to be created, and in them a place of endleſs happineſs for the good, and another of endleſs miſery for the bad: which notion one would be apt to imagine they had imbibed from the chriſtians, did it not appear, from *Seneca*, to have been the doctrine of the ſtoics; unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe that author had it rather from ſome of the apoſtles [e], or their diſciples, than from his own ſect (Y). However that be, ſome of the circumſtances, which theſe old *Germans* believed would attend this general conflagration, ſeem to us to have been taken from the apocalypſe, now adapted to their own antient notions and taſte: we ſhall give our readers ſome few inſtances of this in the margin (Z), they being ſcarcely worth mentioning anywhere

[c] Vid. Diod. Sicul. hiſt. l. v. Am. Marcel. l. xv. Cæs. comm. l. vi. c. 14. Strab. Mela, & al.
[d] Eddæ. mythol. 30, & 48. Eivind. Scaldaspiler. & al. ap. Keyzler. ubi ſupra, p. 119, & ſeq.
[e] Conf. 2 Pet. c. iii. v. 7, & ſeq. Senec. quæſt. nat. l. iii. & conſolat. ad Marcian. Ovid. metamorph. l. ii.

(X) What the bliſs of this paradiſe conſiſted in, we have already ſeen; but, beſides this, there are ſome notions attributed to them, by theſe writers lately mentioned, which do not ſeem to ſquare altogether with it (51): ſuch as that of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which, if we may believe ſome antient chriſtian writers (52), *Pythagoras* received from them. We have ſhewn, in the laſt chapter, that the *Gauls* were unjuſtly charged with adopting the ſame notion; and the ſame thing may, for aught appears, have been done with reſpect to the *Germans*. But if theſe had any ſuch belief amongſt them, it can only be reconciled with that of *Odin*'s paradiſe, by ſuppoſing the latter to be reſerved for their brave and enterpriſing heroes; whilſt the reſt, who had no title to it, were left to tranſmigrate from body to body, more or leſs noble and happy, according to their merit or demerit, in a continual rotation, till the conſummation of all things.

(Y) It is not to be doubted, that the doctrine of a general conflagration was believed by many antient nations, as we have had occaſion to ſhew at the beginning of this work; but *Seneca*, in the place laſt quoted, ſpeaks of it in ſuch a manner, as makes one believe he had converſed with ſome chriſtians, or, at leaſt, ſome *Jewiſh* rabbis, from whom he had adopted many particulars, which the ſtoics, till then, knew nothing of.

(Z) They tell you, among other things, the old earth, being thus deſtroyed, a new one is to ſtart up out of the ſea, which will produce all things neceſſary and delightful to its inhabitants; and that the males and females which eſcape the general deſtruction are quickly to repleniſh it with a more hopeful offspring:

(51) *See Keyzler. ubi ſupra, p. 116, & ſeq. & auct. ab eo citat. Euſeb. præp. l. x. c. 2.*

(52) *Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. vi.*

where elſe. We ſhall finiſh this ſection with obſerving, that the notion of a future happineſs obtained by martial exploits, eſpecially by dying ſword in hand, made them bewail the fate of thoſe who lived to an old age, as diſhonourable here, and hopeleſs hereafter: upon which account, they had a barbarous way to ſend them packing into the other world, willing or not willing. And this cuſtom laſted ſeveral ages after their receiving chriſtianity, eſpecially among the *Pruſſians* and *Venedi*; the former of whom, it ſeems, diſpatched, by a quick death, not only their ſick children, ſervants, *&c.* but even their parents, and ſometimes themſelves [f]: and of the latter we have inſtances of this horrid paricide being practiſed even in the beginning of the 14th century [g]. All that need be added is, that, if thoſe perſons, thus ſuppoſed to have lived long enough, either deſired to be put to death, or, at leaſt, ſeemed chearfully to ſubmit to what they knew they could not avoid, their exit was commonly preceded with a feaſt, and their funeral with another; but if they endeavoured to ſhun it, as it ſometimes happened, both ceremonies were performed with the deepeſt mourning. In the former they rejoiced at their deliverance, and being admitted into bliſs; in the latter they bewailed their cowardly excluding themſelves from it. Much the ſame thing was done towards thoſe wives who betrayed a backwardneſs to follow their dead huſbands. We need not here obſerve, that, in theſe funerals, as well as in all their other feaſts, they were famed for drinking to exceſs; and one may ſay of them, above all the other deſcendants of the antient *Celtes*, that their hoſpitality, banquets, *&c.* conſiſted much more in the quantity of ſtrong liquors, than in the elegance of eating. Beer, and ſtrong mead, which were their natural drink, were looked upon as the chief promoters of health, ſtrength, fertility, and bravery; upon which account, they made no ſcruple to indulge themſelves to the utmoſt in them, not only in their feaſts, and eſpecially before an engagement, but even in their common meals, *Tacitus* tells us, that they could bear neither heat nor thirſt; and that they thought it no diſgrace to ſpend whole days and nights in quaffing [h]: ſo that though they were in no caſe more invincible than this, yet, if you plied them with enough of it, you could not fail of overcoming them [i]. As for wine, though they at firſt betrayed an exceſſive fondneſs for it, yet they quickly found by experience, that it only tended to enervate and emaſculate the men, and obſtructed the fecundity of the women; for which reaſon ſome of them, eſpecially the *Suevi*, forbad the importation of it [k]. And it is thought, to this day, that the degeneracy of the modern *Germans*, in this reſpect, as well as that of the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and other nations, is, in a great meaſure owing to their exchanging their old natural liquors for the foreign juice of the grape [l].

Unnatural cuſtoms.

Exceſſive love of ſtrong liquors.

SECT.

[f] See Christoph. Hartnoch. antiq. Pruſſia, diſſert. xiii. [g] Marescale annal. Herul. & Vandal. l. ii. c. 8. Krantz. Vandal. l. vii. Keyzler, ubi ſupra, p. 147, & ſeq. [h] Germ. c. 4, & 22. [i] Ibid. c. 23 Vide & Julian. miſopog. p. 352. [k] Cæsar. comment. l. iv. c. 2. [l] Keyzler. ubi ſupra, c. 6. § 6.

offspring: that on the ſouth ſide of heaven there is a court vaſtly brighter than the ſun itſelf, and which will be proof againſt the flames which are to deſtroy the reſt of the creation; and there it is that the good will be preſerved for that new and endleſs life. That the general deſtruction is to be preceded by the moſt ſevere ſeaſons, bloody wars, enormous crimes, *&c.* after which, two monſtrous wolves are to be let looſe, who ſhall devour ſun, moon, and ſtars. That the rainbow, by which the ſouls of the good went up to heaven, will be broken down. That ſome of the *aſæ*, or deified heroes, ſhall begin an unſucceſsful war, and *Odin* himſelf be devoured by one of the wolves; after which, the univerſe is to be ſet on fire; that there is another court, as diſmal as the other is glorious, whoſe gates open towards the north; the fences of it are woven with the hinder-parts of venemous ſerpents, whoſe heads are all turned towards the inſide of it, and caſt continual ſtreams of deadly poiſon, which infects all the rivers round it, through which the wicked are forced to wade; and much more to the like purpoſe.

We ſhall not trouble ourſelves further, to inquire whence thoſe northern poets drew all this mythological rhapſody; but only obſerve from the whole, that they plainly appear not to have had ſo high an opinion of their country, as ſome of a moderner date, who have taken a vaſt deal of pains to prove, that the earthly paradiſe was ſituate there, and that they, eſpecially *Suedland*, afforded every thing that is uſeful and delightful to mankind (53); for if thoſe old ones had entertained any ſuch favourable opinion of theſe cold regions, they would hardly have made them the abode of miſerable ſouls, and removed the ſeats of the bleſſed to the ſouthern ſide of the univerſe (54).

(53) *Rudbeck. Olai Atlantic. & al.* (54) *Vide Keyzler. ubi ſupra, p.* 123.

SECT. III.

The history of the antient Germans.

The antient history of the Germans *unknown.*

a WE have taken notice, at the beginning of this chapter, that the moſt antient hiſtorians, both *Greek* and *Roman*, have ſo injudiciouſly confounded the whole *German* nation under the names of *Scythians* and *Celtes*, and that *Tacitus* himſelf, who had converſed ſo much amongſt them, is, in ſome caſes, ſo manifeſtly fabulous, and, in many others, ſo obſcure and inconſiſtent, that no tolerable certainty can be expected either with relation to their origin, or antient hiſtory, except we can ſtrike out ſome light from better hands, and from ſome ſuch concurring circumſtances as may add weight to their teſtimony. This, we hope, we have done, in ſome meaſure, with relation to the firſt of theſe two points; but it is much more difficult to adjuſt the latter to any ſatisfaction, conſidering what a vaſt number of nations are com-
b prehended in the general name of *Germans*, their conſtant fluctuations, and driving each other from place to place, their various intermixtures with each other, till the name of the one was quite ſwallowed up in the other; that many of them did, in time, come to differ widely from the reſt, in their cuſtoms, government, laws, and politics; and others are ſcarcely known to us by any thing but their names; and eſpecially, conſidering that none of them wrote any thing of their own affairs, and that both *Romans* and *Greeks* had but a very confuſed, if any, knowledge of them, till the *Romans* did, by their wars and commerce with them, open a more eaſy way to it (A). Upon theſe accounts, we muſt be contented to ſet down the epocha between the coming and ſettling of the former in the ſeveral parts of *Germany*, and the invaſion of the latter, for dark and uncertain, and as impenetrable as their
c famed *Hercynian* foreſt; except what we have been able to gather from thoſe authors concerning their names, ſituation, and ſome few other particulars, which we have already, or ſhall have occaſion to mention, in the ſequel of this ſection.

WHAT occaſioned the *Romans* breaking in upon *Germany*, as they did upon all other nations they could come at, we have already ſeen, in the courſe of the *Roman* hiſtory [a]; the *Germans* were then ſo far from being formed into one ſingle community, that they were divided into a vaſt number of ſmall kingdoms and commonwealths. They might, indeed, look upon themſelves, in general, as a nation deſcended originally from the ſame ſtock, and ſo have ſome laws in common to them
d all, either for the ſupporting of each other againſt foreign invaders, or for the preſervation of a due balance amongſt their vaſt variety of commonwealths; but, in other things, each had its particular form of government, laws, policy, and intereſt. They were all of them bred up with an exceſſive love of liberty, and hatred to all kinds of invaſion; and could not, but with jealouſy and reſentment, behold the

[a] See vol. iv. p. 690, & ſeq.

(A) It is plain, that, before the *Romans* came over the *Alps*, they had ſo little knowledge of them, that they confounded them with the *Gauls*, and called both nations by that name. The general one of *Germans* doth not, indeed, appear to have been of ſo early date as ſome have thought it, as we have ſhewn at the beginning of this chapter; ſo that each nation being diſtinguiſhed by their peculiar names, unknown then to the *Romans*, it was natural for theſe to include them all under the name of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, and *Galatæ*, as they were ſo nearly allied in their origin, religion, cuſtoms, &c.

There is, indeed, one paſſage, in the *faſti Capitolini* (1), in which mention is made of that great victory ſo much cried up by *Virgil* and other writers (2), which *Marcellus* gained over *Viridomarus* and his *Gauls*, who are here joined with the *Inſubri* and *Germans*, and which, if this laſt name be not corrupted by the tranſcriber, will plainly ſhew it to have been longer in uſe than we ſuppoſe it. But a late writer hath ſhewed it very probable, at leaſt, both from the ſimilitude of the names, and other concurring circumſtances, that *Germani* is here tranſcribed inſtead of *Cenomani* (3); for theſe were not only next Neighbours to the *Inſubri*, and concerned with them in the ſame war againſt the *Romans*, but were defeated with them, not long after, by *Cethegus*, who, thereupon, triumphed over them both at the ſame time (4).

This *Viridomarus* is by ſome ſtyled a king, and by others a general, of the *Gauls* (5); and his invaſion threw the *Romans* into ſuch a conſternation, that, to turn away the impending evil, they were guilty of that inhuman piece of ſuperſtition we have mentioned out of *Plutarch*, in a former volume (6).

(1) *Sub. an U. C.* 531. *Capitol. ſub an. U. C.* 556. (2) *Æneid.* vi. *v.* 855, *& ſeq.* (3) *Maſcov. Germ. l.* i. *c.* 4. (4) *Faſt.* (5) *Plutarch. in Marcel. Polyb. l.* ii. *Flor. l.* ii. *c.* 4, *& al.* (6) *See before, vol.* vi. *p.* 27, *a*, *b.*

the daily encroachments which the *Romans* continually made on all their neighbours, a
or, conſequently, without uniting themſelves more cloſely againſt them, and aſſiſting
thoſe of their neighbours, who were likely to fall the next ſacrifice to their ambition;
as we have ſeen they did, with reſpect to the *Gauls*, *Helvetii*, and other neighbouring
ſtates. Hence aroſe thoſe wars and conquеſts which ended in their total conqueſt;
for the politic *Romans* ſoon took the advantage of their being divided into ſo many
different republics; and by fomenting jealouſies among ſome of them, bribing and
corrupting others, and by uſing all their force and art againſt the reſt, they found
means to ſubdue them gradually, and by piece-meal: ſo that one ſtate after the
other fell a prey to their conquering arms, till the whole country was reduced into a
Roman province. This part, therefore, of their hiſtory, is not to be looked upon b
as a general one of a whole nation, but as a ſeparate one of ſuch a number of different
ſtates ſubdued one after the other, and in a great meaſure independently one from
the other, till we come to that period of time the *Franks* brought and united all the
other *Germans*, who remained in thoſe countries, together with many other *Roman*
provinces, under their dominion. For this reaſon, and becauſe a full and particular
account has been given of all theſe conqueſts in the *Roman* hiſtory, we ſhall, to avoid
all unneceſſary repetitions, content ourſelves with giving a chronological ſummary
of the reduction of each of theſe nations, till we come to the grand epocha of the
Franks above-mentioned; and refer our readers to the volume and page where each
of them is more fully and ſeverally mentioned. For the *Roman* hiſtory being not c
only the moſt conſiderable one in this whole work, in all reſpects, but being, as it
were, the baſis, or pivot, on which that of all the nations they ſubdued doth chiefly
turn, we thought it would render it more complete, uſeful, and inſtructive, to give
them all in one view, or ſeries, in that part of it, than if we had detached them from
the main body, and branched them out into ſo many diſtinct parts of hiſtory; which
could hardly have been done without either great confuſion, or endleſs repetitions.
From the conqueſt of *Germany* by the *Romans*, our next point in view will be, to
ſhew by what means they regained their liberty, and made ſuch ample repriſals upon
their conquerors under the *Franks*; and as the defection of theſe gave riſe to the *Ger-*
man empire, which will make a conſiderable part in our modern hiſtory, which is to d
follow, we ſhall, to avoid confuſion, give the hiſtory of all thoſe ſeveral nations,
and of thoſe kingdoms which they erected in other countries, in their ſeveral tranſ-
migrations, each in a diſtinct chapter, and confine ourſelves, in the latter part of this,
to mentioning the moſt conſiderable of thoſe other countries which have been ſince
conquered and poſſeſſed by the *Germans*, who now inhabit the empire, at leaſt as far
as will be neceſſary to open the way to the modern hiſtory of it.

The deſign of this ſection.

Germany *invaded by the* Gauls.

But before we come to the *Roman* invaſion, it will be neceſſary to mention ſome
tranſactions, relating to the antient *Germans*, which are previous to it, and have
yet been but touched upon; the firſt of which is, the *Gauliſh* irruption into their
territories, under the conduct of *Segoveſus*, whilſt his brother, *Belloveſus*, made the e
like over the *Alps*. Theſe two valiant princes were ſons to the ſiſter of *Ambigatus*, a
king of the *Celtæ*, or *Gauls*, about the time of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. That monarch,
finding his ſubjects to increaſe too faſt for the extent of his territories, reſolved to ſend
two large colonies out of it, to ſettle ſomewhere elſe, under the conduct of his two
nephews. Theſe being directed, as the *Gauliſh* manner then was, by the flight of
birds, the former of theſe was directed over the *Rhine*, and ſettled in the *Hercynian*
foreſt [b], whilſt the other went and penetrated into *Italy*, as we have ſeen in a former
volume [c] (B). Whether the *Germans* had any hand in this latter expedition, doth
not clearly appear, for the reaſons mentioned in the laſt note. Only if the regions
lying

[b] Livy decad. I. v. c. 34.

[c] Vol. iv. p. 651, e.

(B) We find, however, no farther mention of the former colony, and their ſettlement in *Germany*, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that it is of them which *Julius Cæſar* ſpeaks, when he informs us of a *Gauliſh* nation, which in his time inhabited the heart of *Germany*, along the *Hercynian* foreſt, and all the moſt fertile parts of that country between the *Rhine* and that famed wood, and had intirely conformed themſelves to the cuſtoms and manners of that country (7). *Tacitus*, likewiſe, by placing the *Boii* and *Helvetii* much about the very ſame ſpot of ground, and making them both to be deſcended from the *Gauls* (8), doth in all probability, mean the very ſame nation and colony with *Cæſar* and *Livy*.

(7) *Comment. l.* vi. *c.* 24.

(8) *German. c.* 28.

lying at the foot of the *Apennine* hills were at that time inhabited by *Germans*, or
d semi *Germans*, as *Livy* calls them d, there is no queſtion to be made, but they might
be hurried, by thoſe *Gauliſh* ſwarms, to follow them in thoſe excurſions, and ſhare
in thoſe devaſtations and pillages, which they committed. But hitherto it doth not
appear, that the reſt of the *German* nation were at all concerned in them, ſince *Tacitus*
gives them this peculiar character, that they rather ſtudied how to preſerve their
own, than how to invade the territories of others e; and it is moſt likely, that they
did not begin to act offenſively againſt the *Romans*, at leaſt, till they were alarmed
at the greatneſs of their power, and the daily encroachments they made round about
them. Swarms of colonies they muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſent abroad, to prevent
the want of elbow-room, as they multiplied ſo faſt: but there was ſo much of that
b to ſpare towards the north parts of *Europe*, and ſo little on the ſouth parts, where
they were, moreover, ſure to meet with a ſtout oppoſition, that they poured moſt
of them towards the other way, at leaſt till the *Gauls* did, in ſome meaſure, oblige
them to make repriſals upon them.

THE firſt of theſe we meet with, and which, in all appearance, is of much later
date than that of *Segoveſus* into *Germany*, is that of the *Belgæ*, one of the fierceſt,
and moſt warlike nations of *Germany*; who, having paſſed the *Rhine*, and driven
the *Gauls* out of a canton of it, ſeated themſelves ſo firmly in it, that neither their
neighbours, whom they continually annoyed, nor any other nation, could ever
drive them out of it. *Cæſar* adds, that they were not a little proud of this their
c ſettlement, and that they aſſumed a high hand over all their neighbours f; and we
have elſewhere obſerved, that they were, probably, called *Belgæ*, upon that account,
that word, in the old *Teutonic*, ſignifying fierce and quarrelſome g (C). They after-
wards peopled the coaſts of *Britain*, and drove the natives into the inland parts, and
waged continual wars with the *Germans* h. We have already given an account of
theſe *Belgæ*, of their origin, wars with the *Romans*, and reduction to their yoke, in
a former volume, to which we refer our readers i. From this irruption of the *Belgæ*
into *Gaul*, which is the firſt the *German* nation made upon them, at leaſt that we
read of, theſe two nations continued in a kind of alternate ſtate of hoſtility and
friendſhip, as occaſion ſerved; ſometimes invading each other's territories, at other
d times aſſiſting each other againſt the *Romans*, as we have had frequent occaſion to
hint in the laſt chapter, and ſhall again in this: but it is time that we ſhould ſpeak
of thoſe wars and defeats which the ſeveral *German* nations waged againſt the *Romans*;
the defeats they received from them, and by which they were ſubdued by them, in
the ſucciné method and order of time, as we have promiſed.

THE firſt we read of, who ventured to invade the *Roman* territories, were the Cimbri *in-*
Cimbri and *Teutones*: we have already ſpoken of their antient ſettlement, the former *vade* Italy;
in the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and the latter on the coaſts and iſles of the *Baltic* k;
but whether for want of room there, or, perhaps, invited by the beauty of a warmer
clime, both theſe (D) marched, with their wives and children, through, and ravaged
e *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, penetrated into *Italy*, defeated the *Romans*, at ſeveral pitched
battles,

d Decad. l. xxi. c. 28. e Germ. c. 35. f Comment. l. ii. c. 4. g See before, p. 321, (A).
h Comment. l. i. c. 1. i See vol. v. p. 119, d—f, (X). p. 128, e. k See before, p. 406, & ſeq. 487, a.

(C) And which is the character *Cæſar* gives them, and attributes this roughneſs of theirs to their living at a diſtance from the more civilized provinces of *Gaul*, and having few or no foreign merchants to trade with them, and bring them ſuch commodities as ſerve to effeminate mankind (9).

(D) It doth not, indeed, appear, that theſe two nations began their firſt excurſions jointly, or at the ſame time; much leſs, that they all left their territories, for they left a much greater number behind; but only that ſome of the reſoluteſt of each reſolved to exchange them for new ones. It is more likely that, upon the ſight of the vigorous oppoſition they were likely to meet with from the conſular armies, and under ſuch experienced generals, the *Cimbri* invited the *Teutones*, who were their neighbours, to come and join them, as they did ſome others, both *Germans* and *Gauls*, through whoſe territories they paſſed; particularly the *Tigurini* and *Ambrones*, who are mentioned in the ſame invaſion (10) They parted, indeed, from them all, upon what account doth not appear; but, inſtead of purſuing their *Italic* invaſion towards the *Pyrenees*, being there repulſed by the *Celtiberi*, they rejoined the *Teudones* again, and made ſad havock in *Gaul*, which was then in no condition to withſtand them. They moved, at length, towards *Italy*, by ſeveral ways, and were forced to fight their way through each of them. It proved, however, a fatal expedition to them all, particularly to the *Teudones*, who, after having inſulted the *Roman* army with the moſt biting taunts (11), were cut off by them, to the number of 100,000, by the ſame victorious conſul (12).

(9) *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 1. (10) *See vol.* v. *p.* 4, & 34. (11) *Ibid.* 36, *b.* (12) *In Mario.*

battles [l], and threw all *Italy* into the greateſt conſternation [m]. In the firſt of theſe actions they vanquiſhed the famous conſul, *Papyrius Carbo*; in another *M. Junius Silanus*, another conſul, who was ſoon after called to a ſevere account for it; and, in third, *L. Caſſius*; and, in a fourth, the brave *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, whom they took priſoner, and put to death by their king, *Bolos* (E), for ſpeaking too boldly in praiſe of the *Romans*: but, after ſeveral other ſucceſſes in *Italy*, they were totally defeated and deſtroyed by the policy of conſul *Marius* [n]. For this general took care to poſt himſelf ſo advantagiouſly, on the day of battle, that the *Cimbri* had not only his army, but the ſun, wind, and duſt, to combat with, and were the more eaſily overthrown, by that ſubtile ſtratagem (F). How greatly the *Romans* eſteemed this victory, may be ſeen by the triumph, and other ſingular honours which they decreed both to *Marius*, and to *Catulus*, as well as by the monuments which theſe cauſed to be reared in memory of it [o] (G). Thoſe *Cimbri* who eſcaped this dreadful ſlaughter, did, in all likelihood, return into their own country; for they are ſaid to have ſent afterwards a ſubmiſſive embaſſy to *Auguſtus* [p]; and are likewiſe mentioned, by authors of later date, as the moſt warlike of all the northern *Germans* [q], down to *Claudian*'s time, who calls the north ſea by their name [r]. But it is likely the *Saxons*, their neighbours, joining with them in their excurſions, and growing, by degrees, more famous, the *Cimbrian* name was ſwallowed up in theirs [s].

Defeated by Marius. a

b

Arioviſtus ſettles in Gaul, *and forms a kingdom there.*

The next excurſion we find recorded of the *Germans* is, that which happened in *Julius Cæſar*'s time, on occaſion of the jealouſy, which it is juſtly ſuppoſed that politic conqueror fomented between the *Ædui* and the *Arverni*, the then two moſt potent nations in *Gaul*; the former of whom being then in friendſhip with *Rome*, and the latter allied with the *Sequani*, theſe thought fit to call in the neighbouring *Germans* to their aſſiſtance. At firſt, only 15000 came over to them, but they became ſo enamoured with this delightful country, that, to keep their footing in it, they ſent for freſh ſupplies from over the *Rhine*, inſomuch, that they amounted, at laſt, to 120000. The *Sequani*, by their aſſiſtance, ſoon ſubdued the *Ædui*, as we have formerly ſeen [t]; but their victory coſt them dear, for they were forced by *Arioviſtus*, the *German* king, to evacuate one third part of their kingdom, to ſettle his troops in. He ſoon after obliged them to yield another third to him, as a ſettlement for 40000 *Harudes*, who croſſed over to him, and, at the ſame time, did, by his addreſs, induce *Julius Cæſar*, then conſul, to allow him the title and honour of a king [u]. But it proved a ſhort-lived kingdom, and *Cæſar*, who only careſſed him for

c

[l] Vol. v. p. 4, & ſeq. 28, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. p. 34, c. 37, & ſeq. [n] Ibid. 38, paſſ. [o] See Plutarch. ubi ſupra, & vol. v. p. 38, & ſep. [p] Strabo, l. vii. [q] Tacit. Germ. c. 37. Ptolem. l. ii. c. 11. [r] Conſul. Honor. p. 335, 450. [s] See Mascov. in fin. l. i. [t] See before, vol. v. p. 118, b. [u] Dio, l. xxxviii.

(E) This is, in all likelihood, the ſame whom *Plutarch* calls *Boiorix*, king of the *Gauls* (13), but *Livy Bolos*, king of the *Cimbri* (14). We have formerly mentioned the murder of the brave *Scaurus*, by that young hot-headed prince, and the occaſion of it (15); and there we followed the former of theſe authors, though, moſt likely, the latter is in the right. We lately took notice, how apt the *Greeks* and *Romans* were to confound the *Gauls* and *Germans*; the *Cimbri* were, doubtleſs, antient *Celtes*, as their name imports, with reſpect to their origin; but *Gauls* they could not be, ſince they inhabited the moſt northern parts of *Germany*.

(F) This circumſtance we are beholden to *Plutarch* for (16), and need the leſs queſtion it, ſeeing that author had it out of *Sylla*'s memoirs, who was himſelf in *Marius*'s army, and had wrote a deſcription of this victory, beſides *Catulus*, who likewiſe left an account of his conſulſhip; and, perhaps, ſome other helps he might have had beſides. The deſcription which he and ſome others (17) give us of the order of battle of the *Cimbrians*, their accoutrements, weapons, valour, and intrepidity to the laſt, plainly ſhews what brave warriors they were, and that they only wanted ſome parts of the *Roman* diſcipline and policy to have made them, in all points, ſuperior to the conquerors of the world.

We are told, farther, that their wives behaved, in this action, with incredible bravery; and at length preferred an honourable death for themſelves and their children, to a diſhonourable captivity (18): and *Seneca* adds, that, after their death, their very dogs fought in defence of the carriages, which theſe heroines had loſt their lives for.

(G) Among theſe was the famed temple of *Virtue*, built by the former, and the brazen bull, which the latter is ſaid to have taken from them, and cauſed to be preſerved in his own houſe (19). What this bull was, hath puzzled moſt antiquaries, becauſe it is not mentioned by any other author: ſome think, that the *Cimbrians* had it upon their ſtandards, as the *Romans* had the eagles; others, that it was only a bullock's head (20); but all this is mere conjecture, and not worth dwelling upon.

(13) *Plutarch, ubi ſupra.* (14) *Epit.* lxvii. (15) *Vol.* v. *p.* 28, *& ſeq.* (16) *In Mario.* (17) *Valer. Max. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *Vide & Artholin. de contempt. mort. ap. Danos.* (18) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.* (19) *N. Hiſt. l.* vi. ii. *c.* 41. (20) *See Maſcov. & Lediard. l.* i. *c.* 13, *n.* 1, *& ſeq.*

for his own ends, ſoon found a ſpecious pretence to diſpoſſeſs him of it. The vaſt
a numbers of *Germans* which *Arioviſtus* had brought into *Gaul*, and the ſucceſs which
their bravery had gained them, could not but raiſe the *Roman* jealouſy, and alarm
not only the *Sequani*, but the greateſt part of the *Gauls*, who thereupon applied to
the conſul with bitter complaints againſt the *German* devaſtations, and the danger
they were in of being quickly ſwallowed up by them. *Cæſar* turned all this to his
own advantage, and ſent to deſire an interview with the *German* prince, who found
means to excuſe himſelf from it, and to get ſix other nations, or cantons, to join
with him, beſides his own *Suevi* (H), and a freſh reinforcement of thoſe which
were haſtening over to him; upon which, *Cæſar* made what haſte he could towards
him, to prevent their joining. A conference was, at length, agreed upon, in which
b *Cæſar* uſed ſome threats to him, and plainly told him, that the *Romans* would
doubly reſent his tyrannic uſe of their old friends the *Ædui*, after they had ſhewed
him ſo much regard, and beſtowed ſuch honours upon him; and therefore inſiſted,
that he ſhould reſtore their hoſtages to them, ſend back part of his *German* troops,
and forbear all future hoſtilities. To all this imperious ſtuff, *Arioviſtus*, in vain,
pleaded the right of conqueſt, his being invited into *Gaul*, and his treaties with
the *Sequani*, and even offered his ſervices and friendſhip to *Cæſar* himſelf: the con-
ference was broken, and followed with a dreadful engagement, in which the *Roman*
policy got the advantage of the *German* bravery (I), gave them a total overthrow [w],
and forced them over the *Rhine*, ſome by ſwimming, and others in boats, and,
c amongſt the reſt, *Arioviſtus* himſelf, who, by what may be gueſſed by a paſſage in
Cæſar, did not long outlive his diſgrace [x]. After this, the nations which fought
under him diſperſed themſelves, the *Marcomans* into *Boiohemum*, under the conduct
of *Maroboduus*; the *Tribochi*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*, ſtayed in *Gaul*, or went over
the *Rhine*, and ſubmitted, with the *Ubii*, to the *Romans*; for we find them ſtill
ſeated along the banks of that river [y]. As for thoſe *Suevi* who were aſſembled on
the ſame ſide, they retired, upon their receiving the news of this defeat; only a
great number of them were cut off, in their flight, by the *Ubii*, who had been treated
in a hoſtile manner by them [z]. And thus ended this ſecond expedition of the
d *Germans* into *Gaul*. On the very next year, the *Belgæ*, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the
Romans, formed a great alliance with the *Celtes*, *Germans* and *Gauls*, in order to
drive them farther from their neighbourhood. *Cæſar*, according to cuſtom, found
means to ſow ſuch diviſions amongſt them, that many of thoſe allies ſubmitted to
him;

[w] Cæs. comment. l. i. c. 52, & ſeq. [x] Ibid. l. v. c. 29. See vol. v. p. 118, c—e. [y] Tacit. Germ. c. 28. [z] Comment. l. i. c. 54.

(H) Theſe were the *Marcomans*, *Harudes*, *Tribochi*, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes*, and *Seduſii*. We have given an account of theſe *German* nations, at the beginning of this chapter; beſides theſe, the *Treviri* gave notice to *Cæſar*, that a freſh ſwarm of *Suevi* were got as far as the banks of the *Rhine*, under the command of *Naſua* and *Cimberius*, two brothers, who were juſt on the point to croſs over into *Gaul*, and join the *German* army (21).

(I) *Cæſar* played a double ſtratagem againſt them; the firſt, by animating his *Romans* and *Gauliſh* allies, with a pretence, that *Arioviſtus* had been guilty of the blackeſt treachery againſt him (22); which notion, whether true, or falſe, would not fail exaſperating them, and diſheartening the *Germans*: the other, by obliging them to fight before the new moon, which, he had been informed, both *Gauls* and *Germans* carefully avoided, as ominous to them: and, accordingly, *Arioviſtus* ſtrove all he could to ſhun it, till the *Romans* fell ſuddenly upon him, and obliged him to fight, which both he and his men did, with greater fury than diſcretion; and being once put into diſorder, betook themſelves to a haſty flight, in ſpite of the cries and endeavours of their wives and children to rally them, and ſtopped not till they got ſafe over the *Rhine*.

The misfortune is, that we have no other account of theſe things but what *Cæſar* has been pleaſed to give us, who is evidently partial to his own nation, and much more to himſelf. Had they been written by a more impartial hand, it is likely we ſhould find them in a very different light from what he has given them. However, even as we have them from him, it is not difficult to diſcover ſuch inconſiſtencies as ſeem to us to carry their own confutation. Such as is that which he ſays of the *Germans* at this action, *viz.* that they formed themſelves into ſuch a thick and impenetrable phalanx, and held their ſhields ſo cloſe over their heads, that the *Romans* were forced to leap upon them, and tear them aſunder, and, ſinking down between them, kill thoſe who lurked under them, till they had opened a paſſage for their companions to come in upon them (23).

But *Cæſar* was not the only *Roman* writer who betrays ſuch fond partiality for the glory of that nation; the account which ſome of them give of the total overthrow of ſuch a vaſt army as that of the brave *Cimbrians*, and their allies, mentioned a little higher, and with the loſs of only 300 men on *Marius*'s ſide (24), ſeems no leſs ſtretched beyond all probability, eſpecially conſidering how bravely they tell us the enemy behaved on this occaſion, and how much ſuperior they had proved in all former actions.

(21) *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 35, *& ſeq.* (22) *See vol.* v. 118, *d.* (23) *Comment. ibid. c.* 52.
(24) *Vide Eutrop. & Flor. l.* i. *c.* 14.

him; only the *Nervii*, *Atrebates*, and *Veromandui*, ſtood firm againſt him, and, though defeated at length, yet yielded him one of the deareſt victories he had ever got: ſo that the whole *Belgic* nation was forced to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke[a]. *Comius*, a faithful dependent on *Cæſar*, was by him made king of the *Atrebates*, and ſoon gained a conſiderable authority over all that country[b]; the *Atuati*, about the ſame time, hearing of theſe ſwift conqueſts, came in one body to the ſuccour of the *Atrebates*, and entertained no ſmall contempt of the *Romans*, when they found them ſo far inferior in ſtature: they were, however, ſoon undeceived, to their coſt, when, being briſkly beſieged by them in their capital, into which they had been forced to retire after the defeat of the *Atrebates*, and unable to obtain better terms than to ſurrender it at diſcretion, both their city, and all the gariſon of it, to the number of 53000, were ſold by the conqueror[c] (K).

The Belgæ *ſubdued.*

53000 Atuati *ſold for ſlaves.*

Cæſar was, not long afterwards, forced into a war with two other *German* nations, *viz.* the *Tencteri*, and *Uſipetes* (L): theſe, having been forced out of their own territories by the *Suevi*, the fierceſt and moſt warlike of all the northern *Germans*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel of this volume, had paſſed into *Gaul*, and ſettled themſelves in the neighbourhood of the *Eburones* and *Condruſi*. *Cæſar* was then at *Rome*, to obſtruct the cabals of *Lucius Domitius* againſt him, but was obliged to haſten into *Gaul*, to prevent their joining with that nation againſt the *Romans*. Upon his arrival, they ſent an embaſſy to acquaint him with the reaſons of their coming into that country, and to beg, that he would allow them ſettlements there, promiſing him, if he did, to ſerve him upon all occaſions; otherwiſe, that they would maintain their ground by force of arms. *Cæſar* not only refuſed to grant them their requeſt, but fell ſuddenly and furiouſly upon them, and made a terrible ſlaughter of them, together with their wives and children; and of thoſe who eſcaped, the greateſt part periſhed, with endeavouring to croſs the *Maeſe*[d]; only their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, croſſed the *Rhine*, and fled to the *Sicambri*, whoſe territories were ſited between thoſe two rivers. This, and the aſſiſtance which the *Ubii* about the *Cologn* ſent to beg of him againſt the threatening *Suevi*, afforded him a pretence for building a bridge over the *Rhine*, to the great ſurpize of all the *Germans* (M), but eſpecially of the *Sicambri*, whoſe country he ravaged at an unmerciful rate, ſet fire to their houſes, cut down their corn, and returned to the *Ubii*; whilſt they, at his approach, ran with all their effects into their foreſts, and exhorted the *Tencteri* and *Uſipetes* to do the ſame[e]. This was the firſt time, in all likelihood, that the *Romans* ſet foot on the *German* territories, which became afterwards the ſcene of ſo much bloodſhed on both ſides, both under that conqueror, and his ſucceſſors, and which ended in the almoſt total conqueſt of this brave nation. The *Treviri* were the firſt who gave an occaſion to that general to invade their country, who doth not appear to have had any intention, upon his firſt entering *Germany*, to carry on a war againſt them, but only to keep them in awe, by convincing them, that he was not afraid to come and attack them in their own territories (N). However that be, the *Treviri*, grown jealous of the *Romans*,

Tencteri *and* Uſipetes *defeated.*

A bridge built over the Rhine

[a] Ibid l. ii. paſſ. See vol. v. p. 119, d—f. 128, e. [b] Comment. l. iv. c. 21. [c] Ibid. c. 33, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. c. 1, & ſeq. See vol. v. p. 122, a, b. [e] Comment. ubi ſupra, c. 7, & ſeq.

(K) *Cæſar*, in his account of this action, ſeems to intimate, that he had extirpated the whole nation by it (24): for he ſays, that they had all abandoned their cities and towns, and had ſheltered themſelves in this capital, where thoſe who eſcaped being killed in the ſiege, were all ſold for ſlaves. But they are found, in proceſs of time, to have made ſuch powerful head againſt the *Romans*, as ſhews plainly enough how apt that conqueror was to exaggerate every advantage he got againſt thoſe who fell under his hand.

What this capital was, he doth not tell us: *Cluverius* thinks it to have been *Namur*; if ſo, it is ſtrange, that *Cæſar*, when he deſcribes the ſtrength of the place (25), ſhould ſay nothing of the *Maeſe*, on which that place is ſituate, and which could not but add conſiderable ſtrength to it.

(L) We have given an account of theſe two nations, and their country, in a former volume (26).

(M) The *Ubii*, indeed, offered to waft him over in their boats; but the politic general told them, that it would be more for the honour of the *Romans* to build a bridge over that river; which, it ſeems, was the firſt attempt of that kind, they being uſed before to croſs it in floats, and other ſlight and flat veſſels. What increaſed their ſurprize, if his account can be credited, was, that he finiſhed it in ten days, and ſet a ſtrong guard on each ſide of it. The reader may ſee this famed fabric deſcribed by himſelf (27).

(N) *Cæſar* had two other views, the one to ſhew the *Germans*, by the example of the *Sicambri*, how dangerous it was to exaſperate the *Romans*; and the other, by the timely aſſiſtance he gave the *Ubii* againſt the *Suevi*, though for his own ends, to induce them to ſet a high value upon *Roman* friendſhip.

(24) *Comment. l.* ii. *c.* 29, *& ſeq.* (25) *Ibid. c.* 24. (26) *Vol.* v. *p.* 122, (*B*). (27) *Comment. l.* iv. *c.* 17.

a *Romans*, and of their own liberty (O), had, by their credit and valour, well nigh ſtirred up a general revolt in *Gaul*, which had groaned ſome time under the *Roman* yoke: this obliged *Cæſar* to ſend *Labienus* againſt them, whilſt he went to the aſſiſtance of *Cicero*, who was, in ſome meaſure, beſieged by the *Nervii*. We have given already a full account of all theſe tranſactions, in a former volume; for which reaſon, we ſhall refer our readers to them, as they are quoted in the margin, to avoid needleſs repetitions [f].

For the ſame reaſon we ſhall content ourſelves with juſt recapitulating the principal and brave efforts which they made, upon all favourable conjunctures, for the recovery of their liberty, and the deſperate wars which they renewed, and carb ried on, upon all proper occaſions, againſt ſeveral *Roman* emperors, and during ſeveral centuries, till they had accompliſhed their end, and ſubdued their conquerors; and refer our readers to thoſe parts of the *Roman* hiſtory, where they have been as fully treated of as could be done in a work of this extenſive nature. It is not, indeed, to be ſuppoſed, that their inſuperable love of liberty could ſuffer them to be longer patient under the *Roman* yoke, than till an opportunity offered itſelf for ſhaking it off; and this, in ſpite of the *Roman* careſſes, policy, and vigilance, could not but often happen, conſidering the continual diſtractions of that unwieldy empire: neither could the ill ſucceſs, which too often attended theſe attempts, diſcourage them from freſh ones: ſo that it would unavoidably draw us too far, to c particularize them all here again; eſpecially conſidering that they were, in proceſs of time, divided into many diſtinct nations, and appear, in hiſtory, under ſeveral names; ſuch as thoſe of *Franks*, *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Burgundians*, &c. of each of whom, as well as of the other conſiderable northern nations, ſuch as the *Hunns*, *Goths*, *Sueves*, *Dacians*, *Lombards*, &c. we ſhall give a full hiſtory, in the ſubſequent chapters (P).

With relation to the *Germans* in general, the moſt conſiderable tranſactions which remain to be taken notice of, are thoſe which follow, and which having been already ſpoken of in the two laſt volumes, we ſhall here only recapitulate and refer our reader to the places quoted in the margin. In *Auguſtus*'s reign, who, as we formerly d took notice, had iſſued out ſome edicts againſt the inhuman ſuperſtitions of the druids [g], which, in all likelihood, affected both nations, the *Germans* took that opportunity to paſs the *Rhine*, and to ravage thoſe countries which were ſubject to him. Againſt them *Agrippa* was ſent, whoſe arrival ſo intimidated them, that they quickly repaſſed that river [h]. But whilſt he was gone into *Spain*, they repaſſed it, and defeated a body of *Roman* horſe, and afterwards the *Gallic* proconſul *M. Lollius*, from whom they carried off a ſtandard: but he ſoon recovered his honour, and drove them back again [i], with conſiderable loſs. All this while the *Gauls* were in great ferment, and meditating a general revolt; upon which he ſent *Druſus* thither to quell them, which he had no ſooner done [k], but he paſſed the *Rhine*, drove all e before him, and penetrated almoſt to the *German* ocean [l].

The

[f] See vol. v. p. 119, & ſeq. p. 112, b, c. p. 126, d, e. p. 128, e. p. 309. e. p. 313, c. p. 319. paſſ. p. 373. [g] See before, p. 348, c. [h] See vol. v. p. 309, e, f. [i] Ibid. p. 315, b, c. [k] See the laſt chapter, p 401, c. & vol. v. p. 319, a, b. [l] Ibid. c—f.

(O) They had been formerly reckoned a very powerful nation among the *Germans* (28), and, having ſince paſſed the *Rhine*, had extended their dominions from that river quite to the country of the *Rhemi*. They had, a little before, ſhook off the *Roman* yoke, and were even reported to have invited other *Germans* to come, and aſſiſt them, and the *Gauls*, in defence of their liberty (29); which occaſioned their being defeated by *Labienus*, as has been elſewhere hinted (30).

(P) It will not, however, be amiſs to advertiſe our readers here, that, as thoſe nations branched out into a vaſt multitude of tribes, governments, and names, it will be impoſſible, in a work of this extent, to take notice of them all under ſeparate articles, eſpecially as many of them are known to us by little more than their names, or, at moſt, on account of ſome of their alliances with, or aſſiſting, other more conſiderable ones, and ſharing with them either in ſome notable victory or defeat. Of ſuch, we hope, it will be ſufficient to ſpeak occaſionally, as we find them mentioned by antient authors, and to give the beſt account which can be found of them, in as few words as poſſible.

But of thoſe who have made a greater figure in antient hiſtory, ſuch as the *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Longobards*, *Vandals*, *Suevi*, &c. among the antient *Germans*, the *Huns*, *Goths*, eaſtern and weſtern, and other *Scythian* nations, together with their migrations, ſettlements, wars, conqueſts, &c. they will be beſt treated of, each under a ſeparate chapter, according to the beſt accounts we can get from antient authors, and in ſuch a manner as may beſt open the way to the modern hiſtory of the *German* empire.

(28) *Tacit. Germ. c.* 28. (29) *Comment. l.* v. *c.* 2. (30) *See vol.* v. *p.* 128, *e.*

The famed revolt which happened among the *Roman* legions left in *Pannonia*, and a which was happily quelled, in part, by *Druſus*, and afterwards wholly by *Germanicus*, gave occaſion for a freſh invaſion, which the laſt-mentioned general carried on with great ſucceſs, and much greater havock and ſlaughter of the *Germans* for fifty miles about; and, if we may believe *Tacitus*, without the loſs, or even the wounding, of one ſingle *Roman* [n]. This action, which may be more properly called a maſſacre than a conqueſt (Q), alarmed ſome other *German* nations againſt them; but theſe, likewiſe, had the misfortune to be defeated, as we have ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory [o]. The *Roman* general had ſoon after a fairer field offered to him, on occaſion of the rupture between the two *German* chiefs, *Arminius* and *Segeſtes*, the former a ſworn enemy to the *Romans*, the latter a ſtaunch friend to them. What advantage *Germa-* b *nicus* made of this rupture, we need not repeat here, but only that the *Germans* received ſeveral defeats, and *Arminius* himſelf, after ſome advantages gained over them, was totally routed [p]. All that we ſhall add concerning this war is, that though it coſt the *Roman* general very dear [q], yet he had received ſuch reinforcements of men and arms from *Gaul* and other parts, that he hoped in one campaign to have reduced all *Germany*; but his ſucceſs raiſed the jealouſy of *Tiberius*, and occaſioned his being recalled [r].

Their other moſt conſiderable wars with the *Romans* the reader will find in the places quoted in the margin [s]; in the reign of *M. Aurelius* [t], and afterwards under the following emperors, which we ſhall but juſt mention here, and refer to the c places where they are ſpoken of in the *Roman* hiſtory, *viz.* againſt *Alexander* and *Maximin* [u], againſt *Valerian* [w] and *Aurelian* [x], *Probus* [y], *Conſtantius* [z], *Julian* [a], *Valentinian*, and ſome of his ſucceſſors [b]: but theſe, and the ſequel of their hiſtory, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters, where we ſhall ſpeak of them under the names of *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Franks*, &c. by which they were diſtinguiſhed, and better known, by that time..

But before we come to their ſeveral hiſtories, it will be neceſſary to paſs, according to our plan, over to the *Britiſh* iſles, whoſe firſt inhabitants being undoubtedly of antient *Celtic* extract, as we have, we hope, ſufficiently ſhewn in a former volume [c], as well as in this and the foregoing chapters, claim a preference, in point of time; d whereas thoſe northern people above-mentioned, ſo far as they appear, at leaſt, under thoſe new names, being not only of recenter date than the antient *Britons*, but of more uncertain origin, we think will more properly be ſpoken of in the ſubſequent chapters, and each in its due order.

[m] Vol. v. p. 359—368. [n] Annal. c. 49, & ſeq. [o] Vol. v. p. 369, & ſeq. & notes. [p] Ibid. p. 372—378, 381, & ſeq. [q] See ibid. 378, a, b. [r] Ibid. p. 386, a, b. [s] Ibid. p. 641, e, f, & ſeq. [t] See vol. vi. p. 66, paſſ. & ſeq. [u] Ibid. p. 145, b. p. 152, d, e. [w] Ibid. p. 173, b, c. [x] P. 188, c. [y] P. 199, & ſeq. [z] P. 294, d. [a] P. 301, & ſeq. [b] P. 350, & ſeq. [c] vol. ii. p. 241, & ſeq.

(Q) That general was, it ſeems, informed, that the *Germans* were then celebrating ſome great feſtival; and as he knew it was their cuſtom to drink very hard, and to carouſe it all night, he did not doubt but to find them either dead-drunk, or faſt aſleep, as he actually did. For having, with a numerous army, croſſed the *Cæſian* foreſt all night, he fell upon them, before they either knew any thing of his coming, or were recovered from their debauch. The confuſion that reigned amongſt them upon ſuch a ſurprize, made them become an eaſy prey to him, and he failed not to make the beſt advantage of it; permitting his troops to put all to fire and ſword, ſparing neither age or ſex, or even their moſt ſacred groves; witneſs that famed one of *Tanfana*, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak at the beginning of this chapter, and which they burnt, and levelled to the ground (28).

(28) *See Tacitus's ann. c.* 50, *& ſeq. & vol.* v. *p.* 369, *b—d. &* (P).

CHAP. XIII.

The antient state and history of Britain, *to its desertion by the* Romans, *and the invasion of the* Angles *and* Saxons.

SECT. I.

Description of Britain. *The first inhabitants. The customs, religion, government*, &c. *of the antient* Britons. *The state of* Britain *under the* Romans.

Britain *called, in more antient times,* Albion.

THE island, which is now called *Great Britain*, and comprehends the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, with the principality of *Wales*, was, in more antient times, by way of distinction, styled *Albion*, the name of *Britain* being then common to all the islands, that lie round it. Hence, *Agathemerus* speaking of the *British* islands, *They are many in number*, says he; *but the most considerable among them are* Hibernia *and* Albion [a]. And *Ptolemy*, to the chapter, wherein he describes the island now called *Great Britain*, prefixes the following title; *The situation of* Albion, *a* British *island* [b]. But, as this far excelled the other *British* islands, the name of *Albion*, in process of time, was quite laid aside, and that of *Britain*, by way of excellency, used in its room. By this name it was known in *Pliny*'s time, and even in *Cæsar*'s. *The island of* Britain, says *Pliny*, *so much celebrated by the* Greek *and* Latin *writers, was formerly called* Albion, *the name of* Britain *being then common to all the islands round it* [c]. And *Cæsar*, *The other angle of* Britain, *shooting out to the west, lies over-against* Spain; *on which side is* Hibernia, *an island thought to be half as big as* Britain, *and about the same distance from* Britain, *as* Britain *is from* Gaul [d]. Hence it is manifest, that the name of *Britain*, once common to all the islands in our ocean, was, in *Cæsar*'s time and *Pliny*'s, become peculiar to the island, which is still known by that name.

Various conjectures concerning the original of this name.

Whence it had the name of *Albion*, is uncertain, some deriving it from the *Greek* word *alphon*, which, according to *Festus*, signifies *white*, the chalky cliffs, that, in several places, rise on our coasts, being of that colour; while others pretend this name to have been borrowed from a giant, feigned to have been the son of *Neptune*, and mentioned by several antient writers. Some of our etymologists have recourse to the *Hebrew* tongue, and some to the *Phœnician*; *alben*, in the former, signifying *white*; and *alp*, in the latter, *high*. The derivation from the *Greek* word *alphon*, or from the *Hebrew alben*, seems to be countenanced by the *British* poets, who style *Britain Inis Wen*, that is, the *White Island* [e]. The origin of the name *Britain* is no less uncertain, than that of *Albion*. *Nennius* and some other *British* writers derive it from *Brutus*, whom they likewise call *Brito*, the fifth in descent from the celebrated *Æneas*. Others bring it from the *British* words *Pryd Cain*, that is, a *white form*, softened, by degrees, into *Britannia*. The learned *Camden* derives it from the words *Brith*, which, in the antient language of the island, signifies *painted*, and *Tania*, importing in *Greek*, a *region* or *country*; so that the name *Brithtania*, changed in process of time into *Britannia*, expresses what the *Britons* really were, that is, *painted*. *Somner*, disliking *Camden*'s etymology, proposes another, *viz.* that the name *Britain* comes from *Brydio*, signifying, in the *British* tongue, *rage*, and pointing out the violent motion of the sea, that surrounds the island. Of these four etymologies, the first is founded on a fable; and against the other three lies one common, and, in our opinion, unanswerable objection; which is, that the name of

Whence styled Britain.

Various etymologies of the word Britain.

Britain

[a] Agathem. l. xi. c. 4. [b] Ptol. l. ii. c. 3. [c] Plin. l. iv. c. 16. [d] Cæs. l. v. c. 13.
[e] Vide Seld. annot. ad Poly-alb. p. 20.

Britain was given to the iſland by foreigners, who could not borrow it from the *Britiſh* tongue, with which they were, in all likelihood, unacquainted. That the iſland received the name of *Britain* from foreigners, is evident, ſince the natives never ſtyled themſelves *Britons*, nor their country *Britain*, their true name being *Cumri*, or *Cumbri*; whence *Cambria* the name of *Wales* to this day among the *Welſh*. Beſides, the ſecond of the above-mentioned etymologies, deriving *Britain* from *Pryd Cain*, ſeems too far fetched. As to *Camden*'s etymology, *Somner* obſerves, that *Cæſar*, in telling us the *Britons* painted their bodies with woad, ſpeaks only of the inhabitants of *Albion*; whereas all the iſles in our ocean were called by one general name *inſulæ Britannicæ*, Britiſh *iſlands*. Is it probable, that a name, common to all the iſlands in our ocean, ſhould owe its origin to a cuſtom peculiar to one, though the moſt conſiderable, among them? As for the rage and fury of the ſea, whence *Somner* derives the name of *Britannia*, it is not true, that the ſea rages more on the coaſt of *Great Britain* than elſewhere. The learned *Bochart*, ſpeaking of the colonies and language of the *Phœnicians*, offers a conjecture, which moſt of our modern writers have adopted as the moſt natural. The *Phœnicians*, according to that writer [f], called this iſland, and ſome others near it, *Barat Anac*, that is, *the land or country of tin or lead*, and more contractedly *Bratanac*; which name, paſſing from the *Phœnicians* to the *Greeks*, and from theſe to the *Romans*, might have been ſoftened into that of *Britannicæ* and *Britannia*. That the *Phœnicians* firſt diſcovered thoſe iſles, which were afterwards by the *Greeks* called *Caſſiterides*, and are proved by *Camden* to be our *Scilly* iſlands, appears both from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, of whom the former tells us, that the *Phœnicians* firſt brought tin from the *Caſſiterides*, which they ſold to the *Greeks*; but kept the trade to themſelves, and the place private [g]: and the latter writes, that *Medocritus* was the firſt, who brought lead from the *Caſſiterides* [h]; where *Bochart* ſhews, that we ought to read *Melichartus*, who is the *Phœnician Hercules* of *Sanchoniathon*, to whom the *Phœnicians* aſcribed their firſt weſtern diſcoveries [i]. But, notwithſtanding the care of the *Phœnicians* to conceal theſe iſlands, the *Greeks* at laſt diſcovered them, and gave them the name of *Caſſiterides*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, anſwers that of *Barat Anac* in the *Phœnician*. This name was at firſt given to the above-mentioned iſlands, but, by degrees, communicated to all the others lying in the ſame ſea. Thus *Bochart*. But, after all, his opinion, however plauſible in appearance, may be as foreign to the purpoſe, as any of the reſt, the late inſtances of names given to new-diſcovered countries teaching us, that the origin of ſuch names is not always owing to reaſon, but often to chance and caprice. As therefore the origin of the names given to this iſland is of too antient a date to be traced with any certainty, we ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject, and proceed to ſome more material account of the country.

Bochart's *opinion the moſt natural.*

Deſcription of the country.

Britain lies over-againſt *France* and *Germany*, as *Cæſar* obſerved, in a triangular form, having three promontories ſhooting out three different ways, *viz. Belerium*, the *Land's-end* towards the weſt, *Cantium*, the *Kentiſh* or *North Foreland* towards the eaſt, and *Traviſium* or *Orcas*, *Cathneſs*, towards the north. It is divided from *Ireland*, to the weſt, by the *Vergivian* or *Iriſh* ſea; waſhed on the north by the northern ocean; on the eaſt, where it faces *Germany*, by the *German* ocean; and on the ſouth, towards *France*, by the *Britiſh* channel, called by the *Romans Fretum Britannicum*. Some writers have thought, that, where the channel is moſt contracted, the iſland was antiently joined by an iſthmus to the continent [k]. It lies between the 50th and 59th degrees of north latitude, extending from north to ſouth about 560 miles. Its breadth is various; and in compaſs its three ſides are found to contain, allowing for the windings of the coaſt, about eighteen hundred miles. The ſouth ſide, extending from the *North Foreland* in *Kent* to the *Land's-end* in *Cornwall*, contains about three hundred miles; the weſt ſide, from the *Land's-end* to the moſt northern point of *Scotland*, about eight hundred; and the eaſt ſide about ſeven hundred. Were *Great Britain* to be conſidered as a perfect triangle, formed by three right lines, the length of its three ſides, put together, would amount to about fifteen hundred miles. The fertility and pleaſantneſs of *Britain* gave occaſion to *Iſaacius Tzetzes* to imagine, that theſe were the fortunate iſlands, deſcribed by the poets, where the face of nature ſmiled with a perpetual ſpring. It was, in former times, the granary of the weſtern empire; for hence was every year tranſported an immenſe quantity of corn for the ſupply

[f] Boch. l. i. c. 39. [g] Strab. l. ii. c. 2. [h] Plin. l. vii. c. 36. [i] Boch. ubi ſupra.
[k] Vide Serv. in Virg. *Et penitus toto diviſos*, &c. White hiſt. Brit. l. ii. not. 2. Burton. comment. in Anton. p. 18, 19. Twin. de reb. Albion. Sammes Brit. l. i. c. 4. Verstegan. l. i. c. 4.

supply of the army on the frontiers of *Germany*. But the convenience of its ſituation, the fertility of its ſoil, and the innumerable bleſſings, with which it has been enriched by nature, are, with high encomiums, deſcribed by two antient panegyriſts, one of whom pronounced his ſpeech before *Conſtantine*, and the other before *Conſtantius*. To theſe we refer the reader, and paſs to the firſt inhabitants of this iſland.

Its firſt inhabitants.

THE ſouthern parts of *Britain* were peopled, according to *Cæſar*[l], by the *Gauls*. *Tacitus* is of the ſame opinion: *If we conſider all circumſtances*, ſays he, *it is probable, that* Gaul *firſt peopled* Britain, *which lies ſo near it*[m]. This opinion, which is followed by moſt of the antient, as well as the modern, writers, is chiefly founded on the agreement obſerved by the *Roman* writers between the two nations in their cuſtoms, manners, language, religion, form of government, way of fighting, *&c.* Beſides, as the *Gauls* ſent colonies into *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, and *Aſia*, it is but reaſonable to conclude, that they did the ſame with reſpect to *Britain*, which lay ſo near them, that they could diſcern it from the continent, and was no leſs plentiful than the other countries, where they ſettled. As for the more northern inhabitants of *Britain*, *Tacitus* infers, from the make of their limbs, and other circumſtances, that they came from *Germany*[n]; and *Cæſar* telling us, that they were *Aborigines*, ſeems to imply, that he diſcovered no affinity in their language, manners, cuſtoms, *&c.* with thoſe of *Gaul* and the ſouthern parts of *Britain*.

The origin of the Picts.

As for the *Picts*, who held the eaſtern parts of *Britain*, which lay north of the *Tine*, the venerable *Bede* tells us, that they came out of *Scythia* in long ſhips, and landed firſt in the north of *Ireland*; but, not being ſuffered to ſettle there by the *Scots*, who then poſſeſſed that iſland, they were adviſed to plant themſelves in the north part of *Britain*; which they did accordingly, with the aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, who moreover ſupplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony; but upon this condition, that, in all diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown, the *Picts* ſhould prefer the female to the male line of their former kings; which is obſerved among them, ſays *Bede*, to this day[o]. By *Scythia*, *Bede* perhaps meant the northern parts of *Germany*; for that *Scandinavia*, now comprehending the kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, was, by the beſt writers of the middle ages, ſtyled *Scythia*, is ſhewn by the learned *Uſher*[p] and *Stillingfleet*[q], of whom the latter admits, as not improbable, the conjecture of *Hector Boetius*, deriving the *Picts* from the *Agathyrſi*, who, from *Sarmatia*, came into *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and from thence into *Scotland*[r]. As no *Roman* author makes mention of the *Picts* before *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived about the end of the fourth century, ſome writers are of opinion, that the *Picts* were not a diſtinct people from the *Britons*, but ſuch of that nation as, to avoid the tyranny of the *Romans*, had retired into the northern parts of the iſland, where, continuing to paint their bodies, they were, by the *Romans*, called *Picti*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe, who, ſubmitting to *Rome*, had laid aſide that cuſtom, and adopted the *Roman* manners. To confirm this opinion, they alledge the authority of *Camden*, who, in his introduction, endeavours to ſhew, that the names of places, formerly held by the *Picts* in the ſouth and weſt parts of *Scotland*, are *Britiſh*, and conſequently, that one and the ſame was the language of the *Britons* and *Picts*. But that theſe two nations ſpoke different languages, is manifeſt beyond diſpute from *Bede*, who tells us, that, in his time, God was ſerved in five ſeveral languages in *Britain*, *viz.* of the *Angles*, of the *Britons*, of the *Scots*, of the *Picts*, and of the *Latins*; which latter was commonly uſed in divine worſhip[s]. Now, this difference of language, which *Bede*, who lived ſo near a neighbour to the *Picts*, could not be ignorant of, weighs down, with us, all the arguments, that are alledged to prove, that the *Britons* and *Picts* were one and the ſame people. Beſides, it is certain, that the *Picts* were, for ſeveral ages, a ſeparate and diſtinct nation, differing both from the *Scots* and *Britons*, not only in their language, but in their laws and cuſtoms. The contrary opinion is intirely built on the conformity of the name *Picts* with the *Latin* word *Picti*; which is but a weak foundation, ſince ſome writers, and among the reſt *Verſtegan*, derive the name of the *Picts* from a word in their own language ſignifying *warrior*. The *Scots* called them *Pehiti*, which name, in the opinion of ſome antiquaries, anſwers that of *Picts*, from the *Latin* word *Picti*; but others think it highly improbable, that the *Scots*, who were late ſubdued by the *Romans*, and continued but a ſhort time under their dominion, ſhould give their neighbours a *Roman* name. *Buchanan* takes

Whether the Picts *and* Britons *one and the ſame people.*

the

[l] CÆSAR. l. v. c. 16. [m] TACIT. vit. Agr. [n] Idem ibid. [o] BED. hiſt. l. i. c. 1. [p] USS. antiq. Brit. c. 15. [q] STILLINGF. orig. Brit. c. 5. [r] Idem ibid. BED. l. i. c. 1.

the name of *Picts* to be *Romans*; but at the ſame time, pretends, they came from certain *Gauliſh* colonies ſettled in *Thrace*, where they painted their bodies, as well as in *Britain*. The ſame author adds, that the *Picts* ſpoke the ſame language as the *Britons* and *Scots*. But herein he is contradicted, not only by *Bede*, whom we have quoted above, but by *John Major*, one of the moſt antient *Scots* hiſtorians, who tells us, that *as yet*, that is, in his time, *almoſt half* Scotland *ſpoke the* Iriſh *tongue, which they had brought over with them from* Ireland. a

The origin of the Scots.

As for the origin of the *Scots*, *Bede* tells us, that they came into this iſland out of *Ireland: In proceſs of time*, ſays that writer [t], Britain *received a third nation*, viz. the Scots, *beſides the* Britons *and* Picts, *who, coming out of* Ireland, *under the conduct of one* Reuda, *poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe territories, which they ſtill hold among the* Picts. b From this *Reuda*, adds our hiſtorian, they are called, to this day, *Dalreudini*, the word *Dal*, in their language, ſignifying *ſhare* or *portion*. But of this colony, and the time, in which it is ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the north part of *Britain*, called afterwards *Scotland*, we ſhall ſpeak more at length in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

The cuſtoms and manners of the antient Britons.

To return to the *Britons*: their manners, cuſtoms, religion, form of government, *&c.* are deſcribed, not only by *Cæſar* in his commentaries, but by others, and perhaps more fully, who wrote after the *Romans* were become maſters of the iſland. The country was, according to *Cæſar*, well peopled, and ſtocked with cattle. Their houſes were not unlike thoſe of the *Gauls*. They uſed copper or iron plates, weighed by a certain ſtandard, inſtead of money. If they bred domeſtic fouls, hens or geeſe, c it was for their diverſion, being ſtrictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Of all the *Britons*, thoſe, who inhabited *Cantium* or *Kent*, were the moſt civilized, not differing much in their manners from the *Gauls*. The more inland people, for the moſt part, ſowed no corn, their uſual food being milk and game, with which their woods and plains were well ſtored. The uſe of cloaths was ſcarce known in the iſland. Only the inhabitants of the ſouthern coaſt covered their nakedneſs with ſkins of wild beaſts, careleſsly thrown over them, not ſo much to defend themſelves againſt the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the ſtrangers, who came to trade with them. All the *Britons* painted their bodies, with the juice of woad, of a ſky-colour, and wore long hair; but ſhaved the reſt of their bodies, except their upper-lip. One d cuſtom prevailed among them, which ſeemed deteſtable to other nations; which was for ten or twelve men, brothers or friends, to have wives in common [u]. This cuſtom continued among them ſome time after the *Romans* were maſters of the iſland; for *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that a *Britiſh* lady, being upbraided with this uſage by *Julia*, wife to the emperor *Severus*, returned her this ſmart anſwer: *Surely the* Roman *ladies ought not to reproach us on this account, ſince we do publicly with the beſt of men no more, what they do privately with the worſt of their freemen and ſlaves* [x]. They abſtained from all manner of fiſh, though the ſeas, that ſurrounded their iſland, and their rivers, were plentifully ſtored with them [y]. Their towns, or rather villages, were a confuſed parcel of huts, placed at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and, generally e ſpeaking, in the middle of a wood, whereof the avenues were defended with ſlight ramparts of earth, or with the trees, that were cut down to clear the ground [z]. *Strabo* tells us, that they exceeded the *Gauls* in ſtature, but their bodies were not ſo well-ſet; that he ſaw, at *Rome*, ſome of their youth taller by half a foot than other men; that they had many princes and diſtinct governments among them; that their woods ſerved them inſtead of cities; for having cut down trees, and incloſed with them a large, round ſpot of ground, there they built huts for themſelves, and folds for their cattle [a]. *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeaking of the manners and cuſtoms of the antient *Britons*, Their houſes, ſays he, are made of reeds or wood; they lay up their corn in the ear in granaries, taking from thence no more than what they conſume in one day; they f are ſimple and upright in their dealings, and ſtrangers to the craft and ſubtlety of our countrymen; their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other nations; they are ſatisfied with a very mean and frugal diet; their iſland abounds with men, who are ſubject to divers kings and princes. Thus *Diodorus* [b]. And *Pomponius Mela*: *Britain* is well peopled, and obeys ſeveral kings; but they are all rough and unpoliſhed, and the farther they live from the continent, the leſs they are acquainted with foreign riches, abounding chiefly in cattle. They dye their bodies with woad, but whether by way of ornament, or for ſome other cauſe, is uncertain. Ambition of empire

[t] Idem ibid. [u] Cæs. comm. l. v. [x] Diod. Sic. l. lxxvi. [y] Cæs. ubi ſup. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Strab. l. iv. [b] Diod. Sic. l. iv.

empire, and desire of inlarging their dominions, prompt them to disturb each other
a with frequent wars [c]. *Tacitus* writes, that the *Britons*, in their manners, resembled the *Gauls*, which was owing either to the same original, or the like climate: that the *Britons*, however, not yet softened by a long peace, shewed greater intrepidity in war; that they were formerly governed by kings, but were then, that is, in *Agricola*'s time, divided by petty princes into parties and factions. *Tacitus* adds, that nothing was of greater advantage to the *Romans* against the most powerful among them, than their not consulting one common interest, nor their joining to repel common dangers. Thus, while they fight separately, says that author, they are all alike overcome [d]. *Dion Cassius*, as epitomized by *Xiphilin*, speaking of the more northern *Britons*, says, that they tilled no ground, their food being game and fruits;
b that they lived in their huts naked; that they had wives in common; that the chief authority resided in the people; that, in war, their arms were a shield, and a short spear, to the lower end of which was fastened a ball of brass, in order to terrify the enemy with the noise, when they shook it. They are inured to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships, continues the same writer, and, when in the woods, can live upon the bark and roots of trees. He adds, that, on all occasions, they had ready a certain kind of food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirst for a considerable time after [e]. *Herodian* and *Solinus*, in describing the more northern nations of *Britain*, tell us, that they knew not the use of garments, but girt their waists and necks with iron, by way of ornament,
c that metal being no less in request among them, than gold was among other nations; that they made deep incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees, and animals, which, with the juice of wood, they painted of a sky-colour, that never wore out [f]. They are a warlike nation, adds *Herodian*, and most greedy of slaughter. In war they use a narrow shield, a lance, and a sword. As for breast-plates and helmets, they look upon them as an incumbrance [g]. *Pliny* observes, among their other customs, that they wore rings on their middle fingers, and manured their land with marl; which must be understood of the more civilized *Britons* dwelling near the coast; for the others, as we have related above, did not apply themselves to agriculture.

d As to their manner of fighting, *Cæsar*, who extols their valour, and the undaunted bravery, with which they went to battle, tells us, that they made use of chariots, driving furiously among the enemy's ranks, and discharging their darts, by which means they often put the *Romans* in disorder. When they engaged the horse, they left their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themselves so, that their masters, if overpowered with numbers, might readily find them, and have an easy retreat. By this manner of fighting, they had, says *Cæsar*, both the speed of the horse, and the steadiness of the foot, and were, by daily practice, so expert, that they could stop their horses on a steep descent, though in full career, turn them in a narrow compass, run along the pole, sit upon the yoke,
e and from thence, with incredible quickness, return to their chariots. Thus *Cæsar* [h]. But why they chose to engage the horse rather on foot than in their chariots, is not easily conceived. *Their manner of fighting.*

THEIR trade was very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the convenient situation of their island for carrying on an extensive commerce. Their vessels were very small, with their keels and ribs made of slight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides; which shews, that they undertook no long voyages; nay, in all likelihood, they never ventured to sea beyond the coasts of *Gaul*. Their chief traffick was with the *Phœnician* merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, which happened, according to *Sammes*, before the *Trojan* war [i],
f yearly exported great quantities of tin, which they sold to the *Greeks*, and other distant nations. As this trade proved very profitable, the *Phœnicians*, with great care, concealed, for many ages, the fountain-head; but the *Greeks* discovered it at length, about an hundred and sixty years before *Julius Cæsar*, as *Sammes* will have it [k], and traded to the same place, giving the islands, from whence chiefly they brought the tin, the name of *Cassiterides*, answering, as we have observed above, the *Phœnician* name *Barat-Anac*. But this trade *Their trade.*

c POMP. MEL. de situ orbis, l. iii. d TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 2. e DIO, apud Xiphilin. l. lxiii.
f HERODIAN. l. xi. & SOLIN. l. vii. c. 8. g HEROD. ibid. h CÆS. comment. l. iv. i SAM. Brit. p. 47. k Idem ibid.

trade was only carried on in the *Scilly* iſlands, where *Camden* tells us that ſome a veins of lead were found even in his time.

Their religion. The religion of the antient *Britons* was, as *Cæſar* informs us [l], much the ſame with that of their neighbours the *Gauls*. They worſhipped *Jupiter* under the name of *Taramis*, or *Taran*, ſignifying in the antient *Britiſh* language, as it does ſtill in the *Welſh*, *thunder*. *Maximus Tyrius* writes, that they paid divine worſhip to the higheſt oak they could find, as the figure or repreſentation of this god. Their other deities were *Tutates*, called by the *Britons Duw Taith*, the god of journeys, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Mercury*; *Heſus*, called alſo *Camulus*, according to *Camden*, the god of war, or the *Mars* of the *Britains*; *Beleus* or *Belinus*, that is, as appears from a paſſage of *Julius Capitolinus* [m], *Apollo*, who is alſo ſuppoſed to have been called b *Belatucardus*, this inſcription, *Deo Belatucardo*, being found in ſeveral monuments of antiquity. As for their goddeſſes, they worſhipped *Diana* under the name of *Camma*, and paid a very particular veneration to *Andate*, their goddeſs of victory, who had a temple at *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*. To her they are ſaid, by *Dion Caſſius*, who calls her *Andraſte*, to have ſacrificed their priſoners of war [n]. The care and direction of all religious matters was, by the *Britons* as well as the *Gauls*, com-

The Druids. mitted to the *Druids*, whoſe authority was great, not only in religious, but civil, affairs. Their name ſeems to come from the *Britiſh* word *Deru*, or the *Greek* word *Drus*, both ſignifying an *oak*, not only becauſe they eſteemed nothing more ſacred than the miſleto that grows on the oak, but likewiſe becauſe their uſual reſidence c was in groves among oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without ſome branches or leaves of that tree [o]. They were held both by the *Britons* and *Gauls*, in ſuch veneration, that their authority was almoſt abſolute. To them belonged the care of private and public ſacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the beſtowing of rewards, or inflicting of puniſhments, the deciding of controverſies, let the difference be of what nature ſoever; and whoever refuſed to obey their decree, whether lord or vaſſal, was excluded from the ſacrifices, which was accounted the greateſt puniſh- ment that could be inflicted, for ſuch as were thus, we may ſay, excommunicated, were reckoned in the number of the wicked, and, as ſuch, avoided by all, not al- lowed to commence a ſuit, to diſcharge any public office, or to have the leaſt regard d paid them. Theſe *Druids* had a ſuperintendant or pontiff, to whom they were all ſubject. Upon his decaſe, the moſt worthy ſucceeded him; but, if there happened to be ſeveral candidates of equal merit, the election was decided by a majority of votes, and ſometimes, as *Cæſar* tells us, by the ſword. Once a year, the *Druids* of *Gaul* had a general aſſembly in the midſt of the country, to which reſorted perſons from all quarters, who had any controverſies to decide, every one ſubmitting readily to their decrees [p]. The diſcipline of the *Druids* was thought, as *Cæſar* writes [q], to have been firſt inſtituted in *Britain*, and from thence transferred to *Gaul*; for, even in his time, thoſe who were deſirous to have a thorough knowledge of it, came over to this iſland to learn it. The *Druids* were exempted from all military duties, taxes, e and impoſts, and met with ſuch encouragement, that many embraced that profeſſion. The youth, eſpecially the nobility, were educated by them. Thoſe who embraced the ſame profeſſion, were, firſt of all, obliged to learn by heart a great number of verſes; which employed ſome, ſays *Cæſar*, for the ſpace of twenty years; for the *Druids* never committed any thing to writing, not that they were ignorant of letters, for, on all other occaſions, they made uſe of *Greek* characters, but in order to lock up, by that means, their myſterious learning from the vulgar, or to exerciſe the memory of their diſciples. Thus *Cæſar*. But from hence we muſt not conclude, that they had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, ſince *Cæſar* himſelf, when he wrote to *Q. Cicero*, beſieged among the *Nervii*, penned his letter in *Greek*, to prevent its give- ing, if intercepted, any intelligence to the enemy; which plainly ſhews, they were ſtrangers to that language. *Selden* thinks the word *Græcis* has crept into the text, the meaning of *Cæſar* being, that the *Druids* never committed their learning to writing, but, on all other occaſions, made uſe of letters; which opinion does not appear to us ill grounded. One of the chief tenets they taught, was the immortality of the ſoul, and its tranſmigration from one body to another; which doctrine they looked upon as proper to inſpire them with courage, and a contempt of death. They inſtructed their youth in ſeveral other traditions concerning the ſtars, and their motions,

[l] Cæs. comment. l. iv. [m] Jul. Capit. in vit. Maximin. [n] Dio, l. lxiii. [o] Vide Plin. l. xvi. c. 44. Cæs, l. vi. Plin. ubi ſup. [q] Cæs. ibid.

motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods[r]. There were women as well as men *Druids*; for a female *Druid* of *Tungria*, now the bishoprick of *Liege*, foretold to *Diocleſian*, as we read in *Vopiſcus*, when yet a private ſoldier, that he ſhould one day be emperor. The ſect and religion of the *Druids* ſpread as far as *Italy*; for *Auguſtus* publiſhed an edict, forbidding the *Romans* to celebrate their myſteries. Beſides the *Druids*, there were, among the *Britons* and *Gauls*, prieſts of an inferior rank, called *Bards*, whoſe province it was to celebrate the exploits of their heroes in verſes, which they ſung to the harp. The *Bards* were ſtill in *Britain*, after the *Romans* had intirely abandoned it.

The civil government of Britain.

THE ſame form of government prevailed in *Britain*, as in *Gaul*; that is, the whole country was divided into ſeveral ſmall ſtates, with a head over each, dignified by authors with the name of king. Of theſe heads or kings, *Cæſar* mentions four in the ſmall compaſs of *Kent*. Whether theſe ſtates were hereditary, or elective, we find no-where recorded. On great and imminent dangers, one of theſe heads or kings was, in a general aſſembly, and by common conſent, choſen commander in chief of all their forces. Thus, when *Cæſar* invaded the iſland, the chief command of all the *Britiſh* forces was conferred upon *Caſſibelanus*; and when the *Britons* revolted in the time of *Claudius*, *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures*, was choſen general. As in other caſes, the ſeveral ſtates, into which *Britain* was divided, had no dependence upon each other, they had, no doubt, quarrels and conteſts among themſelves. But of their affairs before *Cæſar*'s invaſion we have no account, but ſuch as may be deemed fabulous; and therefore at that period, and no higher, ought the *Engliſh* hiſtorian, as *Camden* well obſerves, to begin his hiſtory.

Diviſion of the country.

THAT part of *Britain*, which comprehends the preſent kingdom of *England* and the principality of *Wales*, was in antient times divided into ſeventeen petty ſtates, whereof the inhabitants were diſtinguiſhed by the following names, *viz.* the *Danmonii*, the *Durotriges*, the *Belgæ*, the *Attrebatii*, the *Regni*, the *Cantii*, the *Dobuni*, the *Catticuchlani*, the *Trinobantes*, the *Iceni*, the *Coritani*, the *Cornavii*, the *Silures*, the *Dimetæ*, the *Ordovices*, the *Brigantes*, the *Ottadini*. That part of *Britain*, which extends a great way to the weſt, and is bounded on the north by the *Severn* ſea, on the ſouth by the *Britiſh* ocean, and on the weſt by St. *George*'s chanel, was antiently inhabited by thoſe *Britons*, who are called by *Solinus*, *Dunmonii*, by *Ptolemy*, *Dommonii*, and, in the more correct copies, *Danmonii*. In this tract, or, as we may call it, peninſula, now comprehending the counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, the following places are mentioned by *Ptolemy*[s], *viz.* the eſtuary *Vexalla*, formed by the confluence of the two rivers *Pedredus* and *Ivellus*, now the *Parret* and the *Ill*; the promontory of *Hercules*, about half-way between that eſtuary and another promontory, called by *Ptolemy*, *Bolerium*, and by *Diodorus Siculus*[t], *Belerium*. The promontory *Belerium*, which is by *Ptolemy* called alſo *Antiveſtæum*, is the moſt weſtern point of *Britain*, now known by the name of the *Land's-end*. Not far from this ſhoots out to the ſouth the promontory *Danmonium*, or *Ocrinum*, now the *Lizard*. On the ſouth coaſt the following places are taken notice of by our geographer, *viz.* *Voliba*, now *Falmouth*; the mouth of the *Tamara*, now the *Tamar* or *Tamer*, on which ſtands the town of *Plymouth*; the mouth of the *Iſca*, now the *Ex*. The inland places mentioned by *Ptolemy* are, *Iſca Danmoniorum*, *Exeter*; *Tamare*, *Taviſtock*; *Uxella*, according to *Camden*, *Leſtwithiel*.

The Danmonii.

Durotriges.

NEXT to the *Danmonii*, eaſtward, were the *Durotriges*, inhabiting that tract, which is now called *Dorſetſhire*. In this county *Ptolemy* takes notice of one place only, which he calls *Dunium*, and *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Durnovaria*. All critics agree, that, inſtead of *Dunium*, we ought to read in *Ptolemy*, *Durnium*; and that this was the antient name of *Dorcheſter*, the chief town of the county of *Dorſet*.

Belgæ.

To the north and eaſt of the country of the *Durotriges*, were ſituated the *Belgæ*, who poſſeſſed *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, and *Hampſhire*. In this country *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* mention on the coaſt *Magnus Portus*, *Portſmouth*; and *Triſantonis Portus*, *Southampton*, ſo called from the river *Triſanto*, now *Hampton*, on which it ſtands. Either *Portus Triſantonis*, or another place very near it, is called by *Antoninus*, *Clauſentum*. In the inland country ſtood *Venta Belgarum*, *Wincheſter*, a place of great note in antient times, as we read both in *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*; *Aquæcalidæ*, or, as *Antoninus* ſtyles it, *Aquæſolis*, ſo called from its hot waters, now *Bath*; *Iſcalis* or *Iſchalis*, *Ilcheſter*.

[r] Idem ibid. [s] PTOL. l. ii. c. 3. [t] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 22.

Attrebatii. *Ilcheſter.* On the *Belgæ* bordered the *Attrebatii*, the inhabitants of *Berkſhire*. The *Attrebatii*, as well as the *Belgæ*, came originally from *Belgic Gaul*, as we read in *Cæſar* [u], and ſettling in *Britain*, retained their antient names. The chief city of the *Attrebatii* was *Calcua*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Caleva*, as it is named by *Antoninus*, now *Wallingford*. *Antoninus* mentions another place, *viz. Spinæ*, which, according to *Camden*, ſtill retains its antient name, being called *Spene*; but is now only a village near *Newbury*, which roſe out of its ruins. On the country of the *Attrebatii*, bordered

Regni. that of the *Regni*, comprehending *Surry*, *Suſſex*, and part of the ſea-coaſt of *Hampſhire*. In this country *Ptolemy* mentions but one city, *viz. Noviomagus*, which is alſo taken notice of by *Marinus Tyrius*, as appears from *Ptolemy* [x]. Some antiquaries take this to be the preſent town of *Guilford*; but *Noviomagus* was only ten miles [b] diſtant from *London*, as we read in *Antoninus*'s itinerary; whereas *Guilford* is thirty. *Camden* tells us, that, in his time, were ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a city, anſwering exactly the diſtance ſet down in the itinerary. Beſides *Noviomagus*, *Antoninus* mentions ſeveral other places in the country of the *Regni*, viz. *Othona*, where was, according to the *Notitia*, the ſtation of the *Roman* ſoldiers called *Fortenſes*. *Camden* takes *Othona* to have ſtood where *Haſtings* now ſtands. *Portus Adurni*, now the ſmall village of *Ederington*, and *Regnum*, now *Ringwood*, that is, the wood or foreſt of the *Regni*, into which they fled for protection. In the country of the *Regni*, namely at *Ockham* in *Surry*, where the *Wey* falls into the *Thames*, at a place to this day called *Coway-ſtakes*, from the ſtakes, with which the *Britons* had fenced the bank, *Cæſar* [c] paſſed the *Thames*, and entered the territories of *Caſſivelan*. *Cæſar* croſſed the *Thames* eighty miles from the ſea; and this is the only place, at that diſtance, where the river is fordable. To the eaſt of the *Belgæ* and *Attrebatii*, lay the country of the

Cantii. *Cantii*, called, by *Ptolemy* and *Cæſar* [y], *Cantium*, by *Bede Cantia* [z], now *Kent*. The *Cantii* were, according to *Cæſar*, the moſt civilized of all the *Britons*, not differing much, in their cuſtoms and manners, from their neighbours the *Gauls* [a]. The places in *Cantium*, mentioned by the antients, are, *Durovernum*, *Durobrivis*, *Durolenum*, *Portus Rutupiæ*, *Portus Dubris*, *Regulbium* or *Regulvium*, and *Portus Lemanis*, now *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, *Lenham*, *Dover*, *Reculver*, and *Lime*. Whether *Rutupiæ* and *Portus Rutupenſis*, called by *Tacitus Portus Trutulenſis*, were one and the ſame place, [d] is queſtioned by our antiquaries. *Somner* thinks they were two places [b], contrary to the opinion of *Leland*, *Lambard*, and others. Perhaps he may be in the right; but it is not probable, ſays *Camden*, that *Sandwich* was the *Portus Rutupenſis*, it being evident, that *Stonar* was the road, where the ſhips lay, that came to *Rutupiæ*; and *Somner* himſelf allows *Stonar* to have been an antient port [c]. In the opinion of *Camden* therefore, *Portus Rutupenſis* was *Stonar*, and *Rutupiæ* the preſent village of *Richborough*, at ſome diſtance from the ſea. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, in the *Roman* times, *Geſſoriacum*, now *Bologne*, and *Rutupiæ* or *Portus Rutupenſis*, were, for thoſe who from *Gaul* came into *Britain*, or from *Britain* croſſed over into *Gaul*, what in our times are *Dover* and *Calais*. Hence, frequent mention is made of *Rutupiæ* [e] by the *Latin* writers [d]; nay the word *Rutupinus* was, by ſome of the poets, uſed inſtead of *Britannus* [e], ſo famous was *Rutupiæ* in the *Roman* times. *Portus Dubris*, now *Dover*, is firſt mentioned by *Antoninus*; but, before the *Romans* abandoned the iſland, it became no leſs famous than *Rutupiæ* itſelf. At *Rutupiæ* was quartered the ſecond *legio Auguſta*; at *Portus Dubris* the *Tungricani*; at *Portus Lemanis*, or *Novus Portus*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the *Turnacenſes*; and at *Regulbium* or *Regulvium*, the firſt cohort of the *Betaſii*, as we read in the *Notitia*. *Ptolemy* reckons *Londinium*, *London*, among the cities of the *Cantii*; but he was therein certainly miſtaken. When the *Roman* government was eſtabliſhed in *Britain*, the ſea-coaſt of *Kent*, which they termed *littus Saxonicum*, or the *Saxon* ſhore, had, from the time of *Diocleſian*, a particular [f] governor, called by *Marcellinus*, *count of the ſea-coaſt*, and by the *Notitia*, *count of the* Saxon *ſhore*, whoſe province it was to prevent the barbarians, eſpecially the *Saxons*, who began then to infeſt *Britain*, from plundering the country. In imitation of the *Romans*, our anceſtors ſet over this coaſt a governor or portreve, commonly called *the warden of the cinque ports*, from his preſiding over five ports. *Cæſar* landed, when he

[u] Cæs. comm. l. v. c. 12. [x] Ptol. l. i. c. 15. [y] Ptol. ubi ſupra. Cæs. comm. l. v. c. 14.
[z] Bed. hiſt. l. i. c. 26. & l. iii. c. 3. [a] Cæs. ibid. [b] Somn. ports and forts, p. 3, 4. [c] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 244. [d] Vide Lucan. l. v. c. 67. Juven. ſatir. iv. ver. 140. Auson. parental. xviii. & de clar. urb. Zos. l. iv. c. 25, 46. Ammian. Marcel. l. xx. c. 1. & l. xxvii. c. 18. Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 38. [e] Juven. & Auson. ibid.

a he invaded *Britain*, in the country of the *Cantii*, and, as is commonly believed, at *Deal*, on the twenty-ſixth of *Auguſt*, in the afternoon, fifty-four years before the birth of Chriſt [f]. *Cantium* is parted from the continent by a narrow ſea, called by *Solinus*, *Fretum Gallicum*; by *Tacitus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Fretum Oceani*, and *Oceanus Fretalis*. Thus far of that part of *Britain*, which is bounded by the ocean, the *Severn* ſea, and the river *Thames*.

On the north ſide of the *Thames*, near its head, are placed by *Ptolemy* the *Dobuni*, the antient inhabitants of *Gloſterſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*. In their country that writer mentions but one city, namely *Corinium*, called by *Antoninus*, ſo far as we can conjecture from the diſtances ſet down in his itinerary, *Durocornovium*, which ſtood in or b near the place, where the preſent town of *Cirenceſter* ſtands. Two other places are taken notice of by *Antoninus*, viz. *Altone*, or *Avone*, and *Clevum*, or *Glevum*, built by the *Romans*, as a curb upon the *Silures*, now *Alvington* and *Gloceſter*. To the eaſt of the *Dobuni* lay the country of the *Cattieuchlani*, *Calyeuchlani*, *Cattidudani*, *Cathiclu-dani*, as they are ſtyled in different copies of *Ptolemy*'s works. *Dion* calls them *Cat-tuellani*, and alſo *Caſſii*. In their country, which comprehended *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, and *Hertfordſhire*, the following places are named by *Antoninus*; *Lacto-dorum*, *Bedford*; *Magiovinium*, *Aſhwell*; *Durocobrivis*, or *Durocobrivæ*, *Hertford*; *Pontes*, placed in the itinerary twenty-two miles from *London*; and *Verulamium*, men-tioned not only by *Antoninus*, but by *Ptolemy*, and all the *Roman* writers, who ſpeak of *Britain*. *Camden* conjectures *Verulamium* to have been the town of *Caſſivelan*, which c was taken by *Cæſar* [g]. In *Nero*'s time it was a *municipium*, as we read in *Tacitus* [h]; but being afterwards deſtroyed, as is ſuppoſed, in the *Saxon* war, the town of *St. Albans* roſe out of its ruins, which are ſtill called *Verulam*. In the country of the *Cattieuchlani*, *Ptolemy* mentions only *Verulamium*, which he calls *Urolamium*, and *Salenæ*, of which no footſteps are remaining. Before the arrival of *Cæſar*, the *Catti-euchlani* had reduced great part of the country belonging to the *Dobuni*, and were conſtantly at war with their neighbours.

Dobuni.

Cattieuchlani

Next to the *Cattieuchlani* were the *Trinobantes*, as *Cæſar* calls them, or *Trinonnantes*, as they are ſtyled by *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*. They inhabited the preſent counties of d *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*. To them belonged the city of *London*, called by *Tacitus*, *Pto-lemy*, and *Antoninus Londinium*; but *Ammianus*, *Lundinum*; by *Stephanus*, *Lindonion*; and by *Bede*, *Lundonia* and *civitas Lundonia* [i]. There ſeems to have been no ſuch place as *London* in *Cæſar*'s time; and yet it was a town of great note and trade in *Nero*'s, as appears from *Tacitus* [k]. It muſt therefore have been founded between the times of theſe two emperors, and, in all likelihood, as the learned biſhop of *Wor-ceſter* thinks, about the time of *Claudius*. *Tacitus* calls it a place famous for trade, and the concourſe of merchants, though not diſtinguiſhed with the title of *colony* [l]. Whether in proceſs of time it attained this honour, may be queſtioned; for though *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſtyles it *Auguſta*, yet we cannot from thence conclude, that it was a *Roman* colony, ſince antiquaries, of no mean character, are of opinion, that the emperors allowed ſome towns, that were not colonies, to aſſume that title [m]. e Perhaps it took the name of *Auguſta* from *Conſtantine the Great*, who is ſaid to have ſurrounded it with a wall. *Ptolemy*, as we have obſerved above, and alſo *Ravennas*, place *London* in *Cantium*, on the ſouth ſide of the *Thames*. The other towns of the *Trinobantes* were, *Durolitum*, *Cæſaromagus*, *Cononium*, *Camalodunum*, and *Colonia*, now *Leiton*, *Burghſtead*, *Cannonden*, *Maldon*, and *Colcheſter*. *Camalodunum*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Camudolanum*, was the firſt *Roman* colony in *Britain*, granted by the empe-ror *Claudius* to the veterans, who, driving out the natives, ſettled there; but they were afterwards themſelves, in a general inſurrection, either driven out, or put to the ſword, the theatre, the temple of *Claudius*, and the ſeveral villas in the neigh-f bourhood, belonging to the *Roman* commanders, being utterly demoliſhed by the incenſed *Britons*, who looked upon the colony as the ſeat of ſlavery [n]. The country bordering on that of the *Trinobantes*, and comprehending the counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, was inhabited by the *Iceni*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Simeni*, and by others, *Tigeni*. *Camden* is of opinion, that the *Iceni* were the people, whom *Cæſar* calls *Cenomagni* [o]. To them belonged the following places, mentioned both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*, *Villa Fauſtini*, *Cambretoninm*, *Sitomagas*, *Venta Iceno-rum*,

Trinobantes.

Iceni.

[f] Vide Halley philoſoph. tranſact. N°. 193. [g] Cæs. comm. l. v. ci 21. [h] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 33.
[i] Bed. l. ii. c. 4, 7, 3. [k] Tacit. ubi ſup. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Vide Cell. geog. antiq. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 4. [n] Tacit. l. xiv, c. 31. & vit. Agricol. c. 16. [o] Camd. Brit. p. 434.

ram, *Garienis Oſtium*, *Iciani*, *Brannodium*, and *Durobrivæ*, now *St. Edmundsbury*, *Bretenham*, *Thetford Caſtle*, *Yarmouth*, *Ichburrough Brancaſter*, *Dornford*. In the *Roman* times, the commander of the horſe under the count of the *Saxon* ſhore was ſtationed at *Oſtium Garienis*, called alſo *Oppidum Garianorum*: and the *Dalmatian* horſe, as appears from the *Notitia*, at *Brannodunum*. To theſe we may add *Camboritum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, though not by *Ptolemy*, and in the itinerary placed on the *Cam*, where the preſent city of *Cambridge* ſtands; which *Camden* ſuppoſes to have been built out of the ruins of *Camboritum*.

Coritani. On the *Iceni* bordered the *Coritani*, whoſe country comprehended *Northamptonſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Lincolnſhire Nottinghamſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*. Their chief places were, *Lindum*, *Lincoln*, ; *Tripontium*, *Towceſter* ; *Bennavenna* or *Beneventa*, [b] thought to be *Northampton* ; *Ratæ*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Rage*, according to *Camden*, *Leiceſter* ; *Verometum*, *Burrowhill* ; *Margidunum*, *Margedoverton* ; *Pontes*, *Panton* ; *Crococolanum*, and *Agelocum*, or, as *Camden* will have it, *Adelocum*, *Idleton*. *Lindum*, called by *Bede*, *Lindocolina civitas*, was, according to *Ptolomy*, the metropolis of the *Coritani*. In this country, between the ſprings of the *Nen*, and the *Avon*, are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of antient fortifications and military fences, erected, as *Camden* believes, by *Oſtorius* governor of *Britain*, after he had fortified the banks of the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, in order to prevent the irruptions of thoſe who inhabited *Wales*, and the north parts of *Britain*. When the banks of the two latter rivers, the one running eaſtward, and the other weſtward, were well defended, the [c] only paſſage from the north into the hither part of *Britain* was between the ſprings of theſe two rivers ; and this paſs was defended with ſtrong works, whereof the ruins are ſtill to be ſeen at *Gildſborough* and *Dantrey*. *Oſtorius*, ſays *Tacitus*[p], after having diſarmed ſuch as were ſuſpected, by fortifying the banks of the *Antona* and *Sabrina*, reſtrained them from breaking into the province ; where, inſtead of *Antona*, mentioned by no other writer, *Camden* reads *Aufona*, or *Avona*, which name was, according to him, common to the *Nen* and *Avon*[q]. To the weſt of the *Coritani*, were ſituated the

Cornavii. *Cornavii*, who, according to *Ptolemy*'s deſcription of their country, ſeem to have poſſeſſed *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*. Their chief towns were, *Branonium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Branogenium*, *Worceſter* ; *Præ-* [d] *ſidium* on the *Aufona* or *Avona*, *Warwick*, where the prefect or commander of the *Dalmatian* horſe was poſted by the appointment of the governor of *Britain*, as we read in the *Notitia* ; *Pennocrucium*, *Penkridge* ; *Viroconinum* or *Uricomium*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the metropolis of the *Cornavii*, probably built by the *Romans*, when they fortified the banks of the *Severn*, which is here fordable, and no-where lower. It is now a ſmall village, called *Wrockceſter*. Out of its ruins roſe the preſent town of *Shrewſbury*. *Deva*, or *Deuna*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, on the river *Deva*, from whence the town borrowed its name, now *Cheſter*. It was antiently a *Roman* colony, and the ſtation of the twentieth legion, ſurnamed *Victrix*. *Condate*, *Congleton* ; and *Rutunium*, now *Routon*.

Silures. The principality of *Wales*, formerly comprehending the whole country beyond the *Severn*, was, in the *Roman* times, inhabited by the *Silures*, the *Demetæ*, and the *Ordovices*. To theſe belonged not only the twelve counties of *Wales*, but likewiſe the two others lying beyond the *Severn*, *viz. Herefordſhire and Monmouthſhire*, now reckoned among the *Engliſh* counties. The *Silures* and *Demetæ*, according to the deſcription *Ptolemy* gives us of them, inhabited that part, which is now known by the name of *South Wales*, and compriſes the following counties, *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Glamorganſhire*, with *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*. As to the origin of the people *Tacitus* is of opinion, that they came originally from *Spain*, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their ſituation over-againſt that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and reſolution, utterly averſe to ſervitude, and great ſticklers for their liberties, as will appear from their wars with the *Romans* under *Oſtorius*, *Veranius*, and *Julius Frontinus*, who in the end ſubdued them. In *Herefordſhire* ſtood *Bletium*, now the *Old Town* on the *Munow* ; and about three ſhort miles weſt of the preſent city of *Hereford*, near the village of *Kencheſter*, *Ariconium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*. In this country are to be ſeen the veſtiges of ſeveral *Roman* camps. In *Brecknockſhire*, towards the north, where it is divided from *Radnorſhire* by the *Wye*, ſome place *Bullæum Silurum* ; but others think it ſtood in *Glamorganſhire*.

[p] Tacit. l. xii. c. 31. [q] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 404.

a *ſhire.* *Brecknock*, the chief town of the county, was inhabited, in the *Roman* times, as appears from ſeveral *Roman* coins found there, from a *Roman* brick diſcovered with this inſcription, *Leg.* II. *Aug.* and from a ſquare camp near this place, called by the natives *Gaer*, that is, *fortification.* In *Monmouthſhire*, about three miles from *Chepſtow*, which ſtands near the fall of the *Wye* into the *Severn*, is placed by all our antiquaries *Venta Silurum*, called to this day *Kaer-went*, that is, *the city Venta*; but now only ſome ruins of it are to be ſeen. On the north-weſt border of the county ſtood *Gobannium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, at the confluence of the *Iſca*, now *Wyſk* or *Uſk*, and the *Govenni*; whence it took the name of *Gobannium*, which, with a ſmall alteration, it retains to this day, being called *Aber-Gavenni*, that is, the con-
b fluence of the *Gavenni* or *Gobannium.* About twelve miles from *Gobannium*, *Antoninus* places *Burrium*, where the *Birdhin* or *Birthin* falls into the *Uſk.* This place is now known to the *Welſh* by the name of *Brynbiga*, and to the *Engliſh* by that of *Uſk.* On the other ſide of the *Uſk*, twelve miles from *Burrium*, ſtood *Iſca Silurum*, where the ſecond legion was ſtationed; whence it is ſtyled by *Antoninus*, *Legio Secunda*, and by the *Britons* to this day *Kaer-Lheion*, or *Kaer-Wyſk*, that is, the city of the legion, or of the river *Uſk.* The *Legio Secunda*, called alſo *Britannica Secunda*, was raiſed by *Auguſtus*, and removed out of *Germany* into *Britain* by *Claudius*, under the con-
duct of *Veſpaſian*, to whom, upon his aſpiring to the empire, it ſecured the *Britiſh* legions. It was placed in gariſon at *Iſca* by *Julius Frontinus* againſt the *Silures*, and long after that, that is, in the reign of *Valentinian*, tranſlated from thence by count
c *Theodoſius*, the father of *Theodoſius the Great*, to *Rutupiæ*, as we read in the *Notitia* and in *Marcellinus*[r]. At *Iſca Silurum*, many monuments of antiquity have been diſcovered, as the reader will find in *Camden*[s]. The moſt ſouthern county formerly belonging to the *Silures*, is *Glamorganſhire*, where, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Remney*, which divides it on the eaſt from *Monmouthſhire*, is to be ſeen *Kaer-phily-caſtle*, in the opinion of *Camden*, the moſt noble and antient piece of architecture remaining in *Britain.* That this caſtle was built by the *Romans*, ſeems highly probable, though we have no other reaſon to conclude it *Roman*, but the ſtatelineſs of its ſtructure, no *Roman* inſcriptions, ſtatues, coins, or other monuments of antiquity,
d having ever been diſcovered there. *Camden* thinks it was the *Bullæum Silurum*, of which we have ſpoken above.

Demetæ. THE remaining part of *South Wales*, comprehending *Caer-Mardhinſhire*, *Pembroke-ſhire*, and *Cardiganſhire*, was likewiſe inhabited, according to *Pliny*, by the *Silures*; but *Ptolemy*, to whom *Britain* was better known, placed another nation here, called by him *Demetæ* and *Dimetæ.* Beſides, both *Gildas* and *Nennius* ſtyle this country *Demetia*; and the *Britons* to this day call it *Dyved*, changing M into V, according to the dialect of that language. Perhaps the *Latin* name *Dimetia* owes its origin to the *Britiſh Dyved*; for it was the cuſtom of the *Romans*, as *Camden* obſerves, to retain ſuch names of the places they conquered, as had been given them by the natives, adding only to them a *Latin* termination. In the country of the *Demetæ*, *Ptolemy*
e takes notice only of two places, *Loventium* or *Luentium*, at the mouth of the *Tuerobis*, now the *Towy*, and *Maridunum*, or, as *Antoninus* calls it, *Muridunum*, now *Caer-Mardhin.* The country now known by the name of *North Wales*, and comprehending *Montgomeryſhire*, *Merionethſhire*, *Caernarvanſhire*, *Denbighſhire*, and *Flintſhire*, Ordovices. was inhabited by the *Ordovices*, a brave and powerful nation, who held out firſt againſt the *Romans*, and afterwards againſt the *Engliſh*, after the other *Britons* were ſubdued; for by the *Romans* they were not reduced till the time of *Domitian*, nor by the *Engliſh*, till the reign of *Henry* I. In their country, namely in *Montgomery-ſhire*, where the village of *Meivod* ſtands at preſent, ſtood formerly, according to
f the conjectures of the beſt antiquaries, the city of *Mediolanum*, celebrated both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*, Beſides *Mediolanum*, *Antoninus* mentions other places in the country of the *Ordovices*; viz. *Segontium*, on the river *Sejont*, whence, without all doubt, it took its name; *Conovium*, now *Conway*; and *Varis*, of which the ruins were to be ſeen in *Camden*'s time, near the village of *Bodwar.* In this country are the ruins of ſeveral antient forts raiſed by the *Romans*, to awe and keep in ſubjection the natives. Over-againſt *Caernarvanſhire* lies the iſland of *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, the antient ſeat of the *Druids*, firſt attempted by *Paulinus Suetonius*, and afterwards reduced by *Agricola.* It was called in the *Britiſh* tongue *Môn*, and, when conquered by the *Engliſh*, *Angleſey*, that is, the *Engliſh iſland.*

THE

[r] AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxvii. c. 18. [s] Vide CAMD. Brit. p. 718, 728.

Brigantes.

The *Brigantes*, whom *Stephanus* calls *Brigæ*, a numerous and powerful people, a and much commended by the antient writers, poſſeſſed the following counties; *viz.* *Yorkſhire* and the biſhoprick of *Durham* towards the eaſt and the *German* ocean, and to the weſt *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*. In *Yorkſhire*, and in the weſt-riding, on the *Dan*, now the *Don*, ſtood the city of *Danum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, and in the *Notitia* called the ſtation of the *Criſpinian* horſe. *Nennius* ſtyles it *Caer-Dann*; but it is now known by the name of *Doncaſter*. *Olicana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, is, from its ſituation with reſpect to *Eboracum* or *York*, thought by *Camden* to have ſtood where *Ilkly*, on the *Wharf*, now ſtands. It was rebuilt in the reign of *Severus* by *Virius Lupus*, legate and proprætor of *Britain*, as appears from an antient inſcription dug up there [t]. The ſecond cohort of the *Lingones* was quartered here. b Near the confluence of the *Calder* and the *Are* ſtands the ſmall village of *Caſtleford*, formerly, according to *Camden*, *Lageolium*, or as *Antoninus* ſtyles it, *Lagetium*. This our learned antiquary conjectures from its ſituation, by a *Roman* way, from ſeveral monuments of antiquity diſcovered there, and its diſtance from *Danum* and *Eboracum*. *Colcaria*, according to ſome *Tadcaſter*, according to others *Aberford*, is mentioned by *Antoninus*, but not by *Ptolemy*. *Iſurium Brigantum* is placed by both on the *Ure*; and by *Camden* thought to have ſtood where the preſent village of *Aldborrow* ſtands, at a ſmall diſtance from *Borrowbridge*. *Eboracum* or *Eburacum*, now *York*, on the *Owſe*, for the *Ure* takes that name at *Aldburrow*, where the *Owſeburn*, a ſmall brook, falls into it, was the metropolis of the *Brigantes*. It owed, no doubt, its c origin and grandeur to the *Romans*; for it was both a *Roman* colony and a *municipium*, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [u]. The ſixth legion, called *Victrix*, ſent out of *Germany* into *Britain*, was quartered here in the time of the *Antonines*, and likewiſe the ninth in *Galba*'s reign [x]. In this city the emperors had a palace, in which died *Septimius Severus* and *Conſtantius Chlorus*. Upon the death of the latter, his ſon *Conſtantine*, who afterwards acquired the ſurname of *Great*, was here firſt declared emperor. The reſcript of the emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*, *de rei vindicatione*, is dated from this place. Upon the death of *Severus*, juſtice was, for ſome time, adminiſtered here by the great oracle of the law *Æmilius Paulus*. When the *Romans* abandoned *Britain*, *Eboracum* was, by the *Scots* and *Picts*, reduced to the ſhadow of what d it had been. In the eaſt-riding, about ſeven miles from *York*, ſtood *Derventio*, now *Auldby*, a ſmall village on the *Derwent*, formerly *Derventio*. At the ſame diſtance from the *Abus*, now the *Humber*, where the ſmall town of *Wigton* ſtands, ſtood, in the *Roman* times, *Delgovitia*; and on the promontory called by *Ptolemy*, *Ocellum*, now *Holderneſs*, the city of *Prætorium*, now *Patrington*. The only places in *Lancaſhire* mentioned by *Antoninus*, are, *Mancunium*, now *Mancheſter*, and *Alone*, called in the *Notitia*, *Alione*, now *Lancaſter*, the chief town of the county to which it gives name. In *Weſtmorland*, two ſhort miles from the *Ituna* or *Eden*, ſtood *Veteræ*, now a village called *Burgh*. It is mentioned by *Antoninus*; and from the *Notitia* we learn, e that upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, was quartered there a prefect, with a band of *Directores*. Not far from hence ſtood *Aballaba*, on the *Ituna*, the ſtation, as we read in the *Notitia*, of the *Mauri Aureliani*. It retains its antient name, being now called by contraction *Apelby*. At *Whallop-caſtle* appear vaſt ruins of an antient town, where *Roman* coins and urns have been frequently dug up. Here ſtood, according to *Camden*, *Gallagum*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and called by *Antoninus*, *Gallatum*; which conjecture agrees with the diſtances in the itinerary. From this place, an old cauſeway runs almoſt in a ſtrait line, for the ſpace of about twenty miles, to *Caer-Varran*, near the *Picts* wall. Upon this cauſway, now commonly called the *Maiden-way*, *Camden* thinks, that the ſtations and manſions, mentioned by *Antoninus* in his f ninth *iter*, were ſettled. At *Brougham*, according to *Camden*, the antient *Brocovum* and *Brevoniacum* of *Antoninus*, called in the *Notitia*, *Brocaniacum*, where a cohort of the *Defenſores* was quartered, ſeveral coins, and other monuments of antiquity, have been dug up. In *Cumberland*, the ſea-coaſt was fortified by the *Romans* in ſuch places as were convenient for landing; whence the *Scots*, when from *Ireland* they invaded the iſland, met here with the greateſt oppoſition. Many remains of antiquity are ſtill to be ſeen at *Moreſby*, perhaps, as the preſent name ſeems to imply, the *Morbium* of the antients, where, according to the *Notitia*, the *equites cataphracti* were quartered. At the head of the *Wize*, a ſmall river, that falls into the *Waver*, are the

[t] Vide Camd. p. 867. [u] Vide Camd. p. 878. Grut. p. 485. Gale in comment. ad Anton. it. Brit. p. 19. [x] Vide Camd. ibid.

the ruins of an antient town, called, by the neighbouring inhabitants, *Old Carliſle*, perhaps the *Caſtra Exploratorum*, placed ſomewhere hereabouts by *Antoninus*; for it is ſeated on a high hill, and therefore, as it commands a free proſpect round the country, was very convenient for ſpying an enemy. From ſeveral inſcriptions it appears, that the *ala*, named *Auguſta*, and *Auguſta Gordiana*, was quartered here in the time of the emperor *Gordian*. A little higher jets out a ſmall promontory, below which is a large arm of the ſea, at preſent the boundary of *England* and *Scotland*, and formerly of the *Roman* province and the country of the *Picts*. On this promontory ſtood *Blatobulgium*, now *Bulneſs*, from which, as the moſt remote limit of the province of *Britain*, *Antoninus* begins his itinerary. At *Blatobulgium* are frequently found *Roman* coins and inſcriptions. A mile beyond it, at low-water, are to be ſeen the foundations of the famous wall called the *Picts wall*, built by the *Romans* to reſtrain the barbarians from breaking into the province. Though a vaſt arm of the ſea comes up here about eight miles, called by *Ptolemy Itunæ æſtuarium*, now *Solway-frith*, yet, at low-water, the *Scots* and *Picts* found means to ford it. Upon the ſame frith ſtands *Drumbugh-caſtle*, formerly a *Roman* ſtation, and thought by *Gale*[y] to be the antient *Blatobulgium*. This frith is called by *Ptolemy Itunæ æſtuarium*, from the river *Ituna*, now *Eden*, which here falls into the bay. It is now called *Solway-frith* from the town of *Solway* in *Scotland* ſtanding upon it. At the preſent *Burgh-upon-ſands* was another *Roman* ſtation. At a ſmall diſtance from the confluence of the *Eimot* and the *Loder* ſtands *Penreth*, according to *Gale*, the *Voreda* of *Antoninus*. The city of *Carliſle*, having the *Eden* to the north, the *Petervill* to the eaſt, and the *Caude* to the weſt, was by the *Romans* called *Luguvallum*, *Luguballum*, and *Lugubalia*. The word *vallum* was, no doubt, derived from that famous *vallum* of the *Romans*, which ran cloſe to the city. As to the word *Lugus*, or *Lucus*, it ſignified among the *Celtæ*, who ſpoke the ſame language as the *Britons*, a *tower*; for what *Antoninus* calls *Lugo-Auguſti*, *Pomponius Mela* ſtyles *turris Auguſti*; ſo that *Lugovallum* ſignifies a *tower on the* vallum. This city was a place of great note in the *Roman* times, as appears from ſeveral monuments of antiquity found in that neighbourhood, and from the frequent mention made of it by the antient writers.

Ottadini.

NEXT to the *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy* places the *Ottadini*, *Ottadeni*, or *Ottalini*, according to the various readings of the ſeveral copies. *Camden* reads *Ottatinos*, becauſe they dwelt *ultra Tinam*, beyond the *Tine*. Their country extended from the wall at leaſt to the *Tweed*, and was afterwards part of the province *Valentia*; for ſo count *Theodoſius* named it, after he had recovered it, by driving out the barbarians, who had ſeized it. It is now called *Northumberland*, as lying north of the *Humber*. In this country, near *Caer-vorran*, part of the wall was ſtill ſtanding in *Camden*'s time, fifteen foot in height and nine in breadth. *Bede* writes, that it was only twelve foot high, and his account is, generally ſpeaking, exact; for, where there has not been any extraordinary fortification, what was ſtill ſtanding in *Camden*'s time came near that height, and no part exceeded it. The breadth which *Bede* allows it, *viz.* eight foot, is pretty exact; for every-where it ſtill exceeds ſeven. In this country have been diſcovered many monuments of antiquity, of which the reader will find an account in *Camden*[z]. Beyond the wall, and at the mouth of the *Tina* or *Tine*, ſtood *Segedunum*, now *Seton*, where reſided, according to the *Notitia*, the tribune of the ſixth cohort of the *Lergi*. At a ſmall diſtance from *Segedunum*, *Antoninus* places *Corſtorpitum*, or, as *Camden* reads it, *Morſtorpitum*, according to him, *Morpeth*. On the north ſide of the *Alaunus*, now the *Aln*, and not far from that river, ſtood antiently *Bremenium*, from which *Antoninus* begins his firſt journey in *Britain*. Some take *Bremenium* to be *Rocheſter*, near the head of the *Rhead*, others to be *Brampton*. At *Babroſentum*, according to ſome, *Newcaſtle*, was quartered the ſecond cohort of the *Thracians*. The country of the *Ottadini* reached, according to ſome, to *Edinburgh-frith*; but the only places taken notice of by the antients between *Bremenium* and that frith, called by the *Roman* writers *Bodotriæ æſtuarium*, are *Tæi* or *Tavi oſtium*, the mouth of the *Tweed*, and *Caſtra Alata*, thought by all our antiquaries to be *Edinburgh*.

Selgovæ.

Damnii.

On the weſt coaſt, between *Solway* and *Dumbriton* friths, are placed by *Ptolemy* the *Selgovæ*, and the towns *Trimontium* and *Oxellum* belonging to them. To the north of the *Selgovæ* were the *Damnii*, in whoſe country, extending to *Dumbriton-frith*, antiently *Glotæ æſtuarium*, ſtood the following towns mentioned by *Ptolemy*; *Colania*, *Coria*, *Alauna*,

[y] GALE, p. 36. [z] CAMD. Brit. p. 1071.

Horeſti. *Alauna* and *Victoria*. The *Horeſti*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, are placed by *Camden* between the *Selgovæ* and the *Ottadini*. *Agricola* entered their country, as we read in *Tacitus*; and, having received hoſtages, commanded his admiral to ſail round *Britain*. Hence *Camden* infers, that their country bordered on *Solway-frith*, and that the *Roman* fleet was then riding there. In this voyage were diſcovered the *Orcades*, unknown to the world till that time. That narrow neck of land, by which *Glotæ* and *Bodotriæ æſtuaria*, that is, *Dumbriton* and *Edinburgh* friths, arms of different ſeas, are kept from joining, was fortified by *Agricola* with gariſons and caſtles; by which means all *Britain*, on this ſide, being poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, the barbarians were removed, as it were, into another iſland. Thoſe who dwelt beyond the two friths, are by *Dion Caſſius* comprehended under the two denominations of *Mæatæ* and *Caledonii*. The ſouth part of *Britannia Barbara*, as the *Romans* ſtyled it, was poſſeſſed by the former; and the north part by the latter. From the *Caledonii*, *Calidones*, *Deucaledonii*, or *Dicalidones*, as they are ſtyled by different authors, the north part of *Britain* was called *Caledonia*; nay, *Florus* calls the woods adjoining to the *Thames*, *Caledonian* woods; for ſpeaking of *Cæſar* ſoon after he had paſſed that river, *Having followed the* Britons, ſays he, *into the* Caledonian *woods, he took one of their kings priſoner* [a]. But herein he ſhews himſelf little acquainted with the country. Of the

Mæatæ. Caledonii.

Picti. *Picts* no mention is made either by *Tacitus* or *Ptolemy*; but under that denomination the *Caledonians* were comprehended in *Conſtantine*'s time: *I do not mention*, ſays *Eumenius* in his panegyric upon that prince, *the woods and marſhes of the* Caledoniars *and other* Picts [b]. And *Ammianus Marcellinus*, writing of the time of *Valentinian* and *Valens*; *The* Picts, ſays he, *under which denomination are comprehended the* Dicalidones

Attacotti. Scotti. *and the* Vecturiones, *the* Attacotti *likewiſe, a warlike nation, and the* Scotti, *roaming about, committed great devaſtations* [c]. Hence it is manifeſt, that, in the reigns of thoſe two princes, the *Attacotti*, and the *Scotti* or *Scots*, were two different nations from the *Caledonii* and the *Picts*. But of *Scotland*, and its antient inhabitants, we ſhall ſpeak more at length hereafter. Thus far of the inhabitants of *Britain*, of their towns and teritories, while the *Romans* were maſters of the iſland, in the deſcription of which we have followed *Ptolemy*, *Antoninus*, and our beſt modern antiquaries. But, after all, we cannot pretend exactly to aſcertain the bounds of ſo many different nations ſubject to ſo many kings, who were continually making encroachments upon each other. Moſt of the towns we have mentioned were, in all likelihood, built after the *Romans* had made themſelves maſters of the iſland; but that the *Britons* had no towns at all before their arrival, as *Strabo* ſeems to inſinuate [d], is what we can hardly believe. What that geographer wrote of *Gaul* and *Britain*, he copied from *Cæſar*, who tells us indeed, that the *Britons* gave the name of towns to woods, after they had fortified them with a ditch and rampart, to reſtrain the incurſions of thoſe with whom they were at war [e]. But, from their giving the name of towns to the woods, which they choſe for places of ſhelter, and fortified in time of war, we cannot conclude, that they had no other places, deſerving that name, to dwell in, when under no apprehenſion of an enemy. Who can believe, that the twenty towns, which *Veſpaſian* reduced under the emperor *Claudius*, as we read in *Suetonius* [f], were only woods thus fortified and fenced in?

We cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, without taking notice of the walls or ramparts raiſed by the *Roman* emperors in this iſland, to ſecure the countries belonging to *Rome* againſt the incurſions of the northern barbarians. That three walls were erected for that purpoſe by three different emperors, is manifeſt from hiſtory. Of theſe the

Adrian's wall. firſt and hithermoſt was, without all doubt, the work of *Adrian*; for *Spartian* tells us in expreſs terms, that he was the firſt, who, by a wall or rampart eighty miles in length, parted the *Romans* and barbarians [g]. This wall is, by our beſt antiquaries, placed between *Solway-frith* and *Tinmouth*; and truly, conſidering its extent, it can be placed no-where elſe. This wall or rampart, (for ſome writers ſtyle it *murus*, and others *vallum*) was made, ſays *Spartian*, *in modum muralis ſepis*, or *ſepti*, that is, *after the manner of a mural hedge*, with large ſtakes fixed deep in the ground, and faſtened together. Upon it ſtood *Pons Ælia*, perhaps *Pont-Eland* in *Northumberland*, *Claſſis Ælia*, *Cohors Ælia*, and *Ala Sabiniana*, which took their names from *Ælius Adrianus* and his wife *Sabina*. In the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the ſucceſſor of *Adrian*, the *Brigantes*

a Flor. l. iii. c. 10. b Eumen. panegy. Conſt. c. 7. c Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 13. Vales. c. 18. d Strabo, l. iv. p. 138. e Cæs. l. v. c. 21. f Suet. in Claud. c. 4.
g Spartian. in Adrian. c. 11.

Brigantes revolted; but *Lollius Urbicus*, then governor of *Britain*, having overcome them, and driven back the barbarians, built another wall of turf or earth, says *Capitolinus* in the life of *Antoninus Pius* [h]. As no antient writer mentions the place where this second wall was built, it is impossible to determine it with any certainty. Some learned antiquaries, whom we have followed in our *Roman* history [i], place it between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*. But *Camden* and *Brietius*, upon the authority of a very antient chorographical table, are of opinion, that it began at the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tweed*, and was carried southward to the head of the *Esk* in *Eskdale*, so as to secure the east coast, and inclose part of the country of the *Ottadini*. Upon second thoughts this opinion does not seem to us improbable, since *Antoninus* begins his itinerary from the mouth of the *Tweed*, as the most northern boundary, at that time, of the *Roman* empire. The first wall was built, according to our best chronologers, in the year of the christian æra 123. the fourth of *Adrian*'s reign, *Glabrio* and *Torquatus* being then consuls; and the other in 142. the third of *Antoninus Pius*, then consul with *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* [k]. That a third wall was built by the emperor *Severus*, is plain from *Spartian*, who, in the life of that prince, tells us, that he secured *Britain* with a wall carried on cross the island from sea to sea [l]. There is a great disagreement among antiquaries about the place where this wall was built. *Camden* maintains, that *Severus*'s wall was raised in the same place, where *Adrian* had erected his about eighty years before. But we cannot help disagreeing herein with that learned antiquary, since *Eutropius*, in the life of *Severus* writes, that he built a wall thirty-two miles in length, reaching from sea to sea; whereas *Adrian*'s wall extended eighty, *viz.* from *Solway-frith* to *Tinmouth*. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Severus*, after having overcome in several battles the barbarians, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and been at an immense trouble and charge, not to mention the loss of fifty thousand men, in draining marshes, cutting down woods, and making highways, should have abandoned so extensive a country, which *Agricola* had formerly reduced, and *Antoninus* inclosed with a wall, and this at a time when the enemies of *Rome* were quite dispirited, and suing for peace. It must therefore be placed on the isthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*; and indeed, if it was but thirty-two miles in length, it could stand in no other part of the whole island, that was ever possessed by the *Romans*. But the hithermost wall, says *Camden*, is still called *Gual Seuer*, that is, *Severus*'s wall. May not those, who call it so, be mistaken? Is it not well known, that many appellations, or, as we may style them, traditions, of this nature, when narrowly examined, prove quite groundless? Such is this, if we believe the *Scots* writers, who, as *Camden* himself observes, have always called the hithermost wall *Adrian*'s wall. The neck of land between the two friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* is not above sixteen miles over. This tract *Agricola* secured with castles and forts placed at convenient distances, that the forces might easily draw together upon the first apprehension of danger. In building afterwards the wall, those who were employed in the work, took the most direct line; which must be the cause why some of the forts are at a distance from it. They began it where the rivers are narrow, and carried it along the neck of land between the friths. It begins between the *Queen's-ferry* and *Abercorn*, and, for the space of thirty-six *Scots Miles*, runs westward to *Dumbriton*, with a great ditch on the north side of the wall, and many square fortifications in the form of a *Roman* camp. It is called by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country *Graham's dyke*. But of *Severus*'s wall, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history [m], to which we refer the reader. The hithermost was, as we have observed already, built by *Adrian*, not with stone, but turf or earth, and defended by a rampart, and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. However, it is certain, that afterwards a stone wall was built in the same place; but when, or by what emperor, we cannot determine. The remains of this wall were still to be seen in *Camden*'s time. That learned antiquary traced it with great care, and, according to the account he gives us of it, it began at *Blatobulgium*, or *Bulness*, on the *Irish* sea, kept along the side of *Solway-frith* by *Burgh-upon-sands* to *Lugovallum*, now *Carlisle*, where it passed the *Ituna* or *Eden*. Thence it was carried on cross the little river of *Cambeck*, where the ruins of a great castle were to be seen. Afterwards passing the rivers *Irthing* and *Poltrose*, it entered *Northumberland*, and, through those mountains along the river *South Tine*, was continued by a bridge over *North Tine*, and

Antoninus's wall.

Severus's wall.

[h] Capitol. in Anton. Pio, c. 5. [i] Vide Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 57. [k] Vide Alford. annal. p. 108, & 116. [l] Spart. in vit. Sever. c. 18. [m] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 118.

and ended at the *German* ocean. On the north ſide of the wall was a ditch twelve yards broad. In ſome places it is ſix yards deep, hewn out of the ſolid rock. The wall itſelf was about eight foot thick, and in very few places built upon that of *Adrian*. *Camden* takes this to be the wall, that was built by the *Romans* about the middle of the fifth century, upon their abandoning the iſland. But one legion only was then ſent over, and that was ſoon after recalled: and could one legion, in a very ſhort time, and in great haſte to return, build, even with the aſſiſtance of the *Britons*, a ſtone wall eight foot in breadth, twelve in height, and eighty miles in length? This to us ſeems incredible, and therefore we are inclined to think, that this laſt wall was built upon that of *Severus* between *Bodotria* and *Glota*, where, in *Buchanan*'s time were diſcovered the remains of a ſtone wall [n]. This is the opinion of the learned *Uſher*, who maintains, that *Bede* was miſtaken in placing the laſt wall between the *Eden* and the *Tine* [o]. The laſt legion, ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Britons*, drove out the barbarians with great ſlaughter, and recovered the country they had ſeized. Is it therefore probable, that, abandoning ſuch a vaſt tract to the enemy, they would have choſen to build a wall eighty miles in length, though in great haſte to return to the continent, when they might have incloſed a much larger country with a wall not half ſo long?

Britannia Superior *and* Inferior.

These three walls were, in different times, the boundaries of the *Roman* empire, dividing *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*, which laſt appellation they gave to that part of *Britain*, which was not ſubject to *Rome*. *Britannia Romana* was divided into *Britannia Superior* and *Britannia Inferior*, or *Upper* and *Lower Britain*. The former reached from the *Chanel* at leaſt as far as *Cheſter*, comprehending both *England* and *Wales*, as they are now ſtyled; for, on one hand, we read in *Dion Caſſius*, that the *legio ſecunda Auguſta* was quartered in *Upper Britain* [p]; and on the other, in *Ptolemy*, that it had its ſtation at *Iſca Silurum*, now *Caer Lheon*, about four miles from the *Severn* in *Monmouthſhire* [q]. The ſame *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that the *Legio vigeſima*, called likewiſe *Valeriana* and *Victrix*, was quartered in *Upper Britain*; and both *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* determine the place, *viz.* *Deva*, now *Cheſter*, on the *Deva*, now the *Dee*. The *Legio ſexta Victrix* is placed by *Dion Caſſius* in *Lower Britain*; and by *Antoninus*, as well as by *Ptolemy*, at *Eboracum* or *York*, which, as it is plain from hence, ſtood in *Lower Britain*. Under this diviſion was compriſed only that part of *Britain*, which was ſubject to the *Romans*, the other more northern part being by them diſtinguiſhed with the name of *Britannia Barbara*. This diviſion owed, without all doubt, its origin to the emperor *Severus*, who, having ſettled the affairs of *Britain*, divided it, as we read in *Herodian* [r], into two prefectures. Before that prince's reign, no mention is made of any diviſion of *Britain*; and *Ptolemy*, who divides *Germany*, *Pannonia*, and *Mœſia* into *Upper* and *Lower*, takes no notice of any ſuch diviſion in his deſcription of *Britain*; a convincing proof, that, when he wrote, that is, in the reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, this diviſion was not yet introduced. If *Severus* was, as he ſeems to have been, the author of this diviſion, *Britannia Inferior* extended to the iſthmus between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, where he built a wall, parting *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*.

Britain *divided into five governments.*

Britnnnia Romana, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Britain*, was firſt divided, probably by *Conſtantine the Great*, into four governments; *viz.* *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*. *Britannia Prima* lay between the *Chanel* on one ſide, and the *Thames* and the *Severn* on the other; *Britannia Secunda* reached from the *Severn* to the *Iriſh* ſea; *Flavia Cæſarienſis* was incloſed by the *Thames*, the *Severn*, and the *Humber*; and *Maxima Cæſarienſis* extended from the *Humber* to *Adrian's* wall. To theſe was added afterwards the province of *Valentia*, probably ſo called by the emperor *Valentinian* from his brother *Valens*; for, in the reign of *Valentinian*, this country, extending from *Adrian*'s wall to the friths of *Bodotria* and *Glota*, was recovered by *Theodoſius*, father to the emperor of that name. This diviſion we have copied from the breviary, which *Sextus Rufus* wrote, and dedicated to the emperor *Valentinian*. Of this work, ſome imperfect copies leave out *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; and one of theſe *Camden* has followed. Each of theſe provinces had its particular magiſtrate, ſome a conſular, others only a *præſes* or preſident. They were all, according to the *Notitia*, ſubject to the *vicarius* of *Britain*, as he was to the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, one of the four *præfecti prætorio* inſtituted by *Conſtantine*.

The form of the Roman *government in* Britain.

n Buchan. rer. Scot. l. iv. ſub rege 27. o Uss. rer. Brit. p. 1024, 1027. p Dio Cass. l. lv. p. 564. q Ptol. l. ii. c. 3. r Herodian. l. iii. c. 8.

a *Stantine.* The vicar of *Britain* had ſeveral officers under him for the better and more expeditious adminiſtration of civil affairs, *viz.* his *princeps* or lieutenant; a *cornicularius*, who publiſhed the ſentences and decrees of the vicar and other magiſtrates, and was ſo called from *cornu* a *horn*, with the ſounding of which he commanded ſilence in the court; two *numerarii* or accountants, whoſe province it was to ſet down the ſums of the public revenues; a *commentarienſis* or jailor, ſo called from the *commentaria* or kalendars of the priſoners, which he kept, and delivered to the judges; officers called *ab actis*, that is, public notaries, who wrote teſtaments, contracts, and other inſtruments; ſecretaries called *de cura*, and *de cura epiſtolarum*, whoſe office it was to write and ſend letters and diſpatches from the governors of the provinces to b the emperor, or to each other. Beſides a great number of petty officers, *viz.* informers, purſuivants, apparitors, *&c.* the vicar had under him the governors of the five above-mentioned provinces, who were three preſidents, and two conſulars; for by preſidents were governed *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; and the other two, *Maxima Cæſarienſis* and *Valentia*, by conſulars, as appears from the *Notitia*, and was agreeable to the cuſtom of the *Romans*, who, on the decline of the empire, committed to conſulars the care of thoſe provinces only, that, lying next to the enemy, were moſt expoſed to their attempts. The vicar had the power of reverſing the judgments and decrees of the other governors; and with the ſame power was the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul* veſted, with reſpect to the judgments and c decrees of the vicar. The enſigns of the vicar's office were a book of mandates in a green cover, and five caſtles placed on the triangular form of the iſland, with the names of the five above-mentioned provinces, which they repreſented [s].

Their civil government.

By the vicar, and the governors of the five provinces under him, was the civil government adminiſtered. As to the military, it was executed by three chief officers under the *magiſter militum* of the weſt; *viz.* the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes litoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*. No mention is made in the *Notitia* of the troops under the command of the count of *Britain*, nor of the places under his juriſdiction; but as the other two commanded on the coaſts, and in the northern parts of *Britain*, as appears from the places where their forces were quartered, we conclude from d thence, that the inland and ſouth part of the iſland was ſubject to his command. The *comes litoris Saxonici*, or count of the *Saxon* ſhore, whoſe province it was to cover the eaſtern coaſt, lying over-againſt *Germany*, and prevent the *Saxon* pirates from ravaging the country, had no fewer than eight *præpoſiti* under his command, and one tribune; *viz.* the *præpoſitus* or commander of the *numerus* or cohort of the *Fortenſes*, quartered at *Othona*, thought to be *Haſtings*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Tungricani* at *Dubris* or *Dover*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Turnacenſes* at *Lemanis* or *Lime*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Branodunenſes*, who were *Dalmatian* horſe, at *Branodunum* or *Brancaſter* in *Norfolk*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Stableſian* horſe at *Garriannonum* or *Caſtor*, near *Yarmouth*; the *præpoſitus* of the ſecond legion, called *Auguſta*, quartered at *Rutupiæ* e or *Richborough*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Abulci* at *Anderida* or *Newenden*; and the *præpoſitus* of the *exploratores*, whoſe office it was to diſcover the ſtate and motions of the enemy, at *Portus Adurni*, or *Ederington* in *Suſſex*. The tribune commanded under the *præpoſitus* of the legion. The *dux Britanniarum* had under him fourteen *præpoſiti*; *viz.* the *præpoſitus* of the ſixth legion quartered at *York* or *Eboracum*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Dalmatian* horſe at *Præſidium*, or *Patrington* in *Holderneſs*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Criſpian* horſe at *Danum* or *Doncaſter*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Catafractarian* horſe at *Morbium*, perhaps *Morſby* in *Cumberland*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Barcarii Tigritenſes* at *Arbeia* or *Jerby* in the ſame county; the *præpoſitus* of the *Nervii Dictenſes* at *Dictis* or *Diganwy* in *Caernarvanſhire*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Vigiles* or ſcouts at *Concangii* or f *Kendal* in *Weſtmorland*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Exploratores* at *Lavatres* or *Bowes* in *Yorkſhire*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Directi* at *Veteræ* or *Burgh-upon-Stanmore* in *Weſtmorland*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Defenſores* at *Broconiocum* or *Bougham* in the ſame county; the *præpoſitus* of the *Solenſes* at *Magona*, thought by *Camden* to be *Machleneth* in *Montgomeryſhire*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Pacenſes* at *Magi* or *Old Radnor*; the *præpoſitus* of the *Longonicarii* at *Longonicus* or *Langcheſter*, in the biſhoprick of *Durham*; and laſtly, the *præpoſitus* of the *Derventionenſes*, ſo called from *Derventio*, where they were quartered, a town upon the *Derwent*, ſeven miles from *York*, thought to be *Auldby*. All theſe *præpoſiti* are named in the *Notitia*, with the places where they were quartered.

Their military government.

[s] Vide Pancirol. in notit. imperii.

Besides the above-mentioned forces, a strong guard or watch was kept on the a
wall, or, as the *Notitia* expresses it, along the line of the wall, *per lineam valli*. Here was posted the tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Lergi*, at a place called *Segodunum*, now *Seaton*, on the sea-coast of *Northumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Comonii* had his station at *Pons Ælii* or *Pontland* in *Northumberland*. This bridge was probably made by order of the emperor *Ælius Adrianus*. The tribune of the *ala* of the *Astores* was quartered at *Condercum* or *Chester-upon-the-street*, in the bishoptick of *Durham*. Next to him was stationed the tribune of the first cohort of the *Frixagi* at *Vindobala*, as we read in the *Notitia*, or *Vindomora*, as it is styled in the itinerary, the former name importing, in the *British* language, *finis muri*, and the latter *finis valli*; and hence the place is now called the *Wall's-end* in *Northum-* b
berland, the river *Tine* serving perhaps instead of a rampart from this place to the sea. The prefect of the *ala Saviniana* was posted at *Hunnum*, which *Camden* conjectures to be *Sevenshale* in the same county. The prefect of the second *ala* of the *Astores* lay at *Cilurnum*, which some take for *Cillerford*, and some for *Scilicester-on-the-wall*, likewise in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Batavi* was stationed at *Procolitia*, according to some, *Colchester* upon the *Tine*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Tungri* was quartered at *Borcovicus* or *Borwic* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Gauls* at *Vindolana* or *Winchester-on-the-wall*. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Astores* at *Æsica*, thought to be *Netherly* on the *Esk* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the second cohort of the *Dalmatæ* c
at *Magni*, a place without all doubt near the wall, and not *Radnor*, called by the same name. The tribune of the first cohort *Ælia* at *Amboglanna*, according to some *Willoford* in *Cumberland*, according to *Camden*, *Ambleside* in *Westmorland*. The prefect of the *ala Petriana* at *Perith* in *Cumberland*. The prefect of the *Mauri Aureliani* at *Aballaba*, or *Apleby* in *Westmorland*. The tribune of the second cohort of the *Largi* at *Congavata*, or *Rose-castle* near *Carlile* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Hispani* at *Axelodunum*, now *Hexham* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the second cohort of *Thracians* at *Gabrosentum*, *Gateshead*, close to *Newcastle*. The tribune of the first cohort, called *Ælia Classica*, at *Tunnocellum* or *Tinmouth*. This cohort, *Camden* thinks, was employed in naval affairs, induced thereunto by the fur- d
name of *Classica* given it in the *Notitia*. That the *Romans* kept some vessels on the *Tine*, to hinder the *Caledonians* from making descents on their territories, is not improbable; for that they maintained a fleet in the ports of this island, is manifest from a law still extant in the pandects, wherein mention is made by *Javolenus* of one *Seius Saturninus*, *archigubernus* or admiral of the *British* fleet[t]. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Morini* was stationed at *Glannobanta*, thought by *Camden* to have stood on the *Wentsbeek* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the third cohort of the *Nervii* at *Alione*, now *Whitley-castle* in *Westmorland*. The *cuneus* of the *Armaturæ* is placed by the *Notitia* at *Brementuracum*, a station near the wall, and not in the neighbourhood of *Preston* in *Lancashire*, sixty miles distant from the wall, as *Camden* e
would have it. The prefect of the first *ala Herculea* had his station at *Olenacum* or *Ellenborough* in *Cumberland*, where many monuments of antiquity have been discovered. The tribune of the sixth cohort of the *Nervii* is mentioned the last of all in the *Notitia*, and placed at *Verosidium*, thought to be *Werewich* upon the *Eden* near *Carlile*. All these forces were appointed to defend the limit, that is, to secure the wall, under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*. These three officers, *viz.* the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes litoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*, were equal in power, but subordinate to the vicar. The forces maintained in *Britain* under the two latter officers, amounted, according to *Pancirolus*, to nineteen thousand two hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse. Of the troops under the *comes Britan-* f
niarum, we find no account in the *Notitia*; *Pancirolus* thinks, because the greater part of the island was then in the power of the barbarians. But this reason might have served against enumerating the forces under the two other commanders; for, at the very time the *Notitia* was compiled, the *Britons* were, by frequent embassies, soliciting the emperor, and his officers in *Gaul*, for aid; which they could not have wanted, had the fourth part of the troops, set down in the *Notitia*, been quartered towards the wall. In the times before the *Notitia*, no mention is made of the *comes Britanniarum*, but only of the *dux*, and the *comes tractus maritimi*, called *comes litoris Saxonici*,

[t] Pand. SC. ad Trebell.

a *Saxonici*, when the *Saxon* pirates began to infeſt the coaſts. The firſt vicar of *Britain* we find mentioned in hiſtory, and probably the firſt who, with that title, governed here, is *Pacatianus*, to whom we find an edict directed in 319. enacting, that one *decurio* ſhould not be bound to pay the taxes that were due from another [u]. The authority of the count of the *Saxon* ſhore was thought to have been confined within *Britain*, till it was by the learned *Selden* extended to the oppoſite coaſts of *Cimbria*, *Batavia*, *Belgica*, and *Armorica* [x]; for to them he finds the name of *litus Saxonicum* given by the writers of thoſe times, no doubt from their being infeſted by the *Saxon* pirates. The count of *Britain* had for his enſigns a book of mandates, and the iſland repreſented in a triangular form; the count of the *Saxon* ſhore a purple book, with
b nine caſtles, repreſenting the nine places where the *præpoſiti* and tribune, under his command, were quartered; and the *dux* likewiſe a purple book, with the fourteen places, where the prefects under him were ſtationed. Of theſe munitions or forts, fourteen have over them the names we have mentioned; but the firſt has only the word *ſextæ*, ſignifying, we ſuppoſe, the ſtation of the ſixth legion, which was quartered at *York*; whence that city is ſtyled by *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Eboracum legio ſexta*; and in a coin of *Severus*, *Col. Eboracum Legio* VI. *Victrix*. If the power and juriſdiction of the count of the *Saxon* ſhore had extended to the oppoſite coaſts of *Gaul* and *Germany*, as *Selden* maintains, mention would have been made in the *Notitia* of the forces under his command in thoſe places; but as the *Notitia* is quite ſilent
c upon that head, and, in the enſigns of that officer, we find only the names of nine *Britiſh* towns or gariſons, we conclude from thence, that his authority was confined to this iſland. His troops were quartered in ſeveral towns or ſtations along the coaſt from *Kent* to the moſt northern part of *Norfolk*. The more northern coaſts, and that facing *Ireland*, with the inland countries in thoſe parts, were under the juriſdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*; for *Danum*, now *Doncaſter*, ſeems to have been the moſt ſouthern ſtation of his troops. Theſe ſtations, deſigned at firſt for camps, called in *Latin caſtra*, grew, by degrees, into cities; and this is the origin of almoſt all our great cities and towns, built either in the ſame places where the *Roman* camps were, or at a ſmall diſtance from them. This obſervation holds eſpecially in thoſe, the names
d of which end in *cheſter* or *ceſter*, derived from the *Latin* word *caſtra*; for, to this day, the ſtations or forts near the *Picts* wall, the remains of which are to be ſeen in ſeveral places, are, by the common people, called *Cheſters* [y].

To maintain a communication between one ſtation and another, and for the con- *The* Roman venience of the armies, when they marched, or of the governors, when they viſited *highways.* the provinces, the troops, in peaceable times, were employed in making roads or cauſways, called *viæ militares*, *conſulares*, *prætoriæ*, *ſtratæ*, *publicæ*, &c. As no fewer than an hundred and fourteen manſions through fifteen different roads are mentioned in the *Itinerary*, and in the *Notitia* forty-ſix gariſons, *viz.* nine on the ſea-coaſt, under the command of the *comes litoris Saxonici*, fourteen more inland, and twenty-
e three *per lineam valli*, or along the wall, under the juriſdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*, many highways muſt have been made for paſſing, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, from one place, however diſtant, to another. Our hiſtorians indeed, mention only four of note; but, in a province ſo abounding with ſtations, camps, fortreſſes, and cities, there muſt, without all doubt, have been a great many more. Had the *Notitia* given us an account of the forces and places under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*, as well as of the other two great officers, we ſhould have had knowledge of more cities and places of note in this iſland; for *Bede* tells us out of *Gildas*, who flouriſhed about the time the *Notitia* was compoſed, that, in thoſe days, there were twenty-eight moſt ſtately cities, beſides innumerable caſtles, fortified with ſtrong
f walls, towers, and gates [z]. The four ways, or, as we call them, *ſtreets*, mentioned by our hiſtorians, are, *Watling-ſtreet*, ſo called, as is conjectured, either from *Vitellianus* a *Roman*, perhaps employed in making it, or from a *Saxon* word ſignifying a beggar, it being much frequented by beggars. This way is thought by ſome to have reached from *Dover* to *Cardigan* in *Wales*; by others to have extended from *Dover* to the coaſt over-againſt *Angleſey*, paſſing through *London*, *Dunſtable*, *Towceſter*, *Allerſton*, and croſſing the *Severn* near the *Wrekin* in *Shropſhire*. The *Foſſ-way*, ſo called perhaps, becauſe in ſome places it was never perfected, but left like a ditch. This way is thought to have reached from *Totneſs* in *Devonſhire* to *Lincoln*, and from *Lincoln* to *Cathneſs*,

[u] Lib. ii. de exact. Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 7. dat. 12 calend. Decemb. A D. 319. [x] Vide SELD. in Mari clauſo. [y] Vide BURTON. comment. in Antonin. itiner. [z] BED. hiſt. l. i. c. 1.

Cathneſs, the moſt northern point in *Scotland*. *Ikenild-ſtreet*, ſo called perhaps from *Iceni*. It led from *Southampton* to *York*, and from thence to *Tinmouth*. *Ermine* or *Erminage-ſtreet*, reaching from *St. David*'s to *Southampton* [a]. Beſides theſe, we find two others mentioned in hiſtory; *viz.* *Julia Strata* in *Monmouthſhire*, made, as *Camden* conjectures, by *Julius Frontinus*, who ſubdued the *Silures*; and *Strata Marcella*, mentioned by *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, as lying at a ſmall diſtance from *Julia Strata*. The former is thought to have been the work of *Ulpius Marcellus*, proprætor of *Britain* in the reign of *Commodus*.

Several corps of Britons *in the* Roman *armies.*

The forces, employed in the defence of *Britain*, were all foreigners, as the reader muſt have obſerved, the *Romans* not thinking it ſafe to truſt the natives, who perhaps would have defended their country with more vigour and reſolution againſt the barbarians, but might, when maſters of all the ſtrong places, have turned their arms againſt their maſters, and ſhaken off the yoke. To prevent this, the *Romans* tranſplanted into other countries the numerous levies raiſed here. It appears from the *Notitia*, and ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that bodies of *Britiſh* troops were diſperſed almoſt over the whole empire; for we find the following corps mentioned; *viz.* *Ala Britannica milliaria*, *Ala quarta Britonum in Ægypto*, *Cohors prima Ælia Britonum*, *Cohors tertia Britonum*, *Cohors ſeptima Britonum*, *Cohors viceſima ſexta Britonum in Armorica*, *Britanniciani ſub magiſtro peditum*, *Invicti juniores Britanniciani*, *Excubitores juniores Britanniciani*, *Britones cum magiſtro equitum Galliarum*, *Invicti juniores Britones intra Hiſpaniam*, *Britones ſeniores in Illyrico*. Theſe different corps were ſupplied from time to time out of this iſland. No wonder therefore, that *Britain*, exhauſted and deprived of its youth by ſo numerous levies, became, upon the withdrawing of the foreign troops quartered here, a prey to the northern barbarians. Having thus deſcribed the ſtate of *Britain* before and after the arrival of the *Romans*, we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of that part of it, which was ſubject to *Rome*, from the time of its being firſt invaded by *Julius Cæſar*, to its deſertion by the *Romans* in the reign of *Valentinian* III. containing the ſpace of about five hundred years.

[a] Vide Barton. comment. in itiner. Antonin.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of Britain, *from the firſt coming of* Julius Cæſar, *to its deſertion by the* Romans.

Cæſar's *firſt expedition into* Britain.

BRITAIN was but little known to the *Romans* till the time of *Julius Cæſar* (A), who, having carried his victorious arms to the oppoſite coaſt of *Gaul*, parted from *Britain* by a narrow channel, there formed the deſign of bringing the *Britons*, as he had already done the moſt warlike nations of *Gaul*, under the dominion of *Rome*. Whatever

(A) We muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that we have no accounts, but ſuch as are evidently fabulous, of what paſſed in this iſland before the *Romans* were acquainted with it. *Gildas*, who flouriſhed in the latter end of the ſixth century, freely owns, that, as for the antient monuments of his country, they were no-where to be found in his time, being either deſtroyed by the enemy, or carried into foreign countries by the baniſhed *Britons*. However, *Annius* of *Viterbo*, in his *Beroſus*, gives us a long ſucceſſion of *Celtic* kings, whom he derives from *Samothes*, one of the ſons of *Japhet*, ſuppoſing him to have planted colonies firſt on the continent of *Celtica* or *Gaul*, and afterwards in this iſland, from him named *Samothea*. But *Annius* has been long ſince unmaſked, and the fables he vends in his counterfeit *Beroſus* univerſally exploded. What *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* writes of *Brutus*, and the kings deſcended from him, ſuppoſed to have reigned in this iſland, deſerves no more credit, than the fables of *Annius*, whether *Geoffery* was the author, or only the tranſlator of that pretended hiſtory; for, in the preface prefixed to it, he tells us, that he received an antient *Britiſh* hiſtory from *Walter* archdeacon of *Oxon*, which he faithfully tranſlated out of the *Britiſh* tongue into *Latin*. This hiſtory, or rather romance, he inſcribed to *Robert* earl of *Gloceſter*, natural ſon to *Henry* I. But though it was at firſt received with uncommon applauſe by the *Welſh*, who, to this day, are unwilling to give it up as fabulous, yet it began very early to be cried down, as appears from what we read in *William Niobrigenſis*, who flouriſhed not long after *Geoffery*, and writes of him thus: "In theſe our days a certain writer is riſen, who "has deviſed many fooliſh fictions of the *Britons*. "His name is *Geoffery*." And a little after: "With "how little ſhame, with what great confidence, "does he frame lyes!" However, as it would be unpardonable in us to paſs over in ſilence what all our hiſtorians have thought fit to take notice of, we ſhall here relate, in a few words, what we read in *Geoffery*'s fabulous hiſtory of *Brutus*, and his ſucceſſors, ſaid to have reigned in this iſland many ages before the arrival of the *Romans*. According to that writer, *Brutus*, the great-grandſon of *Æneas* by his ſon *Aſcanius*, having accidentally killed with an

a Whatever was the real motive that prompted him to this undertaking, whether his unbounded ambition and thirſt of glory, as to us ſeems moſt likely, or the hopes of enriching himſelf with the *Britiſh* pearls, as we read in *Suetonius* [b], the pretence he alledged was, that, in all the wars of *Gaul*, the *Britons* had aſſiſted with conſiderable ſupplies the enemies of the republic. Upon this either real or pretended provocation, he attempted to paſs over into *Britain*, and, by the conqueſt of this iſland, enhance the reputation, which he had already acquired in *Gaul*. As the ſummer was already far ſpent, and winter came on very early in theſe northern climates, he was ſenſible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finiſh the war. However, he thought it would be no ſmall advantage to view the iſland, to learn the temper,
b cuſtoms, and manners of the inhabitants, and to get ſome knowledge of their ports and havens, then viſited by none but merchants, who were acquainted with the coaſt lying over-againſt *Gaul*, but ſeemed utter ſtrangers to the reſt of the country; for, being called together by *Cæſar* from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the iſland was; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled; how they underſtood the art of war; by what cuſtoms they were governed; or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ſhips (B). In order therefore to diſcover what he could not learn of the merchants, he ſent out *C. Voleſenus* with a galley, injoining him to return as ſoon as poſſible with what intelligence he could get. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæſar* went in perſon to view the coaſt; but *Cæſar*'s own account ſhews that writer was miſtaken [c]. In the mean time, *Cæſar* marched all his forces into the country of the *Morini*, now the province of *Picardy*, whence was the ſhorteſt paſſage into *Britain*, ordering, at the ſame time, all the veſſels, that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition againſt the *Morini*, to attend him. The *Britons*, alarmed at theſe preparations, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, offering to ſubmit to *Rome*, and deliver hoſtages for their fidelity, *Cæſar* received them with great kindneſs; and having encouraged them, with fair promiſes, to perſiſt in their reſolution, he ſent them back to their own country, ordering *Comius*, whom, for his extraordinary wiſdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the *Atrebates*, to attend them into *Britain*, with

The Britons *ſend embaſſadors to* Cæſar.

[b] Suet. in Jul. c. 58. [c] Idem ibid. Cæs. commen. l. iv.

an arrow his father *Sylvius*, king of *Alba*, was forced to leave *Italy*; and flying into *Greece*, joined there the *Trojans*, who had ſettled in that country after the deſtruction of their city. With theſe he put to ſea, being ſupplied with a fleet by *Pandraſus*, king of the country, whoſe daughter he had married; and entering the *Atlantic* ſea, performed wonders in ſeveral places, particularly in *Gaul*, where he overcame *Goffarius* king of *Aquitain*, and drove him from his kingdom. But the baniſhed king having prevailed upon the other princes of *Gaul* to lend him powerful ſuccours, *Brutus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to withſtand ſo great a force, put to ſea again, and, after a few days ſail, arrived on the coaſt of *Albion*, and landed at the place in *Devonſhire*, where *Totneſs* now ſtands. He immediately marched up into the country, which he found peopled by giants, whoſe chief or king was *Gogmagog*. Theſe he overcame; and having rooted them out, and divided the lands among his people, he called the iſland, from his own name, *Britain*. Having got poſſeſſion of the whole country, he built a city in a proper place, which he made the ſeat of his kingdom, calling it *Troja Nova*, a name afterwards changed into *Troynovantum* or *Trinobantum*. Before his death, he divided his kingdom among his three ſons. *Locrinus*, the eldeſt, had for his ſhare *Leogria* ſo called from him, now *England*. *Camber*, *Brutus*'s ſecond ſon, had *Cambria*, now *Wales*; and *Albanactus*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*. Having laid this foundation, the author purſues his hiſtory, giving us an account of the various revolutions, that happened in the iſland in the reigns of the kings, who ſucceeded each other, from *Brutus* to *Caſſibelan*, who, being appointed guardian to *Androgeus* and *Tenuantius*, his two nephews, the ſons of king *Lud*, prevailed upon the people to transfer the kingdom upon himſelf. *Lud* is ſaid by *Geoffery* to have ſurrounded the city of *London* with new walls and towers, and to have built a gate, which, from him, is ſtill called *Ludgate*. In the reign of *Caſſibelan*, *Cæſar* landed in *Britain*; and here it is, as *Camden* well obſerves, that the *Engliſh* hiſtorian ought to begin his hiſtory, whatever *Geoffery* or others have written of the *Britiſh* affairs before this period being altogether groundleſs. As for *Geoffery*'s hiſtory in particular, it ſufficiently confutes itſelf, bringing with it ſuch marks of forgery, as muſt evidently convince every reader, that the whole is a fiction either of *Geoffery* himſelf, or of the author, whom he pretends to have copied.

(B) *Cæſar* tells us elſewhere (1), that *Divitiacus*, one of the moſt powerful men in *Gaul*, was not only maſter of a conſiderable part of that country, but had ſome footing likewiſe in *Britain*; that ſeveral provinces of *Britain* were peopled by colonies from *Gaul*; that the *Britons* had aſſiſted the *Gauls* in moſt of their wars; and laſtly, that ſuch of the *Gauls* as were deſirous to be perfect maſters of the learning of the *Druids*, uſed to paſs over into *Britain* to ſtudy it there. How could *Britain* therefore, at that time, be ſo utterly unknown in *Gaul*, or only known to merchants, nay, and to them ſo little, that being called together by *Cæſar* from all parts, they could not give him any tolerable account of the people, of their cuſtoms, manners, laws, method of fighting, &c. nay, not even of their ports and harbours?

(1) *Cæſar. comment. l.* ii. *c.* 2.

with inſtructions to viſit as many ſtates as he could, to perſuade them to accept of an a
alliance with *Rome*, and to acquaint them with his deſign of landing in a ſhort time
in their country. In the mean time, *Voluſenus*, having made what diſcoveries he could
from his ſhip, for he did not think it adviſeable to venture aſhore, returned after
five days to *Cæſar*, and acquainted him with what he had obſerved. Hereupon
Cæſar, having embarqued two legions on board eighty tranſports, and appointed
eighteen more, which were wind-bound at a port about eight miles off, to convey
over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry
to embarque at the port, where the veſſels lay ready to receive them, and follow
him; which orders were too ſlowly executed. *Cæſar* himſelf arrived in a few hours b
on the *Britiſh* coaſt; but finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the ſea covered with
armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, eaſily prevent his landing, he
lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for ſome of his ſhips, that were not yet
come up, in order to look out for ſome other place, where he might land his troops,
with leſs danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he ſummoned the chief officers to a
council of war; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received
from *Voluſenus*, and given them ſuch orders as he thought proper for the occaſion, he
ſet ſail, and arriving at a plain and open ſhore about eight miles farther, he there
came to an anchor. The *Britons*, appriſed of *Cæſar*'s deſign, ſent their cavalry and
chariots before, the reſt of the army haſtening after them, in order to oppoſe his
landing. The main difficulty in getting to land proceeded from the largeneſs of the c
ſhips, which required a conſiderable depth of water; ſo that the *Roman* ſoldiers
were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the ſea, and at
the ſame time to ſtruggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having
their hands diſengaged, as they either ſtood on dry land, or waded but a little
way into the water, could boldly caſt their darts, and drive back an enemy thus
incumbered. This diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, as *Cæſar* himſelf owns,
that they did not appear ſo chearful, nor ſo eager to engage the enemy, as in their
former conflicts on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his
long ſhips or galleys to advance with their broad ſides towards the ſhore, in order to
force the *Britons*, with their ſlings, arrows, and engines, to retire from the water- d
ſide. This had, in ſome degree, the deſired effect; for the *Britons*, ſurpriſed at the
make of the galleys, a ſort of ſhipping they had never ſeen, and overwhelmed with
ſhowers of darts and arrows thence diſcharged upon them, began to give ground.
But the *Romans* ſtill betraying great backwardneſs to throw themſelves into the water,
the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having firſt invoked the gods, cried out
aloud, *Fellow ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your colours, and ſuffer the* Roman *eagle to
fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am reſolved to diſcharge my duty to the
commonwealth and my general.* Having thus ſpoken, he leaped into the ſea, and
advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the ſoldiers in the ſame ſhip,
encouraging each other not to ſuffer ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of their enſign, e
followed his example; which thoſe in the other ſhips perceiving, they too caſt them-
ſelves boldly into the ſea, and, preſſing forward, began the fight, which proved very
ſharp, on both ſides, and, for ſome time, no-ways favourable to the *Romans*; for
not being able either to keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of ſeveral
ſhips, follow their particular ſtandards, they were put into great confuſion by the
Britons; who, being acquainted with the ſhallows, when they ſaw them coming in
ſmall numbers out of their ſhips, ſpurred their horſes into the water, and attacked
them incumbered and unprepared; which *Cæſar* obſerving, he cauſed ſeveral boats
to be manned, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of thoſe, whom he ſaw moſt diſtreſſed. f
By this means, the *Romans*, having at length gained firm footing, charged the enemy
ſo briſkly, that they put them to flight; but could not purſue them for want of horſe,
the cavalry not being yet arrived; which, *Cæſar* ſays, was the only thing wanting
to complete his wonted ſucceſs [d].

Cæſar *embarques with two legions.*

The Britons *oppoſe the landing of the* Romans.

The Romans *land with great difficulty Year before Chriſt* 54.

Upon this defeat, the *Britons* immediately ſent embaſſadors, and with them *Comius*, whom they had committed to priſon, to ſue for peace. This treatment they endea-
voured to excuſe, by laying the blame on the multitude. *Cæſar*, having upbraided
them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had ſent embaſ-
ſadors to him into *Gaul*, deſiring peace, promiſed to forgive them, on condition they
delivered

The Britons *ſue for peace.*

[d] Cæs. comment. l. iv.

a delivered a certain number of hoſtages. Part of theſe they brought immediately, promiſing to return in a few days with the reſt, who lived at ſome diſtance. Peace being thus concluded four days after *Cæſar*'s landing in *Britain*, the *Britiſh* princes, having diſbanded their men, and ſent them back into their ſeveral countries, came to ſubmit themſelves and their ſtates to *Cæſar*. In the mean time, the eighteen tranſports, that were conveying over the *Roman* cavalry, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, were driven back to the ports of *Gaul*. By the ſame ſtorm, *Cæſar*'s fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, ſeveral of them being daſhed to pieces, and others, by the loſs of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly uſeleſs; which cauſed a great conſternation in the army, for they wanted materials

Cæſar's fleet greatly damaged by a ſtorm.

b wherewithal to refit them, in order to return to the continent, and proviſions to ſupport them any conſiderable time in the iſland, *Cæſar* having all along intended to paſs the winter in *Gaul*. What added to the misfortune, the ſame night, it being then full moon, the tide roſe ſo high, that the galleys, which had been drawn aſhore, were filled with water. This cauſed a new panic, the *Roman* mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides. The *Britiſh* chiefs, who were aſſembled to perform their agreement with *Cæſar*, perceiving his want of horſe, ſhips, and proviſions, and judging of the number of his men from the ſmallneſs of his camp, which was narrower than uſual, becauſe the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, reſolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, perſuading themſelves,

c that, if they could cut off the few *Romans* that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading *Britain* for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to ſteal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to liſt again their diſbanded troops. *Cæſar* knew nothing of their deſign; but nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting an alteration from their delay in delivering their hoſtages after the loſs of his ſhipping, reſolved to prepare againſt all events. Accordingly he cauſed all the proviſions, that could be found in the neighbouring country, to be brought into his camp, and gave orders, that thoſe ſhips, which had been the leaſt damaged by the ſtorm, ſhould be refitted with the materials of thoſe, that had been ſhattered to pieces. He ſent likewiſe to *Gaul* for what things were farther neceſſary; which

d were ſo well applied by the ſoldiers, who, on this occaſion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that only twelve ſhips being loſt, the reſt were ſoon in a condition to put to ſea again. In the mean time, the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage, while part of the ſoldiers, having quitted their arms as under no apprehenſion of danger, were employed in reaping the corn, and the reſt in gathering it, and conveying it to the camp, the *Britons*, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, not queſtioning but the *Romans* would come and forage in that place, the harveſt being brought in every-where elſe, fell upon them unexpectedly; and having killed ſome of them, drove the reſt into a ſmall compaſs, and ſurrounded them with their horſe and chariots in ſuch manner, that not a ſingle man would have eſcaped, had not the

The Britons break the peace;

And fall upon the ſeventh legion.

e advanced guards, obſerving a greater duſt than uſual riſing from that quarter, acquainted *Cæſar* therewith; who, ſuſpecting the *Britons* had begun hoſtilities anew, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the legion with the two cohorts, that were upon guard, ordering two others to ſupply their room, and all the reſt to repair to their arms, and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival, the *Britons* gave over the attack, and the *Romans* reſumed their courage. However, *Cæſar* not thinking it adviſeable to engage the enemy, ſtood ſome time with his troops drawn up in battle-array, and then retreated to his camp. After this, the heavy rains, which continued ſeveral days ſucceſſively, kept the *Romans* in their camp, and hindered the *Britons* from attempting any thing againſt them. The latter, however, were not idle in the mean

f time; but having diſpatched meſſengers into all parts of the iſland, to inform their countrymen how ſmall an army the *Romans* had, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themſelves for ever, by forcing the *Roman* camp, they drew together a great body of horſe and foot, and boldly advanced to the *Roman* entrenchments. Upon their approach, *Cæſar* drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the *Britons* ſo warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. *Cæſar* purſued them with great ſlaughter, till his men were out of breath, burnt ſeveral towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The *Britons*, diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, ſent the ſame day embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which *Cæſar* readily granted, upon their promiſing to ſend him over into *Gaul* double the

They attack the Roman *camp; but are repulſed with great ſlaughter.*

number

number of hoſtages he had required before. His want of horſe, and the fear of a
expoſing his fleet to another ſtorm, if he ſtaid till the equinox, made him haſten his
Cæſar *returns to* Gaul. departure. The ſame night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed
anchor, and arrived ſafe in *Gaul*, whence he immediately wrote to the ſenate, ac-
quainting them with his exploits in *Britain*; for which a ſupplication, or general
thankſgiving, was decreed for twenty days [e].

THE *Britons*, it ſeems, were not much awed by *Cæſar*'s arms; for of all the ſtates,
into which the iſland was then divided, two only ſent him hoſtages. Provoked at
this neglect or contempt, he reſolved to make a new deſcent the following ſpring
with a far more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left *Gaul* to
return to *Italy*, where he uſed to paſs part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to b
refit the old ſhips, and build as many new ones as they could. His orders were exe-
cuted with ſuch diligence, that, upon his return, he found ſix hundred ſhips, and
Cæſar's *ſecond expedition into* Britain. twenty-eight galleys, ready to launch in a few days. Having therefore commended
Year before Chriſt 55. the application and diligence of his ſoldiers and the ſupervifors, he commanded
them to repair with the fleet to *Portus Itius* (C), while he marched with four legions,
and eight hundred horſe, into the country of *Treves*, to prevent a rebellion there;
which he had no ſooner done, than he haſtened to the above-mentioned port, and
leaving *Labienus* there with three legions, and two thouſand horſe, to ſecure it, to
provide corn, and to ſend him intelligence from time to time of what might happen
on the continent, he embarqued with five legions, and two thouſand horſe, and c
weighing anchor about ſun-ſet, arrived with his whole fleet the next day by noon on
He lands without oppoſition; the *Britiſh* coaſt, where he landed, without oppoſition, in the ſame place, which he
had found ſo convenient the year before. The *Britons* had aſſembled in vaſt multi-
tudes to oppoſe his landing, as he afterwards underſtood from the priſoners; but
being terrified at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, amounting, with the veſſels which
ſeveral perſons had provided for their own uſe, to eight hundred and upwards, they
had left the ſhore, and retired to the hills. *Cæſar*, being informed, after landing his
troops, where the *Britons* were lodged, left ten cohorts and three hundred horſe
to ſecure the fleet, and with the reſt marched in queſt of the enemy, whom he found
poſted on the other ſide of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had d
landed (D). Their deſign was to oppoſe his paſſage; but, notwithſtanding the
And defeats the Britons. advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the *Roman* cavalry, to quit their
poſt, and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with huge trees
cut down for that purpoſe. Out of this place, which ſeemed to have been fortified
in ſome former war, they never ventured but in ſmall parties. But, notwithſtanding
their utmoſt efforts to prevent the *Romans* from entering it, the ſoldiers of the ſeventh
legion, having caſt themſelves into a teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their
works, obliged them to abandon their aſylum, and ſave themſelves by flight; but
the day being far ſpent, *Cæſar*, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought
it more adviſeable to return, and fortify his camp, than to purſue the fugitives [f]. e

EARLY next morning, *Cæſar* diſpatched both his horſe and foot, divided into
three bodies, in purſuit of the enemy; but when he was already come in ſight of their
rear, he was acquainted by ſome horſemen from *Q. Atrius*, that, by a dreadful
The Romans *ſuſtain a great loſs by a ſtorm.* ſtorm, which had happened the night before, moſt of his ſhips were daſhed to pieces,
or driven aſhore. Upon this intelligence, he haſtened back to the ſea-ſide, where
he was an eye-witneſs of the misfortune, which he had heard from the meſſengers;
for forty ſhips were intirely loſt, and the reſt ſo damaged, that they could not be
refitted without great trouble and labour. However, having, without loſs of time,
ſet all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and ſent over to *Gaul* for others,
ordering

[e] CÆS. ibid. [f] CÆS. comment. l. v.

(C) *Cluverius* and *Somner* in his diſſertation *de Portu Iccio*, will have *Bologne* to be the *Portus Itius* mentioned by *Cæſar*; others look for the *Portus Itius* at *Calais*, or in that neighbourhood. *Horſely* obſerves, that *Cæſar* calls the paſſage from *Portus Itius* to *Britain* the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt, being about thirty miles. Now, by an accurate ſurvey, the diſtance at *Calais* from land to land is twenty-ſix *Engliſh* miles, or twenty-eight and a half *Roman*.

(D) This river is ſuppoſed to be the *Stour*, the *Thames* being too diſtant; ſo that the battle was fought on the banks of that river, to the north of the town. *Horſely* is of opinion, that the ſtrong place, to which the *Britons* retreated after their defeat, muſt have been *Durovernum*, now *Canterbury*, diſtant twelve miles from the place where *Cæſar* landed (2).

(2) *Horſely*, *p.* 14.

ordering at the ſame time *Labienus* to build as many ſhips as he could with the legions that were there. To prevent the like misfortune for the future, he reſolved upon a very difficult undertaking, which was, to draw all his ſhips aſhore, and incloſe them within the fortifications of his camp. This ſtupendous work being completed in ten days, the ſoldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermiſſion, and the camp being ſtrongly fortified, *Cæſar*, leaving the ſame guard as before to defend it, marched with the reſt of his forces to the place, whence he had returned from purſuing the enemy. Upon his arrival, he found their numbers greatly increaſed, under the conduct of *Caſſibelan*, king of the *Trinobantes*, whoſe territories lay about eighty miles from the ſea. He had formerly made war on his neighbours; but, upon the arrival of the *Romans*, they had all unanimouſly committed the whole management of the war to him, as the moſt proper perſon to head them at ſo important a conjuncture. While the *Romans* were on their march, they were attacked by the *Britiſh* horſe and chariots, whom they repulſed with great ſlaughter, and drove into the woods; but purſuing them too eagerly, they loſt ſome of their own men. Not long after, the *Britons* made a ſudden ſally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the *Romans* were buſied in fortifying their camp. *Cæſar* immediately detached two cohorts to their aſſiſtance; but the enemy, while the *Romans* ſtood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again without the loſs of a man. *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a tribune, was ſlain in this action; but ſome freſh cohorts coming to the relief of the *Romans*, the *Britons* were, in the end, put to flight. The next day they kept on the hills, at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Roman* camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by *Cæſar*, with all the cavalry, under the command of *C. Trebonius*, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to flight; and being purſued by the *Roman* cavalry ſo cloſe, that they had not time to rally, to make a ſtand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their cuſtom, great numbers of them were cut in pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops, that had come from all parts, abandoning *Caſſibelan*, returned to their reſpective countries; nor did the *Britons* ever after engage *Cæſar* with their united forces [g].

Caſſibelan *falls upon the* Romans; *but is repulſed.*

The Britons *fall upon three* Roman *legions, but are defeated.*

AFTER this victory, *Cæſar* marched towards the *Thames*, with a deſign to croſs that river, and enter the territories of *Caſſibelan*; but when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he ſaw the enemy's forces drawn up in a conſiderable body on the oppoſite bank, which was fortified with ſharp ſtakes. They had likewiſe driven many ſtakes of the ſame kind ſo deep into the bottom of the river, that their tops were covered with the water. Though *Cæſar* had intelligence of this from the priſoners and deſerters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; which they did with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not able to ſuſtain their aſſault, abandoned the bank, and fled (E). *Caſſibelan*, now deſpairing of ſucceſs by a battle, diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, retaining only about four thouſand chariots, to obſerve the motions of the *Romans*. With theſe he kept at ſome diſtance in the woods, or in ſuch places as were ſcarce acceſſible to the *Romans*, carrying off the cattle and corn from thoſe countries through which the *Romans* were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, if the *Roman* cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waſte, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great diſadvantage. This prevented the *Romans* from making excurſions, as they would have otherwiſe done, and obliged *Cæſar* not to ſuffer his horſe to go farther to burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them. In the mean

Cæſar *paſſes the* Thames.

g Idem ibid.

(E) *Polyænus* tells us, that *Cæſar*, on this occaſion, made uſe of the following ſtratagem: he cauſed an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back full of men, to be driven into the river; which unuſual ſight ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Britons*, that they abandoned the oppoſite ſhore (3). The ſtakes are juſt above *Walton* in *Surry*; and the meadow facing them is called *Coway*. They are even now to be ſeen at low-water; and one of them was lately pulled out of the *Thames*, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, though they have been ſo long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At *Shepperton*, they have ſeveral knife-handles made of them (4).

(3) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* viii.

(4) *Tindal, in not. ad Rapin.*

The Trinobantes *submit to* Cæsar.

mean time the *Trinobantes* sent embassadors to *Cæsar*, promising to submit to him, a and at the same time intreating him to protect *Mandubratius* against the oppression of *Cassibelan*, and send him to them for their king and governor. *Mandubratius*, called by *Eutropius* and *Bede*, *Androgeus*, was the son of *Imanuentius*, king of the *Trinobantes*; but, upon the death of his father, who was slain by *Cassibelan*, to avoid the like fate, he had fled to *Cæsar*, who had granted him his protection. *Cæsar* readily complied with the request of the *Trinobantes*, injoining them to send him forty hostages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the *Trinobantes*, whose submission secured them from being plundered by the *Roman* soldiers, was soon followed by other states; *viz.* the *Cenomagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Anaclites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cossi* (F), who, by their embassadors, submitted to *Cæsar*. From these he had intel- b ligence, that the town of *Cassibelan*, supposed to be *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, well fortified with woods and marshes, whither the country people had retired with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither therefore he marched with his legions; and though he found the place strongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be stormed at two different places; which was done with such resolution, that the *Britons*, not able to sustain the fury of the assault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood; for this town was only a thick wood, surrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart. Many of the *Britons* were overtaken, as they attempted to make their escape, and cut in pieces. Here *Cæsar* found great store of cattle h.

Who takes Cassibelan's *chief city.*

Four Kentish *kings attack the* Roman *camp; but are repulsed.*

To repair, in some degree, this loss, and divert *Cæsar* from pursuing his conquests, c *Cassibelan*, by his messengers, persuaded four petty princes of *Kent*, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Cæsar* styles kings, to raise what forces they could, and attack the camp, where the ships were laid up; but the *Romans*, having made a sally, repulsed them with great slaughter, took *Cingetorix* prisoner, and returned, without any loss, to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, *Cassibelan*, considering the many losses he had sustained, how his country was laid waste, and, above all, that several states had already submitted to the conqueror, resolved to follow their example; and accordingly sent embassadors to treat of a surrender, who were introduced by *Comius* of *Attrebatum* or *Arras*. As the summer was already far spent, *Cæsar*, who was determined to winter in *Gaul*, to prevent sudden insur- d rections there, readily hearkened to their proposals; so that a treaty was soon concluded upon the following conditions; *viz.* that the *Britons* should pay an annual tribute to the people of *Rome*; that *Cassibelan* should leave *Mandubratius* in the quiet possession of his dominions, and not molest the *Trinobantes*; and that he should deliver a certain number of hostages. These *Cæsar* no sooner received, than he marched back to the sea-side, where he caused his fleet, which he found refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and some of his ships had been lost in the storm, he resolved to transport his army at two voyages. But most of those vessels, which were sent back from *Gaul* after they had landed the soldiers, that were first carried over, and of the sixty, that *Labienus* had taken care to build, being driven e back by contrary winds, *Cæsar*, after having long expected them in vain, lest the winter should prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crouded his soldiers closer than he designed, and putting to sea about the second watch of the night, reached the continent with his whole fleet by break of day i.

Cæsar returns to Gaul.

Such

h Cæsar. comment. l. v. c. 21. i Idem ibid. c. 23—25.

(F) *Lipsius*, instead of *Cenomagni*, reads *Iceni*, *Cangi* (5), the names of two nations mentioned elsewhere by *Cæsar*. The *Iceni* inhabited *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*; and the *Cangi* the country lying on the *Irish* sea; for when *Ostorius* led his army against them, he approached the sea, says *Tacitus* (6), that faces the island of *Ireland*. *Camden* agrees with *Lipsius* in changing the first part of *Cenomagni* into *Iceni*; but as for the latter, he reads *Regni*, who were the inhabitants of *Sussex* and *Surry*, and consequently more likely to follow the example of the *Trinobantes*, who inhabited *Hertfordshire*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, than the *Cangi*, who lived at a great distance. The *Segontiaci* are placed by some in *Berkshire*, by others in *Hampshire* (7). The city of *Seguntium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, stood on the coast of *North Wales*, over-against the island of *Anglesey*, as appears from the itinerary; but we cannot think the inhabitants of that city to be the *Segontiaci* mentioned in this place, it being altogether improbable, that they should have submitted by their embassadors to *Cæsar*, while he was still at so great a distance from their country. The *Anaclites* and *Bibroci* are placed by most of our antiquaries in *Berkshire*, the former about *Henley*, and the latter about *Bray*. The *Cossi* are supposed to have inhabited some part of *Hertfordshire*, perhaps the hundred of *Caishow*.

(5) *Lips. in Tacit. l.* xii. *c.* 32. (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Thom. Savil. in epist.* 13. *ad Cam.*

Such is the account *Cæsar* himself gives us of his two famous expeditions into
a *Britain*; but other authors have spoken more doubtfully of his victories here. *Dion Cassius* writes, that the *Britons* utterly routed the *Roman* infantry; but were afterwards put in disorder by the cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus*, in several places of their works, speak of the *Britons* as a nation not yet conquered [k]. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cæsar* rather shewed the *Romans* the way to *Britain*, than put them in possession of it [l]; and *Lucan* more plainly, that he turned his back to the *Britons*, and fled. Be that as it will, upon his return to *Rome*, he offered to *Venus*, as *Pliny* tells us, a breast-plate enriched with *British* pearls, as a trophy of his conquests in this island.

After the departure of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Romans* were diverted, for the space of
b twenty years, by their domestic broils and civil wars, from attempting any thing against *Britain*. During this time, the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded; so that the *Britons* continued no less free from the *Roman* yoke, than they had been before the arrival of *Cæsar*. But *Augustus*, having at length put an end to the civil wars, and firmly established himself in the possession of the empire, resolved to force the *Britons*, that is, those who inhabited the most southern part of the island, to perform the agreement they had made with his uncle *Julius*. With this view he advanced as far as *Gaul*; but was, by a revolt in *Pannonia*, diverted from putting his design in execution. About seven years after, he entered *Gaul* with the same resolution; but the unsettled state of that province made him readily hearken to the proposals of the embassadors sent by the *Britons* to sue for peace; which was granted them, no
c doubt, upon their promising to stand to their agreement with his predecessor *Julius*. But they neglected, it seems, to perform their promise; for the year ensuing *Augustus* resumed the resolution of passing over into *Britain*; but was anew prevented, by the revolt of the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*. However, some of the *British* princes took care to cultivate his friendship with presents; which were laid up in the capitol [m]. *Cunobeline*, who is said to have succeeded *Tenuantius*, the successor of *Cassibelan*, maintained a correspondence with *Rome*, and even caused coins to be stamped, after the manner of the *Romans*, some of which are still to be seen, and among the rest one with the word *Tasc* on the reverse, signifying, according to our antiquaries, *tribute*; whence
d they conclude, that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute; for though brass and iron rings of a certain weight served, as *Cæsar* informs us, for their current coin, yet the *Romans* exacted the tribute in gold or silver; and of the latter metal is the coin we are here speaking of (G). Thus *Britain*, by degrees, became well known to the *Romans*, even in *Augustus*'s time. That prince, however, satisfied with the small tribute that was yearly sent him from *Britain*, forbore any further attempts upon the island, either thinking the friendship or enmity of the *Britons* of no moment to the *Romans*, as *Strabo* insinuates [n], or being, out of a state maxim, resolved to set bounds to the empire, lest it should grow too great and unwieldy [o].

Augustus. *State of* Britain *during his reign.*

Cunobeline *maintains a correspondence with* Rome.

Tiberius, who succeeded *Augustus*, being more inclined to contract than inlarge the bounds of the empire, followed the example of *Augustus*, and never entertained the
e least thought of conquering *Britain*; but, satisfied with the respect the *British* princes shewed him in sending back some of *Germanicus*'s soldiers, who had been shipwrecked on their coast [p], and with their paying the usual customs for such commodities as they brought into *Gaul*, suffered them to enjoy their liberties, and live according to their own laws. These customs the *Roman* officers collected in a precarious manner, fearing to provoke the *Britons*, as *Strabo* tells us [q]. *Caligula*, the successor of *Tiberius*, having passed the *Alps* with a design to plunder *Gaul*, as he had already done *Italy*, received there under his protection *Adminius*, called by our writers *Guiderius*, the son of *Cunobeline*, who had been banished by his father. Hereupon he wrote boasting
f letters

Tiberius *suffers the* Britons *to enjoy their liberties.*

k Horat. epod. vii. & odar. l. i. c. 35. Tibull. l. iv. l Tacit. vit. Agricol. m Strabo, l. iv. n Idem, l. ii. o Tacit. in vit. Agric. Julian. in Cæs. p Tacit. annal. l. ii. q Strabo, l. iv.

(G) On this medal is represented *Apollo* playing on the lyre, the name of *Cunobeline* being engraved round it. *Alford* observes, that the *Gauls* and *Britons* worshipped *Apollo*, under the name of *Belus* or *Belinus*; and thence he derives the name of *Cunobeline*. On the reverse is engraved the figure of a woman, with the words *Tascia* and *Novane*. *Tascia* signifies in the *British* tongue, according to *Powel*, a *tribute-peny*, probably from the *Latin* word *taxatio*, the letter X not being used by the *Britons*. By the woman is, in all likelihood, represented *Britain*; and as for the word *Novane*, *Alford* conjectures it to be the name of some town, perhaps the metropolis of the *Novantes* or *Trinobantes* (8).

(8) *Alford. annal. ad ann.* 1. *Camden, numis. n.* 7.

letters to *Rome*, ordering the meſſengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and a to the very curia, and ſtrictly injoining them not to deliver their letters but in the temple of *Mars*, and in a full ſenate, as if the whole iſland had ſubmitted to him. Soon after, no doubt at the inſtigation of *Adminius*, he marched his forces to the ſea-ſide; but being informed there, that the *Britons* were ready to receive him, his courage cooled, and, inſtead of purſuing his deſign, he ordered his ſoldiers to fill their helmets and laps with cockle-ſhells, which he called the ſpoils of the conquered ocean. Having, by ſuch marks of folly and madneſs, expoſed himſelf to the deriſion both of the *Gauls* and *Britons*, he wrote to the ſenate, deſiring them to decree him a triumph. But they being averſe to comply with his demand, he reſolved to cauſe them all to be murdered; but was murdered himſelf, before he could put his bar- b barous deſign in execution [r].

Caligula's *mock expedition againſt the* Britons.

Claudius.

THE *Britons* may be ſaid to have continued hitherto free from the *Roman* yoke; but in the reign of *Claudius*, the ſucceſſor of *Caligula*, great part of the iſland was brought under ſubjection to *Rome*, and the reſt by degrees under the ſucceeding emperors. *Dion Caſſius* gives us a diſtinct account of the invaſion by *Claudius*, the occaſion of which he thus relates: *Cunobeline* being dead, his two ſons, *Togodumnus* and *Caractacus*, reigned; but whether jointly or ſeparately, whether with equal or ſubordinate power, we are no-where told. In their reign, one *Bericus*, (who he was, is not known) being driven out of the iſland for attempting to raiſe a ſedition, fled, with thoſe of his party, to *Claudius*; and, being highly provoked againſt his country- c men, perſuaded the emperor to invade *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, reſenting the emperor's receiving the fugitives, and his refuſing to deliver them up when demanded, forbad all commerce with the *Romans*. A war being therefore reſolved on, *Claudius* ordered *Plautius*, then prætor in *Gaul*, to tranſport thoſe legions he had with him into *Britain*, and begin the expedition. The ſoldiers, unwilling to make war, as they ſaid, out of the compaſs of the world, refuſed to follow their general, or obey his commands; but being at length brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, in the manner we have related elſewhere [s], they embarqued chearfully, and put to ſea from three ports, in order to land in three different places. They were driven back by contrary winds, which greatly diſheartened them; but reſuming their courage d upon the appearing of a meteor ſhooting from the eaſt, and directing, as they imagined, their courſe, they put to ſea again, and landed in *Britain* without oppoſition, the inhabitants, who had been informed of the mutiny in the *Roman* army, and did not expect ſo ſudden an alteration, having delayed to draw together, in order to oppoſe them. Hearing therefore they were landed, they kept in ſmall bodies behind their marſhes, and in their woods, in order to ſpin out the time till winter; which they imagined *Plautius*, after the example of *Julius Cæſar*, would paſs in *Gaul*. But the *Roman* general, having, with great difficulty, firſt found out *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togodumnus*, and defeated them both, reduced part of the *Dobuni*, who were then ſubject to the *Catieuchlani*; and leaving a gariſon to keep them in awe, he e marched to a river, where the *Britons* lay careleſly encamped, imagining the *Romans* could not paſs it without a bridge. But the *German* ſoldiers, accuſtomed to ſwim the ſtrongeſt currents in their armour, having paſſed the river, and, purſuant to their orders, fallen only upon the horſes that drew their chariots, in which the main ſtrength of the *Britons* conſiſted, *Veſpaſian* and his brother *Sabinus*, ſent over with a body of troops to ſupport them, eaſily put the enemy to flight, their chariots being rendered unſerviceable, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. The *Britons*, however, not yet diſheartened, engaged the *Romans* the next day ſo vigorouſly, that the victory, for a conſiderable time, inclined to neither ſide; but at length the *Romans*, encouraged by the example of *Caius Sidius Geta*, charged the *Britons* ſo briſkly, that they were forced, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, to betake themſelves to flight. The conduct of *Geta* in this action was ſo remarkable, that triumphal honours were decreed him, though he had never been conſul [t]. This battle is ſuppoſed to have been fought on the banks of the *Severn*. From hence the *Britons* retired to the mouth of the *Thames*, and, being acquainted with the flats and ſhallows, drew the *Romans*, who followed them, into great danger. But the *Germans* having croſſed the river by ſwimming, and the others on a bridge ſomewhat higher, the *Britons* were ſurrounded on all ſides, and great numbers of them put to the ſword. Many of the *Romans*, purſuing

What induced him to make war on the Britons.

He lands without oppoſition.

And having defeated two Britiſh *princes reduces part of the* Dobuni.

The Britons *attack the* Romans, *but, notwithſtanding their gallant behaviour, are put to flight.*

[r] Suet. in Calig. Dio, l. lix. [s] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 496. [t] Dio, l. lx. p. 679, 680.

a purſuing the fugitives with too much eagerneſs, fell into the marſhes, and were loſt. In one of theſe battles, *Togodumnus* was killed, whoſe death was ſo far from diſheartening the *Britons*, that they betrayed greater eagerneſs than ever to oppoſe the *Romans*, and revenge it. Hereupon *Plautius*, not thinking it adviſeable to penetrate farther into the country, put gariſons into the places he had taken, and wrote to the emperor, who had ordered him ſo to do, if any thing extraordinary ſhould happen, acquainting him with the progreſs he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a further purſuit of his conqueſts. *Claudius*, who aſpired at the honour of a triumph, not being ſatisfied with the triumphal ornaments decreed him by the ſenate, no ſooner received this letter, than he ſet out from *Rome*; and embarking at *Oſtia*, ſailed to *Marſeilles*, whence he purſued his journey by land to *Geſſoriacum*, now *Bologne*, where he again embarqued, and, landing ſafe in *Britain*, joined his lieutenant *Plautius*, who lay encamped on the banks of the *Thames*. Upon his arrival, the whole army paſſed the river, and falling upon the *Britons*, gave them a total overthrow. After this victory, he advanced to *Camalodunum*, the royal ſeat of *Cunobeline*, which he took, and, without any conſiderable oppoſition, reduced ſome of the neighbouring ſtates. For theſe exploits, he was ſeveral times by his ſoldiers ſaluted *imperator*, contrary to the received cuſtom of the *Romans*, which allowed no general to aſſume that title more than once in the ſame war [u]. Part of *Britain* being thus ſubdued, *Claudius* diſarmed the inhabitants, and appointed *Plautius* to govern them, ordering him at the ſame time, to ſubdue thoſe who remained yet unconquered. To ſuch as had ſubmitted, he generouſly forgave the confiſcation of their eſtates; which obliged them to ſuch a degree, that they erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. The emperor, after having ſtaid in *Britain* but ſixteen days, ſet out from thence on his return to *Rome*, having ſent thither his two ſons-in-law, *Pompeius* and *Silanus*, before him with the news of his victories. Upon his arrival in the city, he was honoured with a triumph, and the ſurname of *Britannicus*; which was given both to him and his ſon: the officers, who had attended him in this expedition, were diſtinguiſhed with triumphal ornaments (H): annual ſports were decreed by the ſenate; and two triumphal arches, one to be erected at *Rome*, and the other at *Geſſoriacum*, whence he had paſſed over into *Britain*. On the top of the imperial palace was fixed a naval crown, implying the conqueſt of the *Britiſh* ocean. In ſhort, the ſame honours were decreed to *Claudius*, who had conquered but a very ſmall part of the iſland, as had been decreed to other conquerors, after they had reduced whole kingdoms [x] (I).

b

c

d

Claudius *ſets out from* Rome, *and lands in* Britain. *Year after Chriſt* 44.

He defeats the Britons, *and takes* Camalodunum.

He returns to Rome, *where he is honoured with a triumph, and the ſurname of* Britannicus.

Plautius, appointed by *Claudius* governor of *Britain*, purſued his conqueſts, after the emperor's departure, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, upon his return to *Rome*, he was honoured with an ovation, and met, without the gates, by the emperor himſelf, who, at his ſolemn entry, gave him the right-hand. In this war, *Veſpaſian* likewiſe, afterwards emperor, and his ſon *Titus*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner. The former fought thirty battles with the *Britons*, ſubdued two powerful nations, and reduced above twenty towns, with the iſle of *Wight*; for which exploits he received the triumphal ornaments, two ſacerdotal dignities, and the conſulſhip [y]. As for *Titus*, he no leſs ſignalized his piety, than his courage and valour; for ſeeing his father

e

Veſpaſian *and* Titus *diſtinguiſh themſelves in this war.*

[u] Dio, ibid. p. 680, 681. Suet. in Claud. c. 11.

[x] Dio, & Suet. ibid.

[y] Suet. in Veſp. c. 4.

(H) The inferior officers were rewarded with other valuable preſents, as appears from an antient inſcription ſtill to be ſeen at *Turin*, wherein mention is made of the preſents, with which *Claudius* rewarded one *C. Gavius*, who, it ſeems, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Britiſh* war. The inſcription is as follows:

C. Gavio L. F.
Stel. Silvano
Primipilari Leg VIII. *Aug.*
Tribuno coho. II. *vigilum*
Tribuno coh. XIII. *Urban.*
Tribuno coh. XII. *Prætor.*
Donis Donato A. D. Claudio
Bello Britannico
Torquibus, Armillis, Phaleris,
Corona Aurea
Patrono Colon.

(I) And yet *Suetonius* writes, that he became maſter of part of *Britain* without bloodſhed; which is confirmed by the following antient inſcription, copied by Mr. *Wright*, from the *Barbarini* palace at *Rome*, and lately publiſhed by him in his travels:

Ti. Claudio Cæſ.
Auguſto.
Pontifici Max. Tr. P. IX.
Coſ. V. *Imp.* XVI. *P. P.*
Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quod
Reges Britanniæ Abſq.
Ula Factura Domuerit
Genteſque Barbaras
Primus Indicio Subegerit.

father in a battle surrounded on all sides, and in imminent danger of his life, he broke through the enemy's ranks, and having rescued him, put the *Britons* to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter [z]. Some years after, that is, in the ninth year of *Claudius*'s reign, as we gather from *Tacitus* [a], *P. Ostorius Scapula*, being sent into *Britain*, fell unexpectedly upon the *Britons*, who had broken into the *Roman* conquests; and having put great numbers of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest, to restrain them from making inroads for the future into the territories of the *Romans*, or their allies, he built several forts on the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, reduced that part of the island, which lies south of these rivers, to a *Roman* province, and, for a further security, made *Camalodunum* a military colony. This the *Iceni* could not brook, and therefore, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raised a considerable army, and encamped in an advantagious post, in order to prevent the *Romans* from penetrating farther into the island. However, *Ostorius*, advancing against them, after a most obstinate conflict, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this victory, he led his army into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the present counties of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*; but being informed, as he approached the *Irish* sea, that the *Brigantes* were in arms, he marched with all speed against them; and having caused the chief authors of the disturbance to be put to death, and pardoned the rest, he soon restored that country to its former tranquillity. After this, *Ostorius* made war upon the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South Wales*, headed by *Caractacus*, a commander of great renown, whom nevertheless he defeated in a pitched battle, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our *Roman* history, to which we refer our reader [b]. *Caractacus*, upon his defeat, fled for protection to *Cratismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, who, dreading the *Roman* arms, delivered him in bonds to the conqueror, by whom he was sent to *Rome*, with his wife, daughter, and brothers, and received there by the emperor in a kind of triumph. *Claudius*, moved with the speech which the captive prince made when brought before his tribunal, and admiring the constancy with which he bore his misfortunes, granted to him, to his wife, to his daughter, and brothers, both their lives and liberty. The *Silures*, notwithstanding the loss of their general, pursued the war with great vigour, and gained very considerable advantages over the *Romans*, related by us elsewhere [c]; which so affected *Ostorius*, that he died with grief. He was succeeded by *A. Didius*, who restrained the *Silures* making frequent and wide incursions into the *Roman* territories within more narrow bounds; but was not able to restore *Cratismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes* and an ally of *Rome*, to her kingdom [d]. He defeated the *Brigantes* in a pitched battle; but afterwards, as he was stricken in years, he contented himself with acting only defensively, and restraining the enemy by his lieutenants. *Veranius*, who succeeded him in the reign of *Nero*, died in less than a year after his arrival in *Britain*, without performing any thing worthy of notice. After him, *Suetonius Paulinus* governed *Britain*, who reduced the island of *Anglesey*, and defeated with great slaughter the *Britons*, who, under the conduct of queen *Boudicea*, had taken arms, and put incredible numbers of the *Romans*, and their allies, to the sword, as we have related at length in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader [e]. *Suetonius Paulinus* was succeeded in the government of *Britain* by *Petronius Turpilianus*, and he by *Trebellius Maximus*. During their government, nothing remarkable happened; for, as they were both men of an indolent temper and no ambition, they took care not to provoke the *Britons* by any acts of hostility, giving to this cowardly inaction the specious name of peace. In the mean time, *Nero* dying, the *Roman* army in *Britain* was commanded, during the short reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, only by tribunes, among whom *Celius* bore the chief sway, who, by carefully avoiding to give the *Britons* any just cause of complaint, kept all things quiet in the island. *Vitellius*, upon his accession to the empire, appointed *Vectius Bolanus* governor of *Britain*, who ruled with great gentleness, without either provoking the *Britons*, or being by them provoked. In the reign of *Vespasian*, who succeeded *Vitellius*, *Petilius Cerealis* was sent into *Britain*, to take upon him the command of the army there. *Petilius*, upon his arrival, attacked the *Brigantes*, the most numerous and powerful of all the *British* nations; and having defeated them in several encounters, some of which proved very bloody, he reduced great

P. Ostorius Scapula *governor of* Britain.

Camalodunum *is made a* Roman *colony*

Ostorius *defeats the* Iceni, *and quells the rebellious* Brigantes.

Caractacus *defeated, and delivered up to the* Romans.

Ostorius *dies, and is succeeded by* Aulus Didius.

And he by Veranius.

Suetonius Paulinus *succeeds* Veranius, *and reduces the island of* Anglesey.

Petilius Cerealis *reduces great part of the country of the* Brigantes.

[z] Dio, l. lx. p. 679. [a] Vide Univers. hist. vol. v. p. 509. not. (U). [b] Idem ibid. p. 511. [c] Idem ibid. p. 512. [d] Ibid. [e] Idem ibid. p. 538, 539.

a great part of their country, and continued to ravage the reſt [f]. He was ſucceeded by *Julius Frontinus*, who not only maintained the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor, but fought himſelf with great ſucceſs againſt the warlike nation of the *Silures*, whom he intirely reduced. *Julius Frontinus* being recalled, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was ſent to command in his room. But of the exploits of that renowned commander, we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [g]; and therefore, to avoid tedious repetitions, ſhall only add here, that having, in ſeven campaigns, reduced the whole iſland, he abandoned the more northern parts, and by raiſing forts, and planting gariſons, on the iſthmus between the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now of *Dunbriton* and *Edinburgh*, he removed the *Caledonians*, as it were, into a b ſeparate iſland. Thus *Agricola* gave the finiſhing blow to the liberty of *Britain*, and reduced that part of the iſland, which lies ſouth of the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, to a *Roman* province. The loſs of their liberty was, in ſome meaſure, counterbalanced by the politeneſs, that was introduced among them by the conquerors; for, by degrees, they aſſumed the cuſtoms and manners of the *Romans*, and, forgetting their ſavage ways, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the liberal arts and ſciences, which were no leſs eſteemed and cultivated in *Britain*, than in any other province of the empire. But to return to *Agricola*: *Domitian*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Titus* in the empire, envying his general the great reputation he had gained by his conqueſts, recalled him, on pretence of preferring him to the government of *Syria*. c After his departure, we have but ſhort and broken accounts of what paſſed in this iſland, till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. We do not even know who was *Agricola*'s ſucceſſor in the government of *Britain*. We only read in *Suetonius* [h], that *Salluſtius Lucullus* was legate of *Britain* in the reign of *Domitian*; and that he was put to death by that prince, for ſuffering his name to be given to a ſort of ſpears, which he had invented. In the reigns of the emperors *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, and *Trajan*, who ſucceeded *Nerva*, ſome commotions happened in the iſland; but all we know of them is, that they were ſoon appeaſed, and the country reſtored to its former tranquillity, by the *Roman* troops quartered there; which, according to *Joſephus*, amounted to four legions [i]. In the reign of *Adrian*, the ſucceſſor of *Trajan*, d the *Caledonians*, having demoliſhed ſome of the forts built by *Agricola* between the above-mentioned friths, made an irruption into the *Roman* province. Againſt them was diſpatched by *Adrian*, in the firſt year of his reign, *Julius Severus*, a commander of great renown; but he being ſuddenly recalled, and employed againſt the *Jews*, then in rebellion, *Priſcus Licinius* was ſent over in his room (K), and followed ſoon after by the emperor in perſon; whoſe arrival ſtruck the *Caledonians* with ſuch terror, that, abandoning the countries they had ſeized, they retired to the more northern parts of the iſland. *Adrian*, not thinking it worth his while to make war upon them, in order to keep them quiet, relinquiſhed to them all the country between the *Tine* and the two friths; but at the ſame time, to reſtrain them from making incurſions e into the *Roman* province, he cauſed a wall to be built, extending from the *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length [k]. Having thus ſettled affairs in *Britain*, and reformed many abuſes there, he returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the title of *Reſtorer of* Britain; which was ſtamped on his coins (L).

Julius Agricola *governor of* Britain. *Year after Chriſt* 73.

He reduces Britain *to a* Roman *province.*

Adrian *in* Britain. *Year after Chriſt* 120.

His wall.

To

[f] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 4—9. [g] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 651, 659, 661, 665, 666, 667—672. [h] Suet. in Domit. [i] Joseph. apud Camden in Roman. Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 5. [k] Idem in Hadrian. p. 6.

(K) It appears from an antient inſcription found near *Adrian*'s wall, that *Licinius Priſcus* had been proprætor of *Cappadocia* before he was ſent into *Britain*, had commanded the fourth legion, and had been honoured with a military banner by the emperor *Adrian* in his *Jewiſh* expedition. The inſcription is as follows:

M. F. Cl. Priſco
. . icinio Italico Legato Auguſtorum
PR. PR. Provinc. Cappadociæ
PR. PR. Prov. Britanniæ
. . . . . .
Leg. IIII *Galliciæ Præf. Coh.* III. *Lingonum*
Vexillo Mil. ornato A Divo Hadriano
In Expeditione Judaica
Q. Caſſius Domitius Palumbus.

(L) Some of theſe have reached our times, and, among the reſt, one with the figure of *Adrian*, and three ſoldiers on the reverſe, repreſenting, as *Camden* conjectures, the three legions, of which the *Roman* army in *Britain* then conſiſted, *viz.* the *legio ſecunda Auguſta*, the *quarta decima Victrix*, and *viceſima Victrix*, called alſo *Britannica*. Under them is this inſcription, *Exer. Britannicus*. Other coins of the ſame prince bear this inſcription, *Reſtitutor Britanniæ*.

To *Adrian* ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, in whoſe reign the *Brigantes* revolted; and a
the *Caledonians*, having, in ſeveral places, broken down *Adrian*'s rampart, began
anew to ravage the *Roman* territories. Againſt them was ſent *Lollius Urbicus*, *Lici-*
nius Priſcus, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Britain*, being, in all likeli-
hood, dead; for *Antoninus*, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us[l], removed none of the
governors whom *Adrian* had preferred. *Lollius* obliged the *Brigantes* to ſubmit anew
to the *Roman* yoke; and having driven back the northern barbarians, he confined
them within narrower bounds than before, by a new wall, extending, as *Camden* and
Brietius conjecture, from *Bremenium*, now *Brampton* in *Cumberland*, to the river *Eſk*.
For theſe atchievements, *Antoninus* received the ſurname of *Britannicus*, though he
had never ſeen *Britain* himſelf[m] (M). In the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, the ſucceſſor b
of *Antoninus Pius*, new commotions were raiſed in *Britain*; which obliged the empe-
ror to ſend thither *Calpurnius Agricola*, who, it ſeems, appeaſed them; for *Fronto*,
the famous orator, as quoted by *Eumenius*, in a panegyric on the emperor *Marcus*
Aurelius, ſays, among other things, that though, ſitting in his palace at *Rome*, he had
committed the management of the war to one of his generals, yet, like a pilot ſitting
at the ſtern, and guiding the helm, he deſerved the honour of the whole expedition[n].
To *Marcus Aurelius* ſucceeded *Commodus*, in whoſe reign the *Caledonians*, having
paſſed the wall, which parted them from the *Romans*, and cut in pieces the *Roman*
general and moſt of his army, committed every-where dreadful devaſtations with-
out reſtraint, till *Ulpius Marcellus* was ſent againſt them, who, as he was a com- c
mander of great experience, and a ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline, drove
back the *Caledonians* with great ſlaughter, and reſtored the iſland to its former tran-
quillity. The reputation he gained in this expedition was ſo great, that the emperor,
thinking his own glory eclipſed by that of his general, reſolved to put him to death;
but, in the end, only removed him from his government. For the great advantages
gained by *Ulpius* in *Britain*, *Commodus* aſſumed the title of *imperator* the ſixth time[o].
That brave commander had no ſooner left *Britain*, than the army there began to
mutiny, complaining chiefly of *Perennis*, the emperor's favourite, who, governing
with an abſolute ſway, ſent only perſons of the equeſtrian order to command the *Bri-*
tiſh army, whom the ſoldiers therefore refuſed to obey. The mutiny was carried ſo d
far, that the army ſent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, of their
own body, to complain of *Perennis*. Theſe the emperor met without the city; and
being by them informed, that *Perennis* aſpired at the empire, and had, with that
view, caſhiered the braveſt officers, and put his own creatures in their room, he
delivered the traitor to the fury of the prætorian bands, which he then commanded,
and muſt have no leſs diſobliged than he had done the *Britiſh* army; for he was by
them, after a thouſand outrages, torn in pieces, with his wife, his ſiſter, and his two
ſons[p]. The downfal and death of this favourite are related by *Herodian* in a quite
different manner, as we have obſerved in our *Roman* hiſtory[q]. In the mean time,
Helvius Pertinax, afterwards emperor, was ſent into *Britain*, to bring back the muti- e
nous army there to a ſenſe of their duty. Upon his arrival, the ſoldiery, not able
to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*, offered him the ſovereignty; but
he, by rejecting their offer with indignation, and proceeding with too much ſeverity
againſt the mutineers, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that one of the legions openly
revolting, much blood was ſhed, and *Pertinax* himſelf left for dead among the ſlain.
However, in ſpite of all obſtacles, he brought the army at laſt to ſubmit, and reſtored
tranquillity to the province; but, as his ſeverity had drawn upon him the ill-will
and

Lollius Urbicus *builds a new wall. Year after Chriſt* 138.

Ulpius Marcellus *drives the* Caledonians *out of the* Roman *province. Year after Chriſt* 184.

The army in Britain *mutinies on account of* Perennis, *who is delivered up to them.*

A new mutiny in the army quelled by Pertinax.

[l] Jul. Cap. in Antonin. c. 5. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Eumen. panegyr. x. [o] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 821. Camd. numm. 7. Spedius, fol. 133. [p] Dio, ibid. Lamp. in Commod. p. 48. [q] Hiſt. univerſ. vol. vi. p. 89. Herodian. l. i. p. 474.

(M) *Lollius Urbicus* was ſent into *Britain*, according to *Alford*, in the third year of *Antoninus*'s reign, of the chriſtian æra 142. and the ſame year he reduced the rebellious *Brigantes*, and built the wall, which we have mentioned in the text. This *Alford* proves from two of *Antoninus*'s medals, coined, by a decree of the ſenate, in that prince's third conſulſhip, that is, as *Alford* ſhews, in the third year of his reign. On theſe medals he is ſtyled *Pater patriæ*; and on the reverſe is repreſented *Britain*, on one ſitting on a globe, and on the other holding a ſpear, and reſting on a ſhield. As *Antoninus* is not, on either of theſe medals, ſtyled *Britannicus*, but on ſuch only as were coined five years after, *Alford* conjectures from thence, that ſome ſignal victory was gained, about that time, over the revolted *Britons* or *Caledonians*, which procured him the title of *Britannicus* (9).

(9) *Vide Alford. annal. ad ann.* 142 & 147.

and hatred of the ſoldiery, he was, ſome time after, recalled at his own requeſt, *Clodius Albinus* being appointed governor of *Britain* in his room [r]. *Albinus*, having, in a ſpeech to the ſoldiery, upon a falſe report of the emperor's death, declared for the power of the ſenate againſt that of the emperor, was commanded by *Commodus* to reſign the government of *Britain* to *Junius Severus*. But *Commodus* being ſoon after murdered, *Pertinax*, his ſucceſſor, ſent *Albinus* again into *Britain*, where he continued during the ſhort reigns of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*. As he had, by his generoſity and largeſſes, gained the affections of the *Britiſh* army, he was, upon the death of *Julianus*, by them proclaimed emperor. To maintain his title againſt *Severus*, who had received the ſame honour from the army in *Pannonia*, he paſſed over into *Gaul* with his *Britiſh* troops; but being met by his rival in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, his army was defeated, and he himſelf ſlain, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [s]. *Severus*, now maſter of the whole *Roman* empire, divided *Britain* into two governments, not thinking it perhaps adviſeable to truſt one man with ſo great a command. The hither, or ſouthern part of the iſland was given to *Heraclitus*, and the northern to *Virius Lupus* (N), who was ſo haraſſed by the continual inroads of the *Caledonians*, that he was in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace with money; which they maintained till the fifteenth year of *Severus*'s reign, when breaking anew into the *Roman* province, they committed every-where dreadful devaſtations. *Virius Lupus*, not thinking himſelf in a condition to withſtand them, retired as they advanced, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs, and the dangers that threatened the province, unleſs powerful and timely ſupplies were ſent to make head againſt the barbarians. Hereupon *Severus*, reſolved to put an end to the daily incurſions of the enemy, by the intire conqueſt of the north, ſet out for *Britain*, at the head of a numerous army, accompanied by his two ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians* no ſooner heard of his arrival, than they ſent embaſſadors to him, offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. Theſe the emperor detained, till he was ready to take the field, and then diſmiſſed them, without granting them their requeſt. As ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, he marched into their country, and putting all to fire and ſword, advanced to the moſt diſtant and northern coaſts of the iſland. Though no battle was fought in this expedition, yet what by the enemy's continual ambuſcades, what by the hardſhips and toils the ſoldiers underwent in cutting down woods, building bridges, draining marſhes, *&c.* fifty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed. The *Caledonians* however were, in the end, obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to *York*, leaving to his ſon *Caracalla* the command of the army, and the finiſhing of the wall, which he had begun, according to the opinion which to us ſeems moſt probable, on the iſthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*. Of this wall we have ſpoken above, and more at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [t]. For this expedition, *Severus* was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two ſons with that of *Britannicus* [u]. The emperor being taken ill at *York*, the *Caledonians* were no ſooner informed of his indiſpoſition, than they took up arms with one accord; which provoked *Severus* to ſuch a degree, that he ordered his ſon *Caracalla* to enter their country anew with the whole army, and put all he met to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. But the emperor dying before his orders could be put in execution, his two ſons, having concluded a ſhameful peace with the *Caledonians*, returned to *Rome* [x].

Albinus, *governor of* Britain, *is ſaluted emperor.*

Britain *divided into two governments.*

Severus *goes over into* Britain. *Year after Chriſt* 207.

And penetrates into the moſt northern parts of the iſland.

He builds a new wall.

Severus *dies.*

In the reigns of the twelve ſucceeding emperors, *viz. Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Pupienus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and *Claudius*, we are left almoſt quite in the dark as to the affairs of *Britain*; for all

[r] Capitol. in Pertinace, c. 3.
[u] Spart. in Sever. Goltz. p. 88.
[s] Hiſt. univerſ. vol. vi. p. 113.
[x] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 882.
[t] Idem ibid. p. 118, 119.

(N) The *Caledonians*, according to *Herodian*, had promiſed to reſtrain the *Mæatæ* from making incurſions into the *Roman* territories; but they neglecting to perform this article of their agreement, *Virius Lupus* was obliged to apply to the *Mæatæ* themſelves, and buy a peace of them at a great rate. From an antient inſcription found at *Ilkly* in *Yorkſhire*, by *Ptolemy* called *Olinaca*, it appears, that *Virius Lupus* reſtored that place. The inſcription is as follows:

Im. Severus
Aug. et Antoninus
Cæſ. Deſtinatus reſtituerunt
Curante Virio Lupo Leg.
eorum PR. PR.

all we know of them, while theſe princes ruled, is, that *Britain* ſtill continued to be a *Roman* province; that, in the reign of *Gordian* III. it was governed by *Nonnius Philippus* (O); that, under *Valerian* and *Gallienus*, the *Roman* troops quartered in the north, to reſtrain the *Caledonians*, were commanded by one *Deſidienus Ælianus* (P); that *Britain*, revolting from *Gallienus*, declared for *Poſthumus*, who had uſurped the ſovereignty in *Gaul*; that of the thirty uſurpers, or, as they are ſtyled, tyrants, beſides *Poſthumus*, the following were acknowledged in *Britain*, *viz.* *Lollianus*, *Victorianus*, and *Tetricus*, of whom the laſt being overcome by the emperor *Aurelian*, *Britain* ſubmitted to the conqueror, who ſent hither *Conſtantius*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, to eſtabliſh his authority in the iſland [y]. *Aurelian* was ſucceeded by *Tacitus*, and he, after a ſhort reign of about ſix months, by *Probus*, in whoſe time *Bonoſus*, deſcended of a *Spaniſh* family, but born in *Britain*, uſurped the ſovereignty, and was acknowledged here, as well as in *Gaul* and *Spain*; but being, after ſeveral battles, reduced by *Probus* to great ſtreights, he choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than fall into the hands of the conqueror, as we have related at length elſewhere [z]. *Zoſimus* [a] and *Zonaras* [b] tells us, that a governor, ſent hither by *Probus*, aſſumed the imperial purple; but was ſoon after killed by *Victorinus*, upon whoſe recommendation he had been preferred to the government of this iſland [c]. *Probus* was, according to *Vopiſcus* [d], the firſt that allowed the *Britons*, *Spaniards*, and *Gauls*, to plant vines. The ſame emperor having, in an engagement on the banks of the *Rhine* with the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, taken their king *Igillus* priſoner, with many others of theſe two nations, he tranſplanted them into *Britain* [e]. In the beginning of *Diocleſian*'s reign, *Carauſius*, a native of *Gaul*, paſſing over into *Britain*, took upon him the title of emperor, and was acknowledged by all the troops quartered here; nay, by a treaty concluded between him and *Maximian*, whom *Diocleſian* had taken for his partner in the empire, *Britain* was given up to *Carauſius*, who governed it with the title of emperor for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years; but was in the end killed by *Allectus*, as was *Allectus*, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*, in a pitched battle with *Aſclepiodotus*, one of *Conſtantius*'s officers. Upon his death, *Britain* was re-united to the empire, after it had been held about ſeven years by *Carauſius*, and three by *Allectus*. Of theſe tranſactions the reader will find a particular and diſtinct account in our *Roman* hiſtory [f]. The two emperors *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* having reſigned the empire to *Galerius* and *Conſtantius*, the latter, to whoſe ſhare fell the weſtern provinces, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire, paſſed over into *Britain*, to make war, ſays *Eumenius* [g], on the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, whom he overcame; but, not long after, died at *York* [h], where he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his ſon *Conſtantine* before he expired, and to appoint him his ſucceſſor; ſo that *Conſtantine* began his reign in *Britain*, and, ſome time after, returned to this iſland, as we read in *Euſebius* [i], probably to put a ſtop to the daily incurſions of the *Caledonians*. Of the new form of government, both civil and military, which he introduced here, we have ſpoken

Conſtantius, *the father of* Conſtantine the Great, *ſent into* Britain.

Burgundians *and* Vandals *tranſplanted into* Britain.

Carauſius *and* Allectus *uſurp the ſovereignty of* Britain.

Conſtantine *begins his reign in* Britain.

y Eumen. panegyr. ix & x. Trebel. Poll. in 30 tyran. z Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 202.
a Zos. l. i. p. 663. b Zonar. p. 246. c Vide Univerſ. hiſt. ibid. d Vopisc. in Prob. c. 18.
e Zos. l. i. p. 865. & Univerſ. hiſt. ibid, f Ibid. p. 208, 211, 212. g Eumen. panegyr. ix. p. 194.
h Hier. chron. Aur. Viet. p. 526. Eutrop. p. 587. i Euseb. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 25.

(O) This we learn, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the *Roman* hiſtorians, from an antient inſcription found at a place, by the *Romans* called *Caſtra Exploratorum*, and by us *Old Carlile*. It is a votive inſcription for the health of the emperor, of his wife, and the whole imperial family, ſet up by the *Roman* horſe quartered in *Britain*, under the command of *Æmilius Criſpinus*, a native of *Tuidrum* in *Africa*. The words of the inſcription are as follows:

I. O. M.
Pro Salute Imperatoris
M. Antoni Gordiani P. F.
Invicti Aug. et Sabinæ Tur
iæ Tranquilæ conjugi ejus To-
taque Domu Divin eorum Ala
Augg. Gordia ob Virtutem
Appellata poſuit: cui praeeſt
Aemilius Criſpinus Praef.
Eqq. natus in Pro. Africa De
Tuidro ſub cur. Nonnii Phi-
lippi Leg. Aug. Propreto
Attico et Pretextato
Coſſ.

In two other inſcriptions found at *Lancheſter* in the county of *Durham*, mention is made of *Mæcilius Fuſcus*, and *Cneius Lucilianus*, both prætors of *Britain* in the reign of the ſame emperor *Gordian* III.

(P) This appears from the following inſcription found in *Northumberland*:

Pro Salute
Deſidieni Æliani Præ . . .
et Sua S.
Poſuit Vot.
. . ao. Salvit Libe-
ns Tuſco et Baſ-
ſo Coſſ.

a ſpoken above. He likewiſe altered the diviſion of *Britain*, which, by *Severus*, had been divided into two provinces only; but was by him divided into three, *viz. Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, which laſt was afterwards ſubdivided into two parts, *viz. Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*. The removal of the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, which happened in the reign of *Conſtantine*, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent irruptions into the *Roman* province, the emperor having carried with him, firſt into *Gaul*, and afterwards into the eaſt, not only moſt of the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, but likewiſe the flower of the *Britiſh* youth; whence he is cenſured by *Zoſimus*, for neglecting the boundary of the empire on this ſide [k]. *Conſtantine* divided

b the empire among his three ſons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtans*, and *Conſtantius*, of whom the latter, being in a ſhort time poſſeſſed of the whole, ſent into *Britain* the famous notary and informer *Paulus*, ſurnamed *Catena*, to bring from thence the tribunes, and other officers, who had ſided with *Magnentius*. But of the enormous oppreſſions, extortions, and cruelties, practiſed on this occaſion by that mercileſs man, we have ſpoken at length elſewhere [l]. *Conſtantius*, about the latter end of his reign, committed the government of the weſtern provinces to *Julian*, afterwards called *the Apoſtate*, who, being informed, while he was in his winter-quarters at *Paris*, that the *Picts* and *Scots*, about this time firſt diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by that name (Q), had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed every-where dreadful ravages, diſpatched his lieu-

c tenant *Lupicinus*, with ſome troops, againſt them. *Lupicinus*, embarquing at *Bologne* in the depth of winter, reached *London* in a few days; but he had ſcarce landed his troops, when he was recalled [m], the northern nations having perhaps appeaſed *Julian* by their ſubmiſſion. During the ſhort reigns of *Julian* and *Jovian*, we find nothing in hiſtory concerning the affairs of *Britain*. But, under *Valentinian* I. the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots*, *Saxons*, and other northern nations, invaded the *Romans* province at one and the ſame time; and having killed *Nectaridus*, count of the maritime tract, and *Fullofaudes*, who is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *dux* or duke, and probably commanded the land-forces, ravaged the country far and wide, and reduced the inhabitants to a moſt deplorable condition. News of this invaſion being brought to *Valentinian*,

d while he was on his journey from *Amiens* to *Treves*, he immediately diſpatched into *Britain Severus*, his *comes domeſticorum*; but ſoon after recalled him, and ſent *Jovinus* in his room; who having acquainted the emperor with the miſerable condition to which the iſland was reduced, and the ſtill greater evils with which it was threatened, *Theodoſius*, father to the emperor of that name, was thereupon choſen for this province, and truſted with the whole management of ſo troubleſome a war, *Theodoſius*, upon his arrival in *Britain*, divided his forces into ſeveral parties; which, advancing againſt the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, recovered the booty and priſoners they had taken, and obliged them to abandon the province. The barbarians being thus repulſed, *Theodoſius* entered

e *Lundonium*, or *London*, in a kind of triumph, and reſtored that, as well as ſeveral other cities, which had ſuffered greatly by the late invaſions, to their former ſplendor. As the barbarians had retired beyond the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, he built ſeveral caſtles on the iſthmus between the two ſeas, in order to reſtrain them from breaking anew into the province. By this means, all the country between *Adrian*'s wall and the two friths, which had been, for ſome time; held by the *Picts*, was recovered. Of this tract *Theodoſius* made a fifth province, to which ths emperor gave the name of *Valentia*, perhaps from his brother *Valens*. *Theodoſius*, before he left the iſland,

The famous informer Paulus, *ſurnamed* Catena, *in* Britain.

The Roman *province ravaged by the* Scots *and* Picts.

Theodoſius *the elder ſent into* Britain. *Year after Chriſt* 367.

He beats back the barbarians.

And makes a fifth province.

[d] Zos. l. ii. [l] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 288. [m] Ammian. l. xx. p. 154.

f (Q) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth century, is the firſt hiſtorian that mentions the *Scots*. But St. *Jerom*, in his epiſtle againſt *Cteſiphon* the *Pelagian*, has given us a much more antient paſſage, which he tranſlated out of *Porphyry* the *Greek* philoſopher, who wrote an age before *Ammianus*. The paſſage is as follows: *Neither* Britain, *a province fertile in tyrants, nor the* Scotiſh *nations, nor the barbarous nations round about to the very ocean, did ever acknowledge* Moſes *and the prophets*. *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Propertius*, and his animadverſions on *Euſebius*, corrects the common editions of *Seneca*'s ſatire upon *Claudius*, by reading, inſtead of the words *Scuta Brigantes*, *Scoto Brigantes*; but that correction is not countenanced by any manuſcript copies; and beſides, it is certain, that *Claudius* never made war upon the *Scots*, but kept in the ſouthern parts of *Britain*. As for *Dempſter*'s reading *Scoticas pruinas*, inſtead of *Scythicas*, in the verſes of the poet *Florus* to the emperor *Adrian*, that correction is generally looked upon as altogether groundleſs (10).

(10) *Vide Uſſer. antiq. Brit. c.* 16.

iſland, cruſhed, in its very beginning, the revolt of one *Valentine*, or *Valentinian*, a who, being baniſhed into *Britain*, had prevailed upon ſome of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; but *Theodoſius*, having got the uſurper into his power, delivered him up to the civil magiſtrates [n]. And now *Britain* being reſtored to its former tranquillity, *Theodoſius* returned to the emperor, by whom he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. In the joint reign of the ſucceeding princes *Valentinian* II. and *Gratian*, *Maximus*, who commanded in *Britain*, hearing, that *Gratian* had taken *Theodoſius* the younger for his collegue in the empire, and highly affronted at the preference given to a perſon, in his opinion, ſo much beneath him in merit, reſolved to aſſume the imperial purple, and put himſelf upon an equality with his rival. Accordingly, having gained over to his party the b *Roman* legions quartered in *Britain*, he carried them, with the flower of the *Britiſh* youth, into *Gaul*. As theſe never returned to their native country, being either cut off with their leader, or ſettling elſewhere, the nation, thus bereft of its ſtrength, became afterwards an eaſy prey to the *Picts* and *Scots*. Over theſe two nations *Maximus* is ſaid to have gained great advantages before his uſurpation, nay, and to have driven the latter quite out of the iſland; but this is not agreeable to what we read in the more antient writers, as we have obſerved elſewhere [o]. In the reign of *Theodoſius*, the *Scots* and *Picts* were, it ſeems, kept in awe by *Chryſantius*, the ſon of *Marcian*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who, being appointed governor of *Britain*, acquitted himſelf in that office with great reputation [p]. *Theodoſius* was ſucceeded by his two c ſons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the former ruling in the eaſt, and the latter in the weſt. As *Honorius* was very young, the famous *Stilicho*, who had been appointed by *Theodoſius* regent of the weſtern empire, during the minority of his ſon, is ſuppoſed to have ſent over a legion into *Britain*, to defend it againſt the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Saxons* [q]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he ſecured *Britain* againſt the incurſions of its antient enemies; for *Claudian*, in enumerating the great things performed by *Stilicho* before his firſt conſulſhip, tells us, that he ſuccoured *Britain* attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the *Scots*; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he ſecured the *Britiſh* coaſts againſt the deſcents of the *Saxons* [r]. He adds elſewhere, that the *Saxons* being over- d come, the ſea was quiet; that the *Picts* having loſt their ſtrength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears [s]. About this time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coaſt againſt the attempts of the *Saxons*, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici* (R). But, not long after, the empire being over-run by the *Alans*, the *Vandals*, and the *Suevians*, moſt of the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain* were recalled, and the iſland left almoſt quite open to the attacks of the *Scots* and *Picts*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no aſſiſtance from *Honorius*, reſolved to ſet up an emperor of their own; and accordingly inveſted with that dignity one *Mark*, whom, though an officer of great credit among them, after a few days, they murdered, and placed *Gratian*, a native of *Britain*, in his room [t]. *Gratian*, after a ſhort reign of four months, under- e went the ſame fate, and was ſucceeded by *Conſtantine*, a common ſoldier, who was choſen merely for the ſake of his name, common to him with *Conſtantine the Great*. The new prince obliged the *Scots* and *Picts* to quit the *Roman* province, and retire beyond the two friths; which ſucceſs inſpiring him with a mighty opinion of his own merit and fortune, he formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole empire. With this view he paſſed over into *Gaul*, taking with him the few *Roman* forces that had

Maximus *uſurps the ſovereignty in* Britain.

Stilicho *ſecures* Britain *againſt the incurſions of the* Scots, Picts, *&c.*

The Britons *chuſe an emperor.*

Marcus *and* Gratian *choſen, and ſlain.*

Conſtantine *choſen.*

Year after Chriſt 407.

[n] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368. eccleſ. Britan. antiq. p. 595. [o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 398. [p] Socrat. l. vii. [q] Uss. [r] Claudian. de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140. [s] Idem ibid. p. 139. [t] Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813.

(R) The learned *Uſher* aſcribes to *Stilicho* the eſtabliſhing of a legion in *Britain*, to defend it againſt the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Saxons* (11). This *Claudian* ſeems to inſinuate, where he introduces *Britain* thus ſpeaking in praiſe of that great general and miniſter:

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem, nec litore toto
Proſpicerem dubiis venientem Saxona velis.

As *Stilicho* is ſuppoſed to have appointed troops to guard the coaſts of *Britain*, and prevent the *Saxons* from making deſcents, ſo he may be likewiſe ſaid to have appointed a proper officer to command them, with the title of *the count of the* Saxon *ſhore*.

(11) *Uſſer. antiq. Brit. p.* 595.

a had been left here, and ſuch of the *Britons* as were able to bear arms. Of the ſucceſs that attended him at firſt in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and of his unhappy end, we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory, to which we refer the reader [u]. The unhappy *Britons*, thus left to themſelves after the departure of the *Romans*, and the flower of their youth, were more haraſſed than ever by the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and other northern nations, who, meeting with little or no oppoſition, broke into their country, and, putting all to fire and ſword, ſoon reduced them to a moſt miſerable condition. In this ſtate they continued from the year 407. when the uſurper *Conſtantine* paſſed over into *Gaul*, to 410. when, after having often implored in vain the emperor's aſſiſtance, they withdrew their obedience to *Rome*, ſays *Zoſimus* [x], and, being reſolved to *The Britons withdraw their obedience to Rome. Year after Chriſt 410.*

b defend themſelves with their own ſtrength, would no longer obey the laws of the empire. The emperor *Honorius* ſeemed to approve their conduct; for, by his letters, he permitted, and even adviſed, them to provide for their own ſafety [y]; which was an implicit of reſigning the ſovereignty of the iſland, and releaſing of the inhabitants from their allegiance to the empire. This renunciation was made, according to *Bede*, a little after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in the year of the city 1164 [z]. or rather 1163. for it is certain, that *Rome* was taken 410. The *Britons*, now again a free people, ſeem to have at firſt fought with ſucceſs againſt their antient and irreconcileable enemies the *Scots* and the *Picts*; for *Zoſimus* writes, that they delivered their cities from the inſults of a haughty enemy [a]. But being in the end overpowered,

c they had recourſe to the emperor, imploring his protection, and promiſing an intire and perpetual obedience to *Rome*, provided they were delivered from the tyranny and oppreſſion of their mercileſs enemies. *Honorius*, touched with compaſſion, ſent a legion to their relief; which, landing unexpectedly in *Britain*, cut in pieces great numbers of the *Scots* and *Picts*; and having obliged them to retire beyond the friths of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbriton*, they adviſed the natives to build a wall on the iſthmus from ſea to ſea, and then returned to the continent, where their aſſiſtance was wanted to repulſe the barbarians, breaking from all quarters into the empire. The *Britons*, without loſs of time, applied themſelves to the building of the wall; but as it was done only with turf, the barbarians broke it down in ſeveral places, and pouring in

d upon the territories of the *Britons*, like a torrent, committed more dreadful ravages than ever, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword [b]. This happened, according to the learned *Uſher* [c], in 422. but, according to *Alford* [d], in 421 (S). The unhappy *Britons*, after many miſeries and calamities, ſent deputies anew to the emperor; who, appearing before him with their garments rent, and duſt on their heads, prevailed upon him to ſend new forces to their relief. Theſe, haſtening into *Britain*, fell upon the barbarians, not in the leaſt appriſed of their arrival, and made a dreadful havock of them, while they were roving up and down the iſland in queſt of booty [e]. This ſlaughter of the northern nations is placed by *Uſher* in 426 [f], wherein he diſagrees with *Bede*, who ſuppoſes it to have happened before the year 423. in which *Honorius*

e died [g]. The *Scots* and *Picts* being thus driven beyond the above-mentioned friths, the *Romans*, who had no ambitious view in aſſiſting the diſtreſſed *Britons*, but were come over merely out of compaſſion and good nature, told them plainly, that they were to expect no further aſſiſtance from the emperor; that the troops he had now ſent were ordered back to the continent, to make head againſt the barbarians, who extended their ravages to all parts of the empire; and that they were therefore obliged to take their laſt farewel of *Britain*, and intirely abandon the iſland. After this declaration, *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, commander of the *Roman* troops, exhorted the *Britons* to defend themſelves for the future, by fighting manfully for their country, their wives, their children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itſelf, their liberty, againſt

Honorius ſends them a legion. They build a new wall. Another legion ſent to their relief.

[u] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 454, 455, 465—467. [x] Zos. l. vi. p. 827. [y] Idem ibid. p. 830. [z] Bed. hiſt c. 11. [a] Zos. l. vi. p. 827. [b] Gild. excid. Britan. c. 12, 13, p. 117. [c] Uss. p. 1096. [d] Alford annal. ad ann. 421. [e] Gild. ibid. c. 14. p. 118. [f] Uss. ubi ſup. [g] Bed. chron. p. 114.

(S) *Alford* produces a medal of the emperor *Honorius*, with this legend on the reverſe, *Victoria Auggg.* and thence concludes, that the ſlaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* by the legion, which *Honorius* ſent over, happened in the year of the chriſtian æra, 421. the twenty-ſeventh of *Honorius*'s reign. The word *Auggg.* denotes, as he rightly obſerves, three emperors reigning at the ſame time. Theſe were *Honorius*, *Theodoſius*, and *Conſtantius*. Now, as *Conſtantius* was made emperor and died in the ſame year 421. the victory aſcribed to the three emperors muſt neceſſarily have been gained in that year (12).

(12) *Vide Alford. annal. ad ann.* 421.

againſt an enemy no ſtronger than themſelves, provided they would but lay aſide their a
fears, and exert their antient courage and reſolution. Not ſatisfied with encouraging them, that they might be the better able to withſtand the attacks of the enemy, he adviſed them to build a wall, not of turf, but of ſtone, offering them the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers, and his own direction in the work. Hereupon the *Britons*, jointly with the *Romans*, fell to work, and carried on their new wall with ſuch diligence, that, though eight foot in breadth and twelve in height, it was ſoon finiſhed. This wall ſtood, ſays *Bede* [h], in the ſame place where *Severus* had built his, that is, according to the moſt probable opinion, as we have obſerved above, on the iſthmus between the two friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*. They likewiſe built towers at convenient diſtances on the eaſt coaſt againſt the *Saxons*, and other barbarians, who, coming from *Germany*, made frequent deſcents on that ſide. The *Roman* commander, having thus ſecured the nation, employed the reſt of the time he continued in the iſland, in inſtructing the natives in the art of war; which when he had done, leaving among them patterns of the weapons he had taught them to make, after many encouraging exhortations, he, with his *Romans*, took his laſt farewel of *Britain*, and telling the *Britons*, that they muſt expect their return no more, he croſſed over to the continent [i]. From this laſt departure of the *Romans* we may date the total deſertion of *Britain* by them, and the final period of the *Roman* empire in this iſland. As to the year, in which *Britain* was thus finally abandoned, there is a great diſagreement among chronologers, ſome placing the retreat of the *Romans* in 426. ſome c
in 435. or 437. According to *Alford*, *Gallio* returned to *Gaul* in 422. the twenty-eighth of *Honorius*'s reign [k]. *Bede*, in his hiſtory, ſpeaks of the departure of the *Romans* as happening in 431 [l]. but, in his chronicle, he ſeems to ſuppoſe it to have happened even before the year 423. and hence *Alford* places it in 422. The *Britons* fought, as we have ſeen, for many years againſt the *Romans*, in defence of their liberty; and it was not without a great deal of bloodſhed that they ſubmitted to the yoke. But being in the end pleaſed with their ſervitude, and become, as it were, one nation with their conquerors, who had continued among them for the ſpace of four hundred years and upwards, they were no leſs unwilling to part with them, than they had been at firſt to receive them. This appears from the laſt meſſage they d
ſent to *Aetius*; but ſince it happened after the *Romans* had intirely abandoned the iſland, we ſhall refer the further relation of it to the following ſection.

The Britons *build another wall.*

The Romans *take their laſt farewel of* Britain.

h Bed. hiſt. c. 12. p. 156. i Gild. c. 24. p. 118. Bed. hiſt. c. 12. p. 156. k Alford. annal. ad hunc ann. l Bed. hiſt. l. i. c. 12, 13. p. 14, 15.

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of Britain, *from its deſertion by the* Romans, *to the invaſion of the* Angles *and* Saxons.

THE *Romans* having abandoned *Britain*, with an intention to return no more, e
as we have related in the foregoing ſection, the *Scots* and *Picts* no ſooner heard of their departure, than landing in ſwarms from their leather veſſels on the lands of the *Britons*, they committed greater ravages than ever, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Theſe two nations, differing ſomewhat in manners, but equally greedy of ſpoil and booty, ſeeing the cowardly *Britons* fly like ſheep before them, reſolved to attack the wall, which had been lately repaired, not doubting but they ſhould become maſters of it without great loſs, ſince it was defended by ſuch a faint-hearted enemy. At their approach, the *Britons*, inſtead of preparing for a vigorous defence, ſtood trembling on the battlements, till the enemy, more bold and active, pulling ſome of them down with long iron hooks, and driving the reſt, with ſhowers of darts f
and arrows, from their ſtations, made themſelves maſters of the wall. The *Britons* betook themſelves to flight, which, however, could not ſave them; for the *Scots* and *Picts*, purſuing them cloſe, made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and took poſſeſſion of the frontier towns, which they found deſerted by the inhabitants. As the enemy met with no oppoſition, they over-ran the whole country, putting all to fire and ſword without controul. This general havock and devaſtation bred a dreadful famine,

The Scots *and* Picts *break into the* Britiſh *territories.*

famine, which occaſioned new miſchiefs, and a kind of civil war among the *Britons* themſelves, obliged, for their ſupport, to plunder each other, and take from their friends the little the common enemy had left them. The whole country being thus ruined, the famine became general, and raged to ſuch a degree, that the *Britons*, who remained, were obliged to betake themſelves to the woods, and there live upon what they could get by hunting [a]. In this deplorable condition they continued ſome years. The *Britons* had already kings of their own; for *Gildas*, in his uſual melancholy ſtrain, finds fault with his countrymen for raiſing to the throne ſuch only as were remarkable for their cruelty [b]. Perhaps they judged them beſt qualified to redreſs the diſorders, and put a ſtop to the robberies, that prevailed all over the iſland. The ſame author adds, that thoſe, who had raiſed them to the throne, cauſed them ſoon after to be murdered, not becauſe they had found them guilty of any crime, but that they might chuſe worſe men in their room. If any of their princes proved more mild and humane than the reſt, he was abhorred by all as a coward, and perſecuted as a public enemy [c]. The unhappy *Britons*, thus at variance among themſelves, and at the ſame time preſſed with famine, and purſued by a mercileſs enemy, had recourſe once more to the *Romans* for aſſiſtance, writing to *Aetius*, who was then conſul the third time, and governed the weſtern empire almoſt with an abſolute ſway. To move him to compaſſion, they directed the letter thus: *The groans of the Britons to the conſul* Aetius. And in the letter; *The barbarians*, ſaid they, *drive us to the ſea, and the ſea forces us back to the barbarians, between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be ſwallowed up by the waves, or to be cruelly maſſacred by the enemy.* What anſwer they received, is uncertain; all we know is, that they could not prevail upon *Aetius*, who was then in *Gaul*, to lend them the leaſt aſſiſtance, the emperor *Valentinian* III. being then, as *Uſher* thinks, under apprehenſion of a war with *Attila* [d], who had not yet broken into the weſtern empire. The *Britons*, now deſpairing of any relief from the *Romans*, and, on the other hand, reduced to the utmoſt extremity by the famine, which increaſed daily, knew not what meaſures to take to free themſelves from their unfortunate circumſtances, Great numbers of them fled over to *Armorica*, where thoſe *Britons*, who attended *Maximus* into *Gaul*, are ſuppoſed to have ſettled [e]; others ſubmitted to the *Scots* and *Picts*, purchaſing a miſerable ſuſtenance with everlaſting ſlavery. Some, however, more reſolute, placing their confidence in God, ſays *Gildas*, ſince they found themſelves abandoned by men, betook themſelves to their arms; and ſallying out in parties from their woods and caves, fell upon the enemy, while they were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire. The *Picts* withdrew, in all likelihood, to the country about the wall, either abandoned by the *Britons*, or inhabited by ſuch of them as had ſubmitted to their new maſters. The *Scots*, as *Uſher* conjectures [f], returned to *Ireland*, whence they originally came; but *Gildas* and *Bede* only tell us, that they returned home [g]. And now the *Britons*, having ſome reſpite, began anew to cultivate their lands; which, after having for ſome time lain fallow, produced all ſorts of proviſions in ſuch plenty, as in no age had been remembered. This plenty was attended with luxury, wantonneſs, and all manner of vices incident to human nature; but what above all contributed to the immorality and irreligion, that prevailed all over the land, was, according to *Gildas*, the hatred of truth, and love of lyes, evil being miſcalled good, and good evil, and every thing tranſacted directly contrary to the common welfare and public ſafety. The clergy, who ſhould have reclaimed the laity with their example, proved the ringleaders to every vice, being, for the moſt part, addicted to drunkenneſs, envy, contention, *&c.* and incapable of diſcerning between good and evil [h]. In the mean time, the *Britons* were alarmed anew with a report, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with a greater force than ever, being determined utterly to extirpate the natives, and plant themſelves in their room from one end of the iſland to the other. This report occaſioned a general conſternation, which, however, was not ſufficient to reclaim them from their wicked ways, ſays *Gildas*; and therefore they were viſited with a dreadful plague, which raging with uncommon fury, ſwept away moſt of thoſe, whom the ſword and famine had ſpared; inſomuch, that the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead. But this calamity likewiſe proving ineffectual, the contagion no ſooner

The Britons write mournful letters to Aetius.

Their miſerable condition.

They drive back their enemies.

They abandon themſelves to all manner of vice.

A dreadful plague.

[a] Gild. c. 15, 16. p. 118. [b] Idem, c. 19. p. 119. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Uss. p. 1104. [e] Vide hiſt. univerſ. vol. vi. p. 400. [f] Uss. p. 609, 1105. [g] Gild. p. 119. Bed. chron. p. 114. [h] Gild. c. 19. p. 119.

ſooner ceaſed, than the enemy, returning with incredible fury, and putting all to a fire and ſword, ſoon reduced the unhappy *Britons* to the utmoſt extremity. *Vortigern* was then the chief, if not the only, king of *Britain*, a proud, covetous, and debauched tyrant, quite regardleſs of the public welfare, and no leſs incapable of promoting it in the field, than in the cabinet. However, being awaked by the clamours of the people, and finding it was abſolutely neceſſary for his own preſervation to repulſe the enemy, he ſummoned a council, to deliberate with the chief men of the nation about the proper means to deliver the country from the calamities it then groaned under, and prevent the like misfortunes for the future. In this council, they all agreed, being, in a manner, infatuated, on the moſt pernicious expedient, that could be imagined, and what, in the end, proved the utter deſtruction of the nation, which was, to invite the *Saxons* into the iſland, a people at that time famous for their piracies and cruelty, and dreaded, even by the *Britons*, as death itſelf (T).

The Britons *under* Vortigern *agree to invite the* Saxons *over.*

The expedient being approved of, embaſſadors were diſpatched in all haſte into *Germany*, to repreſent to the *Saxons* the requeſt of the *Britons*, and offer them advantagious terms, provided they would come over to their aſſiſtance (U). The *Saxons* were highly pleaſed with the propoſal, the more as they were foretold by their ſoothſayers, that they ſhould plunder the country, to which they were called, for the ſpace of an hundred and fifty years, and quietly poſſeſs it twice that time [k]. Having therefore fitted out three long ſhips, called in their language *chiules*, they put to ſea, under the conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, the ſons of *Witigiſil*, great-grandſon to the celebrated *Woden*, from whom all the royal families of the *Saxons* pretended to derive their pedigree [l]. Theſe, arriving at *Ebbesfleet* in the iſle of *Thanet*, were received there both by the prince and people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. The iſle itſelf was allotted them for their habitation, and a league was immediately concluded with them, in virtue of which the *Saxons* were to defend the *Britons* againſt all foreign enemies; and the *Britons*, on the other hand, to allow the *Saxons*, beſides their place of abode, pay and maintenance. Hiſtorians have not told us, what the number was of theſe *Saxon* auxiliaries; but they could not be above fifteen hundred, ſince they all came over in three ſhips; and we cannot well ſuppoſe any of thoſe ſhips to have carried above five hundred men. But, before we proceed farther in this hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the origin, manners, government, and religion of the people, who, being called in by the *Britons* to their aſſiſtance, made themſelves maſter of the iſland, and hold it to this day. The *Saxons* were, according to the moſt probable opinion, a colony of the *Cimbrians*, that is, of the inhabitants of the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*, now *Jutland*; who, finding their country overſtocked with people, ſent out, much about the ſame time, three numerous bands

The arrival of the Saxons.

The ſeats of the Saxons, Angles, *and* Jutes.

to

i Idem ibid. Bed. hiſt. c. 16. p. 157. k Gild. c. 23. p. 119, 120. l Bed. ibid. c. 15. p. 157.

(T) The firſt *Saxon* troops are ſaid, by moſt hiſtorians, to have landed in the year 449. though, by ſome, this event is placed a few years ſooner; by others, a few years later. *Tyro Proſper* ſuppoſes the *Saxons* to have been maſters of the iſland in 444. and conſequently to have landed many years before. But that writer was therein groſly miſtaken, as is manifeſt from *Gildas*, *Bede*, and all the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of this event. *Bede* places the arrival of the *Saxons* and *Angles* in the reign of *Marcian*, before the death of *Valentinian* III. that is, between the year 450. and 455. and ſeems to ſuppoſe the reſolution of the *Britons* to call them in to have been taken before the reign of *Marcian*; ſo that, according to *Bede*, their arrival may be well placed in 450. and in that year it is accordingly, by the learned *Uſher*, ſuppoſed to have happened (13).

(U) *Witichind*, a *Saxon* hiſtorian, who lived in the ninth century, in his hiſtory *de geſtis Saxonum*, introduces the *Britiſh* embaſſadors making the following ſpeech before an aſſembly of the *Saxons*: "Illuſtrious *Saxons*, the fame of your victories having reached our ears, the diſtreſſed *Britons*, haraſſed by the continual inroads of a neighbouring enemy, ſend us to implore your aſſiſtance. We "have a fertile and ſpacious country, which we are commanded to ſubmit to you. We have hitherto lived under the protection of the *Roman* empire; but our antient maſters having abandoned us, we know no nation more powerful than you, and better able to protect us. We therefore recur to your valour. Forſake us not in our diſtreſs, and we ſhall readily ſubmit to what terms you yourſelves ſhall think fit to preſcribe to us." If the *Britons* made ſuch a frank ſurrender, and promiſed ſuch an abſolute ſubjection, as is inſinuated in this ſpeech, it is ſtrange, that neither *Bede* nor *Ethelwerd*, both *Saxons*, ſhould take any notice of it; nay, the latter writer tells us, that the *Britons* promiſed to live in perpetual friendſhip and amity with the *Saxons*; and friendſhip and amity are inconſiſtent with abſolute ſubjection. Beſides, when the *Saxons* deſigning to make themſelves maſters of the iſland, wanted a pretence to quarrel with the natives, they did not urge the promiſe of the *Britiſh* embaſſadors, which they would certainly have done, had any ſuch promiſe been made, but alledged, for a pretence, their ſhort diet and bad pay, as *Gildas* tells us in expreſs terms; which plainly ſhews, that they came over only as mercenary ſoldiers.

(13) *Bed. hiſt. c. 15. p. 157. Chron. p. 114. Uſſer. p. 1107.*

to ſeek for new ſettlements. To one of theſe bands was afterwards given the name of *Suevians*, to another that of *Franks*, and to the third the name of *Saxons*. The *Suevians* took their rout towards *Italy*, the *Franks* advanced to *Belgic Gaul*, and the *Saxons* poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole country between the *Rhine* and the *Elb*; nay, by degrees extending their conqueſts along the coaſt of the *German* ocean, when the *Britons* ſent to implore their aſſiſtance, they were maſters not only of the preſent *Weſtphalia*, *Saxony*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Friſeland*, but likewiſe of *Holland* and *Zealand*. The firſt place they ſettled in, upon their leaving the *Cherſoneſus*, was the preſent duchy of *Holſtein*; which is thence called the antient ſeat of the *Saxons*. Between this country and the *Cherſoneſus*, or *Jutland*, dwelt a people, known, even in *Tacitus*'s time, by the name of *Angles* [l]. According to this account, which we have copied from *Bede* [m], the *Angles* inhabited that ſmall province in the kingdom of *Denmark* and duchy of *Sleſwick*, which is called at this day *Angel*, and of which the city of *Flenſburg* is the metropolis. *Lindebergius*, in his epiſtles, ſtyles this country *Little-England*; and *Ethelwerd*, who wrote about the year 950. ſpeaking of the antient habitation of the *Angles*; Old Anglia, ſays he, *lies between the* Saxons *and* Giots. *The metropolis of this country is by the* Saxons *called* Sleſwick; *but by the* Danes Haithby. Britain *took the name of thoſe, by whom it was conquered, and is therefore now called* Anglia. The ſame writer adds, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* came from the country of the *Angles* into *Britain* [n]. When the *Saxons* came firſt out of the *Cherſoneſus*, going in queſt of new ſettlements, the *Angles* joined them, and, in proceſs of time, became one nation with them. Hence they are, by moſt authors, compriſed under the general name of *Saxons*, tho' ſome diſtinguiſh them by the compound name of *Anglo-Saxons* [o]. Some time after the *Saxons*, *Franks*, and *Suevians* had left the *Cherſoneſus*, the *Goths*, having driven out the *Cimbrians* that were remaining, made themſelves maſters of that peninſula, which was thenceforth called *Gothland* or *Jutland*, from its new inhabitants the *Goths* or *Jutes*. Theſe, in the old printed copies of *Bede*, are ſtyled *Vitæ*; but the learned *Uſher* aſſures us, that all the manuſcript copies of that author, which he conſulted, read *Jutæ*, and not *Vitæ* [p]. *Fabius Ethelwerd*, whom we have metioned above, a writer of the *Saxon* blood royal, and the fourth in deſcent from king *Adulph* or *Ethelwolf*, calls the country *Giota*, and the people *Giotæ*. Great numbers of theſe *Giotæ* or *Jutæ*, mixing with the *Saxons* and *Angles*, came over with them into *Britain*, to ſhare in their conqueſts. This is the moſt probable account of theſe people, after their ſettling in *Jutland* and *Germany*, that we have been able to gather from the ſeveral authors, who have ſtudied this ſubject. Of their origin, which *Cluverius* and *Verſtegan* derive from the *Germans*, but *Grotius* and *Sherringham*, with more probability, from the antient *Getæ* or *Goths*; of their various migrations before they ſettled in the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*, and their conqueſts under their ſeveral kings, eſpecially under the celebrated *Woden*, we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtories of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. As the *Saxons* were, by their piracies on the coaſts of *Gaul* and *Britain*, better known at the time of their ſettling in this iſland, the conqueſt of *Britain* is, by the antient writers, aſcribed to them, and not to the *Angles* or *Jutes*; nay, *Britain* was, for ſome time, from them called *Saxony*; but, in the end, the name of *Anglia*, from the *Angles*, prevailed. The *Jutes* were leſs known, at leaſt under that name, than the other two nations or tribes. *Bede*, however, tells us, that the province of *Kent*, the iſle of *Wight*, and the country lying over-againſt it, now *Hampſhire*, were peopled by the *Jutes*. As to the name of *Saxons*, it has occaſioned a great diſagreement among authors. *Becanus* and *Camden* ſuppoſe them to have been firſt called *Sacaſons*, that is, the ſons or deſcendants of the *Sacæ*, to whom, according to theſe writers, they owed their origin. But they are by no antient writer ſtyled *Sacaſons*, as *Sherringham* well obſerves, but *Sacen* or *Saxons*. Beſides, none of the antients ſpeak of colonies ſent by the *Sacæ* out of *Aſia*, where they dwelt, in the neighbourhood of the *Caſpian* ſea; but *Strabo*, on the contrary, tells us, that the whole nation of the *Sacæ* were to a man deſtroyed by the *Perſians* [q]. *Iſidore* derives their name from the *Latin* word *ſaxum*, a *ſtone*, becauſe they were a ſtrong and hardy nation. But they were ſo called many ages before the *Romans* had any knowledge of them, or they of the *Romans*. The opinion of *Lipſius*, which *Verſtegan* has followed, ſeems to us the moſt probable, *viz.* that the name of *Saxons* was

Etymology of the name Saxons.

[l] Tacit. de Ger. mor. c. 40. p. 136. [m] Bed. l. i. c. 15. [n] Ethelwerd. chron. l. i. [o] Vide Alford. ad ann. 449. [p] Uss. de Brit. eccleſ. primord. p. 391. [q] Vide Sherin. c. 11.

was given them by their neighbours, from their wearing a ſhort ſword, called in their tongue *ſacx*; and hence the arms of *Saxony*, as *Pontanus* obſerves [r], are to this day two daggers placed acroſs. As to the name of *Angles*, *Saxo Grammaticus* derives it from *Angulus*, ſon to *Humblus* king of the *Danes*. But how the *Angles* came to borrow their name from a ſon of the king of *Denmark*, he has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Widiſcind*, a *Saxon* writer, will have the *Angles* to be ſo called from a certain iſland in the corner or angle of the ſea, which they ſubdued. But this, as well as all other etymologies deriving their name from the *Latin* tongue, ſeems to us altogether improbable, and foreign to the purpoſe, when we conſider, that the names of other *German* nations are not *Latin*, but *German*, or *Gothic*. *Goropius* therefore derives the name of *Angles* from the *Saxon* word *angel* or *engel*, ſignifying *a fiſhing-hook*, the *Angles*, who lived on the ſea-coaſt, being, like the other *Saxons*, greatly addicted to piracy, and, on that account, ſtyled *Angles* by the neighbouring nations, as if, like hooks, they caught all that was in the ſea. Other derivations are brought by *Aventinus* and other etymologiſts. But as we have perhaps already dwelt too long upon conjectures, we ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the manners, government, and religion of the antient *Saxons*, our forefathers. The *Saxons* were, as is agreed on all hands and appears from their conqueſts, one of the moſt warlike nations inhabiting *Germany*. They were not known to the *Romans*, by the name of *Saxons*, till the fourth century, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and the poet *Claudian*, being the firſt *Roman* writers, who make mention of them. The former, ſpeaking of them, ſays, they were formidable above all other enemies. And *Zoſimus*, The *Saxons* are inured to the toils of war, and, for their courage and ſtrength, reckoned the moſt warlike of all the *German* nations [s]. As they were a barbarous and uncivilized people, they treated their enemies with great cruelty, eſpecially the priſoners they took in war, ſacrificing them to their gods. As to their government, the countries ſubject to them were, according to *Verſtegan*, divided into twelve provinces, each of which was governed by a chief or head, accountable to the general aſſembly of the nation. By this aſſembly a general was choſen in time of war, who commanded with almoſt a ſovereign power; but his authority ceaſed, as ſoon as the war was ended. Their religion was the ſame with that of the other northern nations. Their chief gods, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, the celebrated *Woden*, his ſon *Thor*, his wife *Frigga* or *Fræa*, *Tuiſto*, *Theutates*, *Heſus*, *Taramis*, &c. The three laſt are mentioned by *Lucan* (W), as is *Tuiſto* by *Tacitus* [t]. *Woden* was the god of war; *Thor* preſided over the air, and was thought to have ſtorms, winds, ſhowers, and fair weather, at his diſpoſal; *Frigga* was the goddeſs of pleaſure. The two firſt days of the week were conſecrated to the *Sun* and *Moon*; the third, according to ſome, to *Tuiſto* or *Tuiſco*, according to others, to *Thyſa* or *Dyſa*, the goddeſs of juſtice, and wife to *Thor* [u]; the fourth to *Woden*; the fifth to *Thor*; the ſixth to *Fregga* or *Fræa*; and the ſeventh, as *Verſtegan* ſuppoſes, to *Crodo*, named alſo *Saeter*; but the latter name, as *Sherringham* obſerves, is to be found in no writer before *Verſtegan* [w]. The *Saxons* had, beſides theſe, ſeveral other deities, to whom they paid great veneration, namely, the goddeſs *Eoſtre*, to whom they ſacrificed in the month of *April*, which was thence by them ſtyled *Eoſtur monath*, or *the month of Eoſtre*; and thence the word *Eaſter*, which the *Saxons* retained even after their converſion to the chriſtian religion, giving it to the ſolemn feſtival, which we celebrate in commemoration of our Saviour's reſurrection [x]. *Nocca* was the ſame among the *Saxons*, as *Neptune* among the *Romans*. *Mara* was a frightful ſpectre, that terrified and oppreſſed people in their ſleep; whence the word *nightmare* [y]. *Tanfana*, mentioned by *Tacitus* [z], was worſhipped by the *Saxons* as the god of lots [a]. The *Elvæ* or *Elfs*, named alſo *Fairies*, were honoured by them with a kind of ſacrifice called *Alf-blot* [b]. The *Dyſæ* were inferior goddeſſes, the meſſengers of the great *Woden*, whoſe province it was to convey the ſouls of ſuch as died in battle to his abode, called *Valhall*, that is, *the hall of ſlaughter*, where they were to drink with

End of the name Angles.

Their manners

Their government;

And religion.

[r] Pontan. orig. Francic. l. ii. c. 2. [s] Zos. apud Camd. [t] Tacit. de mor. German. [u] Wormius, monument. Dan. l. i. c. 4. [w] Sheringh. c. 14. p. 318. [x] Bed. de ratio. temp. c. 13. [y] Sheringh. ibid. p. 331, 332. [z] Tacit. annal. l. i. [a] Sheringh. p. 333, 334. [b] Worm. mon. Dan. l. i. c. 5.

(W) In the following verſes:

Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
Teutates, horrenſque feris altaribus Heſus,
Et Taramis Scythiæ non mitior ara Dianæ (14).

(14) *Lucan, Pharſ. l.* i.

a with him and their other gods, *cerevisia*, a kind of malt liquor, in the sculls of their slaughtered enemies (X). On the contrary, those who died a natural death, were, by the same *Dysæ*, conveyed to *Hela*, the goddess of hell, where they were tormented with hunger, thirst, and all kinds of evils [c]. The *Angles* worshipped, as we read in *Tacitus*, the goddess *Herthus*, that is, the *earth*, as the mother of all things [d]. As to the worship the *Saxons* paid to their gods, and the sacrifices they offered to them, we refer our readers to *Wormius*, *Verstegan*, *Isaacius Pontanus*, and other *German* and *Danish* writers, it being now time to resume the thread of our history.

THE *Saxons* being arrived in *Britain*, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, as we have related above, and put in possession of the isle of *Thanet*, king *Vortigern* did

b not suffer them to continue long there without employment, but led them, soon after their arrival, against the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had made an irruption, and were advanced as far as *Stanford* in the province now called *Lincolnshire*. There a battle was fought, in which the *Scots* and *Picts* were utterly routed, and forced to save themselves by a precipitous flight, leaving the *Saxons* in possession of the spoil and booty they had taken [e]. *Vortigern*, highly pleased with the conduct of the two *Saxon* brothers, rewarded them with ample possessions in *Lincolnshire* [f]. We are told, that *Hengist* desired here only as much land as an ox-hide could encompass, and that, upon *Vortigern*'s granting him it, he cut the hide into small thongs, and inclosed with them a space large enough to hold a castle, which to this day is from thence called

c *Thong-caster*, that is, *the castle of thongs* [g]. Be that as it will, *Hengist*, taken with the fruitfulness and wealth of the island, and at the same time observing the inhabitants to be enervated with luxury and addicted to ease and idleness, began to entertain hopes of procuring a settlement in *Britain*. Having therefore first obtained *Vortigern*'s consent, he sent home to acquaint his countrymen with the fruitfulness of the country and the effeminacy of the inhabitants, inviting them to share with him in his good success, of which he had not the least occasion to doubt. The *Saxons*, glad of the opportunity, readily complied with the invitation; and, arriving in seventeen large ships, made up, with those they found in the island, a considerable army. With this supply came over, if *Nennius* is to be credited, *Rowena*, the daughter of

d *Hengist*, with whose charms the king was so taken, that, divorcing his lawful wife, he married her, after having obtained the consent of her father, who pretended to be averse to the match, by investing him with the sovereignty of *Kent* [h]. Thus *Nennius*, and those who have copied from him. But no mention is made of *Rowena* in the *Saxon* annals, which rather seem to insinuate, that the *Saxons* made themselves masters of *Kent* by force of arms; for we are told there, that *Hengist* defeated the *Britons* in two pitched battles, and obliged them to abandon *Kent*, and retire to *London*. But this did not happen till the arrival of the third body of *Saxon* troops; for *Hengist*, by laying before the king, and exaggerating the dangers that threatened him, not only from the *Scots* and *Picts*, but from his discontented subjects, obtained leave to

e send for a new reinforcement of *Saxons*, who, coming over in forty ships, under the conduct of *Octa* and *Ebusa*, the son and nephew, or, as others will have it, the brother and nephew of *Hengist*, arrived at the *Orcades*; and having ravaged there, and all along the northern coast, the countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, they made themselves masters

They defeat the Scots *and* Picts.

New supplies of Saxons *arrive in* Britain.

Octa and Ebusa settle in Northumberland.

[c] SHERINGH. p. 322, 323. [d] TACIT. de mor. German. [e] GILD. p. 120. BED. p. 157.
[f] MATT. WESTM. ad ann. 450. [g] Vide CAMDEN. in Coritan. [h] NENN. c. 3.

(X) Of these goddesses mention is made in an antient *Danish* monument, whereof the following lines were thus translated by *Sheringham*:

Fert animus finire.
Invitant me Dysæ,
Quas ex Othini aula
Othinus mihi misit.
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede bibam.
Vitæ elapsæ sunt Horæ.
Ridens moriar (15).

Cicero writes, that the *Cimbrians* envied those who fell in battle; but pitied the condition of such as died a natural death (16). Hence they went joyful to battle; but bemoaned their misfortune, when seized with any distemper, looking upon that kind of death as mean and inglorious (17). *Lucan* takes notice of this, as he styles it, philosophy of the northern nations, and calls it a happy error:

Certe populi, quos despicit Arctus,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ (18).

(15) *Vide Sheringh. c.* 14. *p.* 336. *instilut. antiq.* (16) *Cic. Tuscul. quest. l.* ii. (17) *Val. Max. l.* ii. *de* (18) *Lucan. Phar. l.* i.

masters of several places beyond the friths, and, in the end, obtained leave of the king to settle in *Northumberland*, under the specious pretence of securing the northern parts, as *Hengist* did the southern. *Hengist*, encroaching still on the king's favour, sent by degrees for more men and ships, till the countries from whence they came were almost left without inhabitants. And now their numbers being greatly increased, they began to quarrel with the natives, demanding larger allowances of corn and other provisions, and threatening, if their demands were not complied with, to break the league, and lay waste the whole country. The *Britons*, refusing them what they demanded, desired them to return home, since their numbers exceeded what they were able to maintain. This answer, however just and reasonable, provoked the *Saxons* to such a degree, that, having secretly concluded a peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, they turned their arms against those whom they were come to defend, and, over-running, without opposition, the whole island, destroyed all with fire and sword from the eastern to the western sea. The public, as well as the private, buildings were laid level with the ground; the cities pillaged and burnt; the priests slain at the altars; the bishops cruelly massacred, without the least respect to their dignity; and the people, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, butchered in such multitudes, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. Some of the unhappy *Britons*, who escaped the general slaughter, took refuge among the inaccessible rocks and mountains; but great numbers of them either perished with hunger, or were forced, by the extremity of famine, to abandon their asylum, and, delivering themselves up to their merciless enemies, preserve their lives at the expence of their liberty. Some, crossing the sea, took shelter among foreign nations, settling either in *Holland*, where the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old castle, built, as is supposed, by them on this occasion, are still to be seen, or among their countrymen in *Armorica* (Y). But those, who remained at home, suffered inexpressible calamities, living among the woods, rocks, and mountains, in perpetual apprehensions and want of necessaries [i]. *Nennius* tells us, that *Vortigern* was so far from being reclaimed by these calamities, that, on the contrary, adding to his other crimes that of incest, he married his own daughter, and had by her a son named *Faustus*, who led a solitary and religious life near the river *Rennis* in *Glamorganshire*. The same writer adds, and after him *Matthew* of *Westminster*, that the *Britons*, highly provoked at the king's wickedness, and the partiality he shewed to the *Saxons*, deposed him, and raised to the throne his son *Vortimer*, who, as he was a brave and valiant youth, undertook the defence of his distressed country; and falling upon the *Saxons* with what troops he could assemble, drove them into the isle of *Thanet*, and there kept them closely besieged, till being reinforced with fresh supplies from *Saxony*, they opened themselves a way through the *British* forces. But *Vortimer*, not yet disheartened, fought with them four battles; the first on the banks of the *Derwent* in *Kent*, where he obtained a signal victory, and cut in pieces great numbers of the enemy; the second at a place called in the *Saxon* tongue *Episford*, and in the *British*, *Sagathenbail*, now *Aylesford* in *Kent*. In this battle fell *Horsa*, and likewise *Catigern*, the brother of *Vortigern*. Some writers will have the *Britons* to have won the day [k], and others the *Saxons* [l]; nay, *Ethelwerd* seems to ascribe to this victory the founding of the kingdom of *Kent* [m]. *Horsa* is supposed to have been buried at a place, called from him to this day *Horsted*; and *Catigern* near *Aylesford*, where a monument is to be seen somewhat like *Stonehenge*, called by the country people *Kith's Coty-house*, that is, *Catigern's house* [n]. The place where the third battle was fought is not mentioned; but we are told, that *Vortimer* engaged the *Saxons* the fourth time at a place called *Lapis tituli*, which *Camden* and *Usher* take to be *Stonar* in the isle of *Thanet*; but *Somner* [o] and *Stillingfleet* [p], instead of *Lapis tituli*, read *Lapis populi*, that is, *Folkstone*, where, according to them, the battle was fought. In this battle the *Saxons* were routed with great slaughter, and forced back to their ships, on which they embarqued, being no longer able to withstand the valour of *Vortimer*, and, abandoning the island, returned home, where they continued till the death of *Vortimer*, that is, for the space of five years, without making

The Saxons *begin to quarrel with the* Britons.

And lay waste the whole island.

The deplorable condition of the Britons.

Vortigern *deposed, and his son* Vortimer *raised to the throne in his room.*

He fights with success against the Saxons.

[i] Gild. p. 120. Bed. p. 157. [k] Huntin. l. ii. Matt. Westm. ad ann. 455. [l] Flor. of Wor. [m] Ethel. l. i. ad ann. 445. [n] Vide Camd. in Cantio. [o] Somn. forts and ports, p. 94. [p] Stilling. orig. Brit. p. 322.

(Y) Most of our historians suppose the *Britons* to have been settled in *Armorica* long before the arrival of the *Saxons*; but this supposition, as we shall shew anon, is not countenanced by the authority any antient writer.

making any attempt upon *Britain*. Thus *Nennius*, and the hiſtorians who have copied from him. But of theſe battles no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. The former writer only tells us, that the *Saxons* retired, which moſt of our hiſtorians underſtand of their returning home, though *Gildas* perhaps meant no more, than that, after having laid waſte the iſland, they withdrew to the territories, that had been granted them by *Vortigern*, that is, to *Kent* and *Northumberland*: and truly it ſeems to us altogether incredible, that, had the *Britons* gained ſo many ſignal victories, *Gildas* would have paſſed them all over in ſilence. Our hiſtorians tell us, that *Vortimer* died about this time, after a ſhort reign of ſix years; and add, that, upon his death-bed, he deſired his ſervants to bury him near the place where the *Saxons* uſed to land, being perſuaded, that the ſecret virtue of his bones would deter them from making any attempts there for the future; but they, neglecting his commands, buried him at *Lincoln*[q], or, as others will have it[r], at *London*. Some will have him to have been poiſoned by his mother-in-law *Rowena*[s]; others write, that he died a natural death[t]. Be that as it will, *Hengiſt* was no ſooner informed of his death, than he returned with a numerous body of *Saxons* to *Britain*; and, landing in ſpite of all oppoſition, fought ſeveral battles with the *Britons*, under the conduct of *Vortigern*, who, upon the death of his ſon *Vortimer*, was reſtored to the throne. In one of theſe battles, fought at a place called *Crecanford*, the *Britons* were overthrown, with the loſs of four thouſand men; which obliged them to abandon *Kent* and retire to *London*[u]. From this victory, moſt authors date the beginning of the kingdom of *Kent* under *Hengiſt*, who took his ſon *Eſk* for his collegue. But *Vortigern* ſtill maintaining the war againſt the *Saxons*, *Hengiſt* had recourſe to treachery, and pretending a great deſire to conclude a peace, and renew the former amity between him and the *Britiſh* kind, ſent embaſſadors to require an interview with him. To this propoſal *Vortigern*, after adviſing with his nobles, readily conſented, and it was agreed, that they ſhould meet at an entertainment without arms. But the treacherous *Saxon* having ſecretly ordered thoſe who attended him to take their daggers, and keep them in readineſs concealed under their garments, when they met, purſuant to the agreement, and the *Britons*, ſuſpecting no treachery, began to be heated with wine, the *Saxons*, ſtarting up at a ſignal given, and drawing their daggers, diſpatched each of them his next man, to the number of three hundred, the flower of the *Britiſh* nobility. *Vortigern* alone was ſpared; but being taken priſoner, and put in fetters, he was forced, for his ranſom, to ſurrender to the *Saxons* thoſe provinces, that were afterwards called *Eſſex*, *Suſſex*, and *Middleſex*. By this means the *Saxons* got ſuch footing in the iſland, that they could never afterwards be driven out. Thus *Nennius*[w] and *Willian* of *Malmeſbury*[x]. But of theſe tranſactions no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. *Vortigern*, being ſet at liberty, retired, as we are told, to a vaſt wilderneſs near the fall of the *Wye* in *Radnorſhire*, where he was, ſome time after, conſumed by lightning, with the city *Kaer Guortigern*, which he had built there for his refuge[y]. Upon the retreat of *Vortigern*, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, or, as *Gildas* calls him, *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, took upon him the command of the *Britiſh* forces. He was a wiſe and modeſt man, ſays *Gildas*, and perhaps the only *Roman* that remained in the iſland, having, in the calamitous times of *Britain*, loſt his parents, who had worn the purple. Thus *Gildas*[z], without explaining himſelf farther. He adds, that the offspring of *Aurelius* continued ſtill in the iſland in his time; but had greatly degenerated from the good qualities of their anceſtors[a]. *Bede* writes, that his parents had borne the royal name and enſigns; but had been ſlain[b]. Neither *Gildas* nor *Bede* name his parents; which has given room to many conjectures, ſome maintaining him to have been the ſon of *Conſtantine*, who was choſen emperor by the *Romans* in *Britain* about the year 407[c]. Of him and his ſon *Conſtans*, who was declared *Cæſar* in 408. we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory[d]. Others think he was deſcended from ſome of the *Britiſh* kings, who reigned in the iſland after the departure of the *Romans*; for it is manifeſt from *Gildas*, that the *Britons* had ſeveral kings at the ſame time. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us, that *Ambroſius* had fled, with his brother *Uterpendragus*, whom others call *Uther*, into *Armorica*, to avoid falling into the hands of *Vortigern*, who, it ſeems, had uſurped his right[e]; nay, ſome

a b c d e f

Vortimer *dies.*

The Britons *overthrown.*

The firſt Saxon *kingdom in* Kent. *Year after Chriſt* 457.

300 *of the* Britiſh *nobility treacherouſly ſlain, and* Vortigern *made priſoner.*

Aurelius Ambroſius *ſucceeds* Vortigern. *Year after Chriſt* 458.

[q] Westm. ad ann. 457. [r] Sigebert. ad ann. 437. [s] Westm. Sigebert. ibid. Rich. vit. &c. [t] Hunting l. ii. [u] Nenn. c. 46. [w] Idem, c. 47, 48. [x] Malmes. de reg. l. i. c. 1. [y] Vide Camd. in Radnor. [z] Gild. c. 25. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Bed. c. 15. p. 157. [c] Alf. ad ann. 464. [d] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 454, 455, 465, 467. [e] Westmon. ad ann. 464.

some writers tell us, that the fear of *Ambrosius* induced *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*. *Matthew* of *Westminster* adds, that the *Britons*, no longer able to bear *Vortigern*, sent for *Ambrosius* and his brother; who, complying with their invitation, landed with a considerable body of men in the island; upon which *Vortigern* retired to the mountains of that part of *Britain*, which is now called *Wales*; and *Ambrosius* was declared king. But the great disagreement we find among the writers after *Gildas* and *Bede*, convinces us, that we cannot depend upon any thing they have related. All we can gather from the best authors is, that the *Britons*, under the conduct of *Ambrosius*, took courage, and falling upon the *Saxons* when most of their forces were returned home, routed them with great slaughter [f]. It was perhaps in this battle that *Horsa* was slain; for of the other battles mentioned above, no notice is taken either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. From this time, the war was carried on, says *Bede* [g], sometimes favourable to the *Britons*, and sometimes to the *Saxons*, till the latter made themselves masters of the whole island. Those, who have written several ages after *Bede*, give us a more particular account of the transactions of those dark times; but we will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what they relate. According to them, *Ambrosius*, after the above-mentioned victory, assembled the nobility at *York*; and having ordered the churches to be rebuilt or repaired throughout the kingdom, which had been destroyed by the *Saxons*, he marched from *York* to *London*, from *London* to *Winchester*, and from thence to *Salisbury* (Z), endeavouring every-where to restore the declining state of the church and kingdom [h]. In the mean time, *Pascentius*, *Vortigern*'s third son, aspiring to the crown, raised a rebellion in the north; but was overcome and put to flight by *Ambrosius*, who nevertheless bestowed upon him *Bualth* in *Brecknockshire*, and *Kaer-Guortigern* in *Radnorshire*. After this, the *Britons* enjoyed some respite; but were, in the eighth year of *Ambrosius*'s reign [i], worsted in a pitched battle by *Hengist* and his son *Esk*, who took a great booty [k]. No mention is made of any other battle fought, till four years after, when other *Saxons* coming over, under the conduct of *Ella* and his three sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, and *Cissa*, the *Britons* fell upon them as they were landing at a place called *Cymensbore*, that is, *Cymen's shore*. The *Saxons*, says *Huntington*, who were tall, strong, and vigorous, gave the *Britons* a warm reception; and having put them to flight as they advanced in straggling parties, they pursued them to the forest of *Andredesleige*, supposed to be the weald of *Kent*, and the woody parts of *Sussex* [l]. After this victory, the *Saxons* possessed themselves of all the sea-coast of *Sussex*, and continued to extend their dominions more and more till the ninth year after the arrival of *Ella*, when all the kings and princes of *Britain*, says *Huntington*, having united their forces, engaged *Ella* and his sons at a place called *Mercredesburne*. The victory, according to *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, remained doubtful, and both armies retired with great loss [m]: but others will have the *Saxons* to have won the day. *Ella*, being greatly weakened by the loss he had sustained, sent for fresh supplies, says the above-mentioned writer, out of his own country. In the mean time, *Hengist*, having raised and garisoned several forts in *Kent*, marched with great expedition into the north, and, having joined there the *Scots* and *Picts*, took and fortified several towns. But *Ambrosius*, drawing together his forces, marched in quest of the enemy, and coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow [n]. The following year 488. died *Hengist* king of *Kent*, and was succeeded by his son *Esk*, called also *Oisc* and *Osric*, who reigned twenty-four years, without attempting to inlarge his dominions [o]. Some writers tell us, that *Hengist* was taken prisoner in the above-mentioned battle by *Eldol* duke of *Claudiocestria*, and beheaded by him, pursuant to the sentence which had been pronounced against him in a great council, at the instigation of *Eldadus*, brother to *Eldol*, and bishop of *Claudiocestria*, who declared, that, if the rest spared him, he would, with his own hands,

He defeats the Saxons *with great slaughter,*

The Britons *routed by* Hengist *and his son* Esk.

Ambrosius *obtains a signal victory over the* Saxons.

[f] Gild. c. 25. Bed. c. 15. [g] Bed. de sex ætat. in Zenon. [h] Westmonast. ad ann. 465.
[i] Alford. ad hunc ann. [k] Ethelwerd. l. i. [l] Hunting. l. ii. [m] Idem ibid.
[n] Idem, ad ann. 487. [o] Idem, l. ii. Ethelw. ad hunc ann. Malmesb. de reg. l. i. c. 1.

(Z) *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* tells us, that, on this occasions, *Ambrosius* erected the famous monument known by the name of *Stonehenge*, in honour of the *British* nobles treacherously slain there, as he supposes, by *Hengist*. It is surprizing, that any of our historians should have followed him, and yet *Matthew* of *Westminster* copies the main of his account; and *Walter* of *Coventry* sets it down as a thing not to be questioned, adding two circumstances to render it the more probable, *viz.* that *Ambrosius* was crowned, and, not long after, buried there. *Polydore Virgil* supposes it to be the monument of *Ambrosius*; and *John* of *Tinmouth* calls it *Mons Ambrosii*.

hands, cut him in pieces [p]. But this account is generally looked upon as an arrant fable (A).

In the mean, time *Ella*, having received freſh ſupplies from *Germany*, laid ſiege to *Andred-cheſter*, ſuppoſed by *Camden* to be *Newenden* in *Kent*; by *Somner* to be *Pemſey* or *Haſtings*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, having raiſed a great army, advanced to the relief of the place, and, with frequent attacks, haraſſed the *Saxons* to ſuch a degree, that they were obliged to abandon the ſiege. Hereupon the *Britons* withdrew to the woods, not caring to venture a battle; but the *Saxons* were no ſooner returned to the ſiege, than the *Britons*, ſallying out upon them anew, forced them to quit it. Thus the *Saxons* loſt great numbers of their men, and made but a ſmall progreſs in the ſiege. But *Ella* having at laſt divided his army into two bodies, one

b of which purſued without intermiſſion the ſiege, while the other obſerved the enemy's motions, the citizens, quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, could no longer withſtand the efforts of the aggreſſors. The town was therefore taken, and by the mercileſs conquerors levelled with the ground, after they had put to the ſword all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Such is the account *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us of this ſiege [q]. Thus in the year 491. three years after the death of *Hengiſt*, and thirty-four after the beginning of the kingdom of *Kent*, began the ſecond kingdom in the iſland, called the kingdom of the *South Saxons*, which compriſed at firſt only *Suſſex*, but was extended by *Ella* before his death, for he reigned twenty-

c four years, to all the provinces lying ſouth of the *Humber* [r]. News being carried into *Germany* of the good ſucceſs that attended the *Saxons* in *Britain*, new adventurers flocked over daily to ſhare with them their good fortune. Among the reſt came *Cerdick*, the tenth in deſcent from *Woden*, with his ſon *Cenrick*, and as many men as he could tranſport in five ſhips. Theſe landing at a place, which, from their leader, was called *Cerdick's-ſhore*, now, according to *Brompton*, *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, were vigorouſly attacked by the *Britons*, whom, after a ſhort engagement, they put to flight. Several other battles were fought; but fortune proving ever favourable to the *Saxons*, the natives were forced to retire, and leave them in poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſts [s]. About ſix years after, *Porta*, another *Saxon*, with his two ſons *Bleda*

d and *Magla*, arrived at *Portſmouth*, ſo called, as ſome imagine, from him; and having defeated with great ſlaughter the *Britons*, who attempted to oppoſe his landing, and killed a young *Britiſh* prince, who commanded them, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the neighbouring country [t]. But the progreſs made by *Cerdick* moſt of all alarmed the *Britons*, and therefore, ſeven years after the arrival of *Port*, and ſixty after the firſt coming of the *Saxons*, *Nazaleod*, whom *Henry* of *Huntington* ſtyles the greateſt of the *Britiſh* kings, aſſembled the whole ſtrength of *Britain* to put a ſtop to his conqueſts. On the other hand, *Cerdick*, aware of the danger that threatened him, had recourſe to *Eſk* king of *Kent*, to *Ella* king of the *South Saxons*, and to *Porta* and his ſons, who all ſent him powerful ſupplies. With theſe he advanced againſt the *Britons*,

e leading the right wing himſelf, and his ſon *Cenrick* the left. As the two armies drew near each other, *Nazaleod*, perceiving the enemy's right wing to be by far the ſtronger of the two, charged it with the flower of his army, and obliged *Cerdick*, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, to ſave himſelf by flight; but, as he was purſuing the fugitives with more heat than caution, *Cenrick*, falling upon his rear, renewed the battle with ſuch vigour, that the *Britiſh* army was utterly defeated, and *Nazaleod* himſelf ſlain, with five thouſand of his men [u]. Who this *Nazaleod* was, is much controverted: ſome think it may be the *Britiſh* name of *Ambroſius*, who, as *Gildas*, informs us, fought, about this time, ſeveral battles with the *Saxons*; others will have it to be the name of his brother *Uther Pendragon*. But the ſtory of *Uther Pendragon* is now

f deemed a fable by all the *Britiſh* antiquaries. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſpeaks of *Nazaleod*, whom he calls *Nathanlioth*, not as a king, but only the general of *Uther Pendragon*, by whom he was ſent againſt the *Saxons*, who ſlew him, and fifteen thouſand

The Saxons *under the conduct of* Ella, *beſiege* Andred-cheſter;

Which they take, and level with the ground.

The ſecond Saxon *kingdom in* Britain. *The* South Saxons.

More Saxons *arrive under* Cerdick *and* Porta.

Nazaleod, *a* Britiſh *king, is defeated and ſlain by* Cerdick.

[p] Floril. ad ann. 489. Chron. Sax. ad ann. 490. [q] Hunting. l. ii. [t] Hunting. ibid. [r] Bed. l. ii. c. 5. [u] Idem ibid. [s] Hunting. l. ii.

(A) *Hengiſt*, as we have obſerved above, withdrew from *Britain*, after his firſt landing there, to recruit his army, which was greatly diminiſhed. *Cornelius Kempius*, in his hiſtory of *Friſia*, tells us, upon what grounds we know not, that *Hengiſt* retired to *Holland*, and there built, on the banks of the *Rhine*, the city of *Leyden* (18).

(18) *Corn. Kemp. in Friſia, l.* ii.

thouſand of his men. But the *Saxon* annals, *Ethelwerd*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Henry* of *Huntington*, agree in diſtinguiſhing him with the title of king; nay, the latter writer ſtyles him the greateſt of the *Britiſh* kings. *Uſher* conjectures *Uther* and *Nazaleod* to be one and the ſame perſon, the ſurname of *Uther*, ſignifying in the *Britiſh* tongue *terrible*, having been given him on account of the great things atchieved by him [w]. But as this is the darkeſt period of the whole *Britiſh* hiſtory, our beſt antiquaries can allege nothing but mere conjectures to clear it. It is even uncertain who ſucceeded *Nazaleod*. The *Welſh* annals leave an inter-regnum of about ſix years, and place the beginning of *Arthur*'s reign in 514. or 515. The learned *Uſher* conjectures him to have been the ſon of *Nazaleod*, called alſo *Uther*. Some have doubted whether there ever was ſuch a perſon (B); but the generality of our hiſtorians not

Arthur *ſucceeds* Nazaleod.

[w] Vide Uss. in primord. p. 466, 467.

(B) The hiſtory of king *Arthur* has been ſo diſfigured, and interwoven with ſo many abſurd, ridiculous, and romantic ſtories, that ſome have doubted, whether there ever was ſuch a perſon as *Arthur* in the world. Among theſe, *Milton* alleges the following objections againſt *Arthur*: 1. That he is not ſo much as mentioned by *Gildas*, or any antient *Britiſh* hiſtorian, except *Nennius*, who lived three hundred years after him, and is allowed by all to have been a very credulous and trifling writer, and to have vented a great many fables. 2. Though *William* of *Malmeſbury* and *Henry* of *Huntington* have both related his exploits, and his many victories over the *Saxons*, yet the latter took all he wrote concerning him from *Nennius*; and the former either from the ſame fabulous author, or from ſome monkiſh legends in the abbey of *Glaſſenbury*; for both theſe writers flouriſhed ſeveral centuries after *Arthur*, and conſequently knew no more of him, than we do at this day. 3. In the pretended hiſtory of *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, ſuch contradictions occur concerning this prince's victories, not only in *Britain*, but in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, *Italy*, and other countries, as are ſufficient to make us look upon him as a hero altogether fabulous and romantic. But theſe objections, however plauſible in appearance, are not of weight enough to convince us, that whatever has been written of king *Arthur* is quite fabulous; for, in the firſt place, his not being mentioned by *Gildas* does not at all ſeem ſtrange to us, ſince that author's deſign was not to write an exact hiſtory of his country, but only to give us a ſhort account of the cauſes of its ruin by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*, of which the chief was, according to him, the great wickedneſs of the *Britons*, and the general corruption of manners, that prevailed among them. On this he chiefly dwells, and from this ſubject no exploits of the princes, who then reigned, were capable of diverting him. Beſides, he only mentions thoſe princes, whoſe notorious wickedneſs ſeemed to draw down upon the unhappy *Britons* divine vengeance, expatiating upon the vices to which they were addicted, without taking the leaſt notice of their good qualities, or of the exploits, that were performed by them, or by others, tho' it is evident even from him, that the *Saxons* met with a vigorous oppoſition, and were often defeated by the *Britiſh* kings or commanders. As for *Nennius*, who lived about three hundred years after *Arthur*'s time, allowing what is objected againſt him to be true, yet we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the whole ſtory of *Arthur*, and the battles he fought, were a mere invention of his. We are rather inclined to believe, that he copied, at leaſt part of what he wrote, from other more antient authors, or perhaps from the general tradition of his countrymen at that time. It is true, the *Saxon* annals make no mention of this king, perhaps becauſe they could not do it, without tranſmitting to poſterity the many overthrows he gave the *Saxon* nation. But *Rudulphus de Diceto*, one of our beſt and moſt antient *Engliſh* hiſtorians, ſpeaking of king *Cerdick*, mentions his fighting ſeveral battles with king *Arthur*. As for *William* of *Malmeſbury*, and *Henry* of *Huntington*, though neither of them perhaps knew any thing of *Arthur*, but what they learnt from *Nennius*, or the antient regiſters of *Glaſſenbury*, yet, in our opinion, they deſerve ſome credit, ſince we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that thoſe regiſters conſiſted merely of fables. *William* of *Malmeſbury* himſelf owns, that the *Britons* had vented a great many fables concerning this prince; but adds, that he was a hero more worthy to be celebrated in true hiſtory, than in romance. The many ſtories, feigned and related of his exploits by the *Britons* or *Welſh*, encouraged *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to write many incredible fables of his conqueſts; but it does not thence follow, that whatever has been related of him muſt be fabulous; for a genuine hiſtory may be corrupted, and yet the ſubſtance of it remain true. If we therefore diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, and reject what favours too much of romance, we ſhall meet with nothing in the life of this hero unbecoming the character of a great prince. He was buried at *Glaſſenbury* in *Somerſetſhire*, and his coffin was dug up in the reign of *Henry* II. with this inſcription on it in *Gothic* characters, *Hic jacet ſepultus inclytus rex Arturius in inſula Avalonia*. We are told, that the following account of this diſcovery was hung up in the monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*, and was to be ſeen there till the diſſolution of the ſaid monaſtery: *In this iſland, which is called the iſland of* Avalonia, *was, in this burying-place of ſaints at* Glaſſenbury, *reſt the renowned king* Arthur, *the flower of the* Britiſh *kings, and* Guenhumara *his queen, who, departing this life, were honourably interred near the old church, between two ſtone pyramids, where they lay many years, till the time of* Henry de Soili, *who was abbot of the place after the burning of the ſaid church. This abbot, being importuned by many perſons, ordered ſome to dig between the pyramids for the bodies of the above-mentioned king and queen. Having dug very deep, they at length diſcovered a great wooden coffin cloſe ſhut, which they opened, and found in it the king's body, with a leaden croſs, on which was the following inſcription,* Here lies buried the renowned king *Arthur* in the iſland *Avalonia*. *Then they opened the queen's grave, and found her lying with her hair diſhevelled, as if ſhe had been but juſt buried; which, however, fell to aſhes as ſoon as touched. The abbot and convent, with great joy, took thence their remains, and placed them in the greater church in a tomb, which was cut in a rock, and divided into two parts, the king's body being by itſelf at the head of the tomb, and the queen's in the eaſtern part of it. On the tomb were engraved their ſeveral epitaphs* (19). The abbot, by whom theſe bodies were diſcovered, was not, as *Leland* ſuppoſes, *Henricus Blaſenſis*, nephew to *Henry* I. but *Henricus*

(19) *Vide Uſſer. in primord. p.* 116. *&c. & Gerald. Cambr. in ſpec. eccleſ. l.* ii. *c.* 11.

a not only agree, that there was ſuch a prince, but that he made a powerful reſiſtance againſt the *Saxons*. Some will have him to have been king of all *Britain*; while others confine his kingdom to *Cornwall*. *Nennius*, who lived about three hundred years after him, tells us, that he overthrew the *Saxons* in no fewer than twelve battles. The firſt of theſe was fought near the mouth of a certain river, called *Glein*, or *Gleni*, placed by ſome in *Devonſhire*; by others in *Lincolnſhire*: the ſecond, third, fourth and fifth, near the river *Duglas*, in the country of *Linvis* or *Linnis*. This river ſome ſuppoſe to be the *Dug* or *Duc* in *Lincolnſhire*; others the *Dugles* near *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*. The ſixth battle was fought on the banks of a river called *Baſſas*, ſuppoſed by ſome to run by the town of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*; the ſeventh in the wood of b *Chelidon*, called in the *Britiſh* language *Cattoit Celidon*. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* gives us a very particular account of this battle; but, in our opinion, ſo fabulous, that it does not deſerve a place in hiſtory [y]. The eighth battle was near the caſtle of *Suinnion*; the ninth near the city of *Lergis* or *Leogis*, called in the *Britiſh* tongue *Kaerleon*; the tenth in the neighbourhood of the river *Ribrot* or *Arderic*; the eleventh on the hill *Brenion*, ſuppoſed to be ſomewhere in *Somerſetſhire*; and the twelfth on the hill of *Badon*. *Gale* thinks theſe battles were fought in the ſpace of forty years, under *Vortigern*, *Ambroſius*, and others, though they have been all aſcribed to *Arthur*. *Cerdick*, having ſuſtained great loſſes in the many battles that were fought with the *Britons*, ſent over to *Germany* for new ſupplies; which arriving in three ſhips, under the conduct of *Stuf* and *Witgar*, his two nephews, landed at *Cerdickſhore*, where they c were attacked by the *Britons*, whom they put to flight. *Henry* of *Huntington*, who deſcribes this battle at length, tells us, that the *Britiſh* forces were drawn up on the ſide of a hill, and likewiſe in a valley, which at firſt frightened the new-comers; but recovering themſelves from their conſternation, they fell with great reſolution upon the *Britons*, and put them to flight [z]. In this year 514. died *Eſk* the ſon of *Hengiſt*, and ſecond king of *Kent*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Otta*, who reigned twenty-two years; but performed nothing worthy of notice [a]. The ſame year died, as we are told by *Henry* of *Hutington*, *Ella*, the firſt king of the *South Saxons*, having reigned twenty-four years. *Ciſſa*, his youngeſt ſon, ſucceeded him, the other two, who d came over with him, being, in all likelihood, dead before him. *Ciſſa* is ſuppoſed to have built *Chicheſter*, called in the *Saxon* language *the city of* Ciſſa. About this time *Cerdick*, after he had been twenty-four years in the iſland, and made himſelf maſter of a very large territory, took upon him the title of king, and founded the third kingdom in the nation, called the kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*, comprehending the counties of *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, to which was afterwards added *Cornwall*. In ſubduing theſe countries, *Cerdick*, though reinforced with continual ſupplies from *Germany*, ſpent twenty-four years; which ſhews, that the *Britons* did not tamely part with their territories, but, being overpowered with numbers, were forced, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, to quit them. The ſame year that *Cerdick* aſſumed the regal title, he fought a battle with the *Britons* at a place called *Cerdick's-ford*, ſuppoſed to be *Charford* in *Hampſhire*.

He is ſaid to have overthrown the Saxons *in twelve battles.*

New ſupplies of Saxons *arrive under* Stuf *and* Witgar.

The third Saxon *kingdom. The* Weſt Saxons.

The

[y] Westm. ad ann. 524. [z] Hunting. ibid. [a] Ran. Higd. in polychron,

Henricus Soliacenſis, or *Henry de Soily*, or *Sully*, who was made abbot after the burning of the church of *Glaſſenbury* in 1184. was afterwards raiſed to the biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and died in 1195. The epitaphs, which he cauſed to be engraved on the monuments of king *Arthur* and his queen, were as follows:

Hic jacet Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas, commendant laude perenni.

Arthuri jacet hic conjux tumulata ſecunda,
Quæ meruit cælos virtutum prole ſecunda.

We are told, that, in the king's body, were plainly ſeen the marks of ten wounds, whereof one only ſeemed mortal. What *Giraldus Cambrenſis* writes of his ſtature, and the dimenſions of his body, is unqueſtionably fabulous. The leaden croſs was preſerved in the treaſury of the church of *Glaſſenbury* till the diſſolution of that monaſtery, and there ſeen and carefully viewed by *Leland* (20). His tomb was diſcovered in the reign of *Henry* II. about the year 1189. that is, ſix hundred years after his death. So great was the love and eſteem of the *Britons* for this hero, that, for ſeveral ages, he was thought by many to be ſtill alive: nay, this notion, as our hiſtorians aſſure us, was not intirely rooted out, till his tomb was diſcovered. It was this perhaps that gave occaſion to the many fables, that have been invented concerning *Arthur*'s travels, and his numberleſs victories in foreign countries. To conclude, had this renowned hero of the *Britiſh* nation been leſs celebrated by romantic writers, no one perhaps would have queſtioned the truth of what has been related concerning his noble deeds by more grave hiſtorians.

(20) *Leland. apud Uſſ. p.* 120. *in aſſert. Arturii.*

Cerdick *defeats the* Britons.

The account *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us of this battle is very advantagious to the *Saxons*; but upon what grounds he gives it, we know not, since the *Saxon* annals only tell us, that from this time forward, the royal offspring, meaning the offspring of *Cerdick*, reigned over the *West Saxons*; which seems indeed to imply, that *Cerdick* won the day, and, by this victory, secured the crown to his posterity. No mention is made of *Cerdick* till seven years after this battle, when we find him again engaged with the *Britons* at a place called *Cerdick's-lea*, or *Cerdick's-league*, supposed to be *Cherdley* in *Buckinghamshire* [b]; but whether the *Saxoas* conquered, or the *Britons*, we are no-where told. All we know from the annals is, that, after this battle, *Cerdick* reduced the isle of *Wight*; a convincing proof, that the battle had proved favourable to him.

And reduces the isle of Wight.

He is said to have granted the isle of *Wight* to *Stuf* and *Witgar*, his two nephews, who put to the sword an incredible number of the inhabitants at a place, called from the latter *Witgaraburg*, and now, by contraction, *Careſbroke*. Of these battles *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us very particular accounts; but as we are convinced he did not copy them from any authentic or credible authors, we forbear descending with him to particulars. But that we may not rely altogether on the *Saxon* annals, nor those authors, who have written long after the things they relate had happened, *Gildas*, a writer of unquestionable authority, who lived in those times, tells us, that a great battle was fought on *Badon-hill*, supposed to be *Bansdown* near *Bath*, in which the *Saxons* were utterly routed by the *Britons* [c]. This battle is said by *Nennius*, and after him by most of our historians, to be the last of the twelve fought by king *Arthur*. There are not, however, wanting some, who maintain, that this battle was fought in the reign of *Ambrosius*; but, at the same time, they ascribe the victory to the valour and conduct of *Arthur*, who commanded the *Britons* as general to *Ambrosius*. In this battle the *Saxons* received such an overthrow, that, for many years, they forbore molesting the *Britons*. It was fought, according to the best *British* manuscripts, in the year 520. though some place it in 493. and others even before the year 491. Be that as it will, the *Britons*, it seems, still enjoyed the peace and tranquillity which so signal a victory produced, when *Gildas* wrote his account of the destruction of *Britain*, that is, forty-four years after the battle was fought. This seems the most natural sense of the obscure words of *Gildas* [d], though *Bede* understood him as if he had meant, that the battle was fought forty-four years after the first coming of the *Saxons* [e]; whence, in his chronicle, he places it in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, who died in 491 [f]. But, notwithstanding the peace which the *Britons* enjoyed, the *Saxons*, who were continually flocking over, and making new encroachments, founded, according to the *Saxon* annals, in the year 527. a fourth kingdom, called the kingdom of the *East Saxons*, comprising *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*. This kingdom was begun by *Erchenwin*, descended from one *Saxnat*. To *Erchenwin* succeeded, according to *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, his son *Sleda*, whom *William* of *Malmesbury* makes the first of the *East Saxon* kings, and the tenth from *Woden*. About fifteen years after the founding of the *East Saxon* kingdom, that is, near the year 542. the great king *Arthur* is supposed to have died, and to have been succeeded by his kinsman *Constantine*; but the most antient *British* chronicles leave an interregnum of near eleven years, without so much as mentioning *Constantine*. In the year 547. *Ida*, the tenth by descent from *Woden*, founded the fifth kingdom in this island, called the kingdom of *Northumberland*, as it comprised that part of the *British* provinces, that lies north of the *Humber*. *Otta* and *Ebusa* had, at the request of *Hengist*, as we have related above, been allowed by *Vortigern* to settle in those parts, under pretence of making war on the *Scots* and *Picts*, and securing the northern provinces against their incursions. This they effected; but having at the same time driven out the antient inhabitants, they seized on those countries for themselves, and held them as inferior governors and vassals to the kings of *Kent*. This moderation, says our historian [g], descended to their posterity; so that, for the space of an hundred years, the princes of *Northumberland* continued subject to the kings of *Kent*. But this year 547. the principality was changed into a kingdom, *Ida*, a person no less famous for his virtues than for his birth, assuming the title of king of *Northumberland*. This proved a powerful kingdom; for it comprehended all *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Northumberland*, with part of *Scotland*, as far as *Edinburgh* frith. *Ida* was not, according to *Matthew* of *Westminster*, son to any of those princes,

The Saxons *receive a total overthrow on* Badon-hill.

The Britons *enjoy a long peace.*

The fourth Saxon *kingdom.* *The* East Saxons.

Arthur *dies.*

The fifth Saxon *kingdom.* Northumberland.

Year after Christ 547.

[b] Sax. annal. ad ann. 527. [c] Gild. c. 26. p. 120. [d] Vide Uss. p. 477. [e] Bed. hist. c. 16. p. 258. [f] Idem chron. p. 114. [g] Malmes l. i. c. 3.

princes, who governed *Northumberland* before it became a kingdom, but an adventurer come lately out of *Germany*, and raiſed to the throne, in regard of his extraordinary merit. He reigned about twelve years with great applauſe, and built a town, which he called, as *Bede* ſeems to inſinuate[h], *Bebanburgh*, now *Bamborough* in *Northumberland*, from his wife *Bebba*. Upon his death, the kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was divided into two, whereof the one, lying ſouth of the *Tine*, was called *Deira*, and the other, extending from that river to *Edinburgh* frith, *Bernicia*.

In the year 561. *Ethelbert* began to reign in *Kent*. As he was young and ambitious when he aſcended the throne, he was the firſt who raiſed civil wars and diſturbances amongſt the *Saxons* themſelves, claiming, as king of the moſt antient kingdom, a kind of right over the reſt. This claim he attempted to ſupport by dint of arms; but, being twice defeated, he, who at firſt was formidable, became in a ſhort time, in a manner contemptible; for *Keaulin*, king of the *Weſt Saxons*, and his ſon *Cutha*, having purſued him into his own dominions, ſlew at *Wibbandun*, *Oſlac* and *Cnebba*, two of his chief commanders. By means of theſe civil conteſts among the *Saxons*, but chiefly by the late victory gained on *Badon-hill*, the *Britons* lived, at leaſt for the ſpace of forty-four years, unmoleſted by their common enemy. But the peace they enjoyed proved more deſtructive to them than any war; for though thoſe who had felt the calamities that had befallen their nation, acknowledged themſelves, by their chriſtian and regular lives, indebted to Heaven for their deliverance, yet the next generation, unacquainted with paſt evils, and only ſenſible of their preſent eaſe, abandoned themſelves to all manner of vice and debauchery to ſuch a degree, that the principles of truth and juſtice being totally ſubverted, ſcarce any footſteps of them remained either in the clergy or laity, in the people or their princes; ſo that they became odious, as *Gildas* informs us, to all the neighbouring nations. But how far injuſtice, irreligion, and immorality, prevailed amongſt all ranks of men, will better appear from that writer's own words. And to begin with the kings, who then reigned in *Britain*, he thus reproves them in the epiſtle, which he wrote while living in *Armorica* out of their reach. *Britain*, ſays he, has kings, but tyrants; judges, but ſuch as prey upon the innocent; the kings have wives, but abandon themſelves to harlots; they ſwear oft, but perjure themſelves; they wage war, but an unjuſt and civil war; they puniſh thieves, yet have the greateſt near them, even at their own tables; they ſit in the ſeat of judgment, but ſeldom obſerve the rules of right judgment; they proudly overlook the modeſt and harmleſs, but countenance the audacious, though guilty of moſt abominable crimes; they fill their priſons, but with men whom they have committed rather out of malice, than for any crime. He then proceeds to each king in particular, beginning with *Conſtantine* then reigning in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, whom he calls *the tyrannical whelp of an impure* Damonian *lioneſs*, and charges with the murder of two innocent youths of the blood royal, whom he aſſaſſinated in their mother's arms at the very altar, and under the cope of the holy abbot. He likewiſe inveighs againſt this prince, as one that was polluted with many adulteries, and had put away his lawful wife. In the next place, he reproaches *Aurelius Conanus* with adulteries, with parricide, and greater cruelties than the former was guilty of. He adds, that this prince, hating the peace of his country, had, for the ſake of booty and prey, fomented civil wars. Where *Aurelius Conanus* reigned, is not expreſſed; but his condition was not, it ſeems, very proſperous: for *Gildas* wiſhes, that, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midſt of a barren foreſt, he may call to mind the pride and arrogance of his father and elder brothers, who came all to untimely deaths. In the third place, he applies himſelf to *Vortipore*, whom he calls the wicked ſon of a good father, and the tyrant of *Demetia* or *South Wales*. He upbraids him, though ſtricken in years, with adulteries, with falſhood, and cruelty in governing. In his latter days he put away his wife, and, if we miſtake not the meaning of *Gildas*, was guilty of inceſt with his daughter. In the next place, our author comes to *Cuneglaſus*, ſuppoſed by ſome antiquaries to have reigned in *North Wales*: him he reproves for raiſing civil wars, for divorcing his wife, and marrying her couſin, who had vowed perpetual chaſtity; he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and truſting to his riches. *Gildas* concludes with a ſharp reproof of *Maglocunus*, the greateſt, and likewiſe the moſt wicked, of all the *Britiſh* princes. He had driven out or ſlain many other kings or tyrants, and is called by our author *the*

Civil wars among the Saxons.

A general Corruption of manners prevails among the Britons.

The wickedneſs of their kings.

[h] Bed. l. iii. c. 6.

the iſland dragon. He was tall in ſtature, a great warrior, and profuſe in his gifts. a While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle in battle, and drove him from the throne; then, touched with remorſe. he betook himſelf to a monaſtic life, which he ſoon forſook, as he did afterwards his wife, taking the wife of his brother's ſon in her room, who, to prevent her marriage being deemed null or unlawful, found means to diſpatch her own huſband, and *Maglocunus*'s former wife. This is the ſubſtance of *Gildas*'s reproof to the *Britiſh* kings, from which, all we can gather is, that there were, at this time, at leaſt five kings in *Britain*, and all guilty of moſt enormous crimes; but by what means they came to the crown, what great actions they performed during their reigns, who ſucceeded each of them in their reſpective territories, *&c.* we are not told by any authentic writer. From the kings our author paſſes to b the clergy, whom he ſharply reproves as paſtors in name, but in reality wolves, intent, on all occaſions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper themſelves; not called to the miniſtry, but ſeizing it as a trade; teaching the people, not by ſound doctrine, but by evil example; haters of truth, broachers of lyes; looking on the poor with an eye of contempt, but fawning on the rich, however wicked; great promoters of other peoples alms, but themſelves ever contributing leaſt; ſeldom officiating at the altar, and ſcarce ever with pure hearts; ſlightly touching the reigning vices of the age, but highly aggravating their own injuries, as done to Chriſt himſelf; ſeeking preferments in the church, more than Heaven; ignorant of the doctrines contained in the holy ſcriptures, but cunning and practiſed in worldly matters; bearing their heads c high, but having their thoughts and affections abject and low. He likewiſe taxes them as gluttons, drunkards, and, above all, as guilty of the enormous ſin of ſimony; and then addreſſes the laity thus: What can you expect, unhappy people, from theſe beaſts, all belly? Shall they reclaim you, who weary themſelves in committing iniquity? Shall you ſee with their eyes, which are open only to gain? Leave them rather, leſt you fall both blindfold into perdition. But are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly; but what did it avail *Eli* to be himſelf blameleſs, while he connived at the wickedneſs of his ſons, *&c.* Our author at the end of his hiſtory, gives a further account of the ſad ſtate of affairs, and general corruption of manners, in thoſe times; and complains, that the cities and towns were not inhabited as d formerly, but lay in a ſtate of ruin and deſolation; for foreign wars being ceaſed, civil wars broke out, which brought all things to a moſt deplorable condition. Such was the ſtate of the government and religion among the *Britons* during the peace, which was produced by the victory on *Badon-hill*, and laſted till the time *Gildas* wrote, that is, for the ſpace of about forty-four years.

And of the clergy.

Not long after, that is, about the year 575. began, as is ſuppoſed, for the year is not ſet down in the *Saxon* annals, or any other hiſtory, the kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles*, compriſing the countries we now call *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the iſle of *Ely*. It was founded by *Uffa*, the eighth from *Woden*, though there were, it ſeems, before him, ſeveral petty princes, who had ſettled in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; e but *Uffa*, more powerful than they, drove them all out, and reigned alone with ſuch reputation, that, from him, the ſucceeding kings were called *Uffingæ*[i]. *William* of *Malmeſbury*, diſagreeing with all other writers, ſuppoſes this kingdom to have begun before that of the *Weſt Saxons*. And now the *Saxons*, who had been, ever ſince the battle on *Badon-hill*, either inactive, or engaged in civil wars and quarrels among themſelves, began afreſh to haraſs the *Britons*, and, in a few years, drove them out of all the countries they held in that part of the iſland, which is now known by the name of *England*; for *Cuthwulf*, the brother of *Ceaulin*, king of the *Weſt Saxons*, having defeated the *Britons* at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, the head of the adja- f cent province, ſays *Henry* of *Huntington*, he took from them four towns, *viz. Ligeanburgh*, now *Loughborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*, or, as others will have it, *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*; *Egleſburg*, now *Aileſbury* in *Buckinghamſhire*, with *Bennington* and *Ixneſham*, now *Benſon* and *Eveſham* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Cuthwulf* died the ſame year he obtained this victory. For the ſpace of ſix years after, we hear of no action, as if *Ceaulin* had had no commander to place in his brother's room. But, after that time, he renewed the war, and having, with his ſon *Cuthwin*, engaged the *Britons* at a place in *Glouceſterſhire*, called *Deorham*, he ſlew three of their kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmaile*, and took three of their chief cities, *viz. Glewanceſter*, or *Glouceſter*, *Cirenceſter*,

The ſixth Saxon *kingdom. The* Eaſt Angles.

The Britons *overcome in ſeveral battles*

[i] Hunting. l. ii. Malmesb. l. i.

Cirenceſter, and *Bathanceſter*, now *Bath*. Who theſe kings were, we are no-where told; but ſome conjecture the firſt to be *Cuniglaſus*, and the ſecond *Aurelius Conanus*, both mentioned by *Gildas*. We read of no other battle between the *Saxons* and *Britons*, though in all likelihood, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, till ſeven years after the battle of *Deorham*, when *Ceaulin* and his ſon *Cutha* fought againſt the *Britons* at a place called *Frethanleag*. In this battle *Cutha* was ſlain, and the *Saxons* obliged, according to *Henry* of *Huntington*, to retire; but freſh ſuccours ſeaſonably arriving, they returned to the charge, routed the *Britons*, and took ſeveral towns [k]. About this time, that is, about the year 585. according to *Henry* of *Huntington* and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, was founded, by *Crida*, the ſeventh kingdom in this iſland, called the kingdom of *Mercia*. Whence it took that name, is uncertain; ſome deriving it from the river *Merſe*, which, running between *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, was the north-weſt boundary of the *Mercian* kingdom [l]. Others will have it to have been ſo called from the *Saxon* word *meark*, ſignifying *a limit*; becauſe moſt of the other kingdoms bordered upon it [m]. Be that as it will, this kingdom, though the laſt erected, was one of the largeſt of the *Engliſh Saxon* kingdoms, and one of the laſt, that was conquered by the *Weſt Saxons*. It comprehended ſeventeen counties, *viz. Glouceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*. The *Britons* were now confined within very narrow bounds. However, before they abandoned all on this ſide of the mountains, they once more engaged the *Saxons* at a place called *Woden's Bearth* near the ditch in *Wiltſhire*, which, by the neighbouring people, is called *Wanſdike*, and in the *Saxon* tongue *Wodenſdic*, or the dyke of *Woden*, and, running through the middle of the country, divides it from eaſt to weſt. This battle proved very bloody; but who were the generals on either ſide, we are no-where told. *Henry* of *Huntington* only writes, that the *Britons* having drawn up their army after the *Roman* manner, the *Saxons* charged them with their uſual boldneſs. Hereupon a ſharp engagement enſued, adds that writer, in which God gave the victory to the *Britons*; for the *Saxons* were routed, and almoſt their whole army cut off [n]. In this battle the *Britons* were aſſiſted, according to *William* of *Malmeſbury*, by the *Angles*, jealous of the overgrown power of *Ceaulin*, king of the *Weſt Saxons*, whoſe military genius and great exploits had ſtruck terror into the *Angles*, as well as the *Britons*. But, after the loſs of this battle, he was driven out of his dominions, and forced to take refuge in ſome other kingdom; but whether in this iſland, or elſewhere, is not recorded in hiſtory. From this victory the *Britons* reaped but little advantage; for being daily more confined, and haraſſed on one ſide by the *Scots* and *Picts*, and on the other by the *Saxons*, they were, in the end, obliged to abandon their ancient ſeats, and take ſhelter among the craggy and mountainous places in the weſt of the iſland; whither their cruel enemies could not eaſily purſue them. There they long continued a warlike nation, defending their liberty, and, though ſeparated from the *Saxons* by a deep ditch, the work of *Uffa* king of the *Mercians*, making frequent inroads into the *Saxon*, or, as we may now ſtyle them, the *Engliſh*, territories, where they put all to fire and ſword. They had been attended with far better ſucceſs, had they not been continually quarrelling among themſelves; which was chiefly owing to the ambitious and reſtleſs humours of the petty princes, or rather tyrants, by whom they were governed. Some of the unhappy *Britons* took refuge, as we have ſaid juſt now, in that part of the iſland, which the *Latins* called *Cambria*, and the *Engliſh*, after the *German* cuſtom, *Wales*; for the *Germans*, as the learned antiquary *Humphry Lhuyd* well obſerves, calling the ſtrangers that lived near them on one ſide *Gauls* or *Walls*, gave afterwards the ſame appellation to all ſtrangers; and hence, according to that writer, the *Walloons* in the *Low Countries*, and the *Wallachians* on the *Danube*, received their denominations. The *Britons*, upon their retiring into *Cambria* or *Wales*, divided that country, as we read in the ſame author, into ſix regions, *Guynedh*, *Powys*, *Debenbarth*, *Reynuc*, *Eſyluc* or *Sylluc*, and *Morganuc* or *Morgan*. Each of theſe regions or diſtricts was governed by its own king till the year 843. when *Roderic the Great* became ſole monarch of *Cambria* or *Wales*, which, at his death, he divided among his three ſons, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. Some of the *Britons* were driven into *Cornwall*; others,

The ſeventh Saxon *kingdom* Mercia. *Year after Chriſt* 585.

The Britons *gain a complete victory over the* Saxons.

But are, in the end obliged to retire into Wales, *and other parts.*

Wales *divided into ſix petty kingdoms.*

[k] Hunting. ibid. [l] Lhuyd. fol 23. [m] Camd. in Cornaviis. [n] Hunting. ubi ſupra.

others, according to the learned antiquary, whom we have quoted above, ſettled in a
the moſt ſouthern parts of *Scotland*, and in the neighbourhood of *Carliſle*, and continued there till the year 871. when they were driven out by the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, and forced to take ſhelter among their countrymen in that part of *Cambria* or *Wales*, which by the *Latin* writers is ſtyled *Venedotia*, and by us *North Wales*. The *Britons* at firſt poſſeſſed all the countries beyond the *Dee* and the *Severn*, which two rivers, in antient times, divided *Cambria* or *Wales* from *England*, the towns, which ſtand on the eaſtern banks of theſe two rivers, having been moſt of them built to reſtrain the *Cambrians* or *Welſh* from breaking into *England*. But the *Engliſh*, having paſſed the *Severn*, by degrees ſeized on the country lying between that river and the *Wye*; ſo that all *Herefordſhire*, and that tract, which was antiently called the *Daniſh-wood*, b with *Glouceſterſhire*, and ſuch parts of *Worceſterſhire* and *Shropſhire*, as lie beyond the *Severn*, are ſtill inhabited by the *Engliſh*; nay, in former times, ſome parts of *Flintſhire* and *Denbighſhire* were ſubject to the kings of *Mercia*; for *Uffa*, the moſt powerful king of that country, cauſed a deep ditch, with a high wall, to be carried on as a barrier between his dominions and the territories of the *Cambrians*, from the mouth of the *Dee*, a little above *Flint caſtle*, over ſteep mountains, croſs deep valleys, fens, and rivers, to the mouth of the *Wye*. This ditch, called by the *Welſh* to this day *Claudh Uffa*, or the ditch of *Uffa*, is ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral parts; and all the towns, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of it, have names ending in *ton* or *ham*, an evident proof, that they were inhabited by *Saxons*; nay, the inhabitants of them are by the c *Welſh* ſtill called *Guyr y Mers*, that is, the men of *Mercia*. Thus far of the places, into which the diſtreſſed *Britons* were driven within the iſland. But *Gildas* tells us, that ſome of them, committing themſelves to the mercy of the waves, ſought for ſhelter beyond the ſea; and it is the general opinion, that they fled to their countrymen in *Armorica*. That ſome *Britons* had ſettled in *Armorica*, now *Bretagne*, before this time, is paſt diſpute, though there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the preciſe time of their firſt ſettling there. The firſt mention we find of the *Britons* in *Armorica* is in the year 461. when *Manſuetus*, biſhop of the *Britons*, ſubſcribed, among the other prelates of *Gaul* and *Armorica*, to the articles eſtabliſhed in the firſt council of *Tours* [o]. It is manifeſt from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that, in 469. they were d already ſettled on the the banks of the *Loire* [p]. About the year 470. the *Britons* in *Armorica* had a king of their own, named *Riotham*, who, at the requeſt of the emperor *Anthemius*, marched at the head of twelve thouſand men againſt *Euric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, but was defeated by that prince in the province of *Berri* [q]. *Sidonius Apollinaris* highly commends the moderation of *Riotham*; but ſpeaks of his men in ſuch terms, as ſhew, that they were not at all mended by the calamities they had ſuffered at home. *Sidonius*, after he was made biſhop, had often occaſion to complain of them to their prince [r]. An anonymous writer, who was a native of *Armorica*, and wrote the life of St. *Wingalof*, not long after the *Saxons* had made themſelves maſters of *Britain*, tells us, that the *Britons*, embarking on floats, arrived in *Armorica*, being e driven out of their native ſoil by the *Saxons*, a fierce and barbarous nation. He adds, that the *Britons*, being worn out with misfortunes and fatigues, continued quiet for a while, without engaging in any wars [s]. The *Britons* are ſaid to have paſſed over to, and ſettled in, *Armorica* at three different times, *viz.* in the reign of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, during the uſurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Saxons* made themſelves maſters of the iſland. No antient hiſtorian makes any mention of their ſettling in that country, either in the reign of *Conſtantius* or of *Maximus*; which gives us room to queſtion the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. All we know for certain is, that the *Britons* were ſettled in that part f of *Gaul*, which, from them, was called *Britany*, before the *Saxons* and *Angles* made themſelves maſters of the whole country now called *England*. *William* of *Malmeſbury* writes, that the *Britons*, who went over with the tyrant *Maximus*, were, for their faithful ſervices, rewarded with lands in *Gaul* on the ſhore of the ocean; but others maintain, that, before the *Saxon* invaſion, no *Britons* had ſettled in *Gaul*; which opinion ſeems to us by far the moſt probable, ſince, by the antient and moſt credible hiſtorians, frequent mention is made of the *Britons* in *Gaul* after, and none before, the coming of the *Saxons*. The *Britons*, who ſettled in *Armorica*, having, by degrees,

Uffa's ditch.

Some of the diſtreſſed Britons *take ſhelter in* Armorica.

About what time they firſt ſettled in that country.

[o] Concil. tom. iv. [p] Sidon. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. [q] Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 673. [s] Vide Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 8. p. 282. [r] Sidon. l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74. Camd. & Uss. in primord. p. 421.

a degrees, got the better of the natives, treated them much in the same manner, as their countrymen, whom they had left behind in the island, were treated by the *Saxons*; for, not to allege other testimonies, *Regalis*, bishop of *Vannes*, speaking of the unhappy condition of the *Armoricans*; *We live*, says he, *in captivity under the* Britons, *and bear a most grievous and heavy yoke*. The *Armoricans*, thus overpowered by the *Britons*, were blended with them under the common appellation of *Britons*, their country being called *Britannia Armorica*, and *Britannia Cismarina*, in the same manner as the *Gauls*, in other parts of *Gaul*, were blended under the common name of *Franks*, and their country called *Francia*. The *Armorican Britons* defended themselves with great bravery against the *Franks*, first under petty kings, and afterwards b under counts and dukes, as we shall relate in a more proper place. But to return to our distressed *Britons* at home: those who had taken refuge among the mountains beyond the *Severn*, attempted, from time to time, to recover the countries they had lost; but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the *Anglo-Saxons* to extend their conquests beyond the mountains. Such of the *Britons* as submitted to, and lived among, the *Saxons*, were treated by them as slaves, and employed in the most servile offices.

They make themselves masters of it.

Thus, omitting such accounts as are generally deemed fabulous, we have related the most remarkable events, that happened in *Britain*, from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the retreat of the *Britons* into *Cambria* or *Wales*. The venerable *Bede* takes no e notice of what was transacted here from the battle on *Badon-hill* to the conversion of the *Saxons* in the time of pope *Gregory the Great*; which does not a little incline us to question the truth of what we read in the writers, who came after him. These had not better records or memoirs than that venerable author, but less discernment, and more credulity; which perhaps may have prompted them to relate, and even believe, such things, as did not appear to that judicious author so well attested, as to deserve a place in his history. With these, however, we have been forced to take up, for want of better guides, when abandoned by *Gildas* and *Bede*; but as we do not ourselves give intire credit to what they relate, we are far from exacting it of our readers. The unfortunate *Britons* being, in the manner we have related, driven d into *Cambria*, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, remained masters of the whole country now called *England*, where they had already founded seven kingdoms, known by the name of the *heptarchy*. But of these kingdoms we shall speak at length in a more proper place, the method, which we have proposed to ourselves, obliging us to leave them at present, and hasten to the history of other more antient nations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The antient state of the several northern nations, to their breaking into the Roman *empire, and their several expeditions, and mutual expulsions, till the settling of the* Hunns *in* Hungary, *the* Vandals, Visigoths, *and* Sueves *in* Spain, *the* Vandals *in* Africa, *the* Franks *in* Gaul, *the* Ostrogoths *in* Italy.

SECT. I.

The antient state, &c. *of the* Hunns, *till their settling in* Hungary.

The antient seats of the Hunns.

THE *Hunns*, a fierce and savage nation, inhabited that part of *Asiatic Sarmatia*, which bordered on the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Tanais*, the antient boundary between *Europe* and *Asia* [a]. Their country, as described by *Procopius* [b], lay north of mount *Caucasus*, which, extending from the *Euxine* to the *Caspian* sea, parts *Asiatic Sarmatia* from *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, lying on the isthmus between the two above-mentioned seas. In this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, were two narrow passes leading out of *Asiatic Sarmatia* into *Iberia*, one of which was antiently called *Porta Caucasia*, but in *Procopius*'s time *Tzur*, and the other *Porta Caspia*, which, however, we must distinguish from the famous *Portæ Caspiæ*, or the narrow passes in mount *Caspius*, which, at a great distance to the south of mount *Caucasus*, divided *Media* from *Parthia*. The two passes in mount *Caucasus* let the neighbouring *Hunns*, says *Procopius* [c], into the territories of the *Romans* and *Parthians*; whence it is manifest, that, according to *Procopius*, the antient seats of the *Hunns* lay north of mount *Caucasus*, and at a small distance from it. In those seats, called by *Procopius* the *Eulysian* region, dwelt the *Hunns*, divided into several tribes, but all comprised under the general name of *Ugri*, changed afterwards into that of *Hunni* or *Unni*. In the authors, who wrote after the year of the christian æra 376. when the *Hunns* first broke into *Europe*, mention is made of the *Uturgurian*, *Cuturgurian*, *Onugurian*, *Vultinzurian*, *Burugunian*, *Sabirian* or *Gabrian*, and *Nephthalite* or *Ephthalite Hunns* [d]. *Procopius* tells us, that one of their kings had two sons, *Uturgur* and *Cuturgur*, who, upon their father's death, divided his territories between them; and that such of the *Hunns*, as were subject to *Uturgur*, were called *Uturgurian Hunns*; and those, who fell to the lot of *Cuturgur*, *Cuturgurian*. Of the other denominations no notice is taken by the historians. On the south side of the *Palus Mæotis*, where it discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea by a narrow chanel, called the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, dwelt the *Uturgurian Hunns*; and north of them, towards the *Tanais*, the *Cuturgurian* [e]. The *Ephthalite*, as *Procopius* terms them, or *Nephthalite Hunns*, as they are styled by *Agathias*, inhabited a rich country, bordering to the north on *Persia*, and a great distance from the *Sarmatian* or *Scythian Hunns*, with whom they had no intercourse, nor the least resemblance either in their persons or manners. They were a powerful nation, and often served against the *Romans* in the *Persian* armies; but, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, being provoked by *Perozes* king of *Persia* laying claim to part of their country, they defeated the *Persians* in two pitched battles, slew their king, over-ran all *Persia*,

Different tribes of Hunns.

The Ephthalite *or* Nephthalite Hunns

[a] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxxi. p 435, 441. Agath. l. v. p. 154. [b] Procop. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 3, 4, 5. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Agath. l. ix. p. 154. Procop. ibid. Paul. Warnefrid. miscel. l. xii. [e] Procop. ibid. Paul. Warnefrid. miscel. l. xii. p. 385

a *Persia*, and held it in subjection for the space of two years, obliging *Cabades*, the son and successor of *Perozes*, to pay them a yearly tribute. These *Hunns*, commonly called by the writers of those times the *White Hunns*, did not wander, like the others, from place to place, but, contented with their own country, which supplied them with all necessaries, they lived under a regular government, subject to one prince, and seldom made inroads, unless provoked, either into the *Persian* or *Roman* territories. They lived according to their own laws, and dealt uprightly with one another, as well as with the neighbouring people. Each of their great men used to chuse twenty or more companions, to enjoy with him his wealth, and partake of all his diversions; but, upon his decease, they were all buried with him in the same b grave [f]. This custom savours of barbarity; but, in every other respect, the *Nephthalite* were a far more civilized nation, than the *Scythian Hunns*, who, breaking into the empire, filled most of the provinces of *Europe* with blood and slaughter. The latter were, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* [z], a savage people, exceeding in cruelty the most barbarous nations. They begin to practise their cruelty, says *Jornandes*, upon their own children the very first day they come into the world, cutting and mangling the cheeks of their males, to prevent the growth of hair, which they must have looked upon, contrary to the sentiments of other nations, as unbecoming and unmanly. They had perhaps in this practice another view, which *Jornandes* seems to insinuate elsewhere, *viz.* to strike terror into the enemy, with their c countenances thus deformed, and covered with scars [h]. They had no other food but roots and raw meat, being quite unacquainted with the use of fire, and no houses at all, not even huts, but lived constantly exposed to the air in the woods, and on the mountains, where, from their infancy, they were inured to hunger, thirst, and all manner of hardships; nay, they had such an aversion to houses, which they called the sepulchres of the living, that, when they went into other countries, they could hardly be prevailed upon to come within the walls of any house, not thinking themselves safe when shut up and covered. They used even to eat and sleep on horseback, scarce ever dismounting; which, in all likelihood, induced *Zosimus* to write, that the *Hunns* could not walk [i]. They covered their nakedness with goats skins, or the skins of a sort of mice sowed together. Day and night was indifferent to them as to buying, selling, eating, and drinking. They had no law, nor any kind of religion; but complied with their inclinations, whatever they prompted them to, without the least restraint, or distinction between good and evil [k]. St. *Ambrose* writes, that they were greatly addicted to gaming; which occasioned frequent murders among them [l]. But this vice, as well as that of lewdness, with which he charges them, seems quite foreign to the manners of a warlike nation, inured to all sorts of hardships. In war they began the battle with great fury, and a hideous noise; but, if they met with a vigorous opposition, their fury began to abate after the first onset, and, when once put in disorder, they never rallied, but fled in the utmost confusion. They e were quite unacquainted with the art of besieging towns; and authors observe, that they never attacked the enemy's camp. They were a faithless nation, and thought themselves no longer bound by the most solemn treaties, than they found their advantage in observing them. Hence we often find them, upon the least prospect of obtaining more advantagious conditions, breaking into the *Roman* empire, in defiance of the most solemn oaths and engagements. Several corps of *Hunns*, after their coming into *Europe*, served in the *Roman* armies against the *Goths* and other barbarous nations; nay, they were ready, for hire, to fight against one another, being blind to every other regard and consideration [m]. Of this the emperor *Justinian* was apprised, and, by promising a large sum to the *Uturgurian Hunns*, prevailed upon f them to fall upon the *Cuturgurians*, and drive them quite out of the empire [n]. The form of government that prevailed among them was not, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, properly speaking, monarchical; for that author, speaking of the *Scythian Hunns*, tells us, that they had never learnt to submit to the authority of a king, but that they were headed and conducted by some of their chief men [o]. These, by some historians, are honoured with the title of kings, but by others styled only gene-

The Sarmatian *or* Scythian Hunns.

Their customs and manners.

Their form of government.

f Procop. bell. Pers. l. i. g Ammian. l. xxxi. c. 11. h Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 24. p. 643. i Zos. l. iv. p, 747. k Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 435—437—615—618. Zos. l. iv. p. 747. Isidor. car. ii p. 297. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 24. p. 643, 644. Salvian. l. iv. p. 89. l Ambros. de Tob. c. 1, 2. tom. ii. p. 590. m Ammian. ibid. p. 439, 440. Prisc. de legat. p. 65. n Procop. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 18, 19. Agath. l. v. p. 155. o Ammian. ibid. p. 436.

Their kings or chiefs.

generals or leaders. *Jornandes* calls them constantly kings; and truly in war they seem to have been invested with the supreme command. The same author writes[p], that *Balamir*, whom elsewhere he calls *Balamber*[q], was king of the *Hunns*, when they first passed the *Palus Mæotis*, and subdued the *Goths*, that is, about the year 376. The name of *Uldin*, king or general of the *Hunns*, is famous in the history of the reign of *Arcadius*[r]. *Olimpiodorus* mentions one *Caraton*, whom he calls the first king of the *Hunns*[s]. Several of the ancestors of the famous *Attila* had, according to *Priscus* the rhetorician[t], been honoured with the command of the *Hunns*. *Mundiuchus*, or, as others call him, *Mundzuchus*, father to that prince, maintained, to use the expression of *Jornandes*, the antient splendor of his family[u]. He had three brothers, *Octar*, *Roas*, who were both kings or leaders of the *Hunns*, but not of the whole nation, and *Oebarsus*, who outlived the other two, but served under *Attila*[w]. *Octar* and *Uptar*, who made war upon the *Burgundians* in 436: as we shall relate anon, seem to have been one and the same person; but we must not confound, as some have done, *Roas*, whom *Priscus* calls *Roua*[x], and *Tiro Prosper Regula*[y], with *Rougas*, general of the *Hunns*, who was killed with a flash of lightning in 426. while he was making war upon *Theodosius* II[z]. *Roas* was the immediate predecessor of *Attila*. As

Their origin.

to the origin of the *Hunns*, *Procopius* seems to insinuate, that they were descended from the *Albanians*, and that they removed from *Albania*, lying on the *Caspian* sea, into *Asiatic Sarmatia*, where they settled. *Jornandes*, an irreconcilable enemy to the *Hunns*, who had driven his countrymen the *Goths* from their antient habitations, gives us the following account of their original, an account intirely owing to the hatred he bore them. *Filimer*, the son of *Gandaric the Great*, and the fifth king of the *Goths* after their going out of the peninsula *Scanzia* or *Scandinavia*, having entered the *Scythian* territories, discovered among his people a great number of witches, called in the language of this country *aliorumnæ*. These he drove into the wilderness far from his army, where the unclean spirits, who haunted those wild and solitary places, being taken with their charms, kept them company, and from their conversation sprung the nation of the *Hunns*[a]. We are almost ashamed to allow a place in our history to such a ridiculous fable, though very gravely related by *Jornandes*[b], and

Their name.

with no less gravity confuted by a modern writer[c]. As for the name of *Hunns*, some authors will have them to have been so called from one of their leaders named *Hunnor*; but of this *Hunnor* no mention is made by any antient writer. They are frequently styled *Ugri* by *Procopius* and other writers; and the word *Ugre*, in the *Sclavonic* language, signifies *aquatic*, that is, living in or near the water, a name well adapted to a nation living in wet or marshy places, and such were the antient seats of the *Hunns* bordering on the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Tanais*[d]. *Ptolemy*, in his *Sarmatia Europæa*, mentions a people, whom he calls *Chuni*, dwelling in his time on the banks of the *Borysthenes*. These the *Hunns* subdued, and settled in their country; whence, from their name *Chuni*, some derive that of *Hunni*. But, to dwell no longer on conjectures, we shall now give a succinct account of the several migrations and expeditions of the *Hunns*, from their first coming into *Europe*, to their settling in *Pannonia*, called afterwards from them *Hungary*, following therein *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the most antient author that speaks of them, at least among such as have reached our times, and other credible writers, who lived in or near those times.

They pass the Palus Mæotis. Year of Christ 376.

The *Hunns*, as we have observed above, dwelt on the east side of the *Palus Mæotis*, now the sea of *Zabache*, quite unacquainted with the people and countries lying on the opposite side, till a hind, pursued by some hunters, or, as we read in other authors, an ox stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some *Hunns* followed their guide to the opposite side, where they discovered a country far more agreeable than their own. Hereupon, returning to their own country, they acquainted their countrymen with what they had seen, and at the same time informed them, that what they had till then looked upon as a deep sea, was only a marsh, and might be passed without the least danger[e]. Encouraged with this account, and desiring to settle in a more kind soil, they passed the marsh; and entering the country of the *Alans*,

p Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 24. p. 64. q Idem ibid. c. 48. p. 681. r Vide univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 452—459. s Vales. rer. Fran. l. iii. p. 154. Phot. c. 80. t Prisc. de legat. p. 45. u Jorn. ibid. c. 3. p. 66. w Idem ibid. Prisc. p. 69. x Idem, p. 47. y Vide Socrat. l. vii. c, 43. p. 387. & Bucher. hist. Belgic. p. 588. z Prisc. p. 47. a Jorn. ibid. c. 24. p. 643. b Idem ibid. c P. Callimach. edit. cum Bonfinio, p. 854. d Vide Ludewig. in vit. Justinian. & Theodoræ, p. 529. not. 704. e Jorn. ibid. c. 24. p. 644.

a *Alans*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and were thence called *Tanaites*, they laid it waſte far and near, made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, and obliged ſuch of them as were left alive, and able to bear arms, to join them. Thus reinforced, they fell upon the *Goths*, by *Ammianus* called *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Oſtrogoths*, and ſpread every where ſuch terror among them, that *Ermenric* their king, though a warlike prince and conqueror of many nations, laid violent hands on himſelf, to avoid ſeeing the calamities, that threatened his people, and to him ſeemed unavoidable[f]. *Jornandes* tells us, that *Ermenric*, whom he calls *Ermanaric*, having puniſhed with death a woman named *Saniolk*, of the nation of the *Roxolani*, for the murder of her huſband, her two brothers, *Sarus* and *Ammius*, conſpiring againſt him, b gave him a dangerous wound in the ſide, which, with the concern he was under in ſeeing his country over-run by the *Hunns*, occaſioned his death, in the hundred and tenth year of his age [g]. He was ſucceeded by *Vithimir*, who, having hired a body of *Hunns*, with them and his own troops, made, for ſome time, a vigorous reſiſtance; but was in the end, after many loſſes, ſlain in battle. He left behind him a ſon named *Vitheric* or *Videric*, whom, as he was under age, he committed to the care of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*; but theſe, though men of known valour and experience in war, foreſeeing all their efforts would prove unſucceſsful againſt the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, thought it adviſeable to abandon the country they then held, and retire, with all their people, to the plains between the *Boryſthenes* and the *Danube*; c which country is now known by the name of *Podolia*. *Athanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Viſigoths*, being informed of what had happened to the *Oſtrogoths*, reſolved to ſtand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence on the banks of the *Danaſtus*, now the *Nieper*, which parted the *Greuthongi* from the *Thervingi*. But the *Hunns* falling upon him before he had the leaſt notice of their approach, he was put to flight after having loſt great numbers of his men, and obliged to take ſhelter among the neighbouring mountains. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, purſued him but ſlowly, he built a wall with incredible expedition for his own defence, extending from the *Geraſus* or the *Pruth* to the *Danube*, in the country now known by the name of *Moldavia*[h]. All the *Gothic* nations being alarmed at this ſudden and d unexpected irruption of the *Hunns*, ſuch of them as had the good luck to eſcape the dreadful havock, which thoſe barbarians made of their people, reſolved to abandon their country to an enemy, whom they were no longer able to withſtand, and to ſave themſelves within the *Roman* dominions, ſeparated by the *Danube* from the countries over-run by the *Hunns*. Accordingly they retired from their antient ſeats, and, approaching the banks of the *Danube*, diſpatched embaſſadors to the emperor *Valens* begging, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*. The *Romans* were ſtruck with terror and amazement, in hearing, that ſuch multitudes of barbarians were hovering about the banks of the *Danube*, driven out of their ſeats by greater barbarians than themſelves. *Valens*, however, complied with their requeſt, allowing e them to paſs the *Danube*, and enter *Thrace* in ſuch numbers, that *Ammianus* compares them to the ſparks, which, at that very time, iſſued out of mount *Ætna*, and to the ſands of the *Libyan* ſhore[i]. Thoſe were, for the moſt part, *Thervingi* or *Viſigoths*, the ſubjects of king *Athanaric*. As for the *Greuthongi* or *Oſtrogoths*, they being likewiſe driven out of their country by the *Hunns*, flocked in ſwarms to the banks of the *Danube*, and, encouraged by the reception their countrymen had met with from *Valens*, begged to be admitted within the *Roman* dominions; but the emperor not thinking it adviſeable to comply with their requeſt, after they had continued ſome time on the banks of the *Danube*, they paſſed it in ſpite of the *Romans*. *Athanaric*, king of the *Thervingi*, not thinking it ſafe to take refuge in the territories of the *Ro*f *mans*, on account of his having aſſiſted the uſurper *Procopius*, retired, with part of his people, to a place defended by inacceſſible rocks, named *Caucalanda*, having driven from thence the *Sarmatians* and the *Taifali*, whoſe country lay weſt of the *Geraſus* or the *Pruth* [k]. Thus the *Hunns*, in this year 376. not only ſettled in *Europe*, but made themſelves maſters of that vaſt country, which extends from the *Tanais* to the *Danube*, and was, before their arrival, poſſeſſed by the *Alans*, the *Goths*, and ſeveral other barbarous nations, whom they either drove out, or forced to ſubmit to their victorious arms.

And ſubdue the Alans.

They fall upon the Oſtrogoths;

And drive them out of their country.

Defeat the Viſigoths, *and oblige them to abandon their coutry.*

The Goths *are admitted into* Thrace.

The Hunns *maſters of the whole country between the* Tanais *and* Of *the* Danube.

[f] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 439, 440. [g] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 645. [h] Ammian. p. 440, 441.
[i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. Jorn. c. 25. p. 646.

Of the *Huns*, who ſettled in *Europe*, we find no further mention made in hiſtory till the year 388. when great numbers of them are ſaid to have liſted themſelves in the *Roman* armies, *Theodoſius* I. who was then emperor, encouraging them with large ſums to ſerve under his banner, both on account of their warlike temper, and to divert them from raiſing diſturbances on the frontiers of the empire [l]. But the *Nephthalite Huns*, who had continued in *Aſia*, and were neighbours to the *Perſians*, as we have obſerved above, breaking into the *Roman* dominions, over-ran *Meſopotamia* in 383. and even laid ſiege to *Edeſſa*; but were repulſed by the *Roman* gariſon, and obliged by a body of troops, conſiſting chiefly of *Goths*, ſent to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterprize, and retire [m]. The *European Huns* firſt paſſed the *Danube* in 391. and being joined by the *Goths* and other barbarians, committed dreadful ravages in *Mæſia* and *Thrace*. But *Stilicho*, marching againſt them, gave them a total overthrow, and purſuing them cloſe, ſhut them up in a narrow valley, where they muſt have periſhed with hunger, or ſurrendered at diſcretion, had not *Theodoſius* choſen to conclude a peace with them, following therein, ſays the poet *Claudian*, the pernicious counſel of the traitor *Rufinus* [n]. About four years after, that is, in 395. the *Huns*, breaking unexpectedly into the eaſtern provinces, penetrated as far as *Antioch*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties [o]. St. *Jerom*, ſpeaking of this irruption of the *Huns*, All the eaſt, ſays he, trembled, when the diſmal news was brought, that ſwarms of *Huns*, coming from the far-diſtant *Mæotis*, and dwelling between the frozen *Tanais* and the country of the ſavage *Maſſagetes*, flew up and down, and filled all places with blood and ſlaughter. While the *Roman* armies, continues that writer, were employed in civil wars, that is, againſt the uſurper *Eugenius*, the cruel enemy roved, without controul, where they pleaſed, preventing, by their ſpeed, the report of their coming. They had no regard either to religion or dignity; no age they ſpared, nor were they ſoftened by the tears of the crying infant; but put thoſe to death, who had ſcarce begun to live, and who, not appriſed of their danger, ſmiled, when in the enemy's hands, at thoſe very weapons, that were immediately to deſtroy them. He adds, that the general terror and conſternation ſpread as far as *Paleſtine*, upon a report, that they propoſed to advance to *Jeruſalem*, and plunder the holy city [p]. The ſame author ſpeaks of this irruption of the *Huns* in ſeveral other places [q] (A), and likewiſe St. *Chryſoſtom* [r], *Philoſtorgius* [s], *Socrates* [t], and *Sozomen* [u]. St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us in one of his homilies [w], that ſeveral chriſtians, on that occaſion, ſuffered martyrdom; and that others were brought to *Antioch*, to be ſold there or ranſomed. *Philoſtorgius* places this irruption of the *Huns* after the death of *Rufinus*, and even after that of the eunuch *Eutropius*, who ſucceeded him in his power and employments. But he was therein certainly miſtaken, ſince not only *Claudian* [x], but *Socrates* [y], *Sozomen* [z], and *Zoſimus* [a], tell us in expreſs terms, that *Rufinus* privately ſtirred up, by his emiſſaries, the *Huns* to break into the empire, and likewiſe the *Goths*, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*.

The Nephthalite Huns *over-run* Meſopotamia.

The Scythian Huns *invade* Thrace, *but are defeated by* Stilicho. *Year of Chriſt* 391.

They ravage the eaſtern provinces. Year of Chriſt 395.

[l] Ambros. ep. xvii. p. 214. Pacat. panegyr. ad Theodoſ. p. 270. [m] Socrat. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. Soz. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753. [n] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 125, 126. [o] Socrat. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. xxx. &c. p. 26, 200, &c. & in vit. S. Chryſoſt. Chrys. pſal. xcv. p. 897. [p] Hier. epitaph. Fabiol. [q] Idem epiſt. iii. l. xi. c. 8. p. 154. [r] Chrys. ubi ſupra. [s] Philostorg, [t] Socrat. ubi ſup. [u] Soz. ibid. [w] Chrys. in pſal. xcv. p. 893. [x] Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. [y] Socrat. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. [z] Soz. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753. [a] Zos. l. v. p. 782.

(A) *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Zoſimus*, and the poet *Claudian*, agree in this, that the *Huns* invaded the eaſtern provinces at the inſtigation of *Rufinus*. On the other hand, it is manifeſt from the ſame authors, as well as from the code, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that *Rufinus* was put to death in the month of *November* 395. In the code are ſeveral laws enacted the following year, and addreſſed to *Cæſarius*, who ſucceeded *Rufinus* in the office of *præfectus prætorio*. *Socrates* writes, that *Rufinus* was put to death on the twenty-ſeventh of *November* 395 (1); which is confirmed both by the *Alexandrian* chronicle, placing his death after the laſt offices paid to the body of *Theodoſius* on the ninth of the ſame month (2), and by the code, where the laws are addreſſed to *Rufinus* till the eleventh of *October*, and, from the thirtieth of *November*, to his ſucceſſor *Cæſarius* (3). However, St. *Jerom*, in his third epiſtle (4), which we cannot ſuppoſe to have been written before the year 397. ſays, that this irruption had happened the year before, *Ecce tibi anno præterito*, &c. But St. *Jerom* was either miſtaken, or ſpeaks in that epiſtle only of the ravages and devaſtations, which began in 395. but were continued, as appears from *Claudian* (5), in 396.

(1) *Socrat. l.* vi. *c.* 1. *p.* 300. (2) *Chron. Alex. p.* 710. (3) *Cod. Theodoſ.* 2. *tit.* 9. *l.* viii. *p.* 133. 10. *tit.* 6. *l.* i. *p.* 410. 16. *tit.* 5. *l.* xxvii. *p.* 144. (4) *Hier. epiſt.* iii. *p.* 26. (5) *Claud. in Eutrop. l.* i. *p.* 99.

a *Alaric.* What he aimed at in thus encouraging the barbarians to invade the empire, we have related elſewhere [b], from the authors we have juſt now quoted. The *Hunns*, having over-run and plundered ſeveral provinces, returned home of their own accord, loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives. They met with no oppoſition, the armies, that had been ſent into the weſt, to ſuppreſs the uſurper *Eugenius*, not being yet returned; and this is what St. *Jerom* meant, or ought to have meant, in ſaying, that the *Hunns* broke into the empire, while the *Roman* armies were engaged in a civil war, the diſturbances raiſed in the weſt by *Eugenius*, being happily appeaſed, and the author of them diſpatched, before the irruption of thoſe barbarians.

They break into Thrace. *Year of Chriſt* 404.

AFTER this irruption, the *Hunns* ſeem to have continued quiet for the ſpace of nine b years, that is, till the year 404. when paſſing in great multitudes the *Danube*, they entered *Thrace*; and having over-run that province, they penetrated into *Eaſt Illyricum*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, and deſtroying with fire and ſword what they could not carry with them [c]. A modern writer quotes a letter written this year by *Honorius*, emperor of the weſt, to his brother *Arcadius*, who reigned in the eaſt, to expreſs his concern for the ravages committed by the *Hunns* in *Thrace*, and for the ruin and loſs of *Illyricum*. Theſe calamities *Honorius* aſcribes to the wrath of Heaven, juſtly provoked at the iniquitous proceedings of the court againſt the holy biſhop *Chryſoſtom* [d]. By the loſs of *Illyricum* is only meant in the above-mentioned letter the ruin of that province; for the *Hunns*, upon advice, that the imperial t troops were aſſembling with a deſign to cut off their retreat, repaſſed the *Danube* with all the haſte the immenſe booty they carried with them allowed [e]. The following year 405. we find great numbers of *Hunns* ſerving in *Stilicho*'s army againſt *Radagaiſus*, who had invaded *Italy*, as we have related at length elſewhere [f]. Theſe *Hunns* were led by *Uldin*, one of their chiefs or kings, and to him was chiefly owing the ſignal victory gained by *Stilicho* in *Hetruria*; for having, with his *Hunns*, ſurrounded one of the three bodies, into which *Radagaiſus* had divided his army, he cut them all in pieces, to the number of an hundred thouſand men [g]. *Oroſius* aſcribes this victory not to the *Hunns*, but to a panic, which, ſpreading all on a ſudden throughout the camp, obliged *Radagaiſus* to withdraw from before *Florence*, which he had d inveſted, to the neighbouring mountains of *Fieſoli*, where moſt of his men periſhed with famine, and the reſt ſubmitted to the *Romans*. Thus the victory, ſays the ſame writer, was owing to the Lord of hoſts, and not to his enemies the *Hunns* [h]. But to them it is aſcribed by St. *Auſtin*, *Zoſimus*, and *Proſper*, whoſe authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Oroſius*. *Uldin* was well known to the *Romans* before this time, from the vigorous oppoſition he had made in the year 400. againſt the famous *Gainas*, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice, of whom we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [i]. *Gainas* was commander in chief, not only of his countrymen the *Goths*, but of all the troops of *Arcadius*. However, turning his arms againſt the prince who had thus raiſed him, he formed a deſign of ſurpriſing e and plundering the city of *Conſtantinople*; but, failing in that attempt, he ravaged all *Thrace* in an hoſtile manner. Hereupon *Fravitus*, another *Goth* in the *Roman* ſervice, and greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt, falling upon him, cut great numbers of his men in pieces. With the reſt *Gainas* marched through *Thrace* to the banks of the *Danube*, which he paſſed, being deſirous to end his days in the antient country of the *Goths*. But *Uldin*, king of the *Hunns*, who had driven out the *Goths*, and had been now in the quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe countries for the ſpace of twenty-four years, alarmed at the arrival of ſo renowned a commander, with an army of his own nation, met him on the frontiers, and, after ſeveral conflicts, defeated and killed him in a pitched battle [k]. His body being found on the field of battle, *Uldin* cauſed his head f to be cut off, and ſent it to *Arcadius* [l], who received it at *Conſtantinople* on the third of *January* of the enſuing year 401 [m].

The Hunns *diſtinguiſh themſelves in the* Roman *ſervice.*

Uldin *king of the* Hunns.

Defeats and kills Gainas *the* Goth.

No prince had hitherto deſerved better of the empire than *Uldin*. But two years after the ſignal victory obtained chiefly by his means over *Radagaiſus*, he became, on what provocation we know not, an irreconcileable enemy to the *Romans*; and paſſing the

Uldin *ravages* Thrace. *Year of Chriſt* 408.

[b] Vide univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 433. [c] Soz. l viii. c. 25. p. 793. PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 8. p. 530. [d] Vide BARON. annal. ad ann. 404. [e] Soz. PHILOSTORG. ibid. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 452, 453. [g] Zos. p. 803. PROSP. chron. Aug. civ. p. 63. [h] OROS. p. 222. [i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 424—447. [k] SOCRAT. p. 309. Chron. Alex. p. 712. [l] SOCRAT. ibid. Zos. l. v. p. 798, 799. [m] PASC. p. 307. SOCRAT. Chron. Alex. ibid.

the *Danube*, entered *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army, consisting of *Hunns* and *Squiri*, or *Scyri*, a northern nation, subject, in all likelihood, to the *Hunns*. As this irruption happened during the minority of *Theodosius* II. *Anthemius*, who had taken upon him the administration, did all that lay in his power to appease *Uldin*; but he confiding too much in his own strength, and insisting upon conditions, that could not be honourably granted, *Anthemius* ordered a body of *Roman* troops to march against him, at whose approach several of his officers, offended at his haughty and imperious behaviour, laid hold of that opportunity to abandon him, and side with the *Romans*. This alarmed *Uldin*, who thereupon retired with great precipitation,

But is forced to retire.

and repassed the *Danube*, after having lost, on his hasty march, many of his men. As for the *Squiri*, the emperor's troops coming up with them before they reached b the *Danube*, they were all to a man either killed or taken. The prisoners were sold, and dispersed all over *Asia*, to prevent their ever returning to their own country [n]. By this overthrow, and one they had received in 381. from *Theodosius the Great*, grandfather to the reigning emperor *Theodosius* the younger, that nation, once very numerous, was almost utterly extirpated [o]. From this time, the *Hunns* seem to have continued quiet till the year 425. when the emperor *Honorius* dying, and *John* his chief secretary assuming the purple, they were prevailed upon by the celebrated *Aetius*, who had sided with the usurper, to espouse his cause. As *Aetius* had been formerly given to them, on what occasion we know not, as an hostage, and was, by that means, become acquainted with their chiefs, the usurper sent him, as the most c proper person, with large sums, to engage them in his cause. Accordingly, a few months after his departure, he returned at the head of sixty thousand *Hunns*. Upon his entering *Italy*, he was met by *Aspar*, one of the generals of *Theodosius*, who, upon the death of his uncle *Honorius*, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the west. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side. But in the mean time *Aetius*, being informed of the death of the usurper, who had been taken and beheaded in *Ravenna* three days before the battle, submitted to *Theodosius*, and persuaded the *Hunns*, not without distributing considerable sums among them, to return home [p]. However, *Thrace* was this very year pillaged and laid waste by some of that nation, whom *Theodoret* styles *Scythian Nomades*, that is, *Scythian* d *wanderers*. They were led by one *Rougas* or *Roilas*, who, in a boasting manner, threatened to over-run the whole empire, and to lay siege to *Constantinople* itself, which, he bragged, he would take at the first assault, and, having plundered it, lay it in ashes [q]. But *Theodosius*, not in the least frightened at the menaces of the barbarian, committed the event, according to his custom, says *Socrates*, to Providence, and soon obtained what he desired; for *Rougas* was killed with lightning, a plague broke out in his army, and swept off the greatest part of his men, and fire from heaven consumed most of those whom the plague had spared. This complication of misfortunes, as we may call it, struck the barbarians with such terror, that they retired of e their own accord, dreading, not the arms of the *Romans*, says *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of *Theodosius* [r]. *Socrates* adds, that St. *Proculus*, who preached then at *Constantinople*, and was afterwards raised to the see of that city, made a sermon to the people on the dispersion of the *Hunns*, applying to them what we read in the prophet *Ezekiel* concerning *Gog* and *Magog* [s] (B).

The Hunns, *to the number of* 60000, *march to the assistance of the usurper* John.

They return home.

Rougas *ravages* Thrace.

He is killed with lightning, and his army dispersed.

Year of Christ 425.

Six years after this irruption, that is, in 432. we find the *Hunns* in possession of *Pannonia*; for *Aetius*, being that year disgraced by *Valentinian* III. or rather by his mother

[n] Socrat. l. ix. c. 6. p. 806, 807. [o] Idem ibid. Soz. l. iv. p. 759. Zos. l. iv. p. 759.
[p] Philostorg. l. xii. c. 14. p. 538. Prosp. chron. Cassiodor. chron. [q] Socrat. l. vii. c. 43. p. 387. Theodoret. l. v. c. 36. p. 749. [r] Socrat. ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

(B) *Valesius* is of opinion, that *Rougas*, leader of the *Hunns* in this irruption, and *Rouas*, the immediate predecessor of *Attila*, and his uncle, according to *Jornandes* (6), on the father's side, are one and the same person (7). But this opinion is no-ways agreeable to what we read in *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Priscus* the rhetorician; for the two former writers tell us, that *Rougas* lost his life in this incursion, in the manner we have related (8). On the other hand, it is manifest from *Priscus* (9), that there was no war between the *Romans* and *Hunns* when *Rouas* died. Besides, it is certain, that *Rouas* did not die in 425. the year in which the *Hunns*, under the conduct of *Rougas*, broke into *Thrace*, for *Priscus* tells us (10), that *Plintha* and *Dionysius*, who were sent with the character of embassadors to *Rouas*, had been consuls; and *Dionysius* was not consul till the year 429.

(6) *Jornand. rer. Goth. c.* 35. (7) *Val. rer. Fran. l.* iv. *p.* 154. (8) *Socrat. Theodoret. ubi supra.* (9) *Prisc. p.* 47, 48. (10) *Idem ibid.*

a mother *Placidia*, who governed during the minority of her ſon, is ſaid to have retired to the court of *Roas*, king of the *Hunns* in *Pannonia* [t]. *Priſcus* tells us, that they ſettled in *Pannonia* in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Aetius*; but when, or on what occaſion, this treaty was made, we are no-where informed. They were not in poſſeſſion of that country in 427. for in that year *Theodoſius* is ſaid to have tranſplanted the *Goths* from *Pannonia*, which they had held ever ſince the year 377. when they firſt entered it, into *Thrace*, and to have reunited that province to the empire [u]. On the other hand, they were maſters of *Pannonia*, or at leaſt held part of that province, in 432. for in that year *Aetius*, as we have hinted above, not thinking himſelf ſafe in the *Roman* dominions, is ſaid to have taken refuge among the *Hunns* in *Pannonia* [w]. In 437. *Valentinian* III. yielded, as we read in *Caſſiodorus* [x], *Eaſt Illyricum*, which compriſed *Pannonia*, to *Theodoſius* II. which muſt be underſtood of the towns and fortified places, for theſe the *Romans* ſeem to have kept; and hence it is, that we find *Attila*, ſeveral years after the *Hunns* had been in poſſeſſion of *Pannonia*, obliged to lay ſiege to *Sirmium*, the metropolis of that province [y]. As the *Hunns* were chiefly indebted to *Aetius* for the lands they held in *Pannonia*, *Roas* their king not only received that able commander with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and friendſhip, upon his being diſgraced at the court of *Placidia*, and obliged to quit the *Roman* territories, but ſent him back at the head of a powerful army of *Hunns*; which ſo terrified *Placidia*, that ſhe reſtored *Aetius* to all his employments, and raiſed him to the rank of a patrician [z]. In the year 435. a ſtrong body of *Hunns*, marching through *Germany* into *Gaul*, joined *Aetius* againſt the *Burgundians*, who, having been allowed, in 413. to ſettle in that part of *Gaul*, which bordered on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and ravaged *Belgic Gaul*. *Aetius*, having gained a complete victory over them, obliged *Gondicarius* their king to ſue for peace; which he granted, but neither *Gondicarius* nor his people long enjoyed; for, in the beginning of the following year, he was cut off, with twenty thouſand of his men, by the *Hunns* [a], at the inſtigation of *Aetius*, provoked, as ſome authors write [b], at their revolting anew; while others charge *Aetius* on this occaſion with breach of faith and the blackeſt treachery. *Socrates* writes, that the unhappy *Burgundians*, haraſſed with continual inroads by the *Hunns*, and no longer in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, only three thouſand of them being left alive, had recourſe to Heaven; and repairing to a city in *Gaul*, there declared their deſire of embracing the chriſtian religion. The biſhop of the place injoined them a ſeven days faſt, during which time he inſtructed them in the myſteries of our holy religion, and, having afterwards adminiſtered to them the ſacrament of baptiſm, he ſent them home full of courage and confidence. In this condition they marched againſt the *Hunns*; and finding them deſtitute of a leader, *Uptar* their king dying the night before, gorged with immoderate eating and drinking, they fell upon them, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. Thenceforth the *Burgundians*, adds *Socrates*, continued ſtedfaſt in the chriſtian religion [d]. Notwithſtanding this overthrow, the *Hunns*, either this year 436. or the following, as *Idatius* will have it [e], marched with a conſiderable body to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Goths*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Aquitain*, but, not ſatisfied with the countries allotted them, had made themſelves maſters of ſeveral neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid ſiege to *Narbonne*. Againſt them the *Romans* called the *Hunns* to their aſſiſtance; who, being led by count *Litorius*, fell upon the *Goths*, buſied in the ſiege, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horſeman carrying with him two buſhels of corn; which proved a very ſeaſonable ſupply, the inhabitants being reduced to the utmoſt extremity [f]. *Idatius* aſcribes the raiſing of the ſiege to *Aetius* [g], probably becauſe *Litorius* acted by his orders, he being commander in chief of all the armies of the weſtern empire. The *Hunns*, who thus ſignalized themſelves againſt the *Goths*, had, the year before, been employed by the *Romans* againſt the rebellious *Armorici*, whom they reduced. From *Armorica* they marched againſt the *Goths* of *Aquitain*; but, on their march, they plundered the province of *Auvergne*, though belonging to the *Romans*, whom they

The Hunns *ſettle in* Pannonia.

They join Aetius *againſt the* Burgundians.

Of whom they cut off 20000.

Ten thouſand Hunns *cut off by the* Burgundians.

The Hunns *oblige the* Goths *to raiſe the ſiege of* Narbonne.

ſerved

[t] Prosp. chron. Prisc. p. 37. [u] Theoph. p. 81. Marcellin. chron. [w] Prosp. Prisc. ubi ſupra. [x] Cassiod. l. xi. epiſt. 1. p. 17. [y] Prosp. p. 57. [z] Prosp. chron. Idat. p. 20. Val. rer. Franc. l. v. p. 140. [a] Idat. p. 21. Sidon. car. vii. p, 338. Prosp. chron. [b] Buch. Belg. p. 486. [c] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136, 131. [d] Socrat. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. [e] Idat. p. 21. [f] Prosp. chron. Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 140. [g] Idat. ibid.

ſerved as auxiliaries[h]. *Litorius*, after having gained great advantages over the *Goths*, laid ſiege to *Toulouſe*, their capital; but was in the end overcome in a pitched battle by *Theodoric* their king, and taken priſoner, moſt of his *Hunns* being cut in pieces, as we have related at length elſewhere[i]. It was probably during this war between the *Romans* and *Goths* in *Gaul*, which laſted four years, that *Gauſeric*, king of the *Hunns*, beſieged the city of *Bazas* belonging to the *Goths*; but was obliged, by a miraculous apparition, to drop the enterprize, and retire, as the reader will find related at length by *Gregory* of *Tours*[k]. About this time two chiefs of the *Hunns*, *Baſic* and *Curſic*, having numerous bodies of their nation under their command, which they had, for ſome time, employed againſt the *Perſians*, came to *Rome*, and entered into the ſervice of *Valentinian* III. emperor of the weſt[l]. a

But are in the end defeated by the Goths.

Rougas, king of the *Hunns*, of whom we have ſpoken above, had been ſucceeded, in 425. by *Rouas* or *Roas*, who concluded a peace with *Theodoſius* II. whereof one of the conditions was, that the emperor ſhould pay him a yearly penſion of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold[m]. But *Rouas*, reſolving, a few years after the concluſion of this peace, to ſubdue the *Boiſchi* and other nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, whom *Theodoſius* had taken under his protection, diſpatched one *Elias* to the court of *Conſtantinople*, threatening to make war upon *Theodoſius*, if he lent them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Hereupon *Plintha* and *Dionyſius*, two generals of no ſmall renown, were appointed to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if poſſible, from the reſolution he had taken[n]. In the mean time, *Rouas* died, and was ſucceeded by his two nephews *Bleda* and *Attila*[o]. *Bleda* alone is named by *Tyro Proſper*[p], and the firſt by count *Marcellinus*[q]; whence authors conclude, that he was the elder brother. *Jornandes* thinks, that to his ſhare fell the provinces bordering on the weſtern empire, and to *Attila*'s the more eaſtern[r]. But we cannot help thinking *Jornandes* therein miſtaken, ſince not to *Bleda*, but to *Attila*, the princeſs *Honoria* applied, as we ſhall relate anon, ſtirring him up to make war upon her brother *Valentinian*, emperor of the weſt. News of the death of *Rouas* reaching *Conſtantinople* before the departure of the embaſſadors, they were ordered to treat with the two princes his ſucceſſors, and impowered to conclude with them a laſting peace; but in the room of *Dionyſius* was ſent the quæſtor *Epigenes*, a man of great experience in negotiations. This change was made at the requeſt of *Plintha*, who could not agree with *Dionyſius*[s]. The embaſſadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœſia*, at a place where the *Margus* falls into that river, and, according to *Sanſon*, ſtands the preſent city of *Galombea* in *Servia*. The embaſſadors were obliged to confer with them on horſeback, the *Hunns* refuſing to diſmount[t]. The peace formerly concluded with *Rouas* was confirmed, but upon ſuch conditions as evidently betrayed the deplorable ſituation of the empire, and an unaccountable puſillanimity in the *Romans*; for they agreed to deliver up to *Attila* and *Bleda*, ſuch *Hunns* as had taken, or ſhould take, for the future, refuge in the *Roman* dominions, and likewiſe to ſend back all the *Roman* captives, who had made their eſcape, or to pay eight pieces of gold for each of them. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that inſtead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* ſhould pay annually ſeven hundred; and that they ſhould not lend the leaſt aſſiſtance to any barbarous nation, when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns*[u]. In compliance with this ſhameful treaty, ſome princes of the royal blood of the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge among the *Romans*, were delivered up to *Atila* and *Bleda*, who cauſed them immediately to be crucified in a caſtle called *Carſus*, on the *Danube*, in *Thrace*[w]. Hence it is plain, that the *Hunns* had at this time ſome footing in *Thrace*. *Attila* and *Bleda*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at liberty to make what conqueſts they pleaſed, reduced ſeveral northern countries; inſomuch, that their authority was acknowledged by all the barbarous nations from the *Danube* to the moſt diſtant coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea[x]. Among the reſt he ſubdued the *Acatziri*, who dwelt on the north coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, and were divided into ſeveral nations, each of them having a king of their own. But the moſt antient among thoſe princes had, it ſeems, ſome pre-eminence above the reſt; for *Priſcus*, who lived in b c d e f

Theodoſius II. *pays a yearly penſion to the* Hunns.

Bleda *and* Attila *ſucceed* Rouas.

Theodoſius *concludes with them a ſhameful treaty.* *Year of Chriſt* 441.

They ſubdue many northern nations.

Among the reſt the Acatziri.

h Sidon. car. vii. p. 331, 338. i Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 484. k Greg. Tour. de glor. martyr. l. i. c. 13 p. 31—34. Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p 140. l Prisc. legat. p. 64. m Prisc. p. 45. n Idem, p. 47. o Idem ibid. p Prosp. chron. q Marcell. chron. ad ann. 442. r Jorn. c. 43. p. 661. s Prisc. legat. p. 47. t Idem ibid. p. 48. u Idem ibid. w Idem ibid. x Idem ibid. p. 84. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 35. p. 661.

a in thoſe times, tells us, that the jealouſy, which *Couridachus*, the eldeſt of the kings, conceived of the reſt, gave *Attila* an opportunity of ſubduing them all. *Theodoſius* II. in order to unite them, and induce them to renounce the friendſhip of *Attila*, and enter into an alliance with the empire, ſent rich preſents to each of them; but the perſon, whom the emperor employed on this occaſion, not applying in the firſt place to *Couridachus*, that prince, thinking himſelf thereby highly injured, acquainted *Attila* with what had paſſed, inviting him at the ſame time to come and revenge the affront, that had been offered him. *Attila* laid hold of the opportunity; and having, without loſs of time, ſent a powerful army againſt the *Acatziri*, he ſoon reduced the other princes, but ſuffered *Couridachus* to enjoy his dominions undiſturbed[y]. Some time after, *Attila* invited him to his court; but *Couridachus*, allege-

b ing he could not bear the preſence of ſo great a god, prudently declined complying with his invitation. The *Hunn*, pleaſed with this plea, never offered him the leaſt violence; but gave the countries belonging to the other *Acatzirian* princes to his eldeſt ſon, named *Ellac*, appointing him king over all the nations bordered on the *Euxine* ſea. The young prince, in going to take poſſeſſion of his new kingdom, had the misfortune to break his right arm by a fall from his horſe[z]. *Attila*, having, with the aſſiſtance of his brother *Bleda*, brought under ſubjection all the northern nations, began, as his ambition knew no bounds, and his arms had been hitherto attended with wonderful ſucceſs, to entertain thoughts of reducing, not only the *Goths* ſettled in *Thrace*, but the *Romans* themſelves, and making himſelf maſter of

c the whole empire. With this view, having drawn together a very numerous and formidable army, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he paſſed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, put all to fire and ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. At this time perhaps happened what we read in *Priſcus*, *viz.* that, during a fair, the *Hunns* fell upon the *Romans*, killed a great many of them, and made themſelves maſters of a caſtle. The *Romans* complained of theſe hoſtilities; but the *Hunns* pretended, that the *Romans* had been the aggreſſors, the biſhop of *Margum* having plundered, they ſaid, their treaſure; on which account they inſiſted upon his being delivered up to them, with all thoſe of their nation, who had taken

d refuge in the *Roman* dominions. The biſhop denied the charge; but the *Hunns*, who wanted only a pretence to quarrel with *Theodoſius*, engaged at this time in two troubleſome and expenſive wars with the *Perſians* and *Vandals*, without offering to prove it, entered the empire in an hoſtile manner[a]. *Vorburgus* ſuppoſes *Attila* to have been ſtirred up by *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, powerfully attacked at this time by *Theodoſius* b. Be that as it will, *Attila* and his brother *Bleda* took ſeveral towns and caſtles, which the *Romans* had built on the banks of the *Danube*, to awe the barbarians, and reſtrain them from entering the empire c. Among the other towns, they made themſelves maſters of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæſia*. The *Romans*, alarmed at this ſudden inundation of the *Hunns*, adviſed the emperor to comply with their requeſt, and deliver up to them the biſhop

e of *Margum*; which he no ſooner underſtood, than he repaired to the enemy's camp, and found means to put them in poſſeſſion of the city[d]. *Attila*, elated with this ſucceſs, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Theodoſius*, requiring him to deliver up forthwith all the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* territories, to pay him the arrears of his yearly penſion, which had been ſtopt ever ſince he took up arms, and to ſend proper perſons to ſettle what ſums ſhould be paid him for the future. He added, that there was no time to loſe, ſince he could no longer reſtrain or moderate the ardor of his troops, thirſting after blood and ſpoil. *Theodoſius*, though not a little terrified at theſe menaces, choſe rather to try the chance of war, than abandon thoſe

f whom he had taken under his protection. He therefore only promiſed to ſend proper perſons to *Attila*, with full powers to conclude a laſting peace[e]. *Attila*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, purſued his ravages with more cruelty than ever, reducing ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds, *viz.* *Retiarium*, *Singidunum*, *Naiſſus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum*[f] (C). While *Sirmium* was beſieged by the *Hunns*,

Attila appoints his ſon Ellac king over all the nations bordering on the Euxine ſea.

Attila and Bleda break into the eaſtern empire.

And make themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds.

y Priſc. p. 54—63. z Idem, p. 63—69. a Idem, p. 33. b Vorb. hiſt. Rom. German. p. 117. c Procop. ædif. l. iv. c. 5. p. 79. d Priſc. p. 33, 59. e Idem, p. 34. f Idem, p. 34—49. Theoph. p. 88. Marcell. chron.

(C) *Retiarium*, a great and populous city, ſtood on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæſia*, in the ſame place, according to *Sanſon*, where *Zangona* ſtands, a city in the preſent *Servia*. *Singidunum* and *Naiſſus* were both cities of *Upper Mæſia*. The former ſtood on the *Danube*, and the latter about five days journey diſtant

Hunns, the bishop of the place delivered to one *Constantius*, by nation a *Gaul*, whom *Aetius* had formerly sent to *Attila* and *Bleda*, to serve them in quality of secretary, some sacred vessels, to be employed in redeeming him, if he outlived the siege, or others, if he perished in it. These vessels *Constantius* kept for himself, and pawned them with one *Sylvanus*, who sold them to the church. Some time after, *Attila* and *Bleda* having caused *Constantius* to be crucified, upon a suspicion that he betrayed them, *Attila*, pretending, that *Sylvanus* had stolen the vessels from *Constantius*, insisted upon his being delivered up to him, though *Sylvanus* offered to pay him the full value of them [g]. The emperor was to such a degree alarmed at the progress the two brothers made in *Mœsia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, that, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, he withdrew into *Asia*, and continued there till the return of the troops he had sent against *Genseric* king of the *Vandals*, to whom he was forced to grant an advantagious peace [h]. As to the issue of this war, we are left in the dark. All we know is, that a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*; but upon what terms, we are no-where told. During this peace, *Attila*, no longer able to bear a partner in the kingdom, caused his brother *Bleda* to be assassinated, and, upon his death, obliged the whole nation of the *Hunns* to acknowledge him for their sovereign. He was obeyed by several other nations besides the *Hunns*. *Jornandes* names among the rest the *Goths*, meaning, without all doubt, those who chose to remain in their antient seats, the *Gepidæ*, the *Suevians*, the *Alans*, the *Heruli*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Semandrians*, the *Squiri*, the *Sattagares*, the *Rugians*, and the *Agatzirians* [i]. He was sole master of all *Scythia* and *Germany*, which no one had ever held before him [k]. *Priscus* observes, that no prince ever subdued so many countries in so short a time, his authority being acknowledged by all the states and princes from the *Rhine* to the most northern borders of the *Persian* empire, which he had once some thoughts of invadeing, and might, according to *Priscus*, have easily reduced, and, with that addition of strength, made himself master of the whole *Roman* empire [l]. *Priscus* says, that the *Romans* declined giving him the title of king, and only styled him general of their armies, disguising the annual tribute they paid him with the specious name of salary; so great was their vanity, when their power was at the lowest ebb! They treated in the same manner the kings of the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, who, as they were less powerful, thought themselves honoured with the title of general; but *Attila* rejected it with contempt, saying, That the emperors had slaves for their generals; whereas his generals were upon a level with the emperors themselves [m]. *Jornandes* writes, that when he entered *Gaul* in 451. he was attended by a troop of kings and princes, who stood trembling before him, without daring to utter a word; but always ready, at the least sign, to execute his commands with the utmost care and submission [n]. They referred all their differences to *Attila*, looked upon his decisions as oracles, and in every thing submitted to him as to the king of kings. Among these kings were two, to whom *Attila* paid a particular regard, *viz.* *Valamir* or *Balamir*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, who had remained among the *Hunns*, a man of a frank and open temper, and an enemy to all art and dissimulation; and *Arderic*, king of the *Gepidæ*, a prince of great penetration, and inviolably attached to *Attila* [o]. As to the person of *Attila*, *Jornandes* has left us the following portrait of him: he was black, low in stature, had a broad breast, a large head, a flat nose, and small eyes [p]. He was fond of war; but depended more upon his counsel, than his sword, employing not only force and menaces, but often craft and artifice, and sometimes low wiles, and

Attila *causes his brother* Bleda *to be assassinated.*

His great power.

His personal qualities.

[g] Prisc. p. 57. [h] Prosp. chron. Theoph. p. 17. Marcel. chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730.
[i] Jorn. p. 685---688. [k] Idem, c. 49. p. 684. [l] Prisc. p. 64. [m] Idem, p. 65.
[n] Jorn. c. 38. p. 667. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 35. p. 661.

distant from it. *Baudrand* thinks *Singidunum* stood where stands the present city of *Zenderin*, once the capital of *Servia* (11); but *Sanson* places it somewhat higher on the *Danube*, and nearer *Taurunum* or *Belgrade*. *Naissus* gave birth to *Constantine the Great*, as was shewn elsewhere (12). It was intirely ruined by the *Hunns*; insomuch, that in 449. it was still destitute of inhabitants, there being only some sick people in the churches and hospitals. The neighbouring plains were even then covered with the bones of those, who had been killed in war (13). Some think *Naissus* stood where *Nissa*, a city of no small note in *Servia*, stands; but *Sanson* places it at some distance from the present *Nissa*. *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, stood in *Lower Pannonia*, and is famous in history, on account of the many laws enacted by the emperors while residing there, which have been collected by *Jacobus Gothofredus* in his typography of the cities mentioned in the *Theodosian* code. It is at present a city of *Sclavonia*.

(11) *Baudr. p.* 198. (12) *Univers. hist. vol.* vi. *p.* 227. (13) *Prisc. p.* 49.

a and even lyes to obtain his end [q]. He was conſtantly forming new projects and vaſt deſigns, aſpiring at nothing leſs than the monarchy of the univerſe. He was ſo elated with his great power and ſucceſs, as not to hearken to reaſon, however plain and evident [r]. The pride and haughtineſs of his mind appeared in all his actions and motions, in his gait, eyes, and looks; inſomuch, that no one could behold him, without concluding, that he was ſent into the world to diſturb it [s]. His preſence, joined to the reputation he had acquired, ſtruck all who beheld him with ſuch awe and terror, that very few ventured to approach him, or ſpeak to him [t]. However, we are told, that an embaſſador ſent to him by *Valentinian* III. appeared quite unconcerned before a man, who made the world tremble. As the embaſſador had juſtice

b on his ſide, he was not afraid of his wild and menacing looks; but, in ſpite of the rage to which he abandoned himſelf, anſwered all his complaints, without betraying the leaſt fear, leaving him at his departure calm and capable of reaſon, though he had found him quite outrageous and untractable [u]. In his time was found a ſword, thought to be the ſword of *Mars*, and, on that account, held in great veneration by the antient kings of *Scythia*. It had been loſt for ſome ages, and was ſaid to have been found in the following manner: a cow-herd, obſerving one of his cows wounded in the foot, followed her bloody traces to the place where ſhe had received the wound. There he diſcovered the edge of a ſword appearing above ground, which the cow had trod upon. The ſword he immediately dug up, and carried it to the

c king; who knowing it to be the famous ſword of the god of war, received it with inexpreſſible joy, as portending, that he was to extend his conqueſts to the moſt diſtant limits of the world [w]. *Priſcus*, from whom *Jornandes* copied this account, writes, that nothing gained *Attila* ſo much reſpect and veneration among the ſuperſtitious vulgar, as the diſcovery of this ſword in his time [x]. The ſame author adds, that he was ſo blinded with pride, as to forget he was a man, and to ſuffer divine honours to be paid to him [y]. He was not, however, without ſome good qualities; for to thoſe who referred their controverſies to him he adminiſtered juſtice, according to the ſtricteſt rules of equity. He treated his ſubjects with great mildneſs, ſuffering them quietly to enjoy their eſtates, and levying only ſuch ſums, as

d they could *eaſily* pay [z]. In his dominions, ſays *Sylvianus*, no poor were ſeen oppreſſed *with tributes* and taxes [a]. He was ever ready to forgive thoſe who ſubmitted to him; and was never known to have abandoned ſuch as he had once taken under his protection [b]. He was ſo far from placing his grandeur in pomp and ſhew, which ſerve only to dazzle the eyes of the ſenſeleſs multitude, that, on the contrary, he affected an air of ſimplicity, and contempt for ſtate and all kind of outward magnificence. His dreſs was proper, but plain. He could not abide any gold, precious ſtones, or the leaſt ornament on his ſword, or the trappings of his horſe, though in great requeſt among the princes who attended him, and thoſe of his court [c]. *Priſcus*, who attended *Maxi-*

e *minus*, ſent by the emperor *Theodoſius* in 449. to the court of *Attila* with the character of embaſſador, tells us, that they found him ſitting in his tent on a wooden chair [d]. The ſame writer followed him ſeveral days journey beyond the *Danube*, till he reached one of his moſt magnificent palaces, which was all of wood, and ſtood in a large village, and in a country where no wood or ſtones were to be found [e]. *Attila*, ſoon after his arrival, invited *Maximinus* and *Priſcus* to a grand entertainment, at which the gueſts were all ſerved in ſilver and gold; but before the king was ſet a diſh of plain meat, of which he ate but very ſparingly, and on a trencher. He drank very little, and out of a wooden cup, while the reſt were regaled with great variety of liquors in cups of gold, enriched with precious ſtones. During the banquet, ſome-

f thing happened, which made all the company laugh; but *Attila*, as *Priſcus* obſerved, maintained his uſual gravity amidſt their mirth, without the leaſt ſmile or change of countenance [f]. He had, according to the cuſtom of his nation, many wives [g], or, as *Jornandes* expreſſes it, troops of wives [h], by whom he had almoſt a numberleſs iſſue. His favourite wife was one *Crecha* or *Recha*, who reſided in his capital, and by whom he had his eldeſt ſon *Ellac*, with two others. *Priſcus*, who carried her ſome preſents, found her ſitting on a bed amidſt the women who attended her ſitting on

His pride and haughty carriage.

The ſuppoſed ſword of Mars found in his time.

His good qualities.

An enemy to pomp and ſhew.

His wives.

[q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 43. p. 674. & c. 36. p. 660, 663. [r] Prisc. p. 64. [s] Jorn. c. 35. p. 661. [t] Prisc. p. 54. [u] Cassiodor. l. i. epiſt. 4. p. 512. [w] Jornan. c. 35 p. 662. [x] Prisc. p. 54. [y] Idem, p. 75. [z] Idem, p. 60. [a] Salvian. Massil. de gubern. l. v. p. 112. [b] Jorn. c. 35. p. 661. [c] Prisc. p. 67. [d] Idem, p. 50. [e] Idem, p. 53. Jorn. c. 34. p. 660. [f] Prisc. p. 68. [g] Idem, p. 55. [h] Jorn. c. 49. p. 684.

on the ground, and working [i]. The same writer mentions two other wives of *Attila* k.

His children. Among his children are mentioned *Ellac* his eldest son, *Dengizic*, who perished in making war upon the *Romans*, and *Hernac* or *Hernas*, the youngest of them all l. *Attila* had an extraordinary esteem and affection for *Ellac*, whom he raised above all his brothers, made him in his life-time king of the *Acatzirians*, and appointed him his successor after his death; but the son did not long outlive the father, being killed in a battle soon after his accession to the crown [m]. Next to *Ellac*, *Hernas* was the father's favourite, the soothsayers having foretold, that he was to outlive all his brothers, and maintain the splendor and glory of his family. The first part of this supposed prediction proved true; but as to the other, *Hernas* was so far from maintaining the glory of his family, that, declining to engage in the war, which his brother b *Dengizic* undertook against the empire, he contented himself with some lands given him by the emperor *Marcian* in *Little Scythia* [n]. This is all we find in the antient writers concerning the celebrated *Attila* and his numerous issue. The modern authors add many things, and among the rest, that, while *Attila* was in *Gaul*, a holy hermit told him, That he was the scourge of God, who had put the sword of justice into his hand, to punish the vices of the christians; but would snatch it from him as soon as they were reclaimed. They add, that *Attila*, after the famous defeat he received in *Champagne*, mindful of the saying of the hermit, added to his other titles that of *flagellum Dei*, or *the scourge of God* [o]. But what we read in the modern histories of *Hungary* concerning those early times is, for the most part, either quite groundless, c highly improbable, or evidently fabulous.

But to resume the thread of our history: *Attila* being, by the death of his brother *Bleda*, become sole master of so many nations, all ready to follow his banners, and execute his commands, he looked upon the *Roman* emperors with such contempt, that he is said to have sent, out of mere wantonness, two *Goths*, with the character of embassadors, the one to *Theodosius*, and the other to *Valentinian*, with this haughty and insulting message; Attila, *my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception* [p]. What answer they returned, we are no-where told. However, we do not find, that *Attila* openly broke the peace he had concluded with *Theodosius*, as we have related above, till the year 447. It is true, he often threatened him with d war, but only in order to draw from him money, corn, provisions, and whatever else he stood in need of, the *Romans*, who trembled at the very name of *Attila*, complying, like so many slaves, with all his demands, that he might have no pretence to take arms against them. The embassadors he sent to *Constantinople* returned always loaded with presents; insomuch, that when he thought any of his subjects worthy of any extraordinary reward, he used to send them, under some pretence or other, with the character of embassadors to *Theodosius* [q]. *Attila* continued thus trampling under foot the majesty of the empire, and insulting the weakness of *Theodosius*, till the year 447, when, no longer satisfied with the annual pension paid him by the emperor, and the rich presents yearly sent him, he declared war against the empire, e upon what provocation we know not, probably without any; for *Theodosius* complied with all his demands, however unjust and arrogant. *Thrace* felt the calamities of this war the first; for *Attila*, entering it at the head of a formidable army, laid it waste, says *Theophanes* [r], from the *Euxine* sea to the streights of *Gallipoli* and *Sestos*. They ravaged, says count *Marcellinus*, almost all *Europe*, laying every-where the towns and castles in ashes [s]. They advanced as far as the castle of *Anthirc* [t], placed by *Baudrand* [u] between *Selymbria* and *Constantinople*. *Jornandes* writes, that *Attila*, with an army of *Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Goths*, *Alans*, &c. commanded by their respective kings, ravaged all *Illyricum*. *Thrace*, both *Dacias*, *Mœsia*, and *Scythia* [w]. They took and plundered *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* properly so called, *Arcadiopolis* in the province of *Europe*, *Constantia*, a city mentioned only by *Theophanes*, *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœsia*, and extended their ravages to the streights of *Thermopylæ*, leading from *Thessaly* into *Achaia* [x]; so that they must have crossed *Macedon* and *Thessaly*. That they over-ran *Macedon* and *Greece*, is affirmed by a modern writer, who quotes *Procopius* [y]; but we have not been able to find that passage.

He despises and insults the Roman *emperors.*

He declares war against Theodosius II.

Year of Christ 447.

And over-runs several provinces.

Seventy

[i] Prisc. p. 63. [k] Idem, p. 35. [l] Idem, p. 68. Jornand. c. 50. p. 688. [m] Idem ibid. p. 686, 687. [n] Prisc. p. 68. Jorn. c. 50. p. 688. [o] Olah. in Attil. p. 869. Bonfin. rer. Ungar. p. 18, &c. [p] Chron. Alex. p. 734. [q] Prisc. p. 36, 37. [r] Theoph. p. 83. [s] Marc. chron. [t] Theoph. ibid. [u] Baud. p. 83. [w] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 44. p. 553. [x] Theoph. p. 88. Chron. Alex. p. 734. [y] Vorb. tom. v. p. 119.

a Seventy towns and upwards, belonging to the eaſtern empire, were taken and ranſacked in this irruption of the *Hunns* and other barbarous nations ſubject to *Attila* [z]. The generals *Theodoſius* employed againſt them were, *Aſpar*, *Arcobindus*, and *Arnegiſceles*, whom *Theophanes* names *Argaliſcles* [a], the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Anargiſcles* [b], and *Jornandes*, *Arnegiſtles* [c]. What the other two did, we are no-where told; but *Arnegiſceles*, who was *magiſter militiæ* in *Mæſia* and *Thrace*, engaged *Attila* in *Lower Dacia*, or rather *Mæſia*, on the banks of the *Utis*, which falls into the *Danube* at a ſmall diſtance from a city of the ſame name [d]. The battle proved very bloody, *Arnegiſceles* having, on this occaſion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner, and killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but, falling unluckily from his b horſe in the heat of the engagement, he was himſelf killed, and his army put to the rout [e]. *Jornandes* ſuppoſes, that this battle was fought in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*. Another battle was fought in the *Cherſoneſus*, not far from *Gallipoli*, in which no better ſucceſs attended the *Romans* than in the other [f]; ſo that *Theodoſius*, finding he could no longer withſtand the power of the barbarians, diſpatched the patrician *Anatolius* to *Attila*, and with him *Vigilius*, who was well acquainted with the language of the *Hunns*, charging them to a conclude a peace upon any terms [g]. A peace was accordingly agreed to on the following conditions: That the *Romans* ſhould pay immediately to *Attila* ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold, and every year two thouſand; that they ſhould ſend back to him all his deſerters, and receive none for the c future; that they ſhould deliver up the *Romans*, who, being taken in war, had made their eſcape without paying their ranſom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold; and finally, that the *Romans* ſhould ſend no embaſſadors to *Attila*, till all the deſerters and fugitives were delivered up. Theſe conditions were highly opprobrious to the *Roman* name; but the deſpirited *Romans* choſe rather to ſubmit to any terms, than purſue the war with an enemy, whom they deſpaired of ever being able to conquer. One *Scotta* was ſent by *Attila* to *Conſtantinople*, to haſten the execution of the treaty [h]. Count *Marcellinus* writes, that, in 448. embaſſadors came from *Attila* to *Conſtantinople*, to demand the money, which they had refuſed before [i], inſinuating thereby, that *Attila* had rejected the conditions, which he afterwards d agreed to. Purſuant to the articles of this treaty, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold were immediately ſent to *Attila*, with the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, among whom were ſome princes, who had never ſubmitted to *Attila*, and now choſe rather to be killed by the *Romans*, than fall into his hands [k]. The inhabitants and gariſon of *Aſemontium*, a caſtle of great ſtrength in *Thrace*, had refuſed to open their gates to *Attila*, and repulſed him with great loſs, when he attempted to ſtorm the place; ſo that he was obliged to withdraw from before it. The barbarian, highly provoked at their gallant behaviour, which a generous enemy would have commended, after the concluſion of the peace, inſiſted upon their delivering up to him all the *Roman* captives, with the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the e fortreſs, refuſing to withdraw his troops, till ſuch time as his demands were complied with. The inhabitants anſwered, That there were no *Romans* at all in the place, and only two *Hunns*; and this anſwer they confirmed with a ſolemn oath, not thinking perjury a crime, ſays our hiſtorian, when they could, by no other means, reſcue many unhappy *Romans* from death or ſlavery [l]. In virtue of this peace, *Attila* claimed the quiet poſſeſſion of the countries he had conquered, that is, of the tract extending along the *Danube* from *Pannonia* to the city of *Noves*, placed by *Sanſon* in *Lower Mœſia*; but he afterwards relinquiſhed this claim [m].

He defeats the generals ſent againſt him.

The Romans *conclude a ſhameful peace with him.*

Soon after the concluſion of the peace, that is, in the beginning of the year 449. *Attila* ſent one *Edecon* to *Conſtantinople*, with the character of embaſſador, attended f by his chief ſecretary *Oreſtes* (D). As *Edecon* ſeemed to be greatly taken with the ſplendor

z Tir. Prosp. chron. a Theoph. p. 88. b Chron. Alex. p. 734. c Jorn. reg. c. 44. p. 653. d Baud. p. 341. e Jorn. reg. c. 54. p. 353. Chron. Alex. f Prisc. p. 34. g Idem ibid. & p. 51, 53. h Theoph. p. 88. Prisc. p. 44—53. i Marc. chron. k Prisc. p. 35. l Idem, p. 35, 36. m Idem, p. 37.

(D) *Oreſtes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a ſubject of the empire. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Hunns* in 430. he liſted himſelf among the troops of *Attila*, who diſcovering him to be a man of parts, made him his ſecretary. His father, named *Tatula*, bore likewiſe ſome conſiderable employment at the court of *Attila*. *Oreſtes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, ſent by *Valentinian* III. on an embaſſy to *Attila* in 449. and had by her a ſon, by *Males* called *Romulus Auguſtus*, but, by all other hiſtorians, *Romulus*

ſplendor and magnificence of the court, and deſirous to continue among the *Romans*, a the eunuch *Chryſaphus*, the emperor's chief chamberlain, thinking him thereupon capable of committing, without remorſe, the blackeſt crimes, propoſed to him the aſſaſſinating of his prince; which he undertook to do, tempted by the promiſes of the eunuch. To this wicked attempt the emperor not only conſented, but, in order to the more effectual execution of ſo ſcandalous an undertaking, diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, ſtrictly injoining thoſe who attended the embaſſadors, eſpecially their interpreter *Vigilius*, a bold and enterpriſing man, to be aſſiſting to *Edecon* in murdering *Attila*. *Maximinus*, who, in 422. had perſuaded the *Perſians* to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, was at the head of this embaſſy; but, as he was a man of an unblemiſhed character, the emperor did not think fit to truſt him with b the ſecret. The embaſſadors no ſooner arrived at the court of *Attila*, than *Edecon*, either apprehenſive of the dangers attending ſuch a deſperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the traitors with more refined treachery, diſcovered the whole to his prince; who immediately cauſed *Vigilius* to be ſeized, and ſent back his ſecretary *Oreſtes* to *Conſtantinople*, with the purſe in which the money had been brought, that was to have been paid to *Edecon* after the aſſaſſination, charging him to aſk *Theodoſius* and *Chryſaphus*, whether they knew it; to reproach the emperor in the ſevereſt terms with ſuch a black piece of treachery, and to inſiſt upon his inſtantly delivering up to him *Chryſaphus*, the author and contriver of the plot [n]. But the emperor, unwilling c to ſacrifice the eunuch his chief favourite, inſtead of complying with *Attila*'s demand, diſpatched the patrician *Anatolius* and *Nomus* to the king of the *Hunns*, charging them to do all that lay in their power to appeaſe him. *Anatolius*, at that time *comes domeſticorum*, that is, captain of the guards, had negotiated a peace with *Attila* the year before. As for *Nomus*, he was one of *Chryſaphus*'s particular friends, and generous to ſuch a degree, that no one doubted, but, with his rich preſents, he would ſoften *Attila*. It happened accordingly; for *Attila* not only promiſed to live in peace and amity with *Theodoſius*, but relinquiſhed his claim to the countries on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*, pardoned *Chryſaphus*, ſet *Vigilius* at liberty, ſent back many *Roman* captives without ranſom, and diſmiſſed the embaſſadors loaded with preſents. Thus d *Priſcus*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he relates, having attended *Maximinus* to the court of *Attila* [o]. The ſame author writes, that *Conſtantius*, ſecretary to *Attila*, being ſent embaſſador to the court of *Conſtantinople*, promiſed to befriend the *Romans*, and do all that lay in his power to divert his maſter from breaking anew into the empire, provided *Theodoſius* procured him ſome rich heireſs in marriage. Hereupon the emperor promiſed him the daughter of *Saturninus*, whom *Eudoxia* had cauſed to be put to death in 444. after he had been for ſome years *comes domeſticorum*, or captain of the guards. But *Zeno*, commander in chief of all the emperor's forces, without any regard to the word or honour of his prince, took her by force out of the caſtle, where ſhe was kept, and gave her in marriage to a friend of his, named *Rufus*. Of this *Conſtantius* complained to *Attila*, and *Attila* to *Maximinus*, who was then at e his court, telling him, that *Conſtantius* muſt either have the daughter of *Saturninus*, or another of equal wealth; and that it was a ſhameful thing in a prince to fail of his word, charging him at the ſame time to tell his maſter from him, that he was amazed to find he had thus gone back from his word, and forfeited his honour; that, from his not puniſhing *Zeno*, he concluded that general to have been countenanced by him in what he had done; but if he was therein miſtaken, if *Theodoſius* durſt not reſent ſuch inſults from his own ſubjects, he was ready to teach them the reſpect, ſubmiſſion, and obedience they owed their ſovereign. *Theodoſius*, piqued with this reproach, cauſed the eſtate, not of *Zeno*, whom he was afraid to provoke, but of *Saturninus*, to be confiſcated, thinking to cover his weakneſs with this piece of injuſtice [p]. f

Theodoſius *attempts to get* Attila *murdered.*

The plot is diſcovered.

Attila *ſpares the conſpirators*

He reproaches Theodoſius *as a weak prince*

The

[n] Prisc. p. 39—48. [o] Idem, p. 70—72. [p] Idem, p. 69. Marc. chron. p. 26.

Romulus Auguſtulus. *Oreſtes*, leaving the *Hunns*, ſerved in the *Roman* armies with great reputation, and was raiſed to the rank of a patrician, and appointed by the emperor *Nepos* general of the troops in *Gaul*; when turning his arms againſt the prince, who had entruſted him with them, he drove him from the throne, and cauſed his ſon *Auguſtulus*, in whom ended the weſtern empire, to be proclaimed emperor in his room (14). *Oreſtes* was in the end taken priſoner in *Pavia*, and brought to *Odoacer*, who cauſed him to be put to death at *Placentia* (15).

(14) *Jorn. c.* 45. *p.* 673. *Sidon. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 7. *p.* 72. *Priſc. p.* 37. & 57. *Onuph. p.* 67. *Evagr. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 308. (15) *Evagr. l.* vii. *c.* 1. *p.* 333. *Procop. p* 308.

THE following year 450. *Theodoſius* II. died, and was ſucceeded by *Marcian*; which *Attila* no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to the new emperor, demanding the annual penſion paid him by the deceaſed prince. *Marcian*, not thinking himſelf bound by the ſhameful treaty, which his predeceſſor had concluded with the barbarians, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with this anſwer, *That* Theodoſius *was no more*; *and as for himſelf, he had gold for his friends, and ſteel for his enemies.* *Attila*, provoked at this anſwer, began to draw together his troops, in order to break into the empire. Hereupon *Marcian*, who had found the affairs of the empire in a moſt deplorable condtion, to gain time, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, at the head of which was *Apollonius*, a general of no ſmall renown, perhaps the ſame perſon to whom *Theodoret* wrote his ſeventy-third and three hundred and third letter [q]. But the king of the *Hunns*, underſtanding he had not brought with him the uſual penſion, would neither ſpeak to him, nor ſee him. However, he commanded him, on pain of death, to convey to him the preſents, which the emperor had ſent him. To this meſſage *Apollonius* anſwered, That the king needed not demand, with menaces, things which he might have when he pleaſed, either as preſents, if he was determined to live in amity with the *Romans*, or as ſpoils, if, forgetful of the right of nations, he thought fit to uſe violence with an embaſſador. Hereupon *Attila*, chuſing rather to loſe the preſents, than declare himſelf a friend to the *Romans*, or offer the leaſt violence to an embaſſador, ordered him to quit his dominions, and return home [r]. However, not thinking it adviſeable at that juncture to engage in a war with *Marcian*, and, on the other hand, impatient of peace, he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the weſtern empire, then governed by *Valentinian* III. a weak and unwarlike prince. *Roua*, uncle to *Attila*, had concluded a peace with *Valentinian* a little before his death, that is, about the year 433. as we have related above. *Attila*, who ſucceeded him, had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the crown, than he was, with repeated letters and meſſages, preſſed by *Juſta Grata Honoria*, *Valentinian*'s own ſiſter, to break the peace, and invade the weſtern empire. *Honoria* had been honoured with the title of *Auguſta* to divert her from marrying, there being, at that time, no man in the whole empire, whoſe rank anſwered her high ſtation; for it was thought proper, that ſhe ſhould continue unmarried, as the ſiſters of *Theodoſius* II. had done. But celibacy had been their choice; whereas *Honoria* had no inclination to lead a ſingle life, but was forced to it, and cloſely watched by *Valentinian*'s orders, or rather by her mother *Placidia*'s [s]. The young princeſs therefore, no longer able to bear this reſtraint, diſpatched privately one of her eunuchs to *Attila*, preſſing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her [t]; nay, ſhe ſent him, either at this time or afterwards, a ring, as a pledge of her fidelity [u]. She was then about ſixteen or ſeventeen, being born before her brother *Valentinian* in 417. or 418. *Attila*, who had then juſt begun to reign, not caring to engage in this enterprize, *Honoria* ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by one of her own domeſtics, named *Eugenius*. *Placidia* no ſooner perceived her with child, than ſhe cauſed her to be ſhut up in a private houſe, and ſoon after ſent her to *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople* [w]. This happened in 434. three years before *Valentinian* married the daughter of *Theodoſius* [x]. *Valeſius* writes, that *Valentinian* cauſed *Eugenius* to be put to death, which is highly probable, but, we may venture to ſay, not affirmed by any of the antients. The ſame author maintains, that *Honoria* was not ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and, what is ſurpriſing, quotes *Jornandes*, who ſays in expreſs terms ſhe was [y]. *Honoria* continued preſſing *Attila* to make war upon her brother; but he, it ſeems, not giving ear to her ſolicitations, prayers, and intreaties, lived in peace with *Valentinian* till the year 449. We have ſeveral proofs of a good underſtanding and friendly correſpondence between him and *Aetius*, commander in chief of *Valentinian*'s armies; for that general ſent to *Attila* and *Bleda* a *Gaul*, by name *Conſtantius*, to ſerve them in quality of ſecretary; but he being ſuſpected of treachery, and thereupon put to death, *Aetius* ſent them for the ſame office another of the ſame name, but by birth an *Italian* [z]. After the year 444. *Attila* ſent as a preſent to *Aetius* a famous mimic and buffoon, named *Zercon*, who was a native of *Mauritania*, and ſtrangely deformed [a]. About the year 448. ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between *Attila* and *Valentinian*, on account of the ſacred veſſels, of which we have ſpoken above. To convince *Attila* of the injuſtice of his claim, were ſent

The emperor Marcian *refuſes to pay him the uſual penſion.*

Attila *reſolves to make war upon* Valentinian III.

He is ſtirred up by Honoria

Her incontinence.

A good underſtanding between Attila *and* Aetius.

[q] THEODORET. ep. 73. p. 492. [r] PRISC. p. 72, 73. [s] JORN. reg. c. 44. p. 673. CANGE. Byzant. fam. p. 67, 73. [t] JORN. ibid. p. 653. [u] PRISC. p. 40. [w] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 653. [x] MARCEL. chron. [y] JORN. ubi ſup. [z] PRISC. p. 50, 57, 69. [a] Idem, p. 53. SUID. p. 1122.

ſent to his court count *Romulus*, *Promotus* governor of *Noricum*, and *Romanus*, who had a command in the army. *Romulus* was a native of *Petavium* in *Noricum*, a man of great addreſs and experience in negotiations, and father-in-law to *Oreſtes*, at that time *Attila*'s chief ſecretary [b]. An anonymous writer, publiſhed by *Valeſius* with the works of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, tells, that *Oreſtes* attended *Attila* into *Italy* [c]. If what that author writes be true, *Attila* muſt have made an irruption into *Italy*, which no other hiſtorian has taken notice of, it being certain *Oreſtes* had left the ſervice of *Attila* before that, which we ſhall ſpeak of anon, and which is the only one known to the writers, who have reached our times (E). The embaſſadors from *Valentinian* met, at the court of *Attila*, *Maximinus*, ſent thither by *Theodoſius*; but, tho' they had evidently juſtice on their ſide, the only anſwer they could get from *Attila* was, that he muſt have the veſſels, or *Sylvanus* muſt be delivered up to him, otherwiſe he was reſolved to declare war. However, he paid the embaſſadors great reſpect, and entertained them at his table with thoſe of *Theodoſius* [d]. He was, without all doubt, himſelf well appriſed of the injuſtice of his demand; but, being determined to make war, wanted a pretence to begin it. He had received in 448. and entertained at his court, one *Eudoxus*, by profeſſion a phyſician, a man of great addreſs, but of a reſtleſs temper, who, being accuſed of ſtirring up the *Bagaudæ* to take up arms againſt the empire, had made his eſcape, and found a ſanctuary amongſt the *Hunns* [e]. But as the emperor, dreading above all things a war with *Attila*, took no notice of his thus protecting a traitor and fugitive, recourſe was had to a new claim, which the king of the *Hunns* was very ſure would produce a war. We have obſerved above, that *Honoria*, the emperor's ſiſter, had maintained a private correſpondence with *Attila*, and even ſent him a ring. *Attila* therefore diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to *Valentinian*, demanding his ſiſter *Honoria*, whom he pretended to be his wife, and, with her, half the weſtern empire, as belonging of right to her. The embaſſadors brought with them the ring, which ſhe had ſent him, to convince the emperor of their marriage [f]; and at the ſame time complained, in their maſter's name, of the ill uſage ſhe met with; adding, that he was both able and reſolved to revenge it. *Valentinian* anſwered, That his ſiſter was already married; and that, among the *Romans*, women had no right to the crown, nor to any part of the empire [g]. Of this marriage no mention is made by any other writer, nor indeed of *Honoria*, ſince the year 434. when ſhe was ſent to *Conſtantinople*. She was probably, upon the death of *Theodoſius*, ſent back to her brother *Valentinian*, and received from him ſome harſh treatment; perhaps he obliged her to marry a perſon ſhe diſliked. Be that as it will, *Valentinian*, having diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with the anſwer related above, thought it adviſeable to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, in order to convince him, if poſſible, of the injuſtice of his claim. The perſons choſen for this purpoſe were *Caſſiodorus*, father to the writer of that name, the emperor's chief ſecretary, and *Carpilio*, the ſon of *Aetius*. *Caſſiodorus*, who was a man of great eloquence, addreſs, and experience in negotiations, confuted ſo evidently and fully all the frivolous pretences alledged by *Attila* to juſtify his breaking with *Valentinian*, that, in the end, he ſeemed inclined to renew the peace, which it was no-ways his intereſt to grant, ſays *Caſſiodorus* [h], to ſo rich an empire, ready to become his prey. A peace was accordingly concluded, to the great ſurprize of *Valentinian*, and the embaſſadors themſelves, by whom it was negotiated. It was, however, but a ſham peace, the better to deceive the unwary *Romans*, and fall upon them unawares. It was likewiſe with this view, that he ſent ſoon after embaſſadors to *Valentinian*, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, aſſuring him, that he had no reaſon to be alarmed at his warlike preparations, ſince they were deſigned againſt *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths* in *Languedoc* (F); that, as to the *Romans*, he ſhould ever look upon them as his friends, provided

Attila ſeeks a pretence to make war on Valentinian.

He claims Honoria *as his wife, and, with her, half the weſtern empire.*

He deceives the Romans *with a pretended peace.*

[a] Tiro Prosp. chron.
[b] Idem, p. 37, 57, 68.
[c] Anonym. p. 477.
[d] Prisc. p. 56, 57, 63, 64, 66.
[e] Cassiodor. l. i. epiſt. 4. p. 5, 6.
[f] Prisc. p. 40.
[g] Idem ibid.
[h] Cassiodor. l. i. epiſt. 4. p. 5, 6.

(E) Some authors think, that *Jornandes* mentions this irruption among the other tranſactions of the year 434. in the following words: *Cumque veniente Attila votum ſuum nequiret explere* (16). But theſe words may equally import, that *Honoria*, of whom *Jornandes* ſpeaks in that paſſage, could not prevail upon *Attila* to come and marry her; and that ſhe could not marry him, though he was come.

(F) *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, having ſent for the daughter of *Theodoric*, and married her to *Hemeric* his eldeſt ſon, treated her ſoon after with his uſual cruelty, cauſing her noſe to be cut off, upon

(16) *Jorn. rer Goth. c.* 44. *p.* 654.

a vided they did not espouse the cause of the enemy [i]. At the same time, he wrote to *Theodoric*, putting him in mind of the cruel war the *Romans* had made upon him about ten years, and pressing him to renounce their alliance [k]. Thus, joining craft to force, he endeavoured to set the *Goths* and *Romans* at variance, the more easily to crush them both [l].

During these negotiations, he assembled one of the most powerful and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. He had, as we have observed above, people of many different nations among his troops, and a great number of kings at his devotion. Among the kings the most powerful were, *Ardaric* king of the *Gepidæ*, and *Valamir* king of the *Ostrogoths* [m]. His army consisted of the following nations, *viz.* b *Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Ostrogoths*, *Rugians*, *Gelonians*, *Squiri*, *Burgundians*, *Bellonotes*, *Neurians*, *Bastarnæ*, *Turingians*, *Bructerians*, *Franks* dwelling on the *Neckar*, *Marcomans*, *Suevians*, *Quadians*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingians*, and, in short, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others write, seven, hundred thousand men [n]. With this formidable host he set out from *Scythia* in the depth of winter, and, bending his march through *Germany*, never halted till he reached the banks of the *Rhine*. There the *Franks*, who still dwelt in great numbers on the other side of that river, attempted to stop him; but they were, at that time, unluckily divided among themselves, the whole nation being rent into two factions or parties, by the two sons of *Clodion* quarrelling about the succession to their father's dominions. The elder bro- c ther had implored the assistance of the *Hunns*; and the younger, probably *Merouée*, was supported by *Aetius*, who had, in a manner, adopted him for his son [o]. Being thus disunited, they were easily overcome; and on this occasion probably happened what we read in *Fredigaire*, *viz.* that *Childeric*, the son of *Merouée*, was taken prisoner by the *Hunns*, with his mother, and carried into captivity, but rescued out of their hands by the courage and fidelity of a *Frank*, named *Wiomaud* [p]. We are nowhere told what *Attila* did, after his victory over the *Franks*, in favour of *Clodion*'s eldest son, whose cause he had espoused. The king of the *Hunns*, having now no enemy to oppose him (for the *Romans*, giving credit to his deceitful protestations, looked upon him as a friend) caused whole forests to be cut down, in order to build d boats, with which the *Rhine* in a short time was covered [q]. He passed that river without opposition in the beginning, as is supposed, of the year 451 [r]. giving out, that his design was to make war upon the *Visigoths*; that he was determined to live in friendship with the *Romans*; and that he only wanted to cross *Gaul*, and pass the *Loire* at *Orleans*, in order to fall upon his enemies the *Goths* in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* [s]. Being therefore looked upon as a friend by the credulous and unwary *Romans*, several cities opened their gates to him; but his men behaving in the cities, that had received them, more like enemies than friends, the other towns refused to admit them [t]. Here-

He enters Gaul *at the head of a numerous and formidable army. Year of Christ* 451.

upon *Attila*, pulling off the mask, besieged, took by storm, and plundered, many places in *Gaul* [u]. The cities that suffered most on this occasion, were *Tongres* [w] (G), *Treves*,

He takes and destroys several cities.

i Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 36. p. 662, 663. k Idem ibid. p. 661. l Idem ibid. m Prisc. p. 40. Jorn. c. 38. p. 666, 667. n Jorn. ibid. Sidon. car. vii. p. 54. Hist. miscel. p. 444. o Prisc. p. 40. Vales. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. p Du Chesne hist. Franc. script. tom. ii. p. 726. q Sid. car. vii. p. 541. r Buch. Belg. p. 511. s Prosp. Du Chesne tom. ii. p. 521. t Prosp. Idat. p. 28. u Idat. ibid. w Cointii annal. eccles. Franc. ad ann. 451. Allissiodor. chron. p. 62.

upon a groundless suspicion, that she designed to poison him, and sending her back thus disfigured to her father. As he did not doubt but *Theodoric* would resent this affront, he resolved to be beforehand with him; and therefore sent embassadors, with rich presents, to court the friendship of *Attila*, and persuade him to fall upon *Theodoric*. Hence *Attila*, to deceive the *Romans*, gave out, that the warlike preparations, which were carrying on throughout his dominions, were designed against *Theodoric* (17). This storm, it seems, began to be apprehended in 449. for, in that year, St. *Leo* desired to be excused from assisting at the council of *Ephesus*, alledging the uncertain and wavering state of affairs (18).

(G) *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, when it was first heard in *Gaul*, that *Attila*'s design was to pass through that country, the holy bishop of *Tongres*, named *Aravacus* or *Arvacus*, went to visit the holy places at *Rome*, where, with fervent prayers, and many tears, he begged Heaven to avert the calamities, that threatened his flock, and all *Gaul*. But St. *Peter*, appearing to him, told him, that the Almighty had, in his justice, immutably decreed, that the *Hunns* should come into *Gaul*, and ravage the whole country; but as for him, he should not live to see the miseries of his distressed flock. With this answer he returned to *Tongres*, and thence repaired to *Mastricht*, where he died soon after (19). The credulity of this excellent writer is the effect of his great piety, which often gets the better of his good sense and understanding.

(17) *Idem ibid. c.* 36. *p.* 662. (18) *Leo. epist.* xxvii. *c.* 433. *p.* 491, 498. (19) *Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l* ii. *c.* 56. *p.* 275, 276.

Treves, formerly the metropolis of *Gaul*, which had been four times pillaged before the year 440. and was now laid in ashes by the *Hunns* [x], *Strasbourg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, *Andernach*, and most of the towns in that neighbourhood [y]. *Attila*, advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, took, pillaged, and laid in ashes, many other cities, and among the rest *Arras*, *Bensançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres* [a]. The barbarians attacked the town of *Laon*; but were repulsed with great slaughter [b]. At *Mentz* they arrived the night preceding the solemnity of *Easter*, which, in 451. fell on the eighth of *April*; and having soon forced the gates, and entered the city sword in hand, they made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, massacred the priests at the altars, and set fire to the place, which soon reduced all the private and public buildings to ashes [c], sparing only the chapel of St. *Stephen*, if *Gregory* of *Tours* is to be credited, where some reliques of that saint were lodged [d]. *Attila*, thus putting all to fire and sword, arrived at length before *Orleans*, which he immediately invested, the inhabitants refusing to admit him into the city. In the mean time, *Aetius*, arriving from *Italy* at *Arles*, took care to encourage, by frequent messengers, the inhabitants and garison of *Orleans* to make a vigorous defence, assuring them, that, in a short time, he would march to their assistance. He had brought with him but a small number of troops, not doubting but the *Visigoths* would join the *Romans* in opposing the furious torrent, which threatened both nations alike; but finding the *Visigoths* resolved to wait for the enemy in their own country, he used all kinds of arguments, in order to persuade them to change that resolution, sending to them for that purpose *Avitus*, who was raised to the imperial dignity a few years after [e]. The epitomizer of *Idatius*, supposed to have lived in the time of *Charlemagne* [f], tells us, that, on this occasion, the holy bishop of *Orleans*, St. *Agnan*, was likewise sent by *Aetius* to *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths* [g]. Be that as it will, *Theodoric* yielded at length to the reasons alledged by the deputies of *Aetius*, which the reader will find in *Jornandes* [h], promising to join the *Romans* with all his forces against the common enemy. This change of measures in the king was highly acceptable both to the nobility and his people, who received the news of it with loud acclamations of joy, occasioned by the eager desire they had to try their strength with the *Hunns* [i] (H). In the mean time, *Aetius* assembled what troops he could in *Gaul*, which were reinforced by the powerful succours brought him by *Theodoric*, who commanded them in person, attended by his eldest and second sons, *Thorismond* and *Theodoric* [k]. Besides the *Visigoths*, the following nations are mentioned among the troops, that composed the army of *Aetius*, *viz.* the *Franks*, under the conduct of their king *Merouée*, the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, *Armoricans*, the *Lisians*, dwelling on the banks of the *Lis* in *Flanders* [l], the *Reverins* or *Ripuarians*, inhabiting the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*, the *Ibrions*, by *Valesius* called *Brions* and *Breons*, and placed by him in *Vindelicia*, now *Suabia* and *Bavaria* [m], and several other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, whom the *Romans* had formerly commanded as their subjects, but were now glad to reckon among their auxiliaries and allies [n]. Thus *Aetius* assembled an army not much inferior in number, according to *Prosper*, to that of *Attila* [o].

He lays siege to Orleans.

Aetius *is joined by the* Visigoths, *and several other nations.*

While *Aetius* was thus busied in assembling his troops, *Attila* pursued the siege of *Orleans* with great fury, battering the walls night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines, till at length he became master of the place. *Valesius* is of opinion, that the holy bishop *Agnan* caused the gates to be opened, lest the city should be taken by assault, and plundered [p]. And *Gregory* of *Tours* seems to insinuate, that it was not taken by storm; for he writes, that the enemy entered the place, when the walls

Attila *takes* Orleans.

[x] Du Chesne, p. 694. [y] Buch. p. 512. [z] Alcuin. apud Bolland. p. 797. [a] Allis. chron. p. 67. [b] Ruinert. hist. Vand. persecut. p. 408. [c] Idat. Du Chesne, tom i. p. 624. [d] Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 276. [e] Sid. car. vii. p. 341. Prosp. chron. [f] Canis. tom. ii. p. 640. [g] Idem, p. 645. [h] Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 26. p. 663. [i] Sid. p. 341. Prosp. chron. Jorn. ibid. p. 636. [k] Jorn. p. 664. [l] Vales. p. 161. [m] Idem rer. Franc. p. 171. & 162. & notit. Gal. p. 259, 260. [n] Jorn. ibid. p. 664. Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. [o] Prosp. chron. [p] Vales. rer. Franc. l. vi p. 160.

(H) The epitomizer of *Idatius*, who often adds to his author something of his own, tells us, that *Aetius* offered half *Gaul* to *Theodoric*, on condition he joined him against the *Hunns*; and that, having by this means engaged him to side with the *Romans*, he made the same offer to *Attila*, provided he made war upon *Theodoric* (20). But this seems to us altogether incredible.

(20) *Canis. tom.* ii.. *p.* 645.

walls were ſhaken with the battering-rams, and ready to fall [q], no breach being then made, according to that writer. On the other hand, the word *irruptio*, uſed by *Apollinaris Sidonius*, and ſignifying a violent breaking or ruſhing in, imports, that the town was taken by ſtorm [r]. Be that as it will, the *Hunns* were ſcarce entered, when *Aetius* and *Theodoric*, arriving with all their forces, fell unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged them to retire with much precipitation out of the town. Many of them threw themſelves into the *Loire*, and periſhed there [s]; a plain proof, that they had paſſed that river, and inveſted the town on the ſouth ſide; which has been denied by ſome modern writers. *Theophanes* mentions this defeat of *Attila* near the *Loire* and the city of *Orleans* [t]. As for the epitomizer of *Idatius*, he evidently confounds this encounter with the great battle of *Chalons* [u]. For this ſucceſs, *Aetius* is by *Apollinaris Sidonius* ſtyled *the deliverer of the* Loire [w]. He is ſuppoſed to have gained it on the fourteenth of *June*, that day being marked in an antient martyrology of *Orleans* as a day of general thankſgiving, for the happy deliverance of that city out of the hands of its cruel enemies [x]. *Attila*, being obliged to abandon *Orleans*, retired with his army towards the *Rhine*; and having paſſed *Troyes*, he halted in the plains of *Chalons* (I), chuſing that place as moſt advantagious for his *Hunns*, who were all horſe, to engage in; for he was well appriſed, that *Aetius*, who followed him cloſe, would come up with him before he could repaſs the *Rhine*. The *Roman* general, being informed by his ſcouts, that *Attila* was waiting

But is driven out with great ſlaughter by Aetius *and* Theodoric.

[q] Vide Du Chesne, p. 476. [r] Sid. l. viii. ep. 11. p. 246. [s] Vide Du Chesne ubi ſupra. [t] Theoph. p. 90. [u] Canis. tom. ii. p. 645. [w] Sid. l. vii. ep. 12. p. 199. [x] Vide Franc. Le Maire, antiq. d'Orleans, p. 178.

(I) This memorable battle was fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, ſay ſome, in the plains of *Catalaunum* or *Chalons*, ſay others (21); but, to reconcile them, we are only to ſuppoſe the ſame plain to have been known by theſe two different names; a very natural ſuppoſition, and founded on the authority of *Jornandes*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that the *Catalaunic* were alſo called the *Mauriac* fields; *Convenitur in campos Catalaunicos*, ſays he, *qui & Mauriaci nominantur* (22). However, *Valeſius* diſtinguiſhes theſe two plains; and, to reconcile the authors, ſuppoſes two battles to have been fought, the one, not deciſive, in the plains of *Mauriac*, that is, near *Meri* on the *Seine*, in the dioceſe of *Troyes*, and the other, which proved deciſive, in the neighbourhood of *Catalaunum* or *Chalons* (23). But thoſe who ſpeak of the battle fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, ſuppoſe it to have been deciſive, and to have put an end to the war, in the ſame manner as thoſe do, who deſcribe the battle of *Chalons*. As for the name of *Mauriac*, *Valeſius* ſuppoſes *Meri* upon the *Seine*, in the dioceſe of *Troyes*, to have been antiently ſo called, and quotes *Fredegaire* in favour of this ſuppoſition (24). But *Blundel* takes the ſmall village of *Heiz le Mauru* on the river *Delir*, in the dioceſe of *Chalons*, to be the antient *Mauriac*. *Papirius Maſſon* places the *Mauriac* fields about three leagues from *Chalons*, near a place called *Notre Dame de l'Epine*, or *Our lady of the Thorn* (25). He is therein followed by *Cointius* (26), and by *Sanſon*, in his maps of the dioceſes of *Chalons* and *Rheims*. As for thoſe, who will have this battle to have been fought beyond *Orleans* at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or in the neighbourhood of *Toulouſe*, in a diſtrict held at that time, as they ſuppoſe, by the *Catalaunians* or *Catalans* of *Spain*, though they agree perhaps therein with *Olaus*, a modern writer, of no authority in himſelf, they diſagree with *Gregory* of *Tours*, and all thoſe who write, that *Aetius* delivered *Orleans*, namely, with *Apollinaris Sidonius*, whom we may call an unqueſtionable and eye-witneſs. That author tells us in expreſs terms, that *Attila* took *Orleans* by ſtorm; but was driven out by *Aetius*, before he had time to plunder it, and obliged to return back, directing his march towards the *Rhine*. He did not therefore, according to that writer, penetrate ſo far into *Gaul* as *Auvergne* or *Languedoc*; and conſequently the battle could not be fought at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or near *Toulouſe* in *Languedoc*. *Jornandes* writes, that *Thoriſmund*, upon the death of his father, who was killed in the *Catalaunic* fields, entered *Toulouſe* veſted with royal majeſty; *Thoriſmundus ergo, patre mortuo in campis Catalaunicis, ubi & pugnaverat, regia majeſtate ſubvectus Toloſam ingreditur* (27). From theſe words ſome conclude the battle to have been fought in the neighbourhood of *Toulouſe*. But *Jornandes* does not ſay, that *Thoriſmund* made his entry into *Touſouſe* the ſame day his father was killed, or the day following; nay, he confines it to no certain time, but evidently ſuppoſes it not to have happened immediately after the battle; for he tells us, that, after the battle, *Aetius* adviſed *Thoriſmund* to return home, *ut ad ſedes proprias remearet*. The battle therefore was not fought in the territories of the *Goths*, but at a conſiderable diſtance from *Toulouſe*. The young prince, following the advice of *Aetius*, returned to *Gaul*; *rediit ad Gallias*, ſays *Jornandes*, who, by *Gaul*, could only mean *Celtic Gaul*, called alſo *Gallia Lugdunenſis*; ſo that *Thoriſmund*, in marching to the field of battle, had croſſed *Celtic*, and entered *Belgic*, *Gaul*, to the latter of which belongs the dioceſe of *Chalons*. Hence *Scaliger* thinks thoſe writers, who will have *Attila* to have been defeated near *Toulouſe*, to be guilty of a miſtake altogether childiſh, how able ſoever they may be in other reſpects. The plains of *Chalons* where the two armies engaged, were, according to *Jornandes* (28), one hundred leagues in length, and ſeventy in breadth; but that author allows only fifteen hundred paces to each league. His allowing that extent to the plains of *Chalons*, gives us room to believe, that he compriſed, under that name, all the champaign country, whence the province was afterwards called *Champagne*, a name by which it was well known ſo early as the ſixth century (29). On the ſame plain of *Chalons* was fought, in 273. a great battle between the emperor *Aurelian* and the uſurper *Tetricus*.

(21) *Du Cheſne, tom.* i. *p.* 276.. *Caniſ. antiquæ lect. tom.* ii. *p.* 625. (22) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c.* 46. *p.* 664. (23) *Val. notit Gall. p.* 324. (24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *Du Cheſne. p.* 105. (26) *Coint. tom.* i. *p.* 75. (27) *Jorn. c.* 41. *p.* 670. (28) *Idem ibid. p.* 664.. (29) *Du Cheſne, p.* 105.

waiting for him in those vast plains, resolved, notwithstanding the enemy's advantagious situation, to advance, and put the whole to the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped, the *Gepidæ*, who served under *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who followed *Aetius*, meeting in the dark, engaged with such fury, that, on both sides, above fifteen thousand men were left dead upon the spot [y]. We are told, that *Attila*, desirous to know before-hand the issue of the approaching battle, consulted his aruspices, who, after having narrowly examined the entrails of the beasts offered in sacrifice, and, according to their custom, scraped their bones, returned the following answer: That the event would not prove favourable to him; but, on the enemy's side, their chief man would fall in the engagement. This answer greatly encouraged *Attila*, who did not in the least doubt, but by the chief man was meant *Aetius*, whose death he was glad to purchase at any rate, since he looked upon that great commander as the only person in the whole empire capable of defeating his vast designs [z]. He therefore resolved to give battle, but not to engage till the day was far spent, that night coming on, might prevent the *Romans* from pursuing the victory [a]. He placed himself in the centre, with the flower of his army around him, as if his chief care had been, says *Jornandes* [b], to preserve himself, and not to conquer. In the wings were posted the *Ostrogoths*, the *Gepidæ*, and the other nations, that followed his banner [c]. On the other hand, *Aetius* placed the *Romans*, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing, the *Visigoths*, under the command of *Theodoric* and his son *Thorismund*, in the right, and the *Alans*, with their king *Sangiban* (K), and probably the *Franks*, and other auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. Thus were those spacious plains quite covered with infinite numbers of combatants, the flower of innumerable nations, ready, says *Jornandes*, to destroy each other, without any private pique or quarrel, but merely in compliance with the ambition of one man, which, in them, supplied the room of the most mortal hatred and irreconcileable enmity. What pity, continues our historian, that, by the passion and folly of one man, should perish, in a few hours, what nature has produced in many years [d]! Between the two armies was an eminence of an easy ascent, which both parties strove to seize; but *Aetius* and *Thorismund*, having possessed themselves of it the first, repulsed without much-ado the *Hunns*, who attempted to dislodge them. This advantage, gained by the *Romans* in the very beginning of the engagement, raised their courage, and greatly damped the ardour of the enemy; which *Attila* observing, strove to re-animate his men by a speech, which the reader will find in *Jornandes* [e], who made it for him. The battle began about four in the afternoon, and is by all writers reckoned one of the most bloody and obstinate engagements mentioned in history. A small brook, that crossed the plain, swelled, says *Jornandes* [f], to a torrent, by the great quantity of blood that was shed. *Aetius* pressed the *Hunns* on this side; and *Thorismund* never ceased harassing them from the eminence he had seized. The *Goths*, leaving the *Alans* behind, charged the enemy with no less vigour than the *Romans* had done. *Theodoric*, notwithstanding his great age, flew from rank to rank, encouraging his men; but falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some, trod to death by his own men. Others write, that he was killed with a dart by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who fought under *Attila*, and was descended from the *Amali*, that is, from the royal family of the *Goths* [g]. The *Goths*, though no longer animated by the presence of their king, pressed the *Hunns* so warmly,

A bloody encounter between the Franks *and* Gepidæ.

The battle of Chalons.

Theodoric, *king of the* Visigoths, *killed.*

[y] Jorn. c. 41. p. 671. [z] Idem, c. 37. p. 665. Buch. Belg. p. 515. Val. p. 162. [a] Jorn. ibid. [b] Idem, p. 666. [c] Idem, p. 667. [d] Idem, p. 664. [e] Idem, c. 39. p. 367, 368. [f] Idem, 40. p. 668. [g] Idem ibid. &c. 50. p. 688.

(K) *Valesius* takes *Sangiban* to be the same person with *Sambida*, chief of the *Alans*, on whom *Aetius* bestowed, about the year 440. as *Tiro Prosper* informs us, some lands, that lay uncultivated in the *Valentinois* (30). Others will have him to be the successor of *Eacaric*, chief of another body of *Alans*, whom *Aetius* placed on the banks of the *Loire* in 447. at a small distance from *Armorica*, in order to awe the *Armoricans*, and put a stop to their incursions (31). *Sangiban* was in *Orleans* when *Attila* entered *Gaul*, having obtained leave to reside there; but, as the barbarians drew near that city, he was ordered to quit it, upon a report, that he designed to deliver it up to them (32). All these *Alans* had entered *Gaul* in 406. In the battle *Aetius*, distrusting *Sangiban*, placed him in the centre, that, being surrounded by the *Romans* and *Visigoths*, he might have no opportunity, says *Jornandes* (33), of putting in execution the design of which he was suspected.

(30) *Val. rer. Franc. l.* iv. *p.* 272. (31) *Buch. Belg. p.* 512. (32) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c.* 37. *p.* 665. *Val. rer. Franc. p.* 272. (33) *Jorn. c.* 36. *p.* 664.

a warmly, that *Attila*, no longer able to withſtand them, retired in the end, with thoſe who ſurrounded him, to his camp, which he barricaded with all the carts and waggons of his army. It being night before the battle was ended, *Thoriſmund*, coming down from his eminence to rejoin his own people, found himſelf entangled among the carts and waggons of the enemy, who fell upon him with great fury. On this occaſion he received a wound on the head, and was thrown from his horſe; but other *Goths* flying to his aſſiſtance, he was reſcued from the danger, and brought back to his camp. As for *Aetius*, he continued the engagement, till night coming on, the enemy withdrew to their camp, when he likewiſe retired, not daring to purſue them, as not knowing whether the *Goths* were conquerors, or conquered. The b new day diſcovered a dreadful ſight, thoſe vaſt plains almoſt quite covered with dead bodies; but *Attila*, who, they expected, would renew the engagement at break of day, kept cloſe in his camp, and was reſolved, as the *Romans* were afterwards informed, to burn himſelf alive, if they had forced it, rather than ſuffer himſelf to be taken priſoner. He cauſed a great noiſe to be made in his camp, and the trumpets every-where to ſound, as if he he was upon the point of ſallying out, and falling upon the *Romans*; but did not, however, ſtir from his entrenchments. Hence the *Romans* concluded, that he was conquered, and that his loſs was great. However, not thinking it adviſeable to attack him in his camp, as he had but a ſmall quantity of proviſions, they reſolved to keep him cloſely blocked up [h].

He declines a ſecond engagement.

c In the mean time, the *Goths*, miſſing their king, ſought him on all ſides, and at laſt found him among the dead. His body was carried, in the ſight of the *Hunns*, with the greateſt ſolemnity and all poſſible marks of honour, from the field of battle to the camp, where the laſt duties were paid him, in the midſt of which his ſon *Thoriſmund* was proclaimed king, and, in that quality, he ended the ceremony [i]. Such is the account the antients give us of this famous action, in which near three hundred thouſand men were killed, according to *Idatius*, on both ſides, and two hundred and fifty-two thouſand, according to the *Amſterdam* edition of *Jornandes* in 1655. including thoſe who fell the night before the battle in the encounter between the *Franks* and the *Gepidæ*. Both armies ſuffered extremely, and the *Romans* challenged the d victory for no other reaſon, but becauſe *Attila* kept in his camp the next day, and withdrew afterwards to his own country, without daring to venture a ſecond engagement [k]. *Caſſiodorus* and *Theodoric*, king of *Italy* own, that, in this action, *Aetius* had the chief command; but aſcribe the victory to the courage and bravery of the *Goths* [l]. *Victor Tunnienſis* extols the courage of the *Goths*, without ſo much as mentioning *Aetius*; and *Gregory* of *Tours* will have the ſucceſs of that day to be owing to the prayers of St. *Agnan* biſhop of *Orleans* [m]. As to the account of this battle given by the continuator of *Idatius* [n], *Valeſius* looks upon it as altogether fabulous. *Thoriſmund*, greatly affected with the death of his father, reſolved to revenge it on the *Hunns*, and, at the head of his *Goths*, attack them in their camp; but having firſt e conſulted *Aetius*, whoſe known wiſdom and long experience gave great weight to his counſels, that general adviſed him to return home without delay, and take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions, leſt his brothers, ſeizing on the deceaſed king's treaſures, ſhould raiſe diſturbances in his abſence, and give riſe to a civil war. This advice, *Aetius* gave with a political view, fearing, that if the *Hunns* were utterly extirpated, the *Goths*, no longer awed by ſo formidable a power, might prove a no leſs troubleſome enemy to the empire, than thoſe barbarians. However, *Thoriſmund*, not ſuſpecting in the leaſt the zeal and ſincerity of *Aetius*, readily embraced his advice, and returned home [o]. Thus, giving way to groundleſs ſuſpicions, we often let ſlip the moſt favourable opportunities, being wholly taken up in guarding againſt imaginary evils. The continuator of *Idatius* tells us, that *Aetius*, going in the night to the enemy's camp, aſſured *Attila*, that the *Roman* army had been reinforced with a very conſiderable number of *Viſigoths*, in order to oblige him to retire with more haſte, and even to purchaſe with money a ſafe retreat. By a like artifice he perſuaded *Thoriſmund*, according to the ſame writer, to retire, and pay him a conſiderable ſum. He adds, that *Thoriſmund*, finding afterwards he had been impoſed upon by *Aetius*, ſent to challenge the promiſe he had made him, which was to yield to him half *Gaul*, if he drove out *Attila*; but *Aetius*, in lieu of the promiſed dominions, only ſent him

The number of the ſlain.

Aetius perſuades Thoriſmund to return home with his Goths.

a

[h] Idem, p. 670. [i] Idem, c. 41. p. 672. [k] Prosp. chron. Buch. Belg. p. 515.
[l] Cassiod. chron. & l. iii. epiſt. 1. p. 40. [m] Du Chesne, p. 277. [n] Canis. tom. ii. p. 645.
[o] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 41. p. 671. Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 177.

a golden diſh, weighing five hundred pounds, and enriched with precious ſtones [p]. a
But to ſuch accounts we can give no credit, upon the bare teſtimony of a writer,
whoſe authority is of no great weight with us. *Thoriſmund* was no ſooner gone, than
And likewiſe Merouée *with his* Franks.
Aetius, by the ſame artifice, perſued *Merouée*, king of the *Franks*, whoſe brother
aſpired at the crown, to withdraw his troops, and return home. Thus he got for
himſelf the ſpoils that were left in the field of battle [q].

When *Attila* was firſt told, that the *Viſigoths* were retired, he imagined it to be
only a feint, in order to ſurpriſe him, and therefore kept for ſome time cloſe in his
camp; but being afterwards informed of the truth, he reſumed courage, ſays *Jornan-*
des [r], and began to hope for victory. However, he made no attempt, but retired
quietly to the *Rhine*, with a ſmall number of troops, ſays *Gregory* of *Tours* [s]; and b
truly his army muſt have been greatly weakened, ſince he did not offer to attack
Aetius, even after the departure of the *Goths* and *Franks*. *Valeſius* concludes from
hence, that the army he led into *Gaul*, did not conſiſt, as *Jornandes* ſeems to inſi-
nuate [t], of five hundred thouſand men [u]. *Jornandes* perhaps only meant, that his
troops amounted to that number, and not that he marched them all into *Gaul*. He
had, no doubt, left a conſiderable number of his forces in the countries he had con-
quered, to awe the people, and gariſon his forts and ſtrong-holds. Beſides, it is
certain, that this very year 451. a body of *Hunns* broke into *Ilyricum*, and ravaged
that province; but were in the end driven out by *Ardaburius*, who was thereupon
appointed by *Marcian*, emperor of the eaſt, commander in chief of all his forces [w]. c
The anonymous author of the *Altiſſiodorenſian* chronology tells us, that *Aetius*, after
the engagement, returned to *Italy*, leaving *Attila* to commit what ravages he pleaſed
in *Gaul* [x]. This ſeems highly improbable, the more as that writer ſuppoſes the city
of *Mentz* to have been deſtroyed on this occaſion; whereas all other authors ſpeak of
the ruin of that city as happening before the ſiege of *Orleans*. Such was the iſſue of
Attila's expedition into *Gaul*, ſo much ſpoken of by the writers of thoſe times. The
ravages he committed there were, no doubt, very great; but poſterity has not a
little increaſed them, charging *Attila* and his *Hunns* with all the devaſtations, that
were afterwards committed by the *Franks*, the *Alemans*, and other barbarous nations [y].
It was a long time before the towns he had ruined were rebuilt, or repeopled; nay, d
ſo great was the conſternation of the inhabitants, that *Lupus*, the famous biſhop of
Troyes, returning to his ſee, after he had attended *Attila* to the banks of the *Rhine*,
found the city quite abandoned, though *Attila*, out of regard to him, had ſpared it;
inſomuch, that he was obliged to retire to a mountain, named *Latiſco*, about fifteen
leagues from *Troyes*, where he endeavoured to perſuade his people, who had taken
refuge there, to return to their antient habitations; but, not being able to remove
their fears, after he had continued two years among them, he left them, and retired
to *Maſcon* [z]. *Aetius* purſued *Attila* as far as the *Rhine*; but never offered to attack
him, thinking it, as moſt authors conjecture, impolitic to weaken him too much, e
leſt he ſhould no longer be in a condition to awe the *Franks* and *Goths*, and divert
them from raiſing diſturbances in the empire.

Attila *invades* Italy. *Year of Chriſt* 452.
Attila, rather enraged than diſheartened at the diſappointment he had met with,
and the loſs he had ſuſtained in *Gaul*, reſolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where
he hoped to find more booty and leſs oppoſition, there being no *Goths*, *Franks*,
Alans, or *Burgundians* there to oppoſe him. Purſuant to this reſolution, having
reinforced his army with powerful ſupplies ſent him out of *Scythia*, he left *Pannonia*;
and finding the paſſes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hoſtilities were expected on that
ſide, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the year 451. as *Jornandes* and *Idatius* ſeem
to inſinuate [a], or, what is more probable, in the beginning of the following year
452. It is impoſſible to expreſs the terror and conſternation, which ſo ſudden and
unexpected an irruption occaſioned, even in the moſt diſtant provinces. *Aetius*,
who had oppoſed the barbarians ſo vigorouſly in *Gaul*, betrayed, on this occaſion,
no leſs fear than the reſt; nay, he was at firſt for retiring with the emperor out of
Italy, and taking refuge in *Gaul*; but ſhame getting the better of his fear, he conti-
nued in *Italy*, and began to aſſemble the forces, that were diſperſed up and down the
provinces. In the mean time, frequent councils were held at court, in the ſenate, and

[p] Canis. p. 645, 646. [q] Du Chesne, p. 277. [r] Jorn. c. 41. p. 671, 672. [s] Du Chesne, p. 277. [t] Jorn. c. 36. p. 665. [u] Val. rer. Franc. p. 165. [w] Concil. tom. iv. p. 76. [x] Altiss. chronol. p. 60. [y] Vide Nic. Serar. res Mogunt. l. i. c. 7. p. 27. [z] Surius, p. 347. [a] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672.

and in the aſſemblies of the *Roman* people; but the only expedient that occurred
a was, to ſend embaſſadors to *Attila*, and try whether they could, by offering him moſt advantagious terms, induce him to conclude a peace, and retire. In the mean time, he ravaged, without reſtraint or controul, the *Italian* provinces, and took by ſtorm ſeveral cities [b]. He met with no oppoſition till he came to *Aquileia*, the metropolis of the province called *Venetia*. As that city was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the *Roman* troops, all his efforts againſt it proved, for a long time, unſucceſsful; inſomuch, that his men began to mutiny, and declare, they would abandon the ſiege [c]. But *Attila*, having one day obſerved ſome ſtorks carrying their young ones out of the city into the fields, as he was then deliberating with himſelf, whether he ſhould raiſe or purſue the ſiege, took this for a lucky omen; and
b turning to his men, *Behold*, he ſaid, *thoſe birds abandoning a city, which, they know, by a natural inſtinct, is near ruin.* The ſoldiers, believing their king well ſkilled in aruſpices, were ſo animated with this obſervation, that, doubling their efforts, they made an incredible number of warlike engines, with which they continued battering the city night and day, and at length took it by ſtorm, plundered it for ſeveral days, and laid it in aſhes, not one houſe being left ſtanding, nor one perſon alive, that fell into their hands [d]. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, without much-ado, they made themſelves maſters of the other cities of that province, *viz. Trevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Breſcia*, and *Bergamo*, which they plundered with the utmoſt cruelty, putting all to fire and ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. It
c is commonly ſaid and believed, that, on this occaſion, the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, to avoid the cruelty of the *Hunns*, retired to the iſlands on their coaſt, and there laid the foundation of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called *Venetiæ*, and is known to us by the name of *Venice* [e] (L). From the province of *Venetia*, *Attila* advanced into *Liguria*, where he took and plundered *Milan*, the metropolis of that province, and the uſual ſeat of the emperors of the weſt. He laid in aſhes the city of *Pavia*, and ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood, raging every-where with ſuch cruelty, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived [f] (M). He was prompted, by his thirſt of booty, to march to *Rome*, and
d plunder that metropolis of the weſtern empire; and the *Romans* expected daily to ſee him at the gates of their city, which, it ſeems, they were not in a condition to defend againſt ſo powerful an enemy; for *Leo the Great* writes, that Heaven, by granting them peace, had ſaved *Rome*, and delivered the *Roman* people from ſlaughter and bondage [g]. However, *Attila*, though he had publicly declared his reſolution of marching to *Rome*, was afterwards diverted from putting it in execution by his own men, ſays *Jornandes*, mindful of the untimely end of *Alaric*, who died ſoon after he had plundered that metropolis, and dreading the ſame fate might overtake their leader [h]. But this motive ſurely could be of no great weight with *Attila*. His army was greatly weakened for want of proviſions; a contagious diſtemper raged amongſt his troops to ſuch a degree, that Heaven ſeemed to fight againſt him; *Marcian*, emperor of the eaſt, had ſent a choſen body of troops to the aſſiſtance of
e *Valentinian*, which, under the conduct of *Aetius*, had gained ſome advantages over the *Hunns*; ſuch of that nation as had remained at home, were at the ſame time greatly haraſſed by the forces, which *Marcian* had ſent againſt them.

Aquileia, *and ſeveral other cities, taken, and deſtroyed.*

Venice *founded.*

Milan *taken, and plundered.*

Attila *deſigns to march to* Rome.

What diverted him from putting his deſign in exe-

While *Attila*, thus embaraſſed, was in ſuſpenſe whether or no he ſhould purſue his march to *Rome*, embaſſadors arrived from *Valentinian*, with propoſals for an agreement. The ſending of embaſſadors was the only expedient, as we have hinted above, that

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Iden ibid. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 4. p. 188. Theoph. p. 92. Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. p. 277. [e] Por. de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 72. [f] Jorn. ibid. p. 673. [g] Leo, ſerm. lxxxi. c. 1. p. 3400. [h] Jorn. ubi ſup.

(L) *Caſſiodorus* ſpeaking of the *Venetians*, as he ſtyles them, about fifty years after, ſays, that they inhabited the iſlands of the *Adriatic*; that they had no other fence againſt the waves but hurdles, no other food but fiſh, no wealth beſides their boats, and no merchandize but ſalt, which they exchanged for other proviſions. They were employed, in the time of *Caſſiodorus*, in carrying from *Iſtria* to *Ravenna* the corn and oil, which that province was obliged to furniſh (34); ſo that they were then ſubject to the *Goths*.

(M) We are told, that *Attila*, ſeeing at *Milan* ſome pictures, repreſenting the *Roman* emperors ſitting on thrones of gold, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths* or *Hunns*, proſtrate at their feet, cauſed himſelf to be painted ſitting on a throne, and the *Roman* emperors carrying on their ſhoulders ſacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet (35).

(34) *Caſſiodor. l.* xii. *ep.* 24. *p.* 199. *Val. rer. Franc. l.* iv. *p.* 169. (35) *Jorn. ibid. p.* 673.

that occurred to the prince and his council, to deliver *Italy* from the cruel ravages of the barbarians. At the head of this embaſſy was the celebrated *Leo*, biſhop of *Rome*, a perſon famed for his eminent piety and learning. His collegues were *Albienus* or *Avienus*, who had been conſul in 450. and *Trigecius*, formerly prefect. They found *Attila* on the banks of the *Menzo*, not far from *Mantua*, and were received by him with uncommon demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. He concluded with them, ſoon after their arrival, a kind of treaty, which, it ſeems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to *Italy*, and commit there greater ravages than ever, unleſs the princeſs *Honoria* was ſent him, with the ſhare of the imperial treaſures that was due to her [k]. One of the articles of this treaty was, that an annual penſion ſhould be paid to *Attila*, the emperor being glad to redeem the empire at any rate from the calamities it ſuffered [l]. The treaty was no ſooner ſigned, than *Attila* commanded his men to forbear all hoſtilities; and ſoon after leaving *Italy*, he retired, with all his troops, beyond the *Danube* [m]. This peace, or rather truce, was probably concluded in the beginning of *July*; for *Leo* was ſtill at *Rome* on the tenth of *June*, as appears from one of his letters to *Theodorus* of *Frejus* bearing that date [n].

Attila concludes a truce with Valentinian.

He retires out of Italy.

As *Attila* was incapable of living himſelf, or ſuffering others to live, in peace, he was no ſooner returned to his own country, than he began to threaten the eaſtern empire with an invaſion, if *Marcian* did not ſend him, without delay, the tribute, which his predeceſſor *Theodoſius* the younger had agreed to pay him yearly [o]. But this was only a feint, ſays *Jornandes*, to conceal his real deſign, which was to return into *Gaul*, and there make war upon the *Viſigoths*. Purſuant to this deſign, having left *Pannonia*, and croſſed *Rhætia*, he followed the courſe of the *Rhone*, entered the country now known by the name of *Dauphiny*, and there fell unexpectedly upon the *Alans*, who had been allowed by *Aetius*, as we have hinted above, to ſettle in the *Valentinois*. But *Thoriſmund*, king of the *Viſigoths*, whoſe dominions were parted from thoſe of the *Alans* only by the *Rhone*, being well appriſed, that *Attila*, in reducing the *Alans*, had no other view but to open himſelf a way into his territories, joined his neighbours with all his forces, and, meeting *Attila*, gave him a total overthrow; which obliged him to return with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country [p]. *Jornandes* and *Sigebert* are the only writers, who mention this ſecond irruption of the *Hunns* into *Gaul*; and *Valeſius*, not without reaſon, queſtions the truth of what they write [q]. Perhaps *Thoriſmund* made war upon the *Alans*, who, finding themſelves attacked by ſo powerful an enemy, called in a body of *Hunns* to their aſſiſtance; but were defeated, together with their allies, by the king of the *Viſigoths*; for *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that *Thoriſmund* ſubdued the *Alans* [r]. As for *Jornandes*, we have ſhewn, in ſeveral places of the *Roman* hiſtory, that he was far from being well acquainted with the affairs of the *Viſigoths*. We find no farther mention of *Attila* in the antient hiſtorians, till the time of his death, which happened, according to *Idatius*, immediately after he was returned from *Italy* [s]. Count *Marcellinus* places it in 454. but *Proſper*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Victor Tunnienſis*, in 453. or 452. *Jornandes* gives us the following account of his death, which he copied from *Priſcus*: *Attila*, not ſatisfied with the many wives he had already, married a young woman of extraordinary beauty, named *Ildico*. On the day of the nuptials, which were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence, the king, tranſported with joy, drank to exceſs, contrary to his cuſtom; and being overcome with ſleep, retired with his bride, and ſlept with his face upwards. In that poſture he was ſeized with an *hæmorrhagia*, or flux of blood, to which he was ſubject. As the blood had not a free courſe through the uſual paſſages, it fell into his throat, and ſtifled him [t]. The next day, his officers, not ſeeing him appear, began to apprehend, that ſome misfortune had happened to him. Having therefore long waited for him in vain, they called him with great noiſe, and, not hearing him ſtir nor anſwer, they at length forced the doors of his apartment, when they found him dead, without any marks of violence, and his bride ſitting by him bathed in tears, and covering her face with her veil. At this ſight they cut part of their hair, according to the cuſtom of their nation, and tore their faces, to bewail ſo great a warrior, not with tears, like women, but, like men, with blood [u]. To this account *Priſcus* adds a very remarkable circumſtance, which he will

Where he is defeated by the Viſigoths.

His death.

i Idem ibid. Leo, tom. ii. p. 309. k Jorn. p. 673. Prosp. chron. l Jorn. c. 49. p. 685.
m Idem, p. 673. n Leo, ſerm. lxxxi. p. 340. & epiſt. lxxxiii. p. 606. o Prisc. p. 40. Jorn.
c. 43. p. 674. p Idem, p. 674, 675. q Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 171. r Greg. Tur.
rer. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 272. s Idat. p. 29. t Jorn. c. 49. p. 683, 684. u Idem ibid.

will not allow us to call into queſtion, *viz.* that the very night *Attila* died, the empe-
a ror *Marcian* being very uneaſy and reſtleſs in reflecting on the menaces and great power of that warlike prince, his bow was ſhewn him broken in many pieces; which was revealing to him the death of an enemy, whom he ſo much dreaded, and at the ſame time informing him, that the vaſt empire he had founded in the north would be ſoon divided, and, as it were, broken in pieces. Count *Marcellinus* writes, that the tyrant of *Europe* underwent the fate of *Holophernes*, being killed, as he was, by a woman [x]. But *Caſſiodorus* [y] and *Theophanes* [z] agree in their account of his death with *Jornandes*. Thus, he was juſtly puniſhed, ſays *Jornandes* [a], with a diſhonour-
able and ignominious death, for the cruel and unnatural murder of his brother, and
b the ſtreams of blood, which his unbounded ambition had prompted him to ſhed. His body was conveyed with great ſolemnity from the place where he died to the *His funeral.* fields, and there laid under a ſilk tent, which ſome horſemen, choſen out of the whole nation of the *Hunns*, often riding round, ſung, in a doleful ſtrain, the noble atchievements of their king. This mournful ceremony was ſucceeded by a joyful one, a great banquet on the deceaſed prince's tomb, which laſted till the night was far ſpent, when his body was ſecretly interred, being incloſed in three coffins, the firſt of gold, the ſecond of ſilver, and the third of iron. The latter was to ſignify, that he had ſubdued many nations with his ſword; and the two former, that he had obliged the *Roman* emperors to ſhare their treaſures with him. In the ſame grave
c with him were buried the arms and rich ſpoils, which he had taken in war from other princes, and great commanders. In the end, all thoſe were put to death, who had been employed about his grave, leſt their avarice ſhould, ſome time or other, prompt them to plunder it [b]. This is all we find in the antients concerning *Attila* the renowned king of the *Hunns*. We might have added many things from the chronicles of *Hungary*, from *Callimachus*, and *Olahus*, who have written the life of that prince, and filled whole books with his exploits; but as their accounts are not vouched by the antients, and their authority is of no weight in itſelf, we have not thought any thing they relate worthy of notice. With *Attila* ended the empire, which he had, with ſo much blood and treaſure, founded in the north; for a civil war being kindled
d upon his death among his numerous iſſue, the ſeveral nations he had ſubdued laid hold of that opportunity to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberty. Thus the *Hunns* ceaſed to be the terror of both empires, and, for ſeveral ages, performed nothing, which hiſtorians have thought worthy of mention.

Attila had by his laſt will, as we read in *Jornandes* [c], appointed *Ellac*, his eldeſt ſon, to ſucceed him, and to rule over his other children, as well as over the many nations he had conquered. *Ellac* was, it ſeems, a man of great boldneſs, intrepi-
dity, and experience in war, and conſequently capable of maintaining, and even extending the conqueſts of his father; but as he had an incredible number of brothers, and they all jointly inſiſted upon an equal diviſion of their father's dominions, a bloody
e war was kindled, which involved in the utmoſt confuſion, not only the northern provinces, but both *Pannonias*, and the other countries on the *Danube*, where the *Romans* had allowed them to ſettle. But while they all ſtrove to be ſovereigns, they all loſt the ſovereignty for which they ſtrove; for *Ardaric*, king of the *Gepidæ*, hearing that they propoſed to divide among them by lot the nations, which their father had conquered, and not able to bear, that powerful kings, and warlike people, ſhould be thus treated like the meaneſt ſlaves, openly declared, that he would not obey the ſons of *Attila*, but reſcue himſelf and his people from the yoke they ſo ſhamefully groaned under. His example was followed by ſeveral other nations, that
f haſtened to join him. *Ellac*, leaving for the preſent his brothers, marched againſt him at the head of all his forces. Hereupon a battle enſued on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*, in which the *Hunns* were utterly routed, and thirty thouſand of them killed on the ſpot, with their king *Ellac*, who is ſaid on that occaſion to have performed wonders, and to have behaved like a true ſon of the great *Attila* [d]. The *Hunns* were ſo diſheartened with this overthrow, and the general revolt of the nations they had conquered, that, being preſſed by the *Gepidæ*, they retired to the country, which they had taken from the *Goths* in 376. towards the *Euxine* ſea and the mouths of the *Danube*, and the *Gepidæ* remained maſters of all antient *Dacia*, lying north of that river, which the *Hunns* had poſſeſſed ever ſince their firſt irruption into *Europe*.

He is ſucceeded by Ellac. *Year after Chriſt* 453.

Civil wars between him and his brothers.

Ellac *and his army cut off by the* Gepidæ.

The

[x] Marc. chron. [y] Cassiodor. chron. [z] Theoph. chronograph. p. 92, 93. [a] Jorn. c. 35. p. 661. [b] Idem ibid. p. 684. [c] Idem ibid. p. 686. [d] Idem ibid.

The *Gepidæ* begged the friendſhip of the *Romans*, and a ſmall annual penſion to ſupport them; which was readily granted, and continued to be paid even in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian* [g]. Several other nations, thus delivered from the yoke of the *Hunns*, begged and obtained leave of *Marcian*, or his ſucceſſor *Leo*, to ſettle in the *Roman* territories. Among theſe mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of *Candax*, their king or leader, ſettled in *Leſſer Scythia* and *Lower Mœſia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the *Caſtle of Mars*. To the *Oſtrogoths* *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmiſh* in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, at preſent *Vienna* in *Auſtria*. Even *Ernac*, *Attila*'s youngeſt ſon, and with him ſeveral *Hunns*, ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who granted them lands on the moſt diſtant borders of *Leſſer Scythia*, in *Dacia*, and amongſt the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum* [h]. The other ſons of *Attila*, uniting their forces, attempted to drive the *Goths* out of *Pannonia*, and recover that province; but *Valemir*, king of the *Goths* meeting them with only a handful of men, ſays *Jornandes*, put them to flight, and purſued them with ſuch ſlaughter, that few of them eſcaped [i]. About eight years after, while the *Goths* were engaged in a war with the *Satagæ*, *Dinzio*, one of *Attila*'s ſons, and ſtyled by *Jornandes* king of the *Hunns*, having aſſembled what forces he could, entered the territories of the *Goths*, putting all to fire and ſword, and laid ſiege to *Baſiana*, thought to be the preſent city of *Poſega*, the metropolis of a country bearing the ſame name, and lying between the *Save* and the *Draw* [k]. This the *Goths* no ſooner underſtood, than, leaving the *Satagæ*, they marched againſt the *Hunns*, and drove them out with ſuch ſlaughter, that they never after offered to moleſt them [l].

They are utterly routed by the Goths.

The *Hunns*, thus weakened by their inteſtine wars, and the great loſſes they had ſuſtained in the two above-mentioned irruptions, continued quiet till the year 466. when paſſing the *Danube* in the depth of winter on the ice, they broke into *Dacia*, under the conduct of one *Hormidac*, and committed dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and ſword. But *Anthemius*, who was afterwards emperor, marching againſt them with another general, whom our author does not name, gained ſeveral advantages over them, and at laſt defeated them in a pitched battle, during which the other general went over to the enemy; but his men, probably the cavalry, for *Anthemius* was general of the foot, not following him, *Anthemius*, without betraying the leaſt fear or ſurprize, continued the engagement; and in the end gained a complete victory. However, he ſuffered the *Hunns* to retire unmoleſted, upon their putting to death the general who had gone over to them [m]. The *Hunns* were no ſooner returned to their own country, than the children of *Attila* ſent deputies to *Leo*, then emperor of the eaſt, to propoſe a peace, and beg he would appoint a market to be held on the *Danube*, to which the *Hunns* might freely reſort, and trade with the *Romans*. To this *Leo* would by no means conſent; which *Dengizic*, one of the ſons of *Attila*, by *Jornandes* [n] called *Dinzio*, and by others *Dinziric* [o], reſented to ſuch a degree, that he was for continuing the war. But his brother *Hernac*, who, as we ſaid above, had been allowed by the emperor *Marcian* to ſettle in *Leſſer Scythia*, and was then engaged in other wars, declared he would by no means enter into this [p].

And by the Romans.

Dengizic however, perſiſting in his firſt reſolution, drew together a conſiderable army, and encamped on the banks of the *Danube*. *Arnagaſtus*, who, at that time, guarded the banks of that river on the ſide of *Thrace*, ſent immediately an officer to the *Hunns*, to inquire upon what provocation they had taken arms. *Dengizic* anſwered, That he had taken arms with a deſign to make war upon *Leo*, unleſs he granted to him and his men lands and money. To this *Arnagaſtus* replied by the emperor's orders, That *Leo* would readily grant both to ſuch as were willing to ſubmit to him, and ſerve him in his wars. But *Dengizic*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, began hoſtilities, and continued the war, of which we know no particulars, till he was killed by *Arnagaſtus*, ſtyled, on that occaſion, general of *Thrace* [q]. His head was ſent to *Conſtantinople* in 468. or 469. and carried into the city with great pomp, while the people were beholding the ſports of the circus, which they left for a ſight to them far more agreeable. It was born through the chief ſtreets of the city on the point of a ſpear, and left for ſome days expoſed to public view [r].

They break into Dacia. *Year after Chriſt* 464.

Dengizic, *one of* Attila's *ſons, killed.*

The

[g] Idem ibid. & p. 687. [h] Idem, p. 688. [i] Idem, c. 52, 53. p. 690. [k] Baudr. p. 106. [l] Jorn. p. 691. [m] Sid. p. 110. & car. ii. p. 296---298. [n] Jorn. c. 55. p. 691. [o] Chron. Alex. [p] Prisc. p. 44. Jorn. p. 618. [q] Prisc. ibid. Chron. Alex. p. 744. [r] Marc. chron. Chron. Alex. ibid.

THE *Hunns*, disheartened with the losses they sustained in this war, and the death
a of their leader, continued, it seems, quiet for the space of near sixty years, without molesting either the *Romans*, or their neighbours; for we find no mention made of them from this time to the year 526. the first of the emperor *Justinian*'s reign, when two of their kings, *Styrax* and *Glones*, stirred up by *Cabades* king of *Persia*, then at war with the *Romans*, broke into the empire at the head of two powerful armies; but *Boarex*, the widow of *Balach* king of the *Sabirite Hunns*, a woman of a warlike genius, and manly temper, espousing the cause of the *Romans* against the *Persians*, led to the assistance of the emperor an army an hundred thousand strong; and, meeting the two kings, gave them battle, cut most of their men in pieces, and took *Styrax* himself
b prisoner, and sent him in chains to *Constantinople*[s]. It is a great pity, that neither *Theophanes*, nor the author of the *miscellaneous history*, have named this brave *Amazon*, this warlike heroine, who deserved so well of the empire. The same year *Gordas*, king of the *Hunns* dwelling near the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, came in person to *Constantinople*, to court the friendship of *Justinian*, and conclude an alliance with that prince; which he did accordingly. As he had an opportunity, during his stay at *Constantinople*, of seeing the ceremonies of the christian religion, he was so taken with them, that he desired to be instructed in the mysteries of our holy faith, and, in the end, with great solemnity, received the sacrament of baptism in the presence of the emperor, who was his sponsor. Upon his departure, *Justinian* loaded him with rich pre-
c sents, committing to him the defence of the borders of the empire on that side, especially of the city of *Bosporus*. *Gordas*, returning home, ordered the idols to be broken, and their temples demolished, throughout his dominions; which enraged the superstitious populace to such a degree, that, revolting from their prince, they seized him, put him to death, and raised his brother, named *Mugaris*, to the throne in his room. *Mugaris* was no sooner proclaimed king, than he marched, with all his forces, against the city of *Bosporus*, and, having surprised it, put all the *Romans* he found there to the sword. The emperor, being acquainted with what had happened, and greatly grieved for the death of his friend and ally, dispatched one *John*, who had been consul, at the head of a numerous army of *Scythians*, to recover the place, and take
d vengeance of the rebels; but, at his approach, they abandoned the city, and fled with such precipitation, that the *Roman* general could never come up with them[t]. We should more readily give credit to these remarkable events, were they vouched either by *Procopius* or *Agathias*; but the silence of these two writers makes us question the truth of what the others relate. But the irruption, which happened in 539. the thirteenth of the emperor *Justinian*'s reign, is attested by *Procopius*. The *Hunns*, according to that writer, passing the *Danube* that year in great multitudes, laid waste *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, and all the provinces from the *Ionian* sea to the very suburbs of *Constantinople*; nay, having crossed the *Hellespont*, they extended their rava-
ges to *Asia*, where they committed unheard-of cruelties; and thence crossing again
e into the *Chersonesus*, they returned home, loaded with an immense booty. In this irruption they took thirty-two castles in *Illyricum*, destroyed *Cassandria*, and carried with them unmolested an hundred and twenty thousand captives[u]. Being thus become anew formidable to the empire, *Justinian*, to keep them quiet, allowed them some lands in *Thrace*, and agreed to pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. These were the *Cuturgurian Hunns*. As for the *Uturgurians*, who had joined them in this irruption, they retired, with their booty, to their own country bordering on the *Euxine* sea; but, finding that too narrow for them, they drove out the *Goths*, by *Procopius* called *Detraxitæ*, who had settled in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and possessed themselves of
f their country. As they were at a great distance from the empire, they turned their arms against their neighbours the *Sarmatians*, endeavouring to inlarge their bounds on that side, without giving any further molestation to the *Romans*. But the *Cuturgurians*, notwithstanding the pension paid them yearly by the emperor, made several inroads into the neighbouring provinces, behaving like declared enemies, says *Procopius*, while they pretended to be friends and allies. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the *Uturgurians*, complaining to them of their countrymen, and offering to pay to them the pension, which he allowed the *Cuturgurians*, provided they put a stop to the ravages of the latter, and engaged to make war upon them as often as they broke into

Boarex, *queen of the* Hunns, *fights for the* Romans. *Year after Christ* 526.

Gordas, *king of the* Hunns, *embraces the christian religion, and is put to death by his subjects.*

The Hunns *break into the empire. Year after Christ* 539.

Some lands allowed them in Thrace.

Justinian *stirs up the* Uturgurian *against the* Cuturgurian Hunns.

[s] THEOPH. p. 249. Auctor miscel. l. xvi. p. 461.
[t] THEOPH. ibid. Miscel. ibid. p. 407.
[u] PROCOP. bell. Pers. c. 4.

into the empire. The *Uturgurians*, encouraged with this offer, passing the *Tanais*, a beyond which many of them dwelt, hastened with long marches into the *Roman* territories, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Cuturgurians* while busied in plundering the provinces lying on the *Danube*, defeated them with great slaughter, obliged them to quit their booty, and drove them quite out of the empire w. However, a few years after, that is, in 558. the *Cuturgurian Hunns*, taking advantage of the frost, passed the *Danube*, and, after having laid waste great part of *Mœsia* and *Thrace*, divided their numerous forces into two bodies, one of them taking their rout towards *Greece*, and the other marching for the *Thracian Chersonesus*. The latter, under the conduct of one of their chiefs, named *Zamerga*, having passed the long wall, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of b *Constantinople*, and laid waste the whole country round it. But *Belisarius*, though weakened with old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with a handful of men, fell upon them unawares, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them; but that brave commander being disgraced upon his return to *Constantinople*, as we have related elsewhere x, the barbarians, who were hastening back to their own country, no sooner heard, that he was no more to be employed against them, than they returned before the royal city, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. But one *Germanus*, a youth of great expectation, putting himself at the head of the imperial troops, fell c unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. The victory had proved complete, had not young *Germanus*, by exposing his person more than a prudent general would have done, received a dangerous wound, which prevented him from pursuing the fugitives. Soon after, that party, which had taken their rout towards *Greece*, finding the streights of *Thermopylæ* guarded by the natives, returned to *Thrace*, and there joined *Zamerga*, who, being thus reinforced, threatened to renew his ravages, and to put to death all the prisoners he had taken, unless a sufficient sum was sent forthwith to redeem them. *Justinian*, not caring to provoke the barbarians, and at the same time pitying the condition of the unhappy captives, sent a considerable sum to d *Zamerga*; who no sooner received it, than he set the prisoners at liberty, and, putting a stop to all hostilities and depredations, returned beyond the *Danube*. In the mean time, the emperor privately dispatched embassadors to *Sandilichus*, king of the *Uturgurian Hunns*, to whom he paid an annual pension, acquainting him with the late inroads of the *Cuturgurians*, to whom, he said, he had paid the sum that was due to him, and was resolved to do so for the future, unless he shewed himself, by a speedy revenge, worthy of his friendship. Upon this message, *Sandilichus*, highly incensed against the *Cuturgurians*, broke into their territories at the head of a powerful army, and, falling upon *Zamerga* as he was returning from *Thrace*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged him to quit the rich booty, with which his e army was loaded. This gave rise to a bloody war between the two nations, which lasted many years, says *Agathias* y, from whom we have borrowed this whole account, and ended at last in the ruin of both; for, being greatly weakened by their civil wars, they became a prey, says that writer, to other nations, insomuch, that they lost their very name, and were blended with the nations they served. But the utter destruction of that people, continues our historian, happened afterwards, as shall be related by us, according to the order of time. With these words he closes the fifth book of his history, the last of those that have reached us; so that for a further account of the affairs of the *Hunns*, we must have recourse to more modern writers. Among these, *Venantius Fortunatus* tells us, that in 560. a great body of *Hunns*, f probably driven out of their own country by the neighbouring nations, took their rout through *Germany*, with a design to pass the *Rhine*, as *Attila* had formerly done, and settle in *Gaul*. In that country then reigned the four sons of *Clotharius*, viz. *Chercbert* at *Paris*; *Chilperic* at *Soissons*; *Guntram* at *Orleans*; *and Sigebert* at *Mentz*. The latter was no sooner informed of the motions of the *Hunns*, than, passing the *Rhine* at the head of a powerful army, he resolved to meet them in *Thuringia*, which then belonged to him, and there give them battle. Accordingly the two armies met, and engaged on the banks of the *Elbe* with incredible fury. The victory was long

The Cuturgurian Hunns *break anew into* Thrace; *but are put to flight by* Belisarius.

And by Germanus.

The emperor stirs up the Uturgurian Hunns *against them.*

w Idem bell Goth. l. iv. c. 4. Joan Antioch. apud Aleman. p. 52. Agath. l. v. p. 155.
x Hist. univers. vol. vi. p. 529. y Agath. l. v. p. 155.

long doubtful; but in the end *Sigebert*, who was a warlike prince, gained a complete victory over the barbarians, of whom he killed many thouſands, and obliged the reſt to return through by-ways into *Pannonia* [z]. *They are defeated by* Sigebert, *king of the* Franks. *Year after Chriſt* 560.

No farther mention is made of the *Huns* by any credible hiſtorian, till the reign of *Charles the Great*, in whoſe time they were maſters of *Dacia*, now *Tranſylvania* and *Valachia*; of *Upper Mœſia*, now *Servia*; and of the two *Pannonias*, viz. the *Upper*, containing the preſent provinces of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and the greater part of *Auſtria*, and the *Lower*, compriſing *Boſnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* that lies beyond the *Danube*. In the year 776. while *Charles* was in *Saxony*, two princes of the *Huns*, *Caganus* and *Jugunus*, ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring his friendſhip and alliance. *Charles* received them with extraordinary marks of honour, and readily complied with their requeſt. However, they entered, not long after, into an alliance with *Taſſilo* duke of *Bavaria*, who, revolting from *Charles*, raiſed great diſturbances in *Germany*. This *Charles* wiſely diſſembled, till he had utterly reduced *Bavaria*, when a miſunderſtanding ariſing between him and them about the borders of their reſpective territories, he reſolved to lay hold of that opportunity to be revenged on them for their ſending under-hand ſuccours to *Taſſilo*. Accordingly he ordered levies to be made throughout his dominions, and having by that means aſſembled a very numerous army, he divided it into two bodies, whereof one he committed to the conduct of count *Theodoric*, and *Magnifrid* his chamberlain, with orders to break into *Dacia*, while he himſelf, with the other, entered *Pannonia* by the way of *Bavaria*. The two armies laid waſte the territories of the *Huns* far and near, burnt their villages, and took ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds, to which they had fled, not being able to keep the field againſt ſo powerful an enemy. Thus he continued ravaging the country, putting all to fire and ſword, for the ſpace of eight years, till that warlike nation was intirely ſubdued, and almoſt utterly extirpated. In one of theſe expeditions, *Henry* duke of *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, took the royal palace of the *Huns*, called *Rhing*, in which he found an immenſe booty, great part whereof was, by *Charles*'s orders, ſent to *Rome*, as a preſent to that ſee, or, as they term it, to St. *Peter* [a]. The intire reduction of the *Huns* happened, according to the beſt chronologers, in the year of the chriſtian æra 794. Some authors write, that, by this long war, the whole race of the antient *Huns* was cut off; and that the country was afterwards peopled by the neighbouring nations, to whom the preſent *Hungarians* owe their origin. Of this opinion was the celebrated *Æneas Sylvius*, raiſed afterwards to the ſee of *Rome*. But the *Hungarian* writers maintain their nation to be deſcended from the antient *Huns*, who, they ſay, were ſubdued, but not utterly extirpated, by the *Franks*. To confirm this, *Bonfinius* tells us, that in his time, a nation was, by ſome merchants, diſcovered on the banks of the *Tanais*, ſpeaking the ſame language with that of the preſent *Hungarians*; and that *Matthias*, then king of *Hungary*, being aſſured by perſons of credit, whom he himſelf had ſent into thoſe parts, that the report of the merchants was true, diſpatched embaſſadors to the chiefs of that nation, intreating them to ſend a numerous colony into *Hungary*, at that time but thinly inhabited, by reaſon of the long war, in which great numbers of the natives had periſhed. The prince's requeſt, ſays our author, has not yet been, but will be, we hope, one time or other, complied with [b]. Others write, that, upon the death of *Attila*, the *Huns* were quite driven out of *Pannonia*, and never returned till the year 744. when, under the conduct of one *Hungar*, a word ſignifying in their language *couragious* or *valiant*, they entered *Pannonia* anew, and ſettled in the antient ſeats of their forefathers, after having driven out thoſe, who, coming from the neighbouring countries, had ſeized them, and held them for ſome ages. From *Hungar* they were called *Hungarians*, and the country no longer *Pannonia*, but *Hungary*. Thus *Ranzacus* [c]; but what he writes evidently contradicts all the antient hiſtorians, who, as we have ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory, ſpeak frequently of the irruptions of the *Huns*, of their paſſing the *Danube*, and laying waſte the *Roman* provinces, long after the death of *Attila* and his children. Beſides, the inhabitants of *Pannonia* are, by the writers of thoſe times, conſtantly ſtyled *Huns*, and no mention is made of any other nation dwelling in that country. As for the name of *Hungari*, moſt writers will have it to be compounded of *Hunni* and *Avares*, two names of one and the ſame nation [d]. *They are intirely reduced by* Charles the Great. *Year after Chriſt* 794. *Whether the preſent* Hungarians *are deſcended from the antient* Huns.

But,

[z] Venantius Fortunat. l. vii. [a] Aimoinus, l. iv. c. 86. [b] Bonfin. rer. Ungar. dec. i. l. iii. p. 39. [c] P. Ranzan. c. 6. p. 218. [d] Vide Vales. rer. Franc. l. ix. p. 153.

But, on this ſubject, nothing can be offered, but what is founded on mere conjecture. And this is all we have been able to gather from the antients concerning the origin, migrations, government, manners, and wars, of the *Hunns*. As for the modern writers of the hiſtory of *Hungary*, their accounts of thoſe antient times are, for the moſt part, evidently fabulous, quite groundleſs, or altogether improbable. We have therefore all along confined ourſelves to the antient and original writers, who lived in or near the times, in which the things they relate were tranſacted, not thinking any thing related by the moderns, and not vouched by them, worthy of a place in our hiſtory.

SECT. II.

The antient ſtate and hiſtory of the Goths, *till the ſettling of the* Viſigoths *in* Spain, *and the* Oſtrogoths *in* Italy.

Scandinavia *the country of the* Goths.

THE *Goths*, a warlike nation, and, above all others, famous in the *Roman* hiſtory, came originally, according to *Jornandes* [a], out of *Scandinavia*, a country rightly ſtyled by him *officina gentium*, and *vagina nationum*, on account of the incredible multitudes of people, that, iſſuing from thence in ſwarms, over-ran and ſtocked with inhabitants other, as well diſtant as neighbouring, countries. *Scandinavia*, compriſing the preſent *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finnmark*, was, by the antients, thought to be an iſland [b]; but it is now well known to be a peninſula. It is by *Pliny* called *Scandinavia* [c], or, as *Voſſius* [d], and after him *Gronovius*, will have it, *Scandinovia*; by *Xenophon Lampſacenus*, *Baltia* [e]; by *Timæus*, *Baſilea*; and by *Pytheas*, ſometimes *Baſilea*, and ſometimes *Abalus* [f]. The writers of the middle ages ſtyle it *Scanza*, *Scanzia*, *Scantia*, and *Scandia*; which names, as well as that of *Scandinavia*, ſome derive from the *German* or *Gothic* word *Scanzen*, ſignifying *caſtles*; for the firſt inhabitants, ſay they, turned the high and ſteep rocks, with which the country abounds, into caſtles; and hence came the word *Scandinavia*, that is, *a country filled with caſtles* [g]. Others will have the names *Scandinavia*, *Scanzia*, &c. to come from the word *Seekanten*, importing the *ſea-coaſt* or *ſhore* [h]. As for the *Greek* word *Baltia*, it ſignifies *a breaking in of the ſea*. What we call the *Baltic*, was known to *Tacitus* by the name of the *Suevian* ſea; and to *Mela* and *Pliny* by that of the *Codan* gulf. The bay into which the *Viſtula*, now the *Weiſſel*, empties itſelf, is called by *Ptolemy* the *Venedic* bay, no doubt from the neighbouring *Venedi*, the antient inhabitants of *Livonia*, *Lithuania*, and part of *Poland*. In antient times the *Viſtula* was the boundary on the eaſt between *Germany* and *Sarmatia*. In *Scandinavia Tacitus* places two different nations, the *Suiones* and the *Sittones*, of whom the former inhabited the preſent *Sweden*, and the latter *Norway*; for they were ſeparated, according to *Tacitus*, by mount *Sevo*, now *Scagen*; which mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, parts *Norway* from *Sweden*. The *Suiones* were divided, according to *Ptolemy*, into the following tribes, *viz.* the *Chedini*, *Phavoni*, *Phiræſi*, *Dauciones*, *Hilleviones*, *Scritofinni* or *Scritobani*, mentioned alſo by *Procopius* [i], and the *Gutæ*. But theſe were either *Gothic* nations, or had ſettled in the country after the *Goths* were maſters of it, it being certain, that, long before *Tacitus*'s time, *Scandinavia* was inhabited by the *Goths*, though not yet known to the *Romans* by that name; nay, the learned *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, and moſt of the northern writers, maintain with arguments, which have not yet been confuted, that the *Cimbrians*, *Getes*, and *Goths*, were one and the ſame nation; that *Scandinavia* was firſt peopled by them; and that from thence they ſent colonies into the iſlands in the *Baltic*, the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places, yet deſtitute of inhabitants. The iſlands were called by them with one common name *Wetallaheedh*, ſignifying, in the *Gothic* language, *land ſurrounded on all ſides with water*; but the *Romans*, after they became acquainted with the *Goths* under the name of *Cimbrians*, called them the *Cimbrian* iſlands; which appellation they gave likewiſe to the *Cherſoneſus*, now *Jutland* [k]. The

Nations placed placed there by Tacitus *and* Ptolemy.

Scandinavia *firſt peopled by the* Goths, *and likewiſe the iſlands in the* Baltic, *&c.*

time

[a] Jorn. rer. Get. p. 83. [b] Plin. l. iv. c. 13. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Voss. in c. 3. l. vi. Pomp. Mel. [e] Plin. ibid. [f] Idem, l. xxvii. c. 11. [g] Grot. in præfat. ad ſcript. Goth. p. 13, & ſeq. [h] Prætor. in orbe Goth. l. i. c. 4. p. 34. [i] Procop. rer. Goth. l. xi. c. 15. [k] Vide Grot. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. & Sheringh. de Ang. gent. orig. c. 7. p. 143.

a time when the *Goths* firſt ſettled in *Scandinavia*, and the time when they firſt peopled with their colonies the iſlands, the *Cherſoneſus*, and the neighbouring places, are equally uncertain, though the *Gothic* annals ſuppoſe the latter to have happened under the conduct of king *Eric*, whom they make contemporary with *Saruch*, the great grandfather of *Abraham*. But it is not at all probable, as *Sheringham* well obſerves, that *Scandinavia*, a country of no ſmall extent, ſhould, in the time of *Saruch*, who died ſoon after the confuſion of languages, abound with people, ſo as to ſend colonies into other countries [l]. Of this migration of the *Getes* or *Goths* from *Scandinavia* into the above-mentioned places, under the conduct of king *Eric*, mention is made in all the antient *Gothic* chronicles, and it is moreover vouched by the *Daniſh*, as well as the b *Swediſh*, writers, who agree all in this, though they diſagree, as it generally happens between neighbouring and rival nations, in moſt other points. The *Danes* ingenuouſly confeſs, and confeſs it they muſt, unleſs they give the lye to their own chronicles, that their country was firſt peopled by the *Goths* of *Scandinavia*; that to them they owe their origin, and that *Dan*, the ſon of *Humelus*, king of the *Goths*, from whom their country was called *Dania*, and they *Dani*, was the founder of their kingdom [m]. This is agreeable to what we read in *Jornandes* and *Freculphus*, who tells us, that the *Danes* were the deſcendants of the *Oſtrogoths* dwelling in *Scanzia* [n]. The peopling of the iſlands in the *Baltic* ſea, of the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places on the continent, is called, by the northern writers, the firſt migration of the *Goths* or c *Getes*.

THE ſecond migration is related by *Jornandes*, and ſuppoſed to have happened ſeveral ages after the firſt, when the above-mentioned countries being overſtocked with people, *Berig*, at that time king of the *Goths*, went out with a fleet in queſt of new ſettlements, and landing in the country of the *Ulmerugians*, now *Pomerania*, drove out the antient inhabitants, and divided their lands amongſt his followers. He fell next upon the *Vandals*, whoſe country bordered on that of the *Ulmerugians*, overcame them, but, inſtead of forcing them, as he had done the *Ulmerugians*, from their antient ſeats, he only obliged them, probably becauſe they were of *Gothic* extraction, to ſhare their poſſeſſions with the new-comers [o]. *They ſend a colony into* Germany.

d THE *Goths*, who had ſettled in *Pomerania*, and the adjacent parts of *Germany*, being greatly increaſed, inſomuch, that the country could no longer maintain them, they went out in great numbers under *Filimer*, ſurnamed *the Great*, their fifth prince after their leaving *Scandinavia*, and, taking their rout eaſtward, entered *Scythia*, advanced to the *Cimmerian Boſporus*, and, driving out the *Cimmerians*, ſettled in the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake. Thence, in proceſs of time, they ſent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæſia*, and laſtly into the countries bordering on the *Euxine* ſea, forcing every-where the antient inhabitants to abandon their native ſeats. Thus *Jornandes* [p], and *Ablavius*, a celebrated writer among the *Goths*, who flouriſhed long before him. In the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake, they had *Filimer* for their e king, a warlike prince; in *Thrace*, *Mæſia* and *Dacia*, *Xamolxis*, a great philoſpher; and in the countries on the *Euxine* ſea, princes of the illuſtrious families of the *Balthi* and the *Amali*, the *Viſigoths* being ſubject to the former, and the *Oſtrogoths* to the latter [q]. In all theſe countries they were one and the ſame people, though ſubject to different princes, and known by different names. Thus, in *Cimmeria*, *Sarmatia*, *Scythia*, they were called *Cimmerians*, *Sarmatians*, *Scythians*; in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæſia*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, and *Mæſians*; and in the neighbourhood of the *Iſter* and the *Pontus*, *Iſtrians* and *Pontics*. As for the appellations of *Weſtrogoths*, ſoftened by the *Latins* into that of *Viſigoths* and *Oſtrogoths*, they were diſtinguiſhed by theſe names, as *Grotius* ſhews from *Jornandes*, before they left *Scandinavia*, being called *Weſtro-* f *goths* and *Oſtrogoths*, or *Weſtern* and *Eaſtern Goths*, from their ſituation there to the eaſt and weſt, the former inhabiting that part of *Scandinavia*, which borders on *Denmark*, and the latter the more eaſtern parts, lying on the *Baltic* [r]. What *Jornandes* writes of the various migrations and ſettlements of the *Goths*, is intirely agreeable to what we read in the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors, concerning the various migrations and ſettlements of the *Getes* [s]. And truly, that the *Goths* and *Getes* were one and the ſame people, is ſuppoſed by all the writers, who flouriſhed in or near the times, in which both empires were over-run by them. Theſe authors, without all doubt, well *And into* Scythia, Thrace, Mœſia, &c. &c. *Oſtrogoths and* Viſigoths *The* Goths *and* Getes *one and the ſame nation.*

[l] Idem ibid. p. 146, 147. [m] Vide SHERINGH. ibid. p. 145, 146. [n] FRECULPH. tom. i. l. ii. c. 6. [o] JORN. rer. Get. l. iv. [p] Idem ibid. c. 4, & 5. [q] Idem ibid. [r] GROT. in proleg. &c. [s] Vide SHERINGH. c. 8. p. 156, 157.

well acquainted with their origin, call them sometimes *Goths*, sometimes *Getes*, and sometimes *Scythians*; nay, several writers, namely *Orosius*[t], who flourished in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when the *Goths* broke into *Italy*, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*, St. *Jerom*[u], St. *Austin*[w], *Synesius*[x], *Photius*[y], *Capitolinus*[z], *Vopiscus*[a], *Spartian*[b], tell us in expres terms, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same nation; and that they had been long known to the *Romans*, and likewise to the *Greeks*, by the former name, but not by the latter, till their breaking into the empire. That this opinion was not, as some modern authors have been pleased to call it, a vulgar error, may be plainly proved; for, in the first place, it is evident from all the antients, that the *Getes* inhabited that part of *Scythia*, which is by *Ptolemy* called *Asiatic Sarmatia*, and comprises the *Taurica Chersonesus*, with the countries lying between the *Tanais*, the *Mæotic* lake, and the *Euxine* sea. On the other hand, it is no less evident from all the writers, who speak of the *Goths*, that, from those very countries, they broke into the empire. Since therefore the *Goths* dwelt in the countries, where all the antients place the *Getes*, we cannot help concluding from thence, that they were one and the same people, though known by different names.

They inhabited the same country.

Ptolemy, who lived in the time of the emperor *Antoninus*, mentions no *Goths* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Mœsia*, or *Pannonia*; and nevertheless, scarce was half a century passed, when the *Goths*, coming in swarms from those very countries, over-ran great part of the empire. These *Goths* therefore, if we will not allow them to have dropt all on a sudden from the clouds, must have been the very people, who are by *Ptolemy* called *Getes*, *Pontics*, *Istrians*, *Trapezites*, *Gelonians*, and *Sauromatæ*, and were soon after known to the *Romans* by the common name of *Goths*. Were all those nations utterly destroyed, and their seats seized by the *Goths*? Of this general slaughter no mention is made by any historian; and we cannot persuade ourselves, that, if it happened, the writers of those times, who speak of the *Goths*, would have passed over in silence such a memorable event. *Cluverius*, who will have the *Getes* and *Goths* to be two different nations, believes, or at least would make us believe, that they dwelt together in the same countries. But is it at all probable, that two nations, obeying different princes, should live peaceably together in the same country, in the same cities, and within the same walls? How came the *Getes* to be so early known to the *Romans*, and the *Goths*, living among them, utterly unknown till their breaking into the empire? It seems to us a paradox, that the *Romans*, who were constantly at war with those nations, and had both colonies and garisons among them, should be well acquainted with the *Getes*, and utterly unacquainted with the *Goths*, a warlike and numerous nation, inhabiting the same countries. Besides, *Mela* tells us in expres terms, that *Thrace*, the banks of the *Tanais*, *Sarmatia*, and the countries lying east of the *Mæotic* lake, were inhabited by one and the same people, though known by different names[c]; and *Strabo*, that the *Istrians*, *Dacians*, *Mœsians*, and *Thracians*, spoke the same language, and consequently were the same people[d]. To these we may add *Procopius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, of whom the former writes, that there were several nations of the *Goths*, some being called by the antients *Sauromatæ*, others *Melanclæni*, and some *Getes*; but that these nations differed only in name[e]; and the latter, speaking of the *Goths*, says, that they inhabited *Thrace*, *Mœsia*, and *Dacia*, and were sprung from the fierce nations, that dwelt before in those countries, that is, from the *Getes*[f]. That the *Getes* and *Goths* were one people, and not two different nations living in the same country, as *Cluverius* would have it, may be further confirmed by the great conformity of their laws, manners, and institutions; for, if we compare the accounts, which the antients give us of the manners of the *Getes*, we shall find them intirely agreeable to those of the more modern writers describing the customs and manners of the *Goths*[g]. Their language was likewise the same, the *Gothic* being spoken by the *Getes* and *Massagetes* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Pontus*, &c. as *Grotius*[h], and after him *Sheringham*[i], have shewn; nay, *Busbequius* assures us, that, in his time, the *Gothic* language was still spoken, though with some variation in the dialect, by the *Tartars* of *Precop*[k]; and *Josaphat Barbarus*, a nobleman

Agreed in manners, laws, &c.

And spoke the same language

t Oros. l. vii. c. 4. p. 29. u Hier. de fide, l. ii. c. 4. & tradit. Hebr. in Gen. w Aug. de civit. Dei, l. xx. c. 10. x Synes. orat. de regno. y Phot. in epit. Philostor. z Capitol. in Maximo. a Vopisc. in Prob. b Spart. in Carac. c Mel. de sit. orb. l. ii. c. 2. d Strab. l. i. c. 20. e Procop. Vandal. l. i. f Ammian. l. xxvii. g Vide Shering. c. 10. p. 197. h Grot. in præfat. ad Procop. i Shering. c. 11. p. 198.
k Busbeq. epist. ix. p. 244, 245.

man of *Venice*, who lived among them, that they not only ſpeak the antient *Gothic* a language, but call themſelves *Goths*, and their country *Gothia* [l]. *Scaliger* adds, that the chriſtian *Tartars* of *Precop* ſtill have the ſcripture written with the ſame characters, that were invented by *Wulphilas*, the firſt biſhop of the *Goths*; and that they read it in the very language they ſpoke in the time of *Ovid* [m]. This is agreeable to what we read in *Lucian* and *Procopius*, of whom the former tells us, that the language of the *Alans*, who were, without all doubt, a *Gothic* nation, was common to all the *Scythians*; and the latter, that the *Sauromatæ* and the *Melanclæni*, by moſt writers called *Getes*, were *Gothic* nations, and ſpoke the language of the *Goths* [n]. Of the antient language of the *Getes* only the names of a few kings have reached us, and theſe *Boxhornius* ſhews to be all *Gothic* [o].

b THE *Goths*, being in proceſs of time greatly increaſed in *Scythia*, reſolved to ſeek new ſettlements; and accordingly, taking their rout eaſtward, and travelling through ſeveral countries, they returned at length into *Germany*. Their leader, in this migration, was the celebrated *Woden*, called alſo *Voden*, *Oden*, *Othen*, *Godan*, and *Guodan*. Of this *Woden* many ſtrange and wonderful things are related in the *Sueo-Gothic* chronicles. He was king of the *Aſgardians*, whom the northern writers will have to be the ſame people with the *Aſpurgians*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. They were called *Aſpurgians* from the city of *Aſpurgia*, placed by *Strabo* near the *Boſporus Cimmerius* [p]; and in the ſame place ſtood, according to the northern writers, the city of *Aſgardia*: and truly that theſe were but two different names of one and the ſame city, c is highly probable, the word *gard* ſignifying, in the *Gothic* language, the ſame thing as *purgos* in the *Greek*, viz. a *fortreſs* or *caſtle*. *Aſpurgia* was the metropolis of a province, which *Strabo* calls *Aſia*; and *Woden* and his followers are ſtyled by the antient *Gothic* writers *Aſæ*, *Aſiani*, and *Aſiotæ*. The kings of *Aſpurgia* were maſters of all that part of *Scythia*, that lay weſt of mount *Imaus*, and was by the *Latins* called *Scythia intra Imaum*, or *Scythia within mount Imaus*. In this large tract of ground are placed by *Ptolemy* three different nations, the *Auſones*, the *Syebi*, and the *Iotæ*; but they are all blended by *Strabo* under the common name of *Aſpurgians*. Of this *Aſpurgia*, or *Aſgardia*, *Woden* was king, who, committing the government of the kingdom to his two brothers, *Ve* and *Velir*, went out, with incredible multitudes of d his people, in queſt of new ſettlements, foreſeeing by his magic, ſay ſome antient chronicles, in which art he excelled all men, that he, and his poſterity, ſhould reign for many ages in the northern parts of the world. He firſt entered *Riiſland*, and having, with great ſucceſs and expedition, obliged the inhabitants to ſubmit, he appointed his ſon *Bo* to reign over them. *Riiſland*, called by the *Latins Roxalania* and *Ruſſia*, extended from the mouth of the *Viſtula* to the *Palus Mæotis*, the banks of the *Tanais*, and the *Riphæan* mountains, and compriſed *Pruſſia*, *Livonia*, and great part of *Muſcovy*. From *Riiſland* he went by ſea into the north parts of *Germany*, and, landing in *Saxony*, he reduced that country, and divided it amongſt his children, appointing *Vegdegg* king of *Eaſt Saxony*, *Begdegg* of *Weſtphalia*, and *Sigg* of *Franconia*. c *Johannes Martinus*, *Wittekindus*, *Cranzius*, and all the *Saxon* writers, aſſures us, that, time out of mind, a tradition has univerſally obtained among the *Saxons*, that their anceſtors came firſt by ſea into thoſe countries. From *Saxony*, *Woden* paſſed into *Reidogothland*, now *Jutland*, which he likewiſe ſubdued, and gave to his ſon *Skiold*, from whom deſcended the kings of *Denmark*, thence called *Skiolldungar*, that is, *the poſterity of* Skiold. Leaving *Jutland*, after he had ſettled his ſon there, he advanced into *Suithiod*, now *Sweden*, where he was kindly received by *Gylfus* or *Gylvo*, king of the country, and, being allowed to ſettle there with his followers, he built the city of *Sigtunum*, where he reigned to his death, and became ſo famous, that his name reached all countries, and he was, by the northern nations, ranked among the gods, f and worſhipped with divine honours. He is ſuppoſed to have brought with him out of *Aſia* the *Runic* characters, and to have taught the northern nations the art of poetry; whence he is ſtyled the father of the *Scaldi* or *Scaldri*, who were their poets, and deſcribed in verſe the exploits of the great men of their nation, as the *Bards* did thoſe of the *Gauls* and *Britons*. They were called *Scaldi* or *Scaldri*, according to *Loccenius* [q], from the ſound *ſkal*, often heard in their verſes and poems. The dialect, in which they wrote, was called *Aſamal*, that is, the *Aſiatic dialect*, becauſe brought by *Woden* out of *Aſia*. As for the *Runic* letters, the *Goths* uſed them in all their

The migration of the Goths *under* Woden:

Woden *king of* Aſgardia.

He reduces Roxalania.

Saxony.

And Jutland.

Settles in Sweden.

ſpells

[l] GROT. in præfat. ad Procop. [m] SCALIG. iſagog. l. iii. p. 138. [n] PROCOP. hiſt. Vand. l. i.
[o] BOXHORN. hiſt. univerſ. ad ann. 201. [p] STRAB. l. xi. [q] LOCCEN. antiq. Sueogoth. c. 15.

The Runic *characters.*

ſpells and inchantments, to which they were greatly addicted; whence, after embracing the chriſtian religion, out of a blind and indiſcreet zeal, they deſtroyed ſeveral antient monuments, and burnt a great number of books, becauſe written with thoſe characters. At length, in the year 1001. the *Runic* characters were quite laid aſide in *Sweden*, and the *Roman* letters taken in their room, the *Swedes* being perſuaded thereunto by the pope, and by *Sigfrid*, a *Britiſh* biſhop [r]. In *Spain* they were forbidden in 1136. by *Alphonſo* king of *Caſtile* and *Navar*, and condemned by the council of *Toledo* in 1115 [s]. They were called *Runic* letters, according to ſome, from the *Gothic* word *Ryn* or *Ren*, ſignifying *a furrow*; according to others, from *Ryne*, ſignifying *art*, eſpecially that of magic [t]. One *Fimbul*, *Fimbultyr*, or *Fimbulthular*, is ſuppoſed to have invented theſe characters [u]. *Wulphilas*, the firſt biſhop of the *Goths*, invented other characters, which he made uſe of in tranſlating the ſcripture into the *Gothic* tongue. But to return to *Woden*: a b

THAT the *Goths*, under his conduct, came out of *Scythia* into the north parts of *Germany*, is a received opinion among the northern writers, and confirmed by an immemorial tradition, by all the antient chronicles of thoſe countries, and by a great many monuments and inſcriptions in *Runic* characters, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the neighbouring iſlands: and truly that there were ſuch migrations, can hardly be queſtioned, ſince we find the ſame names common to the inhabitants of *Scandia* and *Aſiatic Scythia*, and likewiſe the ſame language, as *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, has ſhewn [w]; nay, the antient language of the *Goths* is ſpoken at this very day by the *Tartars* of *Precop*, as we have obſerved above; ſo that, upon the whole, we may conclude the *Scandian Goths* and the *Aſiatic Scythians* to have had one and the ſame original. c

Woden. As to *Woden*, there was, without all doubt, a famous hero of this name, who became wonderfully revered by all the northern nations; but we will not take upon us to vouch the ſtrange things that are related of him in the *Suegothic* and *Sacogothic* chronicles. Some writers ſuppoſe the migration of the *Scythian Goths* into the north parts of *Germany*, under the conduct of *Woden*, to have happened about twenty-four years before the birth of Chriſt; for at that time, ſay they, *Pompey* laid waſte *Syria* and great part of *Aſia*; and it is not improbable, that the *Scythians*, flying from him, went out in queſt of new ſettlements. But *Skiold*, who was by his father *Woden* appointed king of *Reidogothland*, or *Jutland*, as we have related above, lived, according to the *Daniſh* chronology, about a thouſand years before *Pompey*; ſo that, according to this account, *Woden* muſt have been more antient than *Homer*. On the other hand, how can this be reconciled with the genealogies of our *Saxon* kings, the founders of the heptarchy, who all derived their pedigree from *Woden*. *Hengiſt*, the firſt that came into *Britain*, did not arrive in this iſland till the year 449. of the chriſtian æra, and nevertheleſs he is ſaid to have been the *abnepos* or great-grandchild of *Woden*, as *Cerdic*, the founder of the kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the tenth by deſcent from him. To reconcile theſe ſeeming contradictions, ſome authors are of opinion, and their opinion does not at all ſeem to us improbable, that ſeveral perſons or great men bore the name of *Woden*, and what was done by all, was aſcribed to one, in the ſame manner as it happened among the *Greeks* with reſpect to *Hercules*. Be that as it will, the deſcendants of the *Scythians*, or *Aſiatic Goths*, who, under the conduct of *Woden*, ſettled in the north parts of *Germany*, were firſt known to the *Romans* by the name of *Cimbrians*, derived, according to the opinion, which ſeems to us the beſt grounded, from the *Gothic* word *Kimber*, ſignifying *valiant*. The *Cimbrians* held antiently the iſlands in the *Baltic* ſea, the *Cherſoneſus*, and the neighbouring countries, and by degrees extended their conqueſts along the *German* ocean to both the mouths of the *Rhine*. The inland countries in that tract were likewiſe inhabited by them; but, in the different countries where they dwelt, they were diſtinguiſhed by different names, ſome of them being called *Saxons*, others *Suevians*; ſome *Angles*, *Sicambrians*, *Jutes*, &c. but, by the *Romans*, they were all blended under the common name of *Cimbrians*, till the *Saxons*, placed by *Ptolemy* in the north part of the *Cherſoneſus*, became known to them by their conqueſts, and then the name of *Cimbrians* was quite laid aſide, and that of *Saxons* uſed by the *Latin* writers in its room, which they gave likewiſe to the nations the *Saxons* had ſubdued, calling *Saxony* that part of *Germany*, which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*, and had been reduced by them. Thus far of the migrations of the d e f

The Cimbrians *deſcended from the* Aſiatic Goths.

And likewiſe the Saxons.

[r] Idem ibid. c. 14. [s] Wormius lit. Run. c. 28. ibid. c. 20. & Sheringh. c. 13. p. 286. & c. 8. p. 172. [t] Idem ibid. c. 1. [u] Vide Worm. [w] Sheringh. ubi ſup. c. 11. p. 198.

a the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the neighbouring iſlands and continent, thence into *Germany*, from *Germany* into *Aſia*, and from *Aſia* back again into *Germany*. Theſe migrations the northern writers endeavour to make out againſt *Verſtegan* and *Cluverius*, who will have *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, not to have been inhabited, till *Germany* ſo abounded with people, that they were obliged to remove into thoſe countries, which they had not choſen to ſettle in at firſt, on account of the greater cold and barrenneſs of the ſoil. To confute this opinion, which derives the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, the above-mentioned writers, eſpecially *Grotius*, who outſhines all the reſt, prove *Scythia* to have been peopled before any other of the northern countries had inhabitants. The antients indeed went farther; for they ſuppoſed, as appears from the epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius* [x], that all the other parts of the world b continued quite deſtitute of inhabitants, till *Scythia*, no longer able to ſupport ſuch multitudes, ſent out numerous colonies to people them. To maintain this, would perhaps be overſhooting the mark; but that *Scythia* was peopled before any of the northern countries, is highly probable, ſince, of all the northern countries, it lay the neareſt to *Babylon*, and the only way to them by land was through *Scythia*. Several eminent writers, and among the reſt *Luther*, *Goropius Becanus*, and ſir *Walter Raleigh*, are of opinion, that the ark, on the ſubſiding of the waters, reſted on the *Imaon* mountains in *Scythia*; other ſay on the *Gordiæan* mountains, at a ſmall diſtance from *Scythia*, and conſequently that *Scythia* muſt have been peopled, when the other nor- c thern countries ſtill continued uninhabited. Now, as the way was much ſhorter from *Scythia* into *Scandinavia*, than into *Germany*, and lay in a direct line, it is more natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe, who were ſeeking places to ſettle in, went ſtrait into *Scandinavia*, than by much longer and round-about ways through *Sarmatia* into *Germany*; nay, as *Sarmatia* and *Scandinavia* were near *Scythia*, and the ways leading to them not obſtructed, it would not be abſurd to ſuppoſe them to have been overſtocked with people, while not only *Germany*, but all the other countries of *Europe*, were quite deſtitute of inhabitants, as being ſeparated from *Aſia* by the *Mediterranean* ſea, the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, and the *Palus Mæotis*, unſurmountable obſtructions, till the art of navigation was found out, which happened many ages after the confuſion d of languages. Then, and not till then, the inhabitants of *Scandinavia* paſſed into the neighbouring iſlands and places lying over-againſt them on the continent, till that period uninhabited. From thence, in proceſs of time, they ſent colonies into *Germany*, who, driving out the antient inhabitants, ſettled in their country, as we have related above. To prove the migrations of the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the iſlands in the *Baltic* ſea, the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places in *Germany*, ſeveral antient monuments and inſcriptions in *Runic* characters on ſtones and rocks are alledged by the northern writers, namely by *Zeilerus* [y], *Bureus* [z], *Suaningius* [a], and *Wormius* [b], in whoſe times many of them were ſtill extant, mentioning their leaving *Scandinavia*, and their ſettling in the places we have ſpoken of above, with the names e of ſome of their leaders. Beſides theſe antient monuments and inſcriptions, the northern writers endeavour to make it appear by other arguments, that the *Goths* came originally out of *Scandinavia* into *Germany*, and not out of *Germany* into *Scandinavia*, as *Verſtegan* would have it. Their arguments are, 1. That the *Scandian Goths* were not ſubject to the *Germans*; but, on the contrary, the firſt inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places, to the *Scandian Goths*; which proves them to have been a colony. 2. It is hardly credible, ſay they, that the *Germans* ſhould chuſe to ſettle in *Norway* and *Sweden*, when they might have ſettled in a far more friendly climate and fruitful ſoil, by only croſſing the *Rhine* on one ſide, or the *Danube* on the other. They add, that no mention is made in hiſtory of any colonies ſent out of f *Germany* into *Scandinavia*; whereas we read of many coming out of *Scandinavia* to ſettle in *Germany*. Among theſe are reckoned by *Freculphus* [c] the *Franks*, by *Grotius* the *Vandals* and *Lombards* [d], and by *Lazius* and *Rhabanus Maurus* [e] the *Marcomanns*. 3. Polygamy was not allowed among the *Germans*, as appears from *Tacitus* [f]; whereas thoſe among the *Goths*, who had but four or five wives, were thought to live in a ſtate of celibacy. It is therefore far more probable, that the *Goths* ſhould increaſe ſo as to people other countries with their colonies, than the *Germans*; and accordingly all

Scandinavia *peopled before* Germany.

The iſlands in the Baltic, *the* Cherſoneſus, *&c. peopled by* Scandian Goths.

[x] Justin. l. 2. [y] Zeil. in. deſcript. Sueciæ. [z] Bur. in. orb. Arctoi deſcript. [a] Suan. in chronol. Danica, ad ann. mund. 2264. [b] Worm. in Gothlandicis, l. v. [c] Freculp. l. ii. c. 17. [d] Grot. in proleg. in Procop. [e] Vide Goldast. Alan. antiq. tom. ii. part. 1. [f] Tacit. de morib. German.

all the antients ſpeak of the *Goths* iſſuing in ſwarms out of *Scandinavia*, which is there- a
fore ſtyled by *Jornandes*, as we have obſerved above, *officina gentium*, and *vagina*
nationum. We may further add, that all the other *Gothic* nations owned themſelves
deſcended from thoſe of *Scandinavia*, as we find atteſted by *Ablavius*, an antient
Gothic writer, by *Roderichus Toletanus*, and by *Jornandes*. Theſe are the arguments
urged by the northern writers againſt *Verſtegan* and *Cluverius*, whoſe opinion, derive-
ing the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, ſeemed ſo abſurd to *Grotius*, that he could
ſcarce forbear reviling thoſe, who maintained it, eſpecially *Cluverius*, whom he taxes
with introducing new opinions, in defiance to the moſt authentic writers, and ſup-
porting, without the leaſt regard to truth, what he thought would be beſt reliſhed by
his countrymen [g]. Thus far of the origin of the *Goths* from the beſt antient as well b
as modern writers.

The cuſtoms, laws, and manners of the Goths.

As for the manners of the *Goths*, they were famous for their hoſpitality and kind-
neſs to ſtrangers, even before they embraced the chriſtian religion; nay, from their
being eminently good, they were called by the neighbouring nations *Goths*, that
name being, according to *Grotius* and moſt other writers, derived from the *Ger-*
man word *Goten*, ſignifying *good* [h]. They encouraged, ſays *Dion*, the ſtudy of phi-
loſophy, above all other barbarous or foreign nations, and often choſe their kings
from among their philoſophers. Polygamy was not only allowed, but countenanced
among them, every one being valued and reſpected, according to the number of their
wives [i]. By ſo many wives they had an incredible number of children, of whom they c
kept but one at home, ſending out the reſt, when come to man's eſtate, in queſt of
new ſettlements [k]; and hence thoſe ſwarms of people, that over-ran ſo many countries.
With them adultery was a capital crime, and irremiſſibly puniſhed with death [l].
This ſeverity, and likewiſe polygamy, prevailed among them, when they were
known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* only by the name of *Getes*, as appears from the poet
Menander, who was himſelf a *Gete* [m], and from *Horace* [n], who beſtows great enco-
miums on the virtue and chaſtity of their women. As for their laws, they do not fall
much ſhort of thoſe of the antient *Romans*, as will appear when we come to ſpeak of
the *Alaric* code, and the laws of the *Viſigoths* in *Spain*, and the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*.
Their government was monarchical; for, as we have obſerved above out of *Jornan-* d
des, in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, they had *Filimer* for king; in *Dacia*,
Mæſia, and *Thrace*, *Xamolxes*; and in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the
Euxine ſea, princes ſprung from the illuſtrious families of the *Amali* and the *Balthi*.

Series of their kings.

Of the latter *Jornandes* gives us the following ſeries, *viz.* *Gaptus*, *Hulmul*, *Auges*,
Amalus, *Iſarna*, *Oſtrogotha*, *Cniva*, *Araric*, *Auric*, *Giberic*, *Hermaneric*. To theſe
princes were ſubject both the *Viſigoths* and *Oſtrogoths*. The former inhabited the coun-
try lying between the *Boryſthenes* and the *Tanais*, and were afterwards allowed by the
Roman emperors to ſettle in *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*. The latter dwelt between
the *Danube* and the *Boryſthenes*, and, in the reign of *Honorius*, after having over-run
Italy, ſettled in *Gaul*, as we ſhall relate anon. Upon the death of *Hermaneric*, the e
Viſigoths were driven out of their native country by the *Hunns*, and were admitted by
the emperor *Valens* within the *Roman* dominions. *Theodoſius* allowed them lands in
Thrace, whence, in the reign of *Honorius*, they broke into *Italy*, under the con-
duct of the celebrated *Alaric*, who took and plundered *Rome*. *Alaric* was ſucceeded
by *Ataulphus*, who founded the kingdom of the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, and *Ataulphus*
by the following princes of the family of the *Balthi*, viz. *Sigeric* or *Rigeric*, *Wallia*,

Kings of the Viſigoths *in* Gaul *and* Spain.

Theodoric, *Thoriſmund*, *Theodoric* II. *Theodoric* III. *Euric*, *Alaric*, *Geſaleich*, *Ama-*
laric, *Theudis*, *Theudiſelus*, *Athanagild*, *Linva*, *Leunigild*, *Ermenigild*, *Ricared*,
Linva II. *Witteric*, *Gundemar*, *Siſebatus*, *Reccared*, *Suinthila*, *Rechimir*, *Siſenand*, *Chin-*
tila, *Tulga*, *Chindaſuinthus*, *Recceſuinthus*, *Wamba*, *Ernigius*, *Egica*, *Witiza*, and f
Roderic. Moſt of theſe princes were not only maſters of *Narbonne* and *Aquitain*,
but likewiſe of *Spain*, which they held till they were driven out of both, and their
nation almoſt utterly extirpated, by the *Arabs*, as we ſhall relate at length in a more
proper place.

THE *Viſigoths*, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, as we have
related above, the *Oſtrogoths* continued, after their departure, in the ſame ſeats, but
ſubject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheleſs allowed them to be governed by their own
kings

[g] GROT. in proleg. ad Procop. [h] Idem ibid. [i] ADAM BREMEN, in Sueogoth. [k] Idem ibid & WALSINGHAM, in hypodig. Neuſtr. [l] ADAM BREMENS ibid. [m] MENAND apud Strab. l. vii. [n] HORAT. l. iii. od. 24.

a kings of the houſe of the *Amali*. Theſe were *Winithar*, *Hunnimund*, *Thoriſmund*, *Wandalar*, nephew to *Hermanaric* by his brother, and the three ſons of *Wandalar*, viz. *Walamir*, *Theodemir*, and *Widemir*, who were all ſubject to *Attila*; but, upon that prince's death, they were allowed by the *Romans* to ſettle in *Pannonia* and *Mæſia*. *Theodemir* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodoric*, who, having overcome *Odoacer*, made himſelf maſter of *Italy*, and was acknowledged king of that country. His ſucceſſors in that kingdom were, *Athalaric*, *Theodotus*, *Vitiges*, *Ildebald*, *Eraric*, *Totila*, and *Teia*, the laſt king of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy* [o]. As to the religion of the *Goths*, it ſeems to have been the ſame with that of the antient inhabitants of *Scandinavia* and *Saxony*, of which we have ſpoken above [x], and ſhall ſpeak more at length in the hiſtory of the northern kingdoms. *Apollinaris Sidonius* deſcribes their dreſs thus: b They are ſhod, ſays he, with high ſhoes made of hair, and reaching up to their ankles; their knees, thighs, and legs are without any covering; their garments of various colours, ſcarce reaching to the knee; their ſleeves only cover the tops of their arms; they wear green caſſocks, with a red border; their belts hang on their ſhoulders; their ears are covered with twiſted locks; they uſe hooked lances, and miſſile hatchets [q].

The religion of the Goths.

As to the antient hiſtory of the *Goths*, *Jornandes*, ſuppoſing them to be one and the ſame people with the *Scythians*, *Getes*, *Sarmatians*, and *Sauromatæ*, aſcribes to them all the exploits, that are ſaid by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers to have been performed by thoſe nations, eſpecially by the *Scythians*. But of that warlike nation, and their migrations into *Europe*, under the names of *Cimmerians*, *Celts*, *Gauls*, &c. we have ſpoken elſewhere, and therefore ſhall confine ourſelves here to the hiſtory of the *Goths*, from the time they became generally known by that appellation. The firſt *Roman* writer, that mentions the *Goths*, is *Spartian*, who, in the life of *Caracalla*, tells us, that he overcame in ſome encounters the *Getes*, who, ſays he, were the ſame people with the *Goths* [r]. The ſame author writes elſewhere [s], that *Maximin*, afterwards emperor, upon the death of *Caracalla*, quitted the ſervice, and, retiring into *Thrace*, kept up from thence a friendly correſpondence with the *Goths*. His father, named *Micea* or *Micca*, was by nation a *Goth*, and his mother *Ababa* or *Abala* an *Alan* [t]. Hence *Vorburgus* concludes the *Goths* to have been maſters of the countries bordering on *Thrace* before *Maximin* was born, that is, before the year 177 [u]. *Caracalla* was the firſt *Roman* emperor that quarrelled with the *Goths*, and the advantages he gained over them were, it ſeems, very inconſiderable; for, according to *Spartian* [w], he overcame them only in a few ſkirmiſhes. This muſt have happened about the year 215. the fifth of *Caracalla*'s reign; for about that time he marched from *Germany* into *Dacia* [x], and the *Goths* held then, according to *Grotius* [y], part of that province. The *Romans* began very early to dread the power of that warlike nation; for even in the reign of *Alexander*, which began in 222. conſiderable ſums were annually ſent them from *Rome* to keep them quiet, and prevent them from diſturbing the peace of the empire. Thus *Petrus* the patrician, who adds, that the *Carpi*, dwelling in *Sarmatia* towards the preſent *Poland*, demanded the ſame ſums, that were paid yearly to the *Goths*; but their requeſt was rejected by *Menophilus*, whom that writer ſtyles duke of *Mæſia*, that is, general of the troops quartered in that province [z]. The *Goths*, notwithſtanding the large ſums ſent them yearly by the *Roman* emperors, hearing of the death of the emperor *Maximin*, who was of *Gothic* extraction, as we have hinted above, and had been murdered by his own ſoldiers, reſolved to revenge it; and accordingly, breaking into *Mæſia*, laid waſte that province, and utterly deſtroyed the city of *Iſtria* or *Iſtropolis*, on the moſt ſouthern mouth of the *Danube* [a]. *Balbinus*, who, with *Maximus*, had ſucceeded *Maximinus*, reſolved to march againſt them, but was in the mean time murdered, with his collegue, by the mutinous ſoldiery; ſo that the *Goths*, loaded with booty, retired beyond the *Danube* unmoleſted [b]. Not long after, they made themſelves maſters of *Thrace*; but were driven from thence beyond the *Danube* by the emperor *Gordian* about the year 242. the fifth of that prince's reign [c]. But *Gordian* dying, and *Philip*, who ſucceeded him, refuſing to

Caracalla *the firſt* Roman *emperor that quarrels with the* Goths. *Year after Chriſt* 215.

The Goths *receive an annual penſion from the* Romans.

They ravage Mœſia. *Year after Chriſt* 238.

o Vide Jorn. c. 30. Agath. l. i. & Grot. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. p Univerſ. hiſt. p. 442. q Apoll. Sidon. l. i. ep. 7. p. 29. r Spart. in Caracal. p. 89. s Idem in Maximin. p. 139. t Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 15. p. 631. u Vorburg. hiſt. Rom. Germanic. p. 419. w Spart. ubi ſupra. x Onuph. p. 252. Cusp. p. 371. Dio, l. lxxiii, lxxix. p. 838, 910. y Grot. rer. Goth. p. 19, 41. z Pet. Patric. legat. excerp. p. 24. a Capitol. in vit. Maximin. p. 171. Baudr. p. 392. b Capitol. ibid. c Gord. vit. p. 162. Onuph. p. 259.

to pay them their annual penſion, they paſſed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages in that province, as well as in *Mœſia*. *Philip* diſpatched againſt them the ſenator *Decius*, who was afterwards emperor; but he, not thinking it adviſeable to engage them, returned to *Rome*, after having diſcharged with diſgrace the troops, that had ſuffered them to paſs the *Danube*. Theſe went over in a body to the enemy, commanded at that time by their king *Oſtrogotha*, the grandſon of *Amalus*, who received them kindly, and, being thus reinforced, laid ſiege to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Mœſia*; but, not being able to reduce it, he abandoned the undertaking for a large ſum ſent him by the inhabitants, who were glad thus to compound with him, and redeem themſelves from the calamities attending long ſieges. *Oſtrogotha* was ſcarce returned to his own country, when *Faſtida*, king of the *Gepidæ*, elated with the ſucceſs, that had attended his arms againſt the *Burgundians*, whom he had almoſt utterly deſtroyed, ſent him the following haughty meſſage, *viz.* That the *Gepidæ* being ſtreightened for want of room, he muſt either allow them lands, or prepare for war. *Oſtrogotha* anſwered, That he ſhould be ſorry to engage in a war with the *Gepidæ* his kinſmen (for they were a *Gothic* nation); but was determined to part with no lands. Hereupon both nations took the field, and a bloody battle enſued, in which the *Gepidæ* were defeated with great ſlaughter; but *Oſtrogotha*, contenting himſelf with the victory, ſuffered the *Gepidæ* to retire, and live in their own country unmoleſted [c].

Oſtrogotha *ravages* Thrace *and* Mœſia. *Year after Chriſt* 245. *He overcomes the* Gepidæ.

Oſtrogotha was ſucceeded by *Cniva*, who, breaking into *Mœſia*, was defeated, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men, by *Decius*, the eldeſt ſon of the emperor of that name, whom, in the end, he overcame, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the young prince to ſave himſelf by flight into the neighbouring provinces. Having now no enemy to oppoſe him, he made himſelf maſter of *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thouſand ſouls, ſays *Ammianus* [d], to the ſword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waſte great part of *Macedon* [e]. Hereupon the emperor *Decius*, ſetting out from *Rome*, haſtened into *Pannonia*; and, putting himſelf at the head of his army, he overcame the *Goths* in ſeveral engagements, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions [f]. But they returned ſoon after with a numerous army, headed by their king *Cniva*; which obliged *Decius* to take the field a ſecond time, when he was attended, at firſt, with the ſame good ſucceſs, as he had been in their former irruption; for he reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they offered to ſet at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and relinquiſh their booty, provided he would ſuffer them to retire unmoleſted. But the emperor, who had ſent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a ſtrong detachment, to cut off their retreat, thinking he had it now in his power to rid the empire of ſo troubleſome an enemy, inſtead of hearkening to their propoſals, marched with all his forces againſt them. The *Goths*, knowing that all lay at ſtake, received him with great intrepidity, and, fighting like men in deſpair, gained a complete victory. In the battle fell firſt *Decius*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, and then the emperor himſelf, upon whoſe death the *Goths* made a dreadful havock of the diſheartened army [g]. We only touch upon theſe events here, having related them at length elſewhere [h]. *Decius* being killed, *Gallus* was by the ſoldiery proclaimed emperor in his room; but he, inſtead of revenging the death of the late emperor, and the overthrow of the army, concluded a peace with the *Goths*, ſuffering them to retire unmoleſted with all their booty, and the priſoners they had taken at *Philippopolis*, and elſewhere; nay, he engaged to pay them yearly a conſiderable ſum, provided they continued quiet in their own country [i]. However, three years after, that is, in 253. they entered the *Roman* territories in an hoſtile manner, probably becauſe their penſion was not paid them. But *Æmilianus*, who commanded the troops in *Pannonia*, marching againſt them, put them to flight, and drove them quite out of the empire, though his ſoldiers, at firſt, betrayed great unwillingneſs to engage ſo formidable an enemy [k]. This *Zonaras* relates in a manner, which we do not well comprehend; for he ſuppoſes the *Goths*, who were overcome and put to flight by *Æmilian*, to have lived in friendſhip and amity with the *Romans* [l]. In 256. the *Goths*, with the *Carpi*, the *Barani*, and the *Burgundians*, all nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a new inroad into the empire, laying waſte, according

Cniva, *firſt defeated by the* Romans, *gains great advantages over them.*

Defeats and kills the emperor Decius, *and his ſon. Year after Chriſt* 250.

c Jorn. rer Goth. p. 433—436. d Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 446. e Jorn. ibid. c. 18. p. 636, 637. f Zos. l. i. p. 644. g Jorn. ibid. c. 18. p. 637. Zonar. p. 231. Aur. Vict. in Dec. Zos. l. i. p. 644. h Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 169, 170. i Jorn. c. 19. p. 638. Zos. l. i. p. 644. Zonar. p. 232. k Zos. p. 645. l Zonar. p. 232.

a according to *Zosimus* [m], all *Illyricum*, and *Italy* itself, without meeting with the least opposition. But this we can hardly believe, since no other writer takes notice of any ravages committed by them in *Italy*. They continued all this year in *Illyricum*, laying the country waste far and wide; but the following year, *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, being sent to succeed *Ulpius Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, drove them out of those provinces, took a great number of them prisoners, and, pursuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waste their country, and returned to *Thrace* loaded with booty [n]. After this, they continued quiet till the year 262. *The* Goths *lay waste* Thrace *and* Macedon. the ninth of the emperor *Gallienus*, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, they made themselves masters of that province, and from thence over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid siege to *Thessalonica*; but, not being able to reduce it, they attempted to
b enter *Achaia*, when *Macrianus*, who had assumed the title of *Augustus*, arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon them unexpectedly, and obliged them to save themselves by flight into their own country [o]. At the same time, another party *They ravage* Asia, *and plunder the temple of* Diana *at* Ephesus. of the *Goths*, having crossed the *Hellespont* under the conduct of one *Raspa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Asia*, plundered several cities, and even the famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* [p]. *Jornandes* tells us, that, in this irruption, they destroyed the city of *Chalcedon*, which, though afterwards rebuilt, says he, by one *Cornelius Avitus*, and enriched by the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, yet, for the space of three hundred years and upwards, shewed the dreadful marks of its former ruin [q]. On their *Year after Christ* 262. return, they laid in ashes the poor remains of antient *Troy*; and, having repassed the
c *Hellespont*, they made an attempt upon *Anquialum* in *Thrace*; but, having spent some days in vain before that place, they abandoned the enterprize, and, after having ravaged *Thrace*, returned home, carrying with them an immense booty [r]. The following year 263. they made a new irruption into *Asia*, but were soon driven out *They make themselves masters of* Dacia *beyond the* Danube. by the *Roman* troops quartered there [s]. Two years after, that is, in 265. they made themselves masters of all *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, extending from that river to the *Carpathian* mountains, which had been reduced by *Trajan* to a *Roman* province, and joined to *Mœsia* by a bridge, the most magnificent and wonderful of all that emperor's works [t]. Encouraged with this success, the following year, having built an
d incredible number of vessels, they embarqued on the *Euxine* sea, and, landing at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, over-ran *Asia Minor*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, made themselves masters of *Nicomedia*, plundered the *Greek* cities in those countries, and laid waste the provinces of *Phrygia* and *Troas*. In *Bithynia* they met with some opposition; for we are told, that a battle was fought there; and, from what happened afterwards, it appears, that the *Goths* carried the day; for on one side the *Romans*, dissatisfied with the conduct of *Gallienus*, were for setting up another emperor; and on the other *They over-run* Asia Minor, Lydia, Pontus, *&c. Year after Christ* 266. the *Goths*, pursuing their ravages, advanced as far as *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, laying waste, without restraint, the countries through which they passed [w]. *Eutropius*, and after him St. *Jerom* [x], and *Orosius* [y], mention the ravages committed by the *Goths* in
e *Pontus* and *Asia*; and *Philostorgius* names several cities ruined by them in *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* [z]. We learn from St. *Basil*, that *Dionysius*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in 259. and died in 270. wrote a consolatory letter to the church of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, sending at the same time considerable sums to redeem the christian captives [a], among whom were many holy ecclesiastics, who could not be ransomed, says *Philostorgius* [b], because they were destined by Heaven to convert their conquerors. In the mean time, the brave *Odenatus*, of whom we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history [c], pitying the miserable condition, to which *Asia* was reduced by the *Goths*, hastened to the relief of that province. But the *Goths*, unwilling to engage *But retire at the approach of* Odenatus. so renowned a commander, reimbarqued at *Heraclea*, and, by the *Euxine* sea, returned
f home with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives [d]. Many of them however were drowned, being attacked on their return by the *Roman* fleet [e]. The following year, they embarqued anew on the *Euxine* sea, and, landing at the mouth of the *Danube*, laid waste great part of *Mœsia*; but were defeated by the troops and generals who guarded *Byzantium*. However, they advanced as far as *Illyricum*; *They receive several overthrows.*

[m] Zos. l. i p. 646, 647. [n] Aurel. vit. p. 213. [o] Gallien. vit. p. 177. Zonar. p, 233. [p] Gallien. vit. p. 177, 178. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619. Syncell. p. 381. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Gallien. vit. p. 177, 178. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619. [s] Gallien. vit. p. 178. [t] Aur. Vict. Eutrop. Oros. l. vii. c. 12. p. 214. Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 14. [u] Gallien. vit. p. 179. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Hier. chron. [y] Oros. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214, [z] Philostorg. l. ii. c. 5. p. 270, 271. [a] Basil. ep. ccxx. p. 233. [b] Philostorg. p. 471. [c] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 177, 178, 180, 182, &c. [d] Gallien. vit. p. 180. Syncell. p. 381. [e] Syncell. p. 382.

Illyricum; but being informed there, that the *Heruli* had received a dreadful overthrow in *Greece*, they began to retire, when *Marcian* and *Claudius*, whom *Gallienus* had ſent againſt them, purſuing them cloſe, cut great numbers of them in pieces [f]; nay, *Claudius* was for cutting off their retreat, as might have been eaſily done, and putting them all to the ſword; but *Marcian* thought it more adviſeable to ſuffer them to retire [g]. To be revenged on *Claudius*, they no ſooner heard, that he was raiſed to the empire, than, ſtirring up all the northern nations againſt him, they aſſembled on the banks of the *Tyras*, now the *Nieſter*, and there built, ſays *Zoſimus* [h], ſix thouſand ſhips; but *Pollio*, who makes the moſt of this war, writes, that their veſſels amounted only to two thouſand [i], and he is therein followed by *Ammianus Marcellinus* [k]. Having employed the whole year 268. in making the neceſſary preparations, they embarqued, to the number of three hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, and, landing in *Leſſer Scythia*, laid ſiege, at the ſame time, to the city of *Tomi* in that province, and to *Marcianopolis* in *Mæſia*; but being, in ſeveral attacks, repulſed at both places, they re-embarqued on the *Euxine* ſea, and entered the ſtreights of the *Boſporus*, where, by the rapidity of the current, and the great number of their ſhips running foul of one another, they ſuffered a great loſs both of men and veſſels, and beſides, they met with a vigorous oppoſition from the inhabitants of *Byzantium* [l]. Making therefore what haſte they could out of the ſtreights, they attacked the city of *Cyzicus* on the *Propontis*; but, not being able to reduce it, they abandoned the enterprize, and, entering the *Ægean* ſea, they refitted their ſhattered veſſels at mount *Athos* in *Macedon*, and then laid ſiege to *Caſſandria* and *Theſſalonica*, two cities in the ſame province. But, when they were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of both, news was brought them, that *Claudius* approached at the head of a powerful army [m]. That prince, upon the firſt news of their breaking into the empire, had diſpatched his brother *Quintillus* againſt them, but, under him, committed the chief command of the army to *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, whom he had, on that occaſion, appointed general of all the troops in *Thrace*, *Illyricum*, and the other frontier provinces; but, when he was informed of the number of the enemy's forces, he reſolved to head the army in perſon [n]. *Zonaras* writes, that while they were deliberating at *Rome*, whether the emperor ſhould march againſt the *Goths*, or againſt *Tetricus*, who had uſurped the empire in *Gaul*, and was then beſieging *Autun*, *Claudius* told them, That the war with *Tetricus* was his; but that with the *Goths* was the war of the *Roman* people, whoſe intereſt he preferred to his own [o]. However, he could not ſet out ſo ſoon as he wiſhed, it being no eaſy matter, as the empire had been quite exhauſted by his predeceſſor *Gallienus*, to make the neceſſary preparations for an expedition of ſuch importance, and to draw together an army fit to be commanded by him [p]. The *Goths* therefore, abandoning the ſiege of *Theſſalonica* upon the firſt report of his approach, advanced into the country lying on the river *Axius*, plundered *Pelagonia*, and committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of *Doberus* in *Pæonia*, where they were vigorouſly attacked by the *Dalmatian* horſe, who ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion, and killed near three thouſand of the enemy [q]. The reſt took their rout to *Upper Mæſia*, and were met by *Claudius* in the neighbourhood of *Naiſſus*, whom they immediately engaged [r]. The victory continued long doubtful; nay, the *Romans* at firſt gave ground; but, returning through certain narrow paſſes to the charge, they fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, who, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, were in the end put to flight, and utterly routed [s]. Such of them as had the good luck to make their eſcape, returned towards *Macedon*, covering their rear with their waggons; but they found no fence againſt the famine that raged amongſt them, and daily carried off great numbers of men and horſes. The *Roman* cavalry, attacking them in front, cut off many thouſands of them, and, by guarding the paſſes of *Macedon*, obliged them to ſhut themſelves up on mount *Hæmus*, where they paſſed the winter in the greateſt hardſhips imaginable [t].

They invade the empire with a formidable fleet and army. *Year after Chriſt* 269.

Their army is utterly routed by Claudius.

Their fleet ravages Theſſaly *and* Achaia, *&c.*

As for their fleet, one part of it, ſeparating from the reſt, ravaged *Theſſaly* and *Achaia*, and took a great many priſoners in the open country, ſays *Zoſimus* [u], not being

[f] Gallien. vit. p. 181. Claud. vit. p. 208. Zos. p. 652. [g] Claud. vit. ibid. [h] Zos. p. 652. [i] Claud. vit. p. 204. [k] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 445. [l] Claud. vit. p. 205. Zos. l. i. p. 652. [m] Zos. p. 653. Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 445. [n] Idem, p. 214. [o] Zonar. p. 239. [p] Claud. vit. p. 204. [q] Zos. l. i. p. 653. [r] Idem ibid. Claud. vit. p. 205. [s] Idem ibid Zos. p. 654. [t] Zos. ibid. Claud. vit. p. 205. Syncel. p. 384. [u] Zos. p. 653.

being able to reduce one ſingle city. However, *Zonaras* tells us, that they made
a themſelves maſters of *Athens*; and that having laid together in one heap all the books they found there, with a deſign to ſet fire to them, they would have deprived the world of that unvaluable treaſure, had not one among them, more diſcerning than the reſt, told his companions, that, while the *Greeks* amuſed themſelves with thoſe books, they neglected the art of war, and were eaſily overcome [w]. The ſame author adds, that *Cleodemus*, a native of *Athens*, having aſſembled ſome troops and veſſels, attacked them by ſea, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight into other countries [x]. From *Athens* they ſailed to the iſlands of *Crete*, *Rhodes*, and *Cyprus*; but no-where performed any thing worth mentioning; nay, they loſt great numbers of their men by the plague, that raged among them. *But is deſtroy-*
b They returned therefore to winter in *Macedon*; where the contagious diſtemper com- *ed by the*
pleted their ruin [y]. Thoſe who had taken refuge on mount *Hemus*, as we have *plague.*
related above, were, before the end of winter, reduced by the plague and famine to a very ſmall number; ſo that *Claudius* might have ſaved himſelf the trouble of attacking them. However, that prince, bent upon their utter deſtruction, marched againſt them early in the ſpring, and, having ſhut them up on all ſides, in different ſkirmiſhes, put ſeveral thouſands of them to the ſword. Nevertheleſs the infantry having one day attacked them without the cavalry, which was employed elſewhere, the *Romans*, after having behaved ſome time with great gallantry, turned their backs, and fled. On this occaſion, the loſs on the ſide of the *Romans* was very con-
c ſiderable, and had been much greater, had not the cavalry come ſeaſonably to their relief [z]. *Pollio* perhaps ſpeaks of this encounter, where he owns the *Romans* to have loſt in an attack near two thouſand men [a]. But theſe were, as that writer tells us, *Roman* ſoldiers, who, after having put the enemy to flight, were buſied in plundering their baggage; and *Claudius*, according to him, was not yet arrived in the camp: whereas *Zoſimus* writes, that the infantry attacked the enemy by the emperor's orders; but he may therein be miſtaken. However that be, the *Romans*, not in the leaſt diſheartened with this loſs, continued haraſſing the *Goths* without intermiſſion, and ſtreightening them daily more and more. As the plague at the ſame time made a
d dreadful *havock* among them, they were in the end obliged to ſubmit, and beg *The land-*
quarter; which was granted them. Some of them were incorporated among the *forces ſubmit,*
Roman troops; to others lands were given to cultivate; and a ſmall number of them *and are made*
found means to make their eſcape [b]. We have inſerted elſewhere two letters relating *priſoners.*
to this war, written by the emperor himſelf, the one to the ſenate, while he was upon the point of engaging the enemy, the other, after the battle, to *Junius Brecchus*, governor of *Illyricum* [c]. As the army was compoſed of divers northern nations, and followed by a great number of women, ſervants, and children, all the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, among whom were ſeveral kings and women of diſtinction. The emperor cauſed ſome of their waggons to be burnt, and gave the reſt, with a great number of ſlaves, to the public [d]. For this victory, *Claudius*
e took the ſurname of *Gothicus* [e] in the ſecond year of his reign, that is, before the twenty-fourth of *March* of the preſent year 270. but ſoon after died at *Sirmium* of the plague, which had contributed ſo much to his victory over the *Goths*. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Quintillus*, during whoſe ſhort reign the *Goths*, who had made their eſcape from mount *Hemus*, plundered the city of *Anquialum* in *Thrace*, and *They plunder*
made an attempt upon *Nicopolis*, in *Lower Mœſia*; but were driven out of that pro- *the city of*
vince by the *Roman* troops quartered there [f]. *Ammianus* ſpeaks of their taking both Anquialum.
Anquialum and *Nicopolis* [g]; but this muſt have happened in ſome other irruption. The ſame year 270. the *Goths*, notwithſtanding the loſſes they had ſuſtained, broke *Make new in-*
anew into the empire, and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waſte that province; which *roads into the*
f *Aurelian*, who had been juſt raiſed to the empire, no ſooner underſtood, than he left *empire; but*
Rome, and, putting himſelf at the head of the army, marched againſt them. As *are driven out*
the enemy did not retire at his approach, a battle enſued, which laſted till night *by* Aurelian.
coming on parted the two armies, without the leaſt advantage on either ſide. However, the *Goths*, not caring to renew the combat, repaſſed the *Danube* in the dead of the

[w] Zonar. p. 239. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 445. Claud. vit. p. 206. Zos. l. i. p. 954. [z] Zos. ibid. [a] Claud. vit. p. 206. [b] Ibid. p. 204, 206. [c] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 187. [d] Claud. vit. p. 205. Syncel. p. 384. Zonar. p. 239. Pan. ix. p. 191. Dexip. legat. p. 10. [e] Goltz. p. 118. [f] Claud. vit. p. 206. [g] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 445.

the night, and ſent embaſſadors the next morning to ſue for a peace [h]; which was readily granted them, the *Alemans* being at that time in arms, and ready to invade *Italy*; which they did accordingly, as we have related elſewhere [i]. But this peace was not of long duration; for two years after, that is, in 272. *Aurelian*, on his march into the eaſt againſt the celebrated *Zenobia*, found them ravaging *Thrace*, and drove them out of that province; nay, he even paſſed the *Danube*, and having engaged *Cannabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, ſlew him, and five thouſand of his men [k]. It was perhaps on this occaſion, that the emperor took a chariot drawn by four ſtags, which he afterwards made uſe of in his triumphal entry into *Rome*; for he is ſaid to have taken it from a *Gothic* prince [l]. Among the priſoners were ten women, who had fought in the habit of men, and a great many more were found among the dead. The emperor, in a letter to *Gallonius Avitus*, governor of *Thrace*, mentions ſome *Gothic* women of diſtinction, whom he had ſent to *Perinthus* to be kept there, and entertained in a manner ſuitable to their rank [m]. Among theſe was a woman of the blood royal, named *Hunila*, whom the emperor gave in marriage to *Bonoſus*, one of his generals, who, in the reign of *Probus*, uſurped the ſovereignty, as we have related elſewhere [n]. Two years after, the *Goths* ſettled in *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, abandoned by *Aurelian*, who was well appriſed, that he could not maintain it, without an immenſe charge, in the midſt of ſo many barbarous nations [o]. The following year 275. they entered, in ſeparate and numerous bodies, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Cilicia*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian*, who died ſome months before, to ſerve as auxiliaries againſt the *Perſians*; but *Tacitus*, who had ſucceeded that prince, not thinking it adviſeable to truſt them, endeavoured, by fair means, and even by offering them conſiderable ſums, to induce them to return home. His offers were accepted by ſome; but others refuſing to retire upon any terms, the emperor and his brother *Florianus* fell upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces and drove the reſt quite out of the empire [p]. Of this victory mention is made on one of *Tacitus*'s medals [q]; and from an antient inſcription may be gathered, that he took the ſurname of *Gothicus* [r]. In 278. the ſecond of the reign of *Probus*, they broke into *Thrace*, and advanced as far as *Illyricum*, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword; but they no ſooner heard, that the emperor was marching againſt them, and had already entered *Rhætia*, than they withdrew, leaving their booty behind them. From *Rhætia* the emperor purſued his march into *Illyricum*, and thence into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, either ſuing for peace, ſays *Vopiſcus* [s], or ſubmitting to his power. No further mention is made of the *Goths* till the year 289, the fifth of *Dioclefian*'s reign, who is ſaid to have gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, that is, the *Goths* [t]; nay, *Eumenes* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off, and the province of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, which they had ſeized, re-united to the empire [u]. For this victory *Dioclefian* aſſumed the ſurname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from ſeveral antient coins and inſcriptions [w]. But that the advantages he gained over the *Goths* were greatly exaggerated by *Eumenes*, is manifeſt from another panegyriſt [x], who, in a ſpeech he pronounced two years after in the preſence of the emperor, takes notice of the victories lately gained by the the *Goths* over the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, whom they had overcome, and were then bent upon utterly extirpating the whole nation, which it would be no eaſy matter for them to effectuate, the *Burgundians* being powerfully ſupported by the *Alans* and *Thervingians*. He adds, that another *Gothic* nation, aſſiſted by the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ*. The *Goths* therefore were ſtill a powerful nation, and had not been, as *Eumenes* boaſts, utterly extirpated by *Dioclefian*; nay the panegyriſt, whom we have quoted above, aſcribes their not diſturbing the peace of the empire to their being engaged in wars with other barbarous nations, and not to any awe they ſtood in of *Dioclefian*.

They ſettle in Dacia. *Year after Chriſt* 274.

They conclude a peace with Probus.

They are defeated by Diocleſian. *Year after Chriſt* 289.

From the year 289, the fifth of *Dioclefian*'s reign, to the year 321. the fifteenth of *Conſtantine*'s, the *Goths* gave no diſturbance to the empire, being engaged, as we have obſerved above, in wars with the neighbouring nations. But all we know of theſe wars is, that they not only overcame the *Burgundians*, but likewiſe the *Vandals*, with

They overcome the Burgundians *and* Vandals.

[h] Zos. l. i. p. 654, 655. [i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. 188. [k] Aur. vit. p. 216. [l] Ibid. p. 220. [m] Bonoſ. vit. p. 247. [n] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 202. [o] Aur. vit. p. 222. [p] Zonar. p. 240. Zos. l. i. p. 662. Prob. vit. p. 228. [q] Birag. p. 410. [r] Gruter. p. 192. [s] Prob. vit. p. 239. [t] Paneg. xi. p. 132, 133. [u] Paneg. viii. p. 105, 107. [w] Noris. de Dioclef. c. 4. p. 23. Birag. p. 426. Mamert. paneg. xi. p. 136, 137.

a with their king *Visumar*, a prince of great renown, and descended from the *Asdingi*, the most illustrious family of that nation. The *Vandals* were, it seems, quite driven out; for we are told, that they begged and obtained *Pannonia* of the emperor *Constantine*[y]. The *Goths* were no sooner disengaged from other wars, than they broke into the empire; but they were overcome by *Constantine* in several battles fought at *Campana* in *Pannonia*, and at *Marga* and *Bonnonia* in *Upper Mœsia*[z]. *Zosimus* speaks of a city besieged by *Rausimodes* king of the *Sarmatians*, and relieved by *Constantine*, who, having defeated the enemy, and put them to flight, pursued them across the *Danube*, and forced them to a second battle, in which great numbers of them were slain, and among the rest the king himself. Such as escaped the general

But are overcome by Constantine.

b slaughter, submitted to *Constantine*, who returned from this expedition with an incredible number of captives[a]. Notwithstanding this defeat, the following year the *Goths* broke anew into the empire, while the emperor was busied in making a port at *Thessalonica*, and, over-running *Thrace* and *Mœsia*, ravaged both provinces, and took a great many prisoners[b]. It was on occasion of this irruption, that *Constantine* enacted the two laws, dated the twenty-eighth of *April* 323. whereof the one commands those to be burnt alive, who shall lend the least assistance to the barbarians, or receive any part of their booty; the other forbids the tribunes of the cohorts, and the other subalterns, to suffer the soldiers to be absent from the camp and their colours, on pain of death, in time of war; and of banishment and confiscation of their estates, in time of peace[c]. *Constantine* marched against the *Goths* with incredible expedition,

c and, falling upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and pursued them with great slaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly resenting, a war was kindled between him and *Constantine*, of which we have spoken at length elsewhere[d]. Some writers are of opinion, that the victory gained at this time over the *Goths* gave rise to the *Gothic* sports, which began, according to *Bucherius*'s kalendar, on the fourth, and ended on the ninth, of *February*. The *Goths*, thus overcome, sued for peace; which was granted them, upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken[e]; nay *Constantine* entered, it seems, into an alliance with them; for they assisted him against *Licinius* with a body of forty thousand men,

They assist Constantine *against* Licinius.

d who were distinguished by the name of *fœderati*, or allies[f]. These are, without all doubt, the *Goths*, who, as we read in an anonymous writer published by *Valesius*[g], fought at the battle of *Chalcedon*, under the conduct of one of their princes named *Aliquaea*. Notwithstanding the peace and alliance they had made with *Constantine*, they began about eight years after, that is, in 332. to make new inroads into the empire. *Zosimus* writes, that the *Taifalæ*, a *Gothic* nation, having broken into the *Roman* territories with five hundred horse, *Constantine*, who was then in *Mœsia*, suffered them to lay waste the country to the very gates of his camp; and that, instead of putting his troops in battle-array to oppose them, he betook himself to a precipitous flight, after having lost great part of his army[h]. *Zosimus* is the only author,

They make new inroads into the empire.

e who relates this event, altogether incredible. *Socrates* tells us, that the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* over-ran some provinces, but were overcome and driven out by *Constantine*[i]. The same year, a war breaking out between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, the latter had recourse to *Constantine*, who, glad of the opportunity that offered to humble that fierce nation, fell upon them, while they were busied in plundering the territories of the *Sarmatians*, and gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near an hundred thousand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or perished after the battle with hunger and cold; which obliged *Araric* their king to sue for peace, and deliver hostages to the emperor, among whom was his own son[k]. This victory is ascribed by some to *Constantine Cæsar*; and the emperor *Julian* tells us, that

But receive a dreadful overthrow. Year after Christ 332.

f one of *Constantine*'s sons awed the *Goths* with his victories[l]. But *Eutropius*[m] and *Eusebius*[n] tell us in express terms, that the *Goths* were overcome by *Constantine* in a great battle; nay *Eusebius* writes, that *Constantine*, scorning to pay tribute to the barbarians, as other emperors had done, marched against them, while they were engaged in a war with the *Sarmatians*, and, having subdued the whole nation, obliged, what by dint of arms, what by treaties, the innumerable tribes, into which they were

y Jorn. rer. Vandal. l. i. z Zos. l. ii. p. 680. Optat. c. 23. a Idem ibid. b Ammian. p. 474. c Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. 1. leg. 5. p. 272. d Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 257, & seq. Ammian. anonym. p. 474. e Idem ibid. f Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640. g Anonym. Ammian. per Val. subjunct. h Zos. l. ii. p. 687. i Socrat. l. i. c. 11. p. 48. k Anonym. Ammian. p. 376. l Jul. orat. i. p. 16. m Eutrop. p. 538. n Euseb. vit. Const. l. iv. p. 529.

were divided, to obey his commands [o]. *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the victory he gained over them was so evidently miraculous, that the *Goths*, acknowledging the power of the God adored by *Constantine*, great numbers of them embraced the christian religion, which had been first preached among them about the year 270 [p] (A). *Jornandes* takes no notice of the victory gained over the *Goths* by *Constantine*; but only tells us, that they supplied his army with a body of forty thousand men, which was kept always complete [q]. *Eutropius* writes, that *Constantine*, having granted a peace to the *Goths*, left among them a great opinion of his humanity and good nature [r]; and *Eusebius*, that he even preferred to great dignities and employments the most illustrious among them [s]. In the time of *Themistius* was still to be seen at *Constantinople*, behind the hall where the senate used to assemble, a statue, which *Constantine* had caused to be erected in honour of the father of *Athaneric* king of the *Goths*; but this was done, says our author, to soften and gain over that barbarian [t].

They serve in the Roman *army.*

The *Goths* not only continued quiet, but served the *Romans* with great fidelity, during the remaining part of *Constantine*'s reign, and in the reigns of *Constans*, *Julian*, *Jovian*, and *Valentinian* I [u]. But in 364. the first of *Valens*, they broke into *Thrace*, and laid waste that province [w]. The emperor, who was yet scarce well-seated on his throne, instead of employing his troops against them, sent them a considerable sum; which they no sooner received, than they forbore all hostilities, and returned home [x]. The following year 365. while the emperor was in *Bithynia*, news was brought him, that the *Goths* were ready to break anew into *Thrace*. Hereupon *Valens* dispatched a body of troops to reinforce those, that, under the command of count *Julian*, were posted on the banks of the *Danube*; which prevented their passing that river [y]. In the mean time, *Procopius* having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor, the *Goths*, espousing his cause, sent a body of three thousand men to his assistance; but *Procopius* being defeated, taken, and put to death, before their arrival, they continued in the territories of the empire, committing great ravages in *Thrace* and *Mœsia*. *Valens* dispatched a strong detachment against them, who, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners [z]. *Hermanaric* was

They assist the usurper Procopius.

[o] Idem ibid. l. i. c. 8. p. 409. [p] Soz. l. i. c. 8. p. 411. Socrat. l. i. c. 34. p. 48. [q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640. [r] Eutrop. p. 588. [s] Euseb. vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 7. p. 530. [t] Themist. orat. xv. p. 191. [u] Liban. orat. xii. p. 309. [w] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. [x] Them. orat. viii. p. 119. [y] Ammian. p. 322. [z] Zos. l. iv. p. 740. Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. Eunap. excerpt. p. 18.

(A) The *Goths*, says *Sozomen* (1), and the other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, had embraced the christian religion long before *Constantine* was sole master of the empire, providence having made use of the very ravages they committed under *Gallienus* and his successors, to convert them to the true faith; for, having crossed over from *Thrace* into *Asia*, and there taken an incredible number of captives, and amongst the rest several holy ecclesiastics, who, by only invoking the name of *Jesus*, cured their sick, and delivered such among them as were possessed with the devil, they began to hearken to their doctrine; and observing, on the other hand, that their lives were quite blameless, many of them resolved to follow the example, that was set them by such wonderful men, and to acknowledge the God, whom they adored. Accordingly they took them for their teachers, hearkened with respect to their instructions, received the sacrament of baptism, built churches, and there celebrated, like other christians, the holy mysteries of our religion. Having embraced our faith, they divested themselves of their former fierceness, and led thenceforth more regular lives. Thus *Sozomen*, and what he writes is confirmed by *Philostorgius*, who, speaking of the ravages they committed in *Asia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, under *Valerian* and *Gallienus* in 266. tells us, that they carried back with them, among the many other captives, the ancestors of *Wulphilas*, who, about the latter end of the fourth century, was revered by them as their prophet (2). This gives some light to what we read in St. *Basil*, *viz.* that from *Cappadocia* were brought to the *Goths* the first seeds of the christian religion (3). St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* in 347. names the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* among the nations, that had bishops, priests, deacons, monks, virgins, and even martyrs (4); for the whole nation did not at once embrace the christian religion; nay, after it was preached among them, they had some pagan kings, who persecuted the christians (5). *Sozomen* writes, that the barbarians, who inhabited *Gaul* and the banks of the *Rhine*, down to the ocean, embraced the christian religion by the same means, and at the same time, as those who dwelt on the *Danube* (6). However, we find no footsteps of christianity among the *Franks*, whom *Sozomen* seems chiefly to hint at, till the reign of *Clovis*, which began about the year 508. *Eutyches*, who began, according to St. *Basil* (7), the conversion of the *Goths*, and the other illustrious captives, fulfilled in a literal sense what we read in the prophet *Isaiah*: *And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place, and the house of* Israel *shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids; and they shall take them captives whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors* (8). To them may be likewise applied the words of *Tobit*, *In the land of my captivity do I praise him, and declare his might and majesty to a sinful nation* (9).

(1) *Soz. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *p.* 451. (2) *Philost. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 470, 471. (3) *Basil. epist.* cccxxxviii. *p.* 330. (4) *Cyrill. Hierosol. car.* xvi. *p.* 86. (5) *Idem, car.* x. *p.* 92. (6) *Soz. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *p.* 450. (7) *Basil. ibid.* (8) *Isa. c.* iv. *ver.* 2. (9) *Tobit. c.* xiii. *ver.* 6.

was then king of the *Goths*, of thoſe at leaſt, who by *Ammianus* are ſtyled *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Oſtrogoths*; but the above-mentioned body of troops had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Procopius* by *Athanaric*, whom *Ammianus* calls ſometimes one of the moſt powerful men among the *Goths* [a], and ſometimes the judge of the *Thervingian Goths* [b], that is, according to *Jornandes*, of the *Viſigoths* [c]. He was a man of great courage, and yet his courage, ſays *Themiſtius* [d], fell ſhort of his penetration, eloquence, and addreſs. He no ſooner received the news of the captivity of his men, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens*, requiring they might be ſet at liberty, ſince they had been ſent by a friend and ally of the *Romans* to the aſſiſtance of a *Roman* emperor. At the ſame time, the letters were produced, which he had received from *Procopius*. On the other hand, *Valens* ſent *Victor*, general of the horſe, b to complain of *Athanaric*, for aſſiſting a rebel againſt his lawful ſovereign. The *Goths* anſwered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinſman of *Conſtantine*; and that it was not their buſineſs to examine whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and therefore, if they were deceived therein, the emperor ought to excuſe them [e]. But *Valens* could not be prevailed upon to ſet the captive *Goths* at liberty, being bent, as he was then engaged in no other wars, upon humbling that powerful nation [f]. With this view, great preparations were made throughout the empire; which occaſioned no ſmall conſternation among the people, who, as they had a mighty opinion of the valour of the *Goths*, dreaded the iſſue of this war [g]. At the ſame time, in the diſmantling of *Chalcedon*, certain verſes were found engraved on a c ſtone, which doubled their fears; for they ſeemed antient, and foretold a dreadful inundation of barbarians in *Thrace* [h]. The emperor himſelf ſeems to have been under no ſmall apprehenſion of this war; for *Theodoret* tells us, that, before he ſet out on ſo dangerous an expedition, in order to render Heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the ſacrament of baptiſm [i]. The *Goths*, on the other hand, finding the emperor bent upon war, began to draw together their forces, with a deſign to attack him the firſt; which *Valens* no ſooner underſtood, than he ordered his troops to take the field, though in the depth of winter, and ſoon after came in perſon to head them. Upon his arrival, he ſent ſtrong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and encamped, with the reſt of the army, in the neighbourhood of *Marcia-* d *nopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœſia* [k]. *Ammianus* [l] and *Zoſimus* [m] tell us, that early in the ſpring he left *Marcianopolis*, and, having paſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, he ravaged the enemy's country far and near, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, the *Goths* having retired at his approach to the neighbouring mountains. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the *Roman* dominions [n], and paſſed the winter at *Marciniopolis*, whence, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, he marched to the banks of the *Danube*, with a deſign to croſs that river, and purſue the ravages he had begun the year before; but the *Danube* continuing ſwelled beyond meaſure the whole ſummer, he was obliged to remain encamped in the ſame place, till the latter end of autumn, when he returned to *Marcianopolis*, e and there took up his winter-quarters. [o].

Which gives riſe to a war with Valens.

Who enters their country, and lays it waſte, Year after Chriſt 367.

The following year 369. the emperor marched into *Leſſer Scythia*, and, having paſſed the *Danube* at *Noviodunum*, advanced far into the enemy's country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. The *Goths*, not daring to keep the field, lay concealed in the woods and moraſſes, whence they frequently ſallied out upon the *Romans*. Againſt them the emperor employed not the ſoldiers, but the ſervants of the army, and thoſe who attended the baggage, promiſing them a certain ſum for each head they ſhould bring. Hereupon, avarice ſupplying the place of courage, they reſolutely entered the woods and marſhes, and, hunting the *Goths* like wild beaſts, put great numbers of them to the ſword in their very aſylums; which ſtruck them with ſuch terror, f that they ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace [p]. Thus *Zoſimus*; but *Ammianus* writes, that *Valens*, having attacked and overcome in ſeveral encounters the *Greuthongi*, a warlike nation of the *Goths*, dwelling at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Danube*, at laſt gave a total overthrow to *Athanaric*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ven-

He defeats Athanaric.

[a] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 440. [b] Idem. l. xxvii. p. 341. [c] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643. [d] Themist. p. 136. [e] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 349. Eunap. p. 18. Zos. p. 748. [f] Zos. p. 740. Eunap. ibid. Ammian. p. 338. [g] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 320. Jorn. c. 9. p. 642, 643. [h] Eunap. excerpt. p. 18, 19. [i] Theodor. l. iv. c. 11. p. 674. [k] Eunap. c. 5. p. 86. Philostor. l. ix. c. 8. p. 125. [l] Ammian. p. 340. [m] Zos. p. 741. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 341. [p] Zos. l. iv. p. 741.

ventured to engage him [q]. After this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a design to winter there, and renew the war early in the spring. But in the mean time, the *Goths* earnestly suing, by repeated embassies, for peace, he was at last prevailed upon by the senate of *Constantinople* to hearken to their proposals [r]. What induced the senate to become mediators in behalf of a nation by them so much dreaded, and now reduced to the utmost distress, we are no-where told. *Valens*, after returning a favourable answer to the embassadors, approached the *Danube*, and appointed *Victor* and *Arintheus* to treat with the *Goths*. After some conferences, a peace was concluded highly honourable for the *Romans*; for, in virtue of this treaty, the *Goths* were not, for the future, to pass the *Danube*, or set foot on the *Roman* territories, on any account whatsoever, barring that of trade, which was now confined to two cities on b the *Danube*; whereas they had been formerly allowed to carry it on with what cities of the empire they pleased. They were not to expect or claim the pensions which had been paid them annually by other emperor's; but *Valens* consented to continue *Athanaric*'s pension to him. This peace was ratified and signed by *Valens* and *Athanaric*, who met for that purpose in boats in the middle of the *Danube*, the latter absolutely refusing to pass that river, by reason his father had obliged him, as he pretended, solemly to swear never to tread on *Roman* ground [s]. *Valens*, having thus concluded a peace with the *Goths*, ordered the forts on the *Danube* to be repaired, and some new ones to be built, and then, leaving strong garisons in them, as if he distrusted the barbarians, he returned to *Marcianopolis*, and from thence to *Constan-* c *inople* [t]. At this time, *Hermanaric* was king of the *Goths*, as we have hinted above: he was descended from the noble family of the *Amali*, and had signalized himself in several wars; insomuch, that he was compared to *Alexander the Great*. *Jornandes* names the many northern nations he subdued; but he might as well have spared himself that trouble, most of them being utterly unknown [u]. Among the rest he mentions the *Heruli* dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*; the *Venedi* on the *German* ocean; and the *Æstii* on the borders of the present *Prussia* and *Poland*; nay, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes* [w], assures us, that *Hermanaric* was obeyed by all the nations both of *Scythia* and *Germany*. However, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand the *Hunns*, who, passing the *Palus Mæotis* in 376. over-ran his country, he chose d rather to lay violent hands on himself, than to behold the calamities that threatened his people [x]. He was succeeded by *Vithimir*, who, attempting to make head against the *Hunns*, was killed in a battle. His son *Vitheric*, driven out by the *Hunns*, retired with his people to the present *Podolia*, lying between the *Nieper* and the *Danube*. *Athanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, alarmed at this sudden irruption of the *Hunns*, encamped, with all the forces he could assemble, on the banks of the *Danastus* or *Niester*, in order to dispute with the enemy the passage of that river, parting the country of the *Thervingi* from that of the *Greuthongi* or *Ostrogoths*. But the *Hunns*, falling upon him when least expected, obliged him to e abandon his country, and take refuge in the present *Moldavia*, where he fortified himself with a wall from the *Pruth* to the *Danube* [y].

Hermanaric, a great conqueror.

The Goths are either driven out by, or forced to submit to, the Hunns. Year after Christ 376.

A general consternation being now spread among the *Goths*, such of them as had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock, which the *Hunns* made of their nation, either submitted to them, or fled for refuge to the *Roman* dominions. Two hundred thousand of them were admitted by *Valens* into *Thrace*, upon their promising to live peaceably there, and to serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. But, being justly provoked at the cruel treatment they met with from the *Roman* officers, who were to supply them with provisions, they had scarce entered *Thrace*, when they began to mutiny, and plunder the country. This gave rise to a long and bloody war between them and the *Romans*, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our *Roman* history [z], to which we refer the reader. At length they submitted to *Theodosius* I. in the year 382. and were allowed by him to settle in *Thrace* and *Mæsia*; which two provinces were almost quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late destructive war [a]. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes, that were paid by the other subjects of the empire. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service, but formed a separate

Admitted by Valens into Thrace.

A bloody war between them and the Romans.

Having submitted to Theodosius, they receive lands in Thrace, Year after Christ 382.

[q] Ammian. p. 341. [r] Themisst. orat. x. p. 133. [s] Idem, p. 135. Ammian. p. 341, 342. [t] Idem ibid. Themist. p. 133. Zos. p. 742. [u] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 439. [y] Idem, p. 440. [z] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 380, 381, 382, 387, 388, 392—394. [a] Themist. orat, xvi. p. 199.

a rate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation; which proved the ſource of many evils: but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injuſtice, and cruelty of the *Roman* officers, they refuſed to put themſelves into their power, and inſiſted upon their continuing united, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt ſuch inſults, as they had reaſon to apprehend, when diſperſed among the *Roman* troops. *Zoſimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodoſius*, and his want of foreſight, in ſuffering them to continue united, not only in the army, but in the countries that were allotted them [b]; and *Syneſius* thinks it was highly impolitic to ſuffer them to ſettle upon any terms within the *Roman* dominions; for ſpeaking to *Arcadius*, The *Goths*, ſays he, after having been puniſhed by the arms of *Theodoſius* for the evils they had brought upon the empire, were forced, with their wives and children, to implore
b the clemency of that prince, who, as he was naturally generous and merciful, ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the prayers of thoſe, whom he had overcome with his arms. He granted them all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens, and diſtributed lands among them; which was encouraging all the other barbarians to demand, and even to exact, the ſame favour; and hence flowed the many evils, under which the empire has long groaned [c]. Thus *Syneſius*. But *Themiſtius*, who lived in thoſe very times, in a ſpeech, which he pronounced before the emperor himſelf, told him, that he had learnt by experience how dangerous a thing it was to reduce the *Goths* to deſpair [d]. And truly, as the *Hunns* had ſeized on their country, the emperor muſt either have allowed them ſettlements within the *Roman* dominions, or cut them all
c off; which it was highly dangerous for him to attempt, the *Goths* not being yet weakened to ſuch a degree, as not to be able to make a ſtand, and even endanger the *empire*. *Beſides*, people were wanting to inhabit and cultivate *Thrace*, where the lands had long lain fallow and uncultivated. Hence *Zoſimus* himſelf, tho' no great friend to *Theodoſius*, owns, that, partly by his victories, and partly by his treaties, he put a ſtop to the evils, that had almoſt overwhelmed the empire; that under him trade began to revive, and likewiſe agriculture, the huſbandman cultivating his lands, and attending his flocks, without the leaſt apprehenſion of ſeeing himſelf bereft by the barbarians of the fruits of his labour [e]. What chiefly induced the *Goths* to lay
d down their arms, and ſubmit to *Theodoſius*, was, if *Oroſius* is to be credited, that prince's generous behaviour to *Athanaric*, who being, by a faction at home, driven out of the country, which he had kept, in ſpite of the *Hunns*, beyond the *Danube*, came to *Conſtantinople*, notwithſtanding his pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground. The emperor went out to meet him, received him with great marks of friendſhip, and attended him into the city, which he entered on the eleventh of *January* 381 [f]; but died ſoon after, *viz.* on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month (B). The emperor cauſed him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with ſuch pomp and ſolemnity, that the *Goths*, who had attended him in his flight, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceaſed prince, took
e upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that ſide [g]; nay, the *Goths*, who had, for ſeveral years, maintained a war with the *Romans* in the very heart of the empire, were ſo taken with the generoſity and good nature of *Theodoſius*, that they renounced all further thoughts of war, and ſubmitted to the laws of the empire. Thus *Oroſius* [h], and likewiſe *Idatius* and count *Marcellinus* [i]. Soon after the ſubmiſſion of the *Goths*, a ſoldier of that nation having committed ſome diſorder at *Conſtantinople*, the populace fell upon him, and, having

Athanaric *takes refuge with* Theodoſius, *and dies at* Conſtantinople.

[b] Zos. p. 758. [c] Synes. ad. reg. ad Arcad. [d] Themist. orat. xvi. p. 211. [e] Zos. p. 759. [f] Idem ibid. Ammian. p. 214. Socrat. p. 267 Themist. orat. xv. p. 190, 191. Marcel. Idat. chron. [g] Ammian. p. 342. Zos. p. 759. Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Idat. Marcel. chron.

(B) *Proſper* writes, that *Athanaric* was killed (10); but he was therein certainly miſtaken; for *Ammianus*, who lived in thoſe times, and count *Marcellinus*, tell us in expreſs terms, that he died a natural death (11); and *Zoſimus*, with all the other writers, only that he died, which muſt be underſtood of a natural death; for, had it been violent, they would have expreſſed themſelves in a different manner, *Zoſimus* eſpecially, a declared enemy to *Theodoſius*, would not have let ſlip this opportunity of upbraiding that prince with treachery and perfidiouſneſs, had he only ſuſpected him to have been any-ways acceſſory to the death of *Athanaric*, who had put himſelf under his protection. The manner he ſpeaks of this death plainly ſhews, that no one entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of any violence. Hence *DePontac* thinks we ought to read in St. *Proſper*, *occidit*, inſtead of *occiditur*.

(10) *Proſp. p.* 765. (11) *Ammian. l.* xxvii. *p.* 342.

having murdered him, threw his body into the sea. The emperor, fearing the a
Goths might, upon this provocation, fly to arms, and renew the war, resented his
death to such a degree, that he deprived the people of the bread, which, by his
orders, was daily distributed among them. The emperor, however, was appeased
after a few hours, and the order he had given revoked [k].

THE *Goths*, who were allowed by *Theodosius* to settle in *Thrace*, were, for the most
part, *Thervingians*, or *Visigoths*. As for the *Greuthongians*, or *Ostrogoths*, they continued
in their antient seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who, as we have hinted above, suf-
fered them to be governed by their own kings. However, great numbers of them,
not able to brook that subjection, in the year 386. broke into the empire under the
The Ostrogoths *break into the empire.* conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king [l]. Their design b
was to settle, as their countrymen the *Visigoths* had done, in some of the *Roman* pro-
vinces; but *Theodosius*, fearing the empire might be thus over-run by the barbari-
ans, marched against them in person, with his son *Arcadius*, gave them a total over-
But are defeated by Theodosius. throw, and returned, with an incredible number of captives, to *Constantinople*, which
Year after Christ 386. he entered in triumph on the twelfth of *October* of the present year [m]. This victory is
likewise mentioned by count *Marcellinus*, who tells us, that *Theodosius* delivered
Thrace from the barbarians, who had invaded that province; and that he afterwards
returned, with his son, in triumph to *Constantinople* [n]. *Claudian* too speaks of a
victory gained in the fourth consulship of *Honorius*, that is, in the present year 386.
over the *Greuthongians* and their king *Odotheus* [o]. This is, without all doubt, c
the victory, which *Zosimus* describes in two places; but, to rob *Theodosius* of the
glory that was due to him, he would make us believe, that it was intirely owing to
Promotus, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot [p]. Accord-
ing to that writer's account, *Odotheus* having assembled an incredible number of bar-
barians, among whom were several nations never before heard of, *Promotus* fell upon
them, as they were attempting to pass the *Danube*, and, having utterly defeated
them, invited *Theodosius*, who was encamped at a small distance, to come and see
the great number of prisoners, and the immense booty he had taken [q]. This,
according to *Zosimus*, is all the share *Theodosius* had in that victory. But all other
authors suppose the emperor to have commanded his troops in person; nay *Claudian* d
tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himself, who was killed in the battle [r]. The far
greater part of this numerous army being either cut in pieces, taken prisoners, or
drowned in the *Dauube*, the emperor ordered *Majoranus*, who commanded under
him, to cross the *Danube*, and lay waste the enemy's country; which he did accord-
ingly, without meeting with the least opposition [s]. *Theodosius* ordered all the priso-
ners to be set at liberty, and even made them rich presents, in order to entice them
into his service, says *Zosimus*, and employ them against *Maximus*, of whom we have
spoken at length elsewhere [u].

THE *Goths* continued quiet from this time to the year 395. the first of *Arcadius*
and *Honorius*, when they were stirred up by the famous *Rufinus* to invade the empire. e
The Goths *stirred up by* Rufinus *to invade the empire.* *Rufinus* governed with an absolute sway in the east under *Arcadius*; and *Stilicho*, with
the same arbitrary sway, ruled in the west under *Honorius*; but as the latter pretended
to have been appointed by *Theodosius* guardian to both his children, he was preparing
to march into the east to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. *Rufinus*
therefore, to divert this storm, resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole
empire in the utmost confusion. With this view, he privately stirred up the *Hunns*,
who advanced as far as *Antioch*, destroying all with fire and sword, as we have related
above. At the same time, he encouraged the celebrated *Alaric* to put himself at the
head of his countrymen the *Visigoths*, and to break into *Greece*. *Alaric* was descended f
from the family of the *Balthi*, the most illustrious of the *Gothic* nation, after that of
the *Amali*. He passed the *Danube* in 376. with his countrymen driven out of their
own country by the *Hunns*, and served, with great reputation, in the war between the
Romans and *Goths*, which lasted from that time to the year 382. when they all sub-
mitted to *Theodosius*, and were allowed to settle in *Thrace*, upon condition of their
serving, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Pursuant to this agreement, they
attended *Theodosius* in his expedition against the usurper *Eugenius*; on which occasion
Alaric

[k] LIBAN. orat. xiv. xv. p. 394, 410. [l] CLAUD. conf. Honor. iv. p. 55. [m] IDAT. p. 61.
[n] MARC. chron. p. 6. [o] CLAUD. ubi supra. [p] Zos. l. iv. p. 759, & 760—764. [q] Idem, p. 759. [r] CLAUD. ibid. [s] SIDON. car. v. p. 310. [t] Zos. p. 764. [u] Univers. hist. vol. v. p. 397—412.

a *Alaric* commanded a body of his countrymen. As *Theodosius* had preferred him to no higher rank, he was highly dissatisfied, and even threatened to revolt. *Rufinus* therefore, finding him thus disposed, encouraged him by his emissaries, and even by privately conveying to him considerable sums, to assemble as many barbarians as he could, and with them lay waste the *Roman* provinces, assuring him, that he might penetrate as far as *Greece*, without the least opposition [w]. *Alaric*, thus animated, assembled a numerous army, consisting chiefly of his countrymen, among whom served a body of *Hunns*, who, that winter, had passed the *Danube* on the ice, and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waste that province, as he did afterwards *Macedon* and *Thessaly*. When he drew near the famous streights of *Thermopylæ*, *Gerontius*, one of *Rufinus*'s creatures, who guarded them, withdrew, pursuant to the orders he had received from his patron, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into *Greece*, where they raged with incredible fury, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after, *Antiochus*, at that time proconsul of *Achaia*, and another of *Rufinus*'s creatures, never offering to oppose them [x]. Thus was the whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulf, and the *Euxine* sea, laid waste, and the city of *Constantinople* itself, in a manner, besieged, parties of the barbarians advancing, with great boldness, to the very gates of that metropolis. *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery [y]. News of these ravages were no sooner brought to *Stilicho*, than he resolved to march to the relief of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarqued the more readily, as he hoped it would afford him an opportunity of ruining his rival *Rufinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore *Gaul*, where he then was, he set forward with all the western troops, and those likewise of the east, that had been left in the west after the defeat of *Eugenius*. He passed with incredible expedition, the *Julian Alps*, crossed *Dalmatia*, and, entering *Thessaly*, was but at a small distance from the enemy's army, when an officer arrived in the camp, with a peremptory order from *Arcadius* to send him forthwith the oriental troops, and return with the rest into the west. This order *Rufinus* had procured, concluding that, if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head. However, *Stilicho*, not daring to disobey it, sent back the troops belonging to the eastern empire, under the conduct of one *Gainas*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, and returned with the rest to *Italy*, leaving the *Goths* to pursue their ravages without controul [z]. *Zosimus* writes, that they spared the city of *Athens*, defended, says he, by *Minerva* and *Achilles*, whose power *Alaric* dreaded, and therefore entered the city as a friend, and would not suffer his men to commit any ravages in *Attica*. But St. *Jerom*, who wrote at that very time, tells us, that the *Athenians*, and all the other *Greeks*, submitted to the barbarians [a]. *Claudian* names the *Athenians* among those, who were carried into captivity [b]; and *Eunapius* ascribes to the ravages committed by *Alaric* the intire suppression of the ceremonies, religion and sacrifices of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, which had continued at *Athens* till that time [c]. Thus the remains of idolatry, which the christian princes had never been able to abolish with their laws, were at length utterly extirpated by *Alaric* and his *Goths*. During these ravages, several philosophers, over-zealous for the worship of their gods, were either put to the sword by the *Goths*, or died of grief in seeing their mysteries despised, their gods trod under foot, and their altars pulled down. Among the former were *Proterus*, *Hilarius*, and *Priscus*, a celebrated magician, who had been one of the emperor *Julian*'s chief favourites [d]. Thus the *Goths* continued in *Greece*, and the other *Roman* provinces, all the year 395. and part of 396. destroying all with fire and sword, and sending into their own country an incredible number of captives, with the whole wealth of the ravaged provinces.

Dreadful ravages committed by them, under the conduct of Alaric.

Stilicho marches against them.

But is ordered by Arcadius *to return to the west.*

As *Arcadius*, to whom these provinces belonged, seemed intirely to neglect them, *Stilicho*, pitying the condition to which they were reduced, set out anew with the western troops to relieve them. He embarqued on the *Adriatic* sea, and, landing in *Peloponnesus*, cut off great numbers of the barbarians in several encounters, and obliged the

Stilicho returns to the relief of Greece.

[w] Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. Jornan. rer Goth. c. 29. p. 651. Socrat l. vii. c. 10. p. 346. Zos. p. 783. Mar. ad ann. 395. [x] Claud. ubi sup. Zos. ibid. Philostorg. p. 254. Oros. l. vii. p. 221. [y] Claud. ibid. p. 21, 22. [z] Zos. p. 781. Claud. ibid. p. 24. Soz. l. viii. p. 754. [a] Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. [b] Claud. ibid. [c] Eunap. c. 5. p. 74, 75. [d] Idem, c. 6. p. 93, 94.

the reſt to take refuge on a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Piſa*. But, after he had ſhut them up on all ſides, and even turned the courſe of a river, that ſupplied them with water, he ſuffered them, by his miſconduct, ſays *Zoſimus*, to eſcape, to withdraw out of *Peloponneſus* unmoleſted, and to ravage *Epirus* in their retreat [e]. After this, he returned to *Italy*, ſuffering his ſoldiers to deſtroy and carry off whatever had eſcaped the avarice and fury of the *Goths* [f]. *Oroſius* thinks that *Stilicho*'s deſign was to deliver *Greece*, without deſtroying the barbarians, whom he might, ſome time or other, have occaſion to employ; and therefore he often overcame them, often ſhut them up on all ſides, but always ſuffered them in the end to eſcape [g]. But the poet *Claudian* tells us, that *Stilicho* would have put *Alaric* and all his men to the ſword, as he had already killed great numbers of them on the mountains of *Arcadia*, had not *Arcadius* taken them under his protection, and ordered *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops out of *Greece*, a province belonging to the eaſtern empire [h]. *Arcadius* had, without all doubt, been induced to conclude a peace with the barbarians by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had ſucceeded *Rufinus*, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other deteſtable qualities. He was no leſs jealous of *Stilicho*'s great power, than his predeceſſor had been; and therefore, to rob him of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians, he perſuaded the emperor to conclude a peace with them, and ordered *Stilicho*, to whom he muſt otherwiſe have been highly indebted, to leave the barbarians, and return with his forces into the weſt. Soon after, *Alaric* was appointed, no doubt in virtue of this treaty, commander of the troops in *Eaſt Illyricum*, which compriſed *Greece*, and the other provinces he had laid waſte [i]. *Claudian* complains, and indeed with a great deal of reaſon, that the barbarian, who, in defiance to the moſt ſacred ties, had turned his arms againſt the empire, ſhould be preferred and enriched, and the perſon, to whom the empire owed its ſafety, ſtripped of all his honours, and reduced to poverty [k]; for *Stilicho*, though he immediately retired with his troops out of *Greece*, purſuant to the orders of *Arcadius*, yet that prince cauſed him to be declared a public enemy by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*, and the lands he had in the eaſt to be ſeized and confiſcated [l]. It was, without all doubt, after *Alaric* had been raiſed to this dignity, and not during the war, that, coming to *Athens* with a ſmall attendance, he was received by the inhabitants, as we read in *Zoſimus* [m], with all poſſible marks of honour.

But ſuffers Alaric *to eſcape.*

Alaric *preferred by* Arcadius.

And Stilicho *declared a public enemy.*

About three years after, new diſturbances were raiſed in the eaſt by two *Goths*, ſubjects of the empire, and in the *Roman* ſervice, *viz. Gainas* and *Tribigild*. The former had, under *Theodoſius*, the chief command of all the *Goths* and other barbarians in the *Roman* armies, to which poſt he had been raiſed, by degrees, from a common ſoldier. He reconducted, as we have hinted above, the eaſtern army to *Arcadius*, and, on that occaſion, cauſed *Rufinus* to be cut in pieces by the ſoldiery, in the manner we have related elſewhere [n]. For this eminent piece of ſervice, he was preferred by *Eutropius*, who ſucceeded *Rufinus* in all his employments, to the poſt of general of the *Roman* horſe and foot; but, not yet ſatisfied, he reſolved to diſpatch *Eutropius*, as he had done *Rufinus*, hoping, if he was once removed to ſucceed him in his power and authority. With this view he perſuaded *Tribigild* to revolt, who, at the head of a numerous body of his countrymen under his command at *Nicolia* in *Phrygia*, over-ran that province, and likewiſe *Piſidia*, pillaging the cities, and putting to the ſword ſuch of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. *Eutropius* diſpatched a body of troops againſt him, under the conduct of one *Leo*, who was greatly attached to his intereſt; but, as he was a perſon in every reſpect unfit for that command, *Tribigild*, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces. *Leo* himſelf, attempting to make his eſcape, periſhed among the marſhes. At length *Gainas*, who pretended to be highly provoked againſt *Tribigild*, on account of his revolt, was ſent againſt him; but he, keeping the whole time a private correſpondence with the rebels, inſtead of oppoſing them, encouraged them to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, the conduct of *Tribigild*, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and ſuggeſting, that the only means to ſave the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of the preſent calamities, ſhould be delivered up

Tribigild *revolts at the inſtigation of* Gainas. *Year after Chriſt* 399.

Defeats the troops ſent againſt him.

[e] Zos. p. 784, 785. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. [h] Claud. in Eutrop, l. ii. p. 113. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem, p. 130. [m] Zos. p. 784. [n] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 434.

a up into his hands. A report being ſpread at the ſame time, that the king of *Perſia* was preparing to invade *Syria*, the emperor, to put an end to the domeſtic diſturbances, reſolved at laſt to ſacrifice the miniſter to the welfare of the ſtate; and accordingly, having ſent for him, cauſed him to be ſtripped of the conſular enſigns, and diſcharged him. He was afterwards baniſhed to the iſland of *Cyprus*; but *Gainas* having cauſed ſeveral charges to be brought againſt him, he was conducted from thence under a ſtrong guard to *Pantychium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*, and there tried, condemned, and beheaded [o]. We only hint at theſe events here, having related them at length elſewhere [p]. *Eutropius* being thus diſpatched, *Gainas*, joining *Tribigild* with all the forces under his command, laid waſte ſeveral provinces, and, b approaching *Conſtantinople*, obliged the emperor to come to an agreement with him, upon terms highly diſhonourable to the imperial dignity [q]. Soon after, he formed a deſign of plundering the city of *Conſtantinople*, and enriching himſelf, and his *Goths*, with the ſpoils of that wealthy metropolis; but, failing in his attempt, he pulled off the maſk, and, making open war upon the empire, ravaged the neighbouring country, and thence marched into the *Cherſoneſus*, with a deſign to croſs over into *Aſia*. But being attacked in his paſſage by *Fravitus*, who was likewiſe a *Goth*, but greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt, he was obliged to return to the coaſt whence he had failed. From the *Cherſoneſus* he marched back to *Thrace*, and was there, according to *Socrates* [r] and *Sozomen* [s], cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans*, c who purſued him. *Zoſimus* writes, that, being deſirous to end his days in the antient country of the *Goths*, he paſſed the *Danube*, but was met on the frontiers by *Uldin* king of the *Hunns*, then maſters of thoſe countries, and, after a ſharp diſpute, cut in pieces, with all his men [t]. As for *Tribigild*, all we know of him is, that he periſhed in *Thrace*, before *Gainas* paſſed the *Danube* [u]; but, in what manner, we are no-where told.

The emperor, at his requeſt, diſcharges Eutropius, *who is put to death.*

Gainas *openly revolts, and forces the emperor to comply with his demands.*

Gainas *oppoſed by* Fravitus.

His death.

During the above-mentioned diſturbances raiſed by the *Goths* in the eaſt, the weſtern provinces were alarmed with a ſudden irruption of the ſame barbarians, under the conduct of *Alaric*. *Arcadius*, as we have related above, entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces quartered d in *Eaſt Illyricum*. The *Goths*, who were ſubject to the empire, created him, according to *Jornandes* [w], about the ſame time, their chief and general, with the title of king of the *Viſigoths*. He was, in this very year 400. when he firſt broke into *Italy*, general of the *Illyrian* troops; whence ſome have thought he made that irruption by order of *Arcadius*, and as his general; for *Arcadius* never well agreed with his brother *Honorius*. But it is not at all probable, that *Arcadius* ſhould chuſe to make war upon his brother, while moſt of his forces were employed againſt *Tribigild* and *Gainas*. What *Jornandes* writes ſeems to us far more probable, *viz.* that the *Goths*, deſpiſing both *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and diſcontented becauſe they had not ſent them the uſual preſents, reſolved to make war on the empire, in order to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo many wealthy provinces; and with this view it was that e they choſe *Alaric* for their chief, and even gave him the title of king [x]. However that be, it is certain, that, in the year 400. the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*, entered *Italy*, and committed there dreadful ravages, laying the country waſte far and near, and carrying off with them an incredible number of captives, as we have related elſewhere [y]. Two years after, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew, and ravaged, without controul, the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, there being then no army in *Italy* to oppoſe him. The emperor *Honorius*, who then reſided at *Milan*, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, retired to *Ravenna*; which thenceforth became the uſual place of his reſidence. In the mean time, *Stilicho*, having aſſembled what forces he could, f marched againſt the enemy, whom he found encamped at *Pollentia* on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont*. There the two armies engaged; but, as to the iſſue of the battle, there is a great diſagreement among authors, as we have obſerved in our *Roman* hiſtory [z]. The wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, fell into the hands of the *Romans*; which he no ſooner underſtood, than he ſent deputies to *Stilicho* to ſue for peace; which was readily granted him, and the captives ſent back, upon condition of

Alaric *breaks into* Italy.

He enters Italy *anew. Year after Chriſt* 400.

[o] Zos. l. v. p. 797. Claudian. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110. Philostorg. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. Chrys. tom. iii. p. 671—673. [p] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 442—445. [q] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. ibid. p. 445. [r] Socrat. p. 303. [s] Soz. p. 763. [t] Zos. p. 798, 799. [u] Philostorg. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. [w] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 650. & reg. c. 43. p. 653. [x] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 651. [y] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 448. [z] Ibid. p. 450.

of his marching forthwith out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this agreement, he repassed the *Po*; but, having plundered the country in his retreat, *Stilicho* detached a strong body of barbarians against him, by whom he was defeated, and obliged to take refuge among the mountains, where they kept him blocked up, till most of his men forsaking him, and joining the *Romans*, he privately withdrew in the night-time, and returned through by-ways into *Thrace* [a]. Three years after, *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* with an army of two hundred thousand *Goths*, and other barbarians dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths*; but this numerous army was defeated and cut in pieces, and *Radagaisus* himself taken prisoner by *Stilicho*, with the assistance of a body of *Huns* and *Goths*, who served the *Romans* as auxiliaries, under the conduct of *Uldin* and *Sarus* [b]. Of this invasion we have given a particular and distinct account in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader [c].

But is driven out by Stilicho.

This storm was scarce blown over, when another was raised by *Stilicho*, who, in order to kindle a war between *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, persuaded the latter, that not only *West Illyricum*, but the whole province, belonged to the western empire; nay, he even prevailed upon the weak prince to appoint *Alaric* general of all the *Roman* troops in *West Illyricum*, in order to recover, with them and his own *Goths*, that part of the province, which he pretended to be unjustly with-held from him by his brother *Arcadius*. *Stilicho*, in thus setting the two brothers at variance, had nothing less in view than the raising of himself to the empire; for, while the *Goths* invaded the eastern empire, his countrymen the *Vandals* and their allies were to break into the western provinces, and there second his treacherous and wicked design [d]. At the same time that he acquainted *Alaric* with his promotion, he caused a considerable sum to be transmitted to him, to defray the charges of the war; which he no sooner received, than leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, he entered *Epirus*, then belonging to the eastern empire, and there waited for orders from *Stilicho* to begin hostilities. But while that general was upon the point of setting out from *Ravenna* to join him with the *Roman* forces, he was stopped by letters from *Arcadius*, acquainting him with the revolt of *Constantine* in *Britain*, and, by a false report, with the death of *Alaric* [e]. Hereupon *Alaric*, after having long continued inactive in *Epirus*, left at length that country, and, bending his march towards *Italy*, arrived at *Æmona*, now *Lanbach*, between *Upper Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Thence he continued his rout, and, passing the river *Aquila* and the streights of the mountains that bound *Pannonia* on that side, where a handful of men might have stopped his whole army, he entered *Noricum* [f]. From thence he dispatched a messenger to *Arcadius*, demanding a sum of money for the time he had spent in *Epirus*, and the trouble of marching his troops into *Noricum*. Upon this demand the senate being assembled, (for *Honorius* was then at *Rome*) *Stilicho* pleaded so warmly in his favour, that it was agreed four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him [g]. But the emperor putting off from time to time the payment of this sum, *Alaric* entered *Italy*, and, marching strait to *Rome*, laid siege to that metropolis, and, in a short time, reduced it to such streights, that the unhappy inhabitants, afflicted both with the plague and famine, were obliged to redeem themselves with an immense sum; which *Alaric* no sooner received, than he raised the siege, and retired with his army into *Hetruria* [h]. But soon after, he returned anew before *Rome*, the emperor shewing great backwardness to execute the articles of the treaty between *Alaric* and the *Romans*, which he himself had ratified. On this occasion, the *Romans*, after a few days siege, opened their gates to *Alaric*, who entered the city attended by a small guard, obliged the *Romans* to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge *Attalus*, then prefect of *Rome*, for emperor. But *Honorius* having, in the mean time, declared, that he was ready to comply with the terms proposed by the *Goths*, *Alaric* deposed *Attalus*, and, leaving *Rome*, approached *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, in order to put the last hand to the treaty of accommodation. But the emperor refusing to comply with the terms proposed to him, *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and, returning

Alaric *advances into* Noricum.

He besieges Rome.

Which is redeemed with an immense sum.
Year after Christ 408.

[a] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. Claud. p. 160, 161. & consul. Honor. vi. p. 178—183. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. [b] Zos. p. 803. Oros. ibid. [c] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 452, 453. [d] Zos. l. v. p. 802. Soz. p. 792. Phot. c. 80. p. 180. [e] Soz. ibid. Zos. p. 802, 803. [f] Soz. Zoz. ibid. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 2. p. 532. Rutil. l. ii. p. 141. [g] Zos. p. 805, 806. [h] Soz. p. 808. Zos. p. 817. Socr. p. 88. Univers. hist. ibid. p. 457, 458.

ing

ing before *Rome*, took and plundered that wealthy metropolis, as we have related at length elsewhere[i]. From *Rome Alaric* marched into *Campania*, and, having ravaged that and the neighbouring provinces of *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, he approached the streights of *Sicily* with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into *Africa*; but he was seized in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* with a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a few days. The *Goths* chose *Ataulphus*, whose sister the deceased prince had married, king in his room; for to *Alaric*, as we have observed above, the *Goths* had given the title of king of the *Visigoths*. *Ataulphus*, leaving *Italy*, after he had quite drained it of its wealth, marched into *Gaul*, and there reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*[k]. Soon after, he married with great solemnity *Placidia*, the sister of *Honorius*, who had been taken with many other captives at *Rome*, and treated, both by *Alaric* and him, with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After this marriage, *Ataulphus* seemed mighty desirous of concluding a peace with *Honorius*, and turning his arms against the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Burgundians*, *Franks*, and other barbarous nations, that had broken into *Gaul*; but all the measures that were taken by him and his wife *Placidia*, to bring about an accommodation, being defeated by *Constantius* and his party, who bore a great sway at court, the war was renewed, and *Ataulphus* in the end obliged to retire with his *Goths* into *Spain*, where he was soon after murdered in the manner we have related in our *Roman* history[l]. Before his death he charged his brother, not named by any historian, to send back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and live in friendship with them; but the *Goths*, instead of his brother, chose for their king *Sigeric*, or *Sergeric*, brother to *Sarus*, whom *Ataulphus* had put to death. *Sigeric* was no sooner proclaimed king of the *Visigoths*, than, to revenge the death of his brother, he caused the six children *Ataulphus* had by a former wife to be inhumanly murdered[m]. He seemed inclined to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*, and desirous of being employed by them in driving out the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, who had entered *Spain* in 409. and in the space of two years reduced almost the whole country, and divided it among them; but he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election, perhaps on account of his cruelty to the children of his predecessor *Ataulphus*[n]. In his room was chosen *Vallia*, after he had caused all those to be assassinated, who stood in competition with him for the crown[o]. As the chief provinces of *Spain* were already possessed by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, he resolved to pass over into *Africa*, and attempt the reduction of that country, which still continued subject to the *Romans*; but the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked, and a great number of *Goths* on board of it drowned, he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, upon the following terms; *viz.* that *Placidia*, whom the emperor had promised to *Constantius*, should be sent back; that the *Goths* should make war upon the barbarians, who had settled in *Spain*, restoring to the *Romans* the places and territories they should recover out of their hands; that, on the other hand, the *Romans* should reward the *Goths* with lands within the empire, and send them forth-with six hundred thousand measures of corn. Pursuant to this agreement, the promised corn was immediately sent to the *Goths*, who were then in the utmost distress; and they no sooner received it, than *Vallia* sent back *Placidia* to her brother, and began to make the necessary preparations for the intended war with the barbarians in *Spain*[p]. *Jornandes* writes, that *Constantius* advanced at the head of a powerful army to the frontiers of *Spain*, with a design to make war upon *Vallia*, in case he refused to send him *Placidia*, who had been promised to him in marriage; that *Vallia* came to meet him, on the *Pyrenean* mountains, with an army no-ways inferior to his; and that the above-mentioned peace and alliance was there concluded[q]. But *Jornandes* is so little acquainted with the history of those times, even that of his own nation, that we cannot give intire credit to any thing he writes.

Alaric *takes and plunders* Rome. *Year after Christ* 410.

Ataulphus, *his successor, invades* Gaul.

Being driven out of Gaul, *he retires to* Spain, *where he is murdered Year after Christ* 415.

Sigeric *his successor murdered.*

Vallia *concludes a peace with the* Romans.

An alliance being thus concluded between the *Romans* and the *Goths* in *Catalonia*, in 416. *Vallia*, without loss of time, fell first on the *Vandals*, called *Silingians*, who had settled in *Bætica* or *Andalusia*, and having, in several successful encounters, cut off great numbers of them, he obliged the rest to abandon their country, and take refuge

His successful war with the Silingians *and* Alans *in* Spain.

i Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 464. [k] Oros. l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 347. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 3. p. 534. [l] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 470. [m] Jorn. p. 655. Phot. p. 188. Oros. p. 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. [n] Oros. Phot. ibid. [o] Oros. p. 224. [p] Oros. ibid. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. [q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 32. p. 656.

refuge among the *Alans* in *Celtiberia*, now the kingdom of *Arragon*. Againſt theſe he marched next, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of that nation, that their king *Ata* being killed, the few who remained, inſtead of chuſing him a ſucceſſor, fled for protection to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, who had ſettled in *Galicia*, and ſubmitted to him [q]. To reward theſe eminent ſervices of *Vallia* and his *Goths*, *Honorius* beſtowed on them *Aquitania Secunda*, compriſing the preſent archbiſhoprick of *Bourdeaux*, and ſome neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from *Toulouſe* to the ſea; to which was added, ſoon after, *Novempopulania*, or *Aquitania Tertia*, that is, the provinces of *Auch* and *Gaſcony* [r]. *Vallia*, on the other hand, yielded to the *Romans*, not only the country he had taken from the *Vandals* and *Alans*, but likewiſe *Catalonia*, which the *Goths* had held ever ſince their entering *Spain*, under the conduct of *Ataulphus* their ſecond king. *Vallia* fixed his reſidence at *Toulouſe*, which by that means became, and continued to be, for the ſpace of eighty-eight years, the metropolis of the kingdom of the *Viſigoths*. *Vallia* died ſoon after he had brought his *Goths* back into *Gaul*, that is, in the year 418. according to the chronicle of *Idatius* [s], having reigned only three years [t]. He left behind him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by whom ſhe had the famous *Ricimer*, of whom we have made frequent mention in our *Roman* hiſtory [u].

He is allowed to ſettle in Aquitain. *Year after Chriſt* 418.

Vallia was ſucceeded by *Theodoric*, who, breaking the alliance which his predeceſſor had concluded with the *Romans*, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in *Gaul* belonging to them, and even laid ſiege to *Arles*; but, at the approach of *Aetius*, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Toulouſe* [w]. He made peace ſoon after with the *Romans*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that after the ſiege of *Arles*, which the *Goths* had attempted in vain to reduce, ſeveral *Gauls* were delivered up to them as hoſtages, and among the reſt one *Theodorus*, who was nearly related to *Avitus*, afterwards emperor: he adds, that *Avitus* went to viſit his kinſman at the court of *Theodoric*; on which occaſion he rejected the great offers, with which *Theodoric* endeavoured to entice him into his ſervice [x]. After this, the *Goths* continued quiet in the countries, that had been allotted them in *Gaul*, for the ſpace of ten years, that is, to the year 436. when the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Burgundians*, *Theodoric* laid hold of that opportunity to inlarge his dominions. Having, therefore made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities, he laid ſiege in the end to *Narbonne*. But the *Romans* having, in the mean time, concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, count *Litorius* haſtened to the relief of the place at the head of a body of auxiliary *Hunns*, and, falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horſeman carrying with him two buſhels of corn; which proved a ſeaſonable relief to the inhabitants, reduced, by the long ſiege, to the utmoſt extremity [y]. *Idatius* aſcribes the raiſing of the ſiege to *Aetius* [z]; probably, becauſe *Litorius* commanded under him, and acted by his orders. The *Romans* purſued the war againſt the *Goths* with great vigour and equal ſucceſs. In 438. a battle was fought, in which *Aetius*, who commanded the *Roman* forces, cut eight thouſand of them in pieces [a]. The following year, *Litorius*, who commanded the auxiliary *Hunns*, gained great advantages over them, and even laid ſiege to *Toulouſe*, their capital. *Theoderic*, who was in the place, ſent ſeveral biſhops to *Litorius*, hoping, by their mediation, to prevail upon the *Roman* general to accept the advantagious terms, which he offered; but *Litorius*, who thought the *Goths* reduced to the laſt extremity, openly declaring, that he would hearken to no propoſals, *Theodoric* marched out at the head of his men, and offered him battle; which he not declining, as a more prudent commander would have done, both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury. Victory continued a long time doubtful, the loſs being equal on both ſides; but *Litorius* having in the end advanced too far at the head of his *Hunns*, in whoſe valour he chiefly confided, the *Goths*, making a laſt effort, cut moſt of them in pieces, put the reſt to flight, and, having ſurrounded *Litorius*, who had received a dangerous wound, took him alive, and carried him, with his hands tied behind his back, into the city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. *Theodoric* cauſed him to be expoſed for ſome time to the inſults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public priſon; where, after he had undergone inexpreſſible hardſhips, he was by the king's orders put to death.

Theodoric *firſt makes war, and then concludes a peace with the* Romans.

He breaks anew with the Romans.

Who beſiege Toulouſe.

The Romans *defeated, and the ſiege raiſed by* Theodoric.

[q] Idat. chron. Sid. car. ii. p. 300. [r] Vales. l. iii. p. 115. [s] Idat. chron. p. 15. [t] Isidor. chron. [u] Vniverſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 503, 508, 511. [w] Prosp. chron. [x] Sid. car. vii. p. 337. [y] Prosp. chron. Vales. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136. [z] Idat. p. 21. [a] Prosp. chron.

death. After this victory the *Goths* might have extended their conquests to the *Rhone*; and this resolution they had taken, according to *Sidonius*, *Aetius*, who at that time had neither men nor money [c], being no-ways in a condition to oppose them. However, *Theodoric*, at the request of *Avitus*, then prefect of *Gaul*, and by him had in great esteem, readily hearkened to the propofals that were made to him, and concluded a peace with the *Romans* on the same terms he had offered them before the battle [d]. *Who concludes a peace with the* Romans.

Some years after, that is, in 453. *Theodoric*, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, assisted them powerfully against the *Hunns*, who had entered *Gaul*, and, heading his own troops in person, distinguished himself in the famous battle of *Chalons*; but, falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some, trod to death by his own people, who did not know him; according to others, killed by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who served under *Attila*, and was descended from the royal family of the *Amali* [e]. He was succeeded by his son *Thorismund*, who had fought under his father, and had been wounded in the same battle. The young prince was for revenging the death of his father on the *Hunns*, and attacking *Attila* in his camp; but *Aetius*, fearing the *Hunns*, whom he considered as a check upon the *Goths* and *Franks*, might be thus intirely cut off, craftily advised him to return home, lest his brothers should raise disturbances during his absence, and, seizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. *Thorismund* followed his advice, and, returning with his troops to *Toulouse*, was there received as king with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable [f]. Being soon after apprised of the deceitful advice given him by *Aetius*, he broke the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, and laid siege to *Arles*; but was prevailed upon by *Ferreolus*, prefect of *Gaul*, to drop that enterprize, and retire [g]. *Sidonius* writes, that *Ferreolus* did more by an entertainment, than *Aetius* could have done with an army; that, by his obliging manner and agreeable conversation, he gained *Thorismund*, and saved *Arles* [h]. The same year *Thorismund* had a favourable opportunity of revenging, on the *Hunns*, the death of his father; for *Attila* having invaded *Gaul* anew, with a design to make war upon the *Alans*, next neighbours to the *Visigoths*, and, by reducing them, get footing in *Gaul*, *Thorismund* joined the *Alans* with all his forces, engaged *Attila*, and, having gained a complete victory over him, obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country [i]. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that he overcame and subdued the *Alemanns* and the *Alans* [k]. It appears from *Sidonius*, that his dominions extended to the *Rhone* [l]: that writer styles him the haughty and untractable king of *Gothia* [m]; for in his whole conduct he betrayed great pride and arrogance, was incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, and seemed to delight in nothing but wars and slaughter. On the other hand, his brothers *Theodoric*, *Frederic*, *Turic*, or rather *Euric*, *Rotemer*, and *Himnarit*, were inclined to peace; which occasioned daily quarrels between them and the king. At length, his brothers, especially *Theodoric* and *Frederic*, finding they could by no other means divert him from engaging in new wars, resolved to dispatch him. Being therefore one day let blood on account of some slight indisposition, while his vein was still open, one of his officers, named *Ascaleru*, having first removed privately his arms, cried out aloud, that assassins were coming in to murder the king, and at the same time threw himself upon him with several others. *Thorismund*, missing his weapons, with the only arm he had free, laid hold of a footstool, and with it dispatched some of the conspirators; but was in the end overpowered and slain [n]. This *Idatius* supposes to have happened in 452. and he is followed therein by *Isidore*, who will have *Thorismund* to have reigned only one year; but *Prosper* places the death of that prince in 453. and the year must have been near ended, since *Thorismund* was then, according to *Jornandes* [o], in the third year of his reign. *He is killed in the battle of* Chalons. *Extends his dominions.* *He is murdered.* *Year after Christ* 453.

Thorismund was succeeded by his brother *Theodoric*, a prince, according to *Sidonius* [p], whom he honoured with his intimacy, of uncommon parts and great accomplishments, but in point of religion a mere hypocrite. The same writer calls him elsewhere a martial prince, who even surpassed his illustrious parent, the glory of the Theodoric II

Gothic

[b] Greg. Tour. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 47. p. 81. Salvian. gub. l. vii. p. 164. Idat. p. 18. Sid. p. 341. [c] Sid. car. vii. p. 341. [d] Prosp. Idat. chron. [e] Vide Buch. hist. Belg. c. 37—40. [f] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 41. p. 671. [g] Isidor. chron. p. 718. Prosp. p. 54. [h] Sid. l. vii. epist. 12. p. 200. [i] Jorn. ibid. c. 43. p. 674—676. [k] Greg. Tur. rer. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. [l] Sid. l. vii. epist. 2[illegible]. p. 199. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 36. p. 664, 665. [o] Idem ibid. p. 675. [p] Sid. ep. vii. p. 2—6.

A friend to the Romans.

Gothic nation, and the ſupport of the *Roman* empire, not able to maintain itſelf without the aſſiſtance of the barbarians, whom the *Romans* had ſo often overcome [q]. He was, it ſeems, a man of ſome learning, and well verſed in the *Latin* poets [r]. In the beginning of his reign he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, ſending his brother *Frederic* with a choſen body of troops into *Spain*, to make war upon the *Bagaudæ*, who, driving out the *Romans*, had ſeized on great part of *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*. *Frederic* recovered ſeveral places out of their hands, which he reſtored to the *Romans* [s]. However, in the year 455. the emperor *Maximus*, apprehending that *Theodoric* deſigned to break with the empire, ſent *Avitus*, who was greatly eſteemed and reſpected by the *Goths*, to the court of *Toulouſe*, to divert that ſtorm. *Avitus* was received by the king with the greateſt marks of friendſhip and eſteem, and the peace between the two nations confirmed. But in the mean time *Maximus* dying, *Theodoric* preſſed *Avitus* to aſſume the ſovereignty, promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. *Avitus*, encouraged with this promiſe, ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* at *Toulouſe*, on the tenth of *July*; and was, on the eighth of *Auguſt*, acknowledged and proclaimed anew at *Arles* by the *Roman* ſoldiery, and all the perſons of diſtinction in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new prince on his acceſſion to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed [t]. The following year, the *Suevians*, taking advantage of the confuſion which the aſſaſſination of *Valentinian* III. and *Maximus* had bred in the empire, over-ran and pillaged the province of *Cartagena*, with a deſign to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*. Hereupon *Avitus* diſpatched count *Fronto* to *Requiarius* their king, putting him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the *Romans*: *Theodoric* likewiſe interpoſed his good offices, conjuring *Requiarius*, who had married his ſiſter, not to diſturb the public tranquillity; and at the ſame time acquainting him with the engagements which he had entered into with *Avitus* [u]. What anſwer *Requiarius* returned to the embaſſadors our hiſtorian does not tell us; but he had no ſooner diſmiſſed them, than, aſſembling his forces, he entered the province of *Tarraco*, which then belonged to the *Romans*, and there committed unheard-of ravages, without any regard to the faith of treaties, or the laws of juſtice. Upon this, *Theodoric* ſent him a ſecond embaſſy, to which he anſwered, with great haughtineſs, that he did not underſtand, why the king of the *Goths* ſhould concern himſelf with his affairs; that if he found fault with his conduct, he would ſoon give him an account of it at *Toulouſe*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this anſwer, began to prepare for war; but in the mean time *Requiarius*, entering anew the province of *Tarraco*, laid it waſte far and near, carrying with him into *Galicia* a great number of captives [w]. Soon after, *Theodoric*, having concluded a peace with all his neighbours, left his own dominions, and, with the conſent and approbation of *Avitus*, entered *Spain* at the head of a numerous army, conſiſting of *Goths* and *Burgundians*; the latter, whom he had called to his aſſiſtance, being commanded by their king *Hilperic* or *Chilperic*. *Requiarius* met him about twelve miles from *Aſtorga* on the *Urbicus*, now the *Orbegua*: hereupon a battle enſued, in which the *Suevians* were utterly defeated, and their king, who was dangerouſly wounded, obliged to fly for ſhelter to the moſt diſtant corner of *Galicia* [x]. This battle was fought on the fifth of *October*, and *Theodoric*, purſuing the fugitives, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who abſtained from ſlaughter, and ſpared the ſacred virgins, but committed all other diſorders [y]; *Requiarius* had retired to a place called *Portucal*, thought to be the preſent city of *Porto* on the *Dauno*; and from thence attempted to make his eſcape by ſea; but, being driven back by a ſtorm, he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who kept him under cloſe confinement till *December*, and then ordered him to be put to death [z]. The *Suevians*, diſheartened by the captivity of their king, and deſtitute of a leader, were moſt of them either taken priſoners, or put to the ſword; tho' *Theodoric* had ſtrictly injoined his men to ſpare all, who laid down their arms, and ſubmitted [a]. Thus was the power of the *Suevians* reduced by the *Goths* to the loweſt ebb. Some authors think, that *Avitus*, who owned himſelf indebted to *Theodoric*

Cauſes Avitus *to be proclaimed emperor at* Toulouſe.

Makes war upon the Suevians *in* Spain.

Takes their king priſoner. and puts him to death.

Recovers ſeveral provices from the Suevians.

[q] Idem, car. xxiii. p. 400. [r] Idem, car. vii. p. 346. [s] Idat. p. 30. [t] Sid. p. 349. [x] Idem Idat. chron. Buch. Belg. p. 523. [u] Jorn. c. 44. p. 675. [w] Idem p. 656. p. 676. [y] Idat. p. 33. [z] Jorn. p. 676. Idat. p. 34. [a] Jorn. Idat. ibid.

a *Theodoric* for the imperial dignity, had yielded to him all the countries in *Spain* he should recover out of the hands of the *Suevians*: others are of opinion, that, *Avitus* being in the mean time deposed, *Theodoric* thought he might retain for himself the countries he had conquered in the name of that prince. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the king of the *Visigoths*, appropriating to himself the countries he had taken from the *Suevians*, appointed one *Aquiulphus* to govern them. *Aquiulphus*, or, as others call him, *Acliulphus*, was not a *Goth*, as *Jornandes* takes care to tell us, but born in the country of the *Warni*, who are thought to have passed about this time from *Lower Saxony* into *Frisia* and *Holland* [b]. He therefore, without any regard to the most sacred ties, abandoned the *Goths*, and, retiring into *Galicia*, endeavoured to persuade the *Suevians* dwelling there to acknowledge him for their king [c]; but

b a powerful army being sent against him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded [d]. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died in the month of *June* of the following year 456. at *Porto* [e]. The *Suevians*, who, refusing to submit to *Theodoric*, had retired into *Galicia*, upon the news of the death of their king, chose one of their own nation, named *Maldra*, in his room.

Which he retains.

The following year 457. *Theodoric*, having almost intirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, passed from thence into *Lusitania*, and there, after having laid in ashes several cities and villages, besieged and took *Merida* the metropolis of that province; but was, as we are told, deterred from plundering it by some prodigies that happened. He continued at *Merida* till *Easter*, which this year 457. fell on the

c thirty-first of *March*, when receiving some disagreeable tidings from *Gaul*, not specified in history, he returned in great haste to *Toulouse*. However, he left in *Spain* a body of troops, composed of different nations, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who had not yet submitted to the *Goths*. These forces, being on their march admitted as friends into the city of *Astorga* held by the *Romans*, or rather by some banditti, who called themselves *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put great numbers of them to the sword, set fire to the city after they had plundered it, and, having ravaged the neighbouring country, pursued their march, carrying with them an immense booty, and a great many captives,

d among whom were several ecclesiastics and two bishops. We are told, that they had express orders from *Theodoric* to act in this manner [g]. The city of *Palentia* met with the same treatment; but the castle of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Astorga*, making a vigorous resistance, the *Goths*, after several unsuccessful attempts, in which they lost great numbers of their men, abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Gaul* [h]. In their room *Theodoric* sent another army into *Spain*, commanded by one *Cyrila*; but we read of no other exploits performed by them, besides the ravaging of the province of *Bætica*, now *Andalusia* [i]. *Idatius* writes, that embassadors were sent at this time by the *Goths* and *Vandals* to the *Suevians*; but he does not tell us, what was the subject of their embassy [k]. Perhaps the *Goths* and *Vandals* had entered into an alliance with the emperor *Majorianus*, and were endea-

e vouring to draw the *Suevians* into the same league; but they did not therein succeed; for the following year, *Theodoric* recalled *Cyrila*, and sent another general, named *Sunieric*, in his room, with orders to pursue the war with the *Suevians* [l], who nevertheless ravaged the province of *Lusitania* under the conduct of *Maldra* their king, and *Galicia* under that of his son *Remismund*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Richmund* [m]. *Theodoric*, though thus engaged in war with the *Suevians*, broke at the same time, upon what provocation we know not, with the *Romans*, and, taking unexpectedly the field, made himself master of several cities in *Gaul* belonging to them. But *Majorianus*, who was then at *Arles*, marching against him with

Enters Lusitania, and reduces several places there.

Is defeated by Majorianus.

f what troops he could assemble, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace which was readily granted him, upon his promising to assist the *Romans* against the *Suevians* and *Vandals* [n]. But *Majorianus* dying soon after, *Theodoric* thought himself no longer obliged to maintain the peace he had concluded with him; and therefore made himself master of several places in *Gaul* belonging to the *Romans*, and among the rest of *Narbone*, which was betrayed to him by one *Agrippina*. From *Narbonne* he marched to *Arles*, which he invested, but was obliged to raise the siege by *Ægidius* a native of *Gaul*, whom *Severus*, the successor

He takes Narbonne.

of

[b] Buch. p. 525. [c] Jorn. ibid. [d] Idem, p. 677. [e] Idat. p. 37. [f] Idat. p. 35. [g] Idem, p. 36. [h] Cuspinian. p. 451. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idat. p. 36. [l] Idem, p. 37. [m] Cusp. p. 451. Idat. p. 38. Jorn. p. 679. [n] Idat. ibid. Cusp. p. 451.

of *Majorianus*, had appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* forces there [o]. The following year 463. *Ægidius* gained a signal victory over the *Goths* in the neighbourhood of *Orleans*. In this battle great numbers of the *Goths* were slain, and, among the rest, *Frederic*, the king's brother, who commanded in chief [p]. The *Goths* being overcome and dispersed, *Ægidius* laid siege to *Chinon* in *Touraine*; but the vigorous resistance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire [q]. The *Goths* were attended with better success in *Spain* than in *Gaul*; for *Idatius* speaks of them as now masters of the whole country, except part of *Galicia*, which was still held by the *Suevians*; and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Cartagena*, which belonged to the *Romans*, and were governed by a duke; for in 465. a *Roman*, named *Vincentius*, resided at *Tarraco* with that title [r]. The provinces subject to the *Goths* were governed by the generals *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, the former a *Goth*, and the latter a native of *Languedoc*, which was subject to the *Goths*.

But is defeated by Ægidius.

The Goths *masters of the greater part of* Spain.

IN the year 464. died *Ægidius*, and upon his death the *Goths*, says *Idatius* [s], made themselves masters of the far greater part of *Gaul*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for *Berri*, *Sens*, and *Auvergne*, still belonged to the *Romans* in 472 [t]; *Syagrius*, the son of *Ægidius*, held *Soissons* and its territory [u]; *Childeric* king of the *Burgundians* reduced the city of *Paris* after a siege, according some, of five, according to others of ten, years [w]. The *Franks* were masters of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, the *Saxons* of *Nantes* and *Bayeux*, and the *Britons* driven out by the *Angles* of *Vennes* and *Trequier* [x]. The following year 465. *Theodoric*, more bent on making acquisitions in *Gaul* than in *Spain*, came to an agreement with *Remismund* king of the *Suevians*; but before he could put his vast designs in execution, he was taken off by the same crime that had raised him to the throne, being murdered by his brother *Euric*, after he had reigned thirteen years [y]. *Jornandes*, ever favourable to the *Goths*, only writes, that the joy *Euric* had betrayed on this occasion induced some to imagine, that he had been accessory to the death of his brother [z]. *Euric*, called also *Eoric*, *Evarix*, and *Euthoric*, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he dispatched embassadors to *Leo* emperor of the east, to *Remismund* king of the *Suevians*, and to *Genseric* king of the *Vandals*. *Remismund* no sooner heard the embassadors, than he sent others to *Euric*, to the emperor, and to the king of the *Vandals* [a]; but, what was the subject of so many embassies, our historian has not thought fit to acquaint us. All we know is, that the embassadors, sent by *Euric* to the king of the *Vandals*, hearing that the *Romans* were making great preparations to attack that people, returned in great haste to *Toulouse*; and that *Remismund*, upon the departure of *Euric*'s embassadors, recalled, and assembled into one body, the troops he had sent out in small parties to ravage the country [b]. These people were perhaps negotiating an alliance among themselves against the common enemy the *Romans*. Be that as it will, *Euric*, this very year 466. committed great ravages in *Lusitania*, and, having reduced the cities of *Pampelona* and *Saragosa*, made himself master of *Upper Spain* [c]. The following year, *Remismund*, having entered *Lusitania*, took *Coimbra*, made himself master of several other places, and ravaged the country, committing every-where unheard of cruelties. Hereupon the natives, recurring not to the *Romans*, which shews that their power in *Spain* was now reduced to a very low ebb, but to the *Visigoths*, sent a solemn embassy, at the head of which was one *Opilio*, to implore the protection of *Euric*, who readily interposed his good offices, but, it seems, to no effect; for *Remismund*, upon the departure of the embassadors sent to him by *Euric*, plundered the city of *Coimbra*, destroyed several houses, with part of the walls, and carried such of the inhabitants, as had not the good luck to make their escape, into captivity [d]. *Idatius* adds, that the embassadors sent by the *Lusitanians* reported, upon their return, that several prodigies had happened in *Gaul*, and, among the rest, that a fountain of blood had sprung up in the midst of *Toulouse*, and flowed a whole day [e]. *Euric* having made himself master of *Pampelona* and *Cæsaraugusta*, or *Saragosa*, as we have related above, *Tarraco* with its territory was the only place held now in *Spain* by the *Romans*; and that city *Euric* besieged in 461. the second of

The Goths *masters of the greater part of* Spain.

Theodoric *murdered.*

Euric. *Year after Christ* 466.

Takes Pampelona *and* Saragosa.

[o] PRISC. p. 42. IDAT. p. 41. CUSP. p. 452. [p] IDAT. ibid. [q] GREG. TUR. c. 22. p. 387, 388. [r] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1062. IDAT. p. 41. [s] Idem, p. 43. [t] GREG. TUR. p. 282. [u] Idem, p. 285. SID. epist. viii. p. 260. [w] BOLLAND. 3. Januar. p. 140. [x] VAL. rer. Franc p. 236, 237. SID. ep. vii. p. 16. [y] IDAT. ISIDOR. MARC. chron. [z] JORN. c. 44. p. 677. [a] IDAT. p. 44, 45. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem, chron. p. 719. [d] IDAT. p. 45. [e] Idem ibid. & p. 46.

a of the emperor *Anthemius*'s reign, and having, after a long ſiege, reduced it, levelled it with the ground. Thus were the *Romans* driven quite out of *Spain*, and a period put to their empire there, after they had been at leaſt ſeven hundred years maſters of that country. All thoſe provinces, except *Galicia* and part of *Luſitania*, which were ſubject to the *Suevians*, acknowledged *Euric* for their king, who, reſiding at *Toulouſe*, governed them by his lieutenants. *Drives the* Romans *quite out of* Spain.

Euric, not ſatisfied with the conqueſts he had made in *Spain*, reſolved to extend his dominions likewiſe in *Gaul*. With this view he began to draw together his forces, and make other military preparations; which the emperor *Anthemius* no ſooner underſtood, than he wrote to *Riotham* king of the *Britons*, who had ſettled on the *Loire*,
b preſſing him to join the *Romans* againſt the common enemy; for the *Britons* were greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt. *Riotham* readily complied with the emperor's requeſt, and, having aſſembled a body of twelve thouſand men, marched at the head of them to *Bourges*, and from thence to *Bourgdeols* on the *Indre*, in the province of *Berri*; but, being there met by *Euric*, he was overcome by the *Goths* with great loſs, and obliged to abandon that province, and take refuge among the *Burgundians* the friends and allies of the *Romans* [f]. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, after the defeat of the *Britons*, one *Paul*, whom he diſtinguiſhes with the title of count, having aſſembled a body of troops, conſiſting of *Romans* and *Franks*, made war upon the *Goths*, and gained conſiderable advantages over them [g]. However, *Defeats the* Britons.
c *Sidonius* tells us, that the *Goths* overcame the *Franks*, and afterwards entered into an alliance with them [h]. He writes elſewhere, that *Euric* gave his daughter in marriage to *Sigimer* a barbarian prince [i], whom *Valeſius* conjectures to have been by nation a *Frank* [k]. The war between the *Romans* and *Goths* continued all this and the following year 471. but the authors, who ſpeak of that war without deſcending to particulars, only tell us, that the *Goths* gained great advantages over the *Romans*, and in the end made themſelves maſters of the provinces of *Berri* and *Makes himſelf maſter of* Berri *and* Gevaudan.
Gevaudan [l], the inhabitants, who were greatly oppreſſed by the *Roman* officers, eſpecially by *Seronatus*, governor of *Gaul*, chuſing rather to live under the *Goths* than the *Romans* [m], or, as *Salvianus* expreſſes it, chuſing rather to live free, under
d the appearance of ſlavery, than be treated like ſlaves under the appearance of liberty [n]. In 473. a peace was concluded [o]; but *Anthemius* being murdered the ſame year by *Ricimer*, and *Olybrius* proclaimed emperor in his room, as we have related in our *Roman* hiſtory [p], *Euric*, taking advantage of the weak and diſtracted ſtate of the empire, renewed the war, hoping to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Gaul*, as he had done five years before out of *Spain*. *Auvergne* was the only province they ſtill held in *Aquitania Prima*, lying between the ocean, the *Rhone*, and the *Loire*; and into this province *Euric* broke at the head of a powerful army in the beginning of the year 474. but met with a vigorous reſiſtance from the inhabitants, who, without the aſſiſtance of any regular troops, gained ſome conſiderable
e advantages over the enemy. But in the end they laid ſiege to *Clermont*, and *Beſieges* Clermont *in vain.*
continued before that place, without being able to reduce it, till the rigour of the ſeaſon obliged them to retire [q]. As they ſeemed reſolved to renew the ſiege early in the ſpring, *Nepos*, who had ſucceeded *Olybrius* in the empire, thinking he could better ſecure by treaty, than by arms, what he ſtill poſſeſſed in *Gaul*, diſpatched the quæſtor *Licinianus* with the character of embaſſador to *Euric*, in order to enter into a negotiation with that prince. *Euric* received him in a very obliging manner, and ſeveral conferences were held, at which ſome biſhops of *Provence* were allowed to aſſiſt; *viz. Leontius* biſhop of *Arles*, *Fauſtus* of *Riez*, *Grecus* of *Marſeilles*, and *Baſilius* of *Aix* [r]. To *Baſilius*, *Sidonius*, then biſhop of *Clermont*, wrote a letter,
f recommending to him the intereſt of the *Catholic* religion, and begging he would take care, that by the treaty the *Catholics* ſhould be allowed to ordain biſhops for the vacant churches in the countries ſubject to the *Goths*. For the *Goths* held the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Euric*, a profeſſed enemy to the catholics, would not allow them to appoint new biſhops in the room of thoſe who died; inſomuch, that nine epiſcopal

[f] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. p. 282. [g] Greg. Tur. ibid. [h] Sid. l. viii. ep. 3. p. 215. [i] Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p. 251. [k] Vales. rer. Franc. p. 219, 220. [l] Sid. l. iii. ep. 1, 4. p. 63, 68. & l. vii. ep. 5. p. 180. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 28. Isidor. chron. Sid. l. ii. ep. 1. p. 33. & ep. 13. p. 143. [n] Salvian. l. v. de guber. Dei. [o] Sid. l. vii. ep. 6. p. 183. [p] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 511. [q] Sid. l. vi. ep. 6. p. 162. [r] Sid. l. vii. ep. 6, 7. p. 184, 186.

episcopal sees were at that time vacant[s]. A report being spread, which proved a afterwards true, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded between the *Romans* and *Goths*, in virtue of which *Auvergne* was to be delivered up to the *Goths*, *Sidonius*, who was bishop of *Clermont* in that province, and a zealous defender of the orthodox faith, wrote a letter to *Grecus* bishop of *Marseilles*, conjuring him not to agree to so shameful an article, and assuring him, that the inhabitants were ready to undergo the greatest hardships, rather than submit to the *Goths*, who, mindful of the vigorous resistance they had often met with from them, would treat them more like criminals than slaves. He concludes by earnestly begging, that if the country was to be yielded to the *Goths*, the inhabitants might be allowed to retire, and some place allotted to them within the bounds of the empire[t]. However, b
Auvergne *yielded to him by treaty.* *Year after Christ* 475. the treaty was concluded, and *Auvergne* delivered up to *Euric*, tho' he would not by any means consent to the ordaining of catholic bishops for the vacant churches within his dominions[u].

FIVE years after, that is, in 480. the few places in *Gaul*, that were still held by the *Romans*, having submitted to *Odoacer*, who, after putting to death *Orestes*, and deposing his son *Augustulus* the last emperor of the west, had assumed the title of king of *Italy*, that prince yielded them to the *Goths*, whose dominions, by that addition, extended from the *Loire* to the *Alps*[w]. However, the cities of *Arles* and *Marseilles* held out, it seems, some time against the *Goths*[x]. We leave *Bucherius* to inquire why *Odoacer* abandoned these countries, and, in abandoning them, chose c
The Goths *masters of all the countries held by the* Romans *in* Gaul. *Year after Christ* 480. rather to bestow them on the *Goths*, than the *Burgundians*, the friends and allies of the empire[y]. That writer supposes the *Burgundians*, jealous of the too great power of the *Goths*, to have made war upon them; and that this is the year of which *Jornandes* speaks, where he tells us, that a war was kindled between two nations in *Gaul*[z]; for he speaks soon after of the war between the *Burgundians* and *Goths*. The *Burgundians*, sprung originally from the *Vandals*, had entered *Gaul* in 406. with the *Vandals* and *Alans*, and having some years after made themselves masters of the country, now known by the name of *Alsace*, they were allowed to settle there as friends and allies of the *Roman* people. They were removed from thence in 431. by *Aetius* to the present duchy of *Savoy*. In 456. d
they seized on part of *Spain*, and made themselves masters of the city of *Lyons*, and in 478. reduced the whole province called *Lugdunensis Prima*. *Jornandes* writes, that in the present year 482. the *Goths* gained great advantages over them[a]. However, it appears from the acts of the council of *Agde* held in 526. and of the council of *Epaune* in 527. that no fewer than twenty-eight cities or dioceses belonged to the *Burgundians*, in which number were *Lyons*, *Vienne*, *Besançon*, and *Embrun*[b]; so that the *Goths* were not, as *Jornandes* supposes them to have been, masters of all the south part of *Gaul*[c]. *Euric*, having thus made himself master of the best part of *Gaul*, that is, of the whole tract between the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, and of all *Spain*, except a small corner of *Galicia*, and part of *Lusitania* held by the *Suevians*, e
was still bent on making new conquests and reducing the remaining part both of *Spain* and *Gaul*, when death put an end to his vast designs. He died at *Arles* in 484. the nineteenth year of his reign[d], after the eleventh and before the end of *September*[e]. He had made himself way to the throne by the murder of his brother, and governed his subjects with a rod of iron[f]. He passed the greater part of his life in the field, was constantly quarrelling with his neighbours, and never pleased, but when he had an opportunity of staining his hands in the blood of his enemies[g]. He was a prince of great penetration, formidable in war, and attended with success in most of his undertakings[h]; whence he was dreaded by all nations, and his friendship courted by the neighbouring as well as the distant people[i]. *Sidonius*, f
speaking in 476. of the court of this prince then at *Bourdeaux*, describes the *Saxons*, the *Franks*, the *Heruli*, the *Burgundians*, and even the *Romans* and *Persians*, falling down before him in the posture of suppliants and conquered people[k]. Upon this *Bucherius* makes a long dissertation[l], to which we refer the reader. *Apollinaris Sidonius* makes several excellent reflections on the success that attended *Eurich* in most

Euric *dies.* *Year after Christ* 484.

His character

of

[s] SID. l. iv. ep. 15. p. 19. [t] Idem, l. vii. ep. 7. p. 185. [u] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 675.
[w] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii. c 12. p. 341. [x] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 680. [y] BUCHER p. 565.
[z] JORN. p. 681. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Notit. Gall. per ADRIAN. VALES. p. 105. [c] JORN. p. 680.
[d] ISID. chron. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 680. LABB. chron. [e] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1394. [f] ENNOD. in vit. Epiph p. 385. [g] Idem, p. 384. [h] SID. l. vii. ep. 5. p. 183. & l. viii. ep. 3. p. 215. ENNOD. ibid. p. 385. [i] Idem ibid. [k] SID. l. viii. ep. 9. p. 229, 230. [l] BUCH. p. 552, 562.

of his undertakings [m], though he was not only separated from, but an irreconcilable enemy to, the catholic church, being a zealous *Arian*, and firmly perſuaded, ſays *Sidonius*, that the ſucceſs of his arms was owing to the purity of his faith. His averſion to the catholic church was ſo great, that he could not even endure the name of catholic [n]. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that having raiſed a perſecution againſt the catholics, he cauſed their churches to be ſhut up, and either baniſhed, impriſoned, or put to death, their biſhops, their clergy, and all who dared to oppoſe or impugn the *Arian* impiety [o]. But if that writer had no other voucher for that perſecution but *Sidonius*, whom he quotes, his account is greatly exaggerated; for *Sidonius* only ſays, that *Euric* baniſhed two biſhops, and would not ſuffer any to be named to the vacant ſees [p]. Moſt churches, continues *Sidonius*, in the countries held by the *Goths* are without paſtors, and the biſhopricks end there with the lives of the biſhops. Of theſe vacant biſhopricks he names nine, *viz.* *Bordeaux*, *Peregueux*, *Rhodes*, *Limoges*, *Mande*, *Eauſe*, *Bazas*, *Cominges*, and *Auch*. He adds, that the vacancy of the ſees was attended with the ruin of religion, ſince it was the province of the biſhops to provide the churches with inferior miniſters, and bring back to the fold the ſheep gone aſtray; that chriſtianity was almoſt extinct in thoſe dioceſes; that the churches were ready to fall both in the towns and villages; that ſome of them were ſhut up by the thorns and briars that grew in the entry, and others lay open only for the ſheep, that came to graſe at the very foot of the holy altar. If ſuch was the ſtate of affairs in 474. when *Sidonius* wrote, we leave the reader to judge to what a deplorable condition they muſt have been reduced before the end of *Euric*'s reign, which laſted ten years longer; for that prince never ſuffered the vacant ſees to be filled. The two biſhops he baniſhed in 474, were *Crocus*, ſuppoſed to have been biſhop of *Niſmes*, and *Simplicius*, whoſe ſee is quite unknown [q]. *Euric* was the firſt who gave written laws to the *Goths*, governed, till his reign, by cuſtoms only [r]. The laws he publiſhed were called the *Theodorician* laws; which appellation has occaſioned great diſputes among authors. *Baronius* ſuppoſes them to have been ſo called, becauſe the two *Theodorics*, predeceſſors of *Euric*, were the authors of them [s]. But *Iſidore* tells thus in expreſs terms, that *Euric* was the firſt who gave written laws to the *Goths*. *Cujacius* will have them to have been called *Theodorician* laws from *Theodoric* the *Oſtrogoth* king of *Italy* [t], not reflecting, that they are ſtyled *Theodorician* by *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who died, as is plain from *Gregory* of *Tours* [u], before *Theodoric* was maſter of *Italy*. Beſides, it is certain, that *Theodoric* king of *Italy* paid the greateſt reſpect to the *Roman* laws, and governed by them. *Sirmund* and *Alteſerra* are of opinion, that they were, by *paronomaſia*, called *Theodoricianæ*, in oppoſition to the *Theodoſianæ*; but this *paronomaſia*, ſays the learned *Savaron* [w], would have been but very inſipid, had not *Evaric*, the author of theſe laws, been likewiſe called *Theodoric*; and that this was his true name, is plainly ſhewn, both by him, and by *Grotius* in his *nomenclature*. As for the name of *Evaric* or *Euric*, which *Grotius* explains by *legibus pollens*, it was given him on account of the laws he publiſhed. Theſe laws were by *Euric* obtruded upon the people of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had been long accuſtomed to the *Roman* laws; but *Alaric*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, reſtored the *Roman* laws to their former ſplendor, cauſing them to be obſerved throughout his dominions, as we ſhall ſee in the reign of that prince, where we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the *Alaric* code. The perſon *Euric* chiefly employed in compiling his laws was *Leo*, his prime miniſter, and one of the moſt learned men and beſt civilians of his time [x] (C). Some *Spaniſh* writers tell us, that,

An enemy to the catholic church.

The firſt who gave written laws to the Goths.

[m] Sid. l. vii. ep. 6. p. 182, 183. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 25. p. 284. [p] Sid. ep. vi. p. 184. [q] Idem ibid. p. 484. [r] Isidor. chron. [s] Baron. annal. tom v. ann. 468. [t] Ciron. obſ. jur. can. l. v. c. 1. [u] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 23. [w] Savar. in l. ii. Sid. ep. 1. [x] Sid. l. viii. ep. 13. p. 215.

(C) *Leo* was, according to *Sidonius*, a man of uncommon parts, the beſt civilian of his time, and well verſed in every branch of literature (2). Hence he was highly eſteemed by *Euric*, and raiſed to the firſt honours in his court. By him were penned all the letters that prince wrote to foreign kings and ſtates (3). His advice was of ſuch weight with *Euric*, that he ſuffered himſelf to be intirely guided by him in affairs of the greateſt importance (4). He was deſcended from *Cornelius Fronto*, who was preceptor to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, and one of the greateſt orators of antiquity (5). He profeſſed the catholic faith in the court of an *Arian* prince, and led a life without blemiſh or reproach (6). *Sidonius*,

(2) *Sid. l.* iv. *ep.* 22. *p.* 119. & *l.* viii. *ep.* 3. *p.* 215. (3) *Sid. car.* xxi. *p.* 412. (4) *Idem.* (5) *Idem, l.* iii. *ep.* 3. *p.* 215. (6) *Idem ibid p.* 216.

that, beſides *Leo*, he employed ſeventy biſhops, among whom was one *Severus*, a biſhop of *Barcelona*, whom he afterwards put to death, with a country-man named *Emeterius*, on account of their zeal for the catholic faith. But what theſe authors write is founded on an antient tradition, which *Bollandus* thinks quite groundleſs [x]. *Euric* married one *Ragnahild* or *Ragnachild*, the daughter of a king, for whoſe uſe in bathing *Evodius* cauſed a ſilver veſſel to be made, on which were engraved ſome verſes compoſed by *Sidonius* [y]. By her he had a ſon named *Alaric*, by whom he was ſucceeded, and a daughter, who was married to a barbarian prince named *Sigiſmer* [z]. From the deſcription which *Sidonius*, who ſaw that prince, gives of him, *Valeſius* concludes him to have been by nation a *Frank*; and that *Euric* gave him his daughter in marriage, hoping, by that means, to gain the nation of the *Franks*, which began to be very powerful in *Gaul*. But by that very nation the ſon he had by her was killed in battle, and a period put to the kingdom of the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, who, being driven from thence, fixed their royal ſeat at *Toledo* in *Spain*. But, as in *Euric*'s reign they firmly eſtabliſhed their dominion in the latter of theſe countries, we ſhall, in compliance with our plan, leave them for the preſent, and reſerving for modern hiſtory an account of their affairs from the time they ſettled in *Spain* to the loſs of that country to the *Arabs*, return to the *Oſtrogoths*, who, as we have obſerved above, upon the departure of their countrymen the *Viſigoths* admitted by *Valens*, in 376. into the empire, continued in their antient ſeats, but ſubject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheleſs allowed them to be governed by their own kings of the illuſtrious family of the *Amali*.

The hiſtory of the Oſtrogoths.

Their kings.

The *Oſtrogoths*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ermenric* or *Hermanaric* their king, choſe *Vithimir*, by ſome called *Winithar*, in his room. The new king gained at firſt ſome ſmall advantages over the *Hunns*, but was in the end overcome, and killed in battle by *Balamir* or *Balamber*, king of the *Hunns* [a]. His ſon *Vitheric* withdrew, attended by great numbers of his ſubjects, into the plains between the *Boryſthenes* and the *Danube*, that is, into the preſent *Podolia*. Of him no further mention is made in hiſtory. He was ſucceeded by *Hunimund*, the ſon of *Ermenric*, who ſubmitted to the *Hunns*, and is ſaid to have made war upon, and gained a ſignal victory over, the *Suevians*. His ſon *Thoriſmund* reigned next, who defeated with great ſlaughter the *Gepidæ*; but was ſoon after killed in the flower of his age by a fall from his horſe. The *Goths* ſo lamented the loſs of this prince, that, for the ſpace of forty years, they choſe no king in his room. After ſo long an inter-regnum, *Wandalar*, ſon to the brother of *Ermenric*, was raiſed to the throne; but of him no further mention is made in hiſtory. He was ſucceeded by his three ſons *Valemir*, *Theodomir*, and *Vidimir*, who reigned jointly, and attended *Attila* in moſt of his expeditions. Upon that prince's death, ſeveral nations, by him formerly ſubdued, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave from *Marcian*, then emperor, to ſettle in the *Roman* territories, almoſt quite diſpeopled by the frequent incurſions of the *Hunns* and other barbarians. Among theſe mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who ſettled in *Leſſer Scythia* and *Lower Mæſia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the *Caſtle of Mars*. To the *Oſtrogoths Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmiſh*, in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, now *Vienna* in *Auſtria* [b]. The *Goths*, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Conſtantinopolitan* emperors, and were ſubjects of the empire; but at the ſame time governed by their own princes, to whom the emperors agreed to pay an annual penſion, upon their promiſing to guard the frontiers of the empire, and ſerve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies

They are allowed to ſettle in Pannonia. *Year after Chriſt* 453.

[x] Bolland. 8 Mar. p. 244, 245. [y] Sid. l. iv. ep. 8. p. 97, 98. [z] Idem, ep. 20. p. 115.
[a] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 644. [b] Idem, c. 48. p. 683. Phot. l. i. c. 242. p. 1041. Theoph. p. 112.

donius, in ſending him the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, beſtows great encomiums upon him, and returns him thanks for the many favours he had received at his hands (7). *Leo* had adviſed him to apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory; and *Sidonius* exhorts him to undertake that taſk himſelf, telling him, that no one was better qualified for it (8). St. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that *Alaric* the ſon of *Euric* having once complained in the preſence of *Leo*, that a fine view from his palace was obſtructed by the church of *Narbonne*, he adviſed him to lower the church; which was done accordingly. *Gregory* of *Tours* adds, that *Leo* paid dear for this advice, having ſoon after intirely loſt his eye-ſight (9).

(7) *Idem*, *l.* viii. *ep.* 3. *p.* 214—216. *de glor. martyr*, *c.* 92. *p.* 208, 209.
(8) *Idem*, *l.* iv. *ep.* 22. *p.* 118, 120.
(9) Greg. *Tur.*

armies c. *Pannonia* being granted to the *Ostrogoths*, the three brothers divided that country among them, *Valemir* settling in the eastern part of it, *Theodomir* in the western, and *Videmir* between the other two [d]. They were scarce warm in their new seats, when the sons of *Attila*, pursuing them even into *Pannonia*, fell upon *Valemir* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*; but that prince, with a handful of men, overthrew them with great slaughter, and obliged them to take refuge in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the *Danube* [e]. About eight years after, the *Goths* being engaged in a war with the *Satagæ*, *Dintzio*, one of *Attila*'s sons, laying hold of that opportunity, entered *Pannonia* at the head of a considerable army; and, having ravaged the country, laid siege to *Bassiana*, thought to be the present city of *Posega*, which gives name to a county in *Hungary* between the *Save* and the *Draw*. But the *Goths*, leaving the *Satagæ*, marched with all their forces against the *Hunns*, who readily engaged them, but received such an overthrow, that they ever after stood in awe of the *Goths*, and never offered to molest them [f]. In the year 455. the emperor *Leo* refusing, under several pretences, to pay to the *Ostrogoths* their usual pension, they entered *Illyricum*, and there committed dreadful ravages; but *Anthemius*, son-in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, having assembled the troops quartered in that province, obliged them to retire with no small loss [g]. Soon after, *Leo* sent deputies to *Valemir*, to upbraid him with his late conduct, and renew the antient treaties [h]. The treaties were accordingly renewed, and the peace re-established, upon the emperor's promising to pay to the *Goths* what was due to them at that time, and for the future three hundred pounds weight of gold a year. On the other hand, *Valemir* sent to *Constantinople* by way of hostage the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, but then only eight years old [i]. *Males* the historian, and *Damascus*, who wrote the life of *Isidore*, and was contemporary with *Theodoric* himself, suppose him to have been the son of *Valemir* [k]. But *Jornandes*, who lived some time after, but was perhaps better acquainted with the history of the *Ostrogoths*, being himself one of that nation, assures us, that *Theodoric* was the son of *Theodomir* by a concubine named *Erelieva*, and consequently only nephew to *Valemir* [l]. *Leo* received him with the greatest marks of esteem and affection, maintained him for the space of ten years at his court, in a manner suitable to his rank, and took care to have him instructed by the best masters in every branch of polite literature [m].

They gain two victories over the Hunns.

They ravage Illyricum.

They conclude a peace with Leo, *and send him* Theodoric *as an hostage.*

In the year 466. the tenth of *Leo*'s reign, a war breaking out between the *Goths* in *Pannonia* and the *Squiri*, whom the emperor *Marcian* had allowed to settle in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mœsia*, both nations had recourse to *Leo*, whose subjects they were, imploring his assistance. *Aspar*, *Leo*'s chief favourite, was for aiding neither, but suffering them to destroy each other. However, the emperor wrote to the governor of *Illyricum*, injoining him to march with all the troops under his command to the assistance of the *Squiri*, who nevertheless were utterly defeated, and most of them cut in pieces either in the fight or the pursuit. But the *Goths* lost on this occasion *Valemir* their king, who, falling from his horse as he was riding full-speed through the ranks to animate his men, was surrounded, and, with many wounds, dispatched by the enemy [n]. Such of the *Squiri* as escaped the general slaughter, had recourse to the *Sarmatians*, the *Rugians*, and the *Gepidæ*, who, readily joining them, renewed the war, and, entering the territories of the *Goths*, laid them waste far and near. Hereupon the *Goths*, putting themselves under the conduct of the two remaining brothers *Theodomir* and *Videmir*, took the field, and, engaging the enemy on the banks of the *Danube*, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire with great precipitation beyond that river, which *Theodomir* passed soon after on the ice, and, having laid waste the enemy's country, returned loaded with booty into *Pannonia* [o]. In this war *Theodomir* not only defeated the *Sarmatians*, *Rugians*, and *Gepidæ*, but gained a signal victory over the *Suevians* and *Alemans*, who had joined the above-mentioned nations [p]. Upon his return, he received with great joy his son *Theodoric*, whom *Leo* had sent back loaded with rich presents, after having kept him at his court as a hostage for the space of ten years [q]. He was scarce returned, when news was brought, that *Babai*, king of the *Sarmatians*, having defeated a *Roman*

They defeat the Squiri.

Valemir *slain.*

Theodomir *and* Videmir *defeat the* Squiri, Suevians, Alemans, *&c.*

[e] Jorn. c. 57. p. 696. [d] Idem, c. 50—52. p. 688, 689. [e] Idem ibid. p. 690. [f] Idem ibid. p. 691. [g] Idem, p. 690. Sid. car. ii. p. 296. Prisc. p. 74. [h] Prisc. p. 74, 75. [i] Jorn. Prisc. ibid. [k] Phot. c. 78. p. 172. [l] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 52. p. 689. [m] Idem, c. 55. p. 693. 694. Theoph. p. 612. [n] Prisc. p. 44. Jorn. c. 50. p. 687. & c. 53. p. 691, 692. [o] Jorn. ibid. [p] Idem, c. 53. p. 693. [q] Idem ibid.

man general named *Camundus*, had made himself master of *Singidunum* in *Upper Mœsia*. a
Theodoric *overcomes and kills the king of the* Sarmatians.
Hereupon *Theodoric*, having assembled, without his father's knowledge, a small body of troops, passed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Sarmatian* territories, fell upon *Babai*, put him and most of his men to the sword, and, on his return home, retook *Singidunum*; but did not restore it to the *Romans* [r].

In the year 473. during the short reign of *Glycerius*, the *Goths* in *Pannonia*, without the least provocation, says *Jornandes*, and only because they were incapable of living in peace, resolved to make war on the empire. Pursuant to this resolution, the two brothers *Theodomir* and *Videmir* met, when it fell to the lot (for they cast lots) of the latter to invade *Italy*, where *Glycerius* then acted as emperor, and to that of *Theodomir* to attack the eastern empire, governed at that time by *Leo* I. b
Videmir immediately set out on his march; but had scarce entered *Italy*, when he died, leaving the command of his troops to his son, who bore the same name. *Jornandes* adds, that the young prince being prevailed upon by the rich presents, which *Glycerius* sent him, to retire out of *Italy*, he marched into *Gaul*, and, joining the
Part of the Ostrogoths *join the* Visigoths *in* Gaul.
Visigoths, settled there, assisted them in the conquest of that country, and in the reduction of *Spain*, becoming one people with them [s]. As for *Theodomir*, he entered *Illyricum*, and, having made himself master of *Naissus*, he divided his army into several small bodies, under the command of his son *Theodoric* and other generals, who reduced, without any considerable opposition, the cities of *Ulprana*, *Heraclea*, and *Larissa*. Having afterwards re-united their forces, and left a strong garison in c
Naissus, they laid siege to *Thessalonica*. But *Clarianus*, governor of the place, prevailed upon *Theodomir*, with rich presents, to abandon the enterprize, and retire. Soon after a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, during which
Theodomir *dies, and is succeeded by his son* Theodoric.
Theodomir died, and was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, called *Amalus*, being descended from the *Amali*, the most illustrious family among the *Goths* [t]. The emperor *Zeno*, overjoyed at the news of the young prince's accession to the crown, immediately invited him to court, received him with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem, raised him to the rank of a patrician, and even adopted him, if *Jornandes* is to be credited, for his son [u]. *Year after Christ* 476.
Theodoric was scarce returned to *Pannonia*, when news was brought him, that *Basiliscus*, of whom we have made frequent mention in d
our *Roman* history [w], revolting from *Zeno*, had been proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the senate of *Constantinople*. The usurper was chiefly supported by a *Goth* in the *Roman* service, named likewise *Theodoric*, who had been raised to the first posts in the army and the command of his countrymen, who, following the
Theodoric *declares for the emperor* Zeno *against* Basiliscus.
example of their leader, had all declared for *Basiliscus*. However, king *Theodoric*, espousing the cause of *Zeno*, marched against them; but as his troops were far inferior in number to those of the enemy, *Zeno* assured him, that he should be joined at the streights of mount *Hæmus* by the general of *Thrace*, with ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and that, after passing the mountains, he should find twenty thou-
He is abandoned by Zeno.
sand horse on the banks of the *Hebrus* ready to join him; but at neither place did c
he find any troops, and the guides, who had been sent him by the *Romans*, leaving the known roads and beaten ways, led him through deserts, where his men suffered greatly for want of provisions, and over steep mountains, till they brought his army, quite spent with such long and fatiguing marches, in sight of the enemy, encamped in a most advantagious post. But though they might, with great ease, have cut the king and his whole army in pieces, yet *Theodoric* their leader sent only some persons to upbraid the king with making war on his countrymen in favour of the *Romans*, who had thus betrayed him with fair promises, and only sought to set *Goths* against *Goths*, that they might have the cruel satisfaction of seeing them destroy each other. These remonstrances occasioned a mutiny in the king's army, who, finding himself f
reduced to the alternative of being abandoned by his own men, or coming to an agreement with *Theodoric*, chose the latter. The two generals conferred, having a river between them, and, in the end, agreed not to make war upon each other. They both dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople*, *Theodoric* to demand the arrears that were due to him and his army, and the king to acquaint the emperor with the treaty he had made, and at the same time to let him know, that, unless provisions were sent to the army, it was not in his power to restrain his men from plundering
Thrace.

[r] Jorn. p. 694. [s] Idem, rer. Goth. c. 56. p. 694, 695. & reg. c. 47. p. 654, 655. [t] Idem
ibid. p. 696. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 509, 513—515.

Thrace [x].

a What answer *Zeno* returned to the former, we are no-where told; but to the latter he made a long apology for not sending, as he had promised, the *Roman* troops to join him. But the author of *Zeno*'s life, though not a little biassed in favour of that prince, cannot help owning, that he was therein greatly to blame [y]. The emperor did all that lay in his power to persuade the king to break the treaty he had lately concluded with *Theodoric*, sending to him for that purpose two solemn embassies, and promising not only to reward him with large sums and great revenues, if he should defeat the rebels, but to give him in marriage *Juliana*, the daughter of *Olybrius*, and grand-daughter of *Valentinian* III. But the king could not, by any offers, be prevailed upon to make the least breach in the treaty with *Theodoric*; which obliged the emperor to conclude a peace with him upon the following terms, highly

b dishonourable to the imperial dignity; *viz.* that *Theodoric* should have the command of the emperor's guards; that he should retain all the honours conferred upon him by the usurper *Basiliscus*; that his estate, which had been confiscated, should be restored to him; and lastly, that he should be appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* cavalry, which post was then held by king *Theodoric*, but, in virtue of this treaty, taken from him, and bestowed on the other [z].

He breaks with Zeno, *and ravages* Thrace *and* Macedon.

In the mean time, king *Theodoric*, who was still with his army among the mountains of *Thrace*, not receiving from the *Romans* either money or provisions to support them, marched down into the province of *Rhodope* on the *Ægean* sea, and, being highly provoked at the emperor's conduct, laid waste the most fertile places of *Thrace*,

c destroying with fire and sword what he could not carry off. The emperor sent several generals to oppose him; but though he lost, as we are told, a great many men in skirmishes, yet the loss on the side of the *Romans* must have been far more considerable, since, in the end, all the emperor's generals declined the command of the army in *Thrace* [a]. From *Thrace Theodoric* marched into *Macedon*, and, having pillaged the open country, made himself master of *Stopi* on the river *Axius*. From thence he marched into the neighbourhood of *Thessalonica*; which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that, thinking themselves abandoned by the emperor,

d they pulled down and broke in pieces all his statues, and were ready to fall upon their governor, named *John*; but, in the end, contented themselves with taking from him the keys of the city, and delivering them to the bishop [b]. *Theodoric*, without making the least attempt on *Thessalonica*, led his army from thence to *Heraclea*,

Proposals for an accommotion.

where he was met by embassadors from *Zeno*, with proposals for an accommodation; which he being willing to conclude, sent others to *Constantinople*, and, in the mean time, ordered his men to forbear all hostilities. The person employed by *Zeno* to treat with *Theodoric* was the patrician *Adamantius*, who, as appears from some laws, had been governor of *Constantinople*, and was, on this occasion, honoured with the consular ornaments, but not with the consulship. During the negotiations, *Theodoric*

e found means of making himself master of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* sea, that he might have some place of strength to retire to, in case the negotiations should not have the desired effect. Hereupon the conferences were broken off, *Adamantius* declaring, that he could not treat with the *Goths*, till they had restored the city of *Duras* to the empire. *Theodoric* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to part with that important place during the winter; but promised to abandon it early in the spring, to march against the other *Theodoric*, who had raised new disturbances in the empire, and, that the emperor might not question the sincerity of his intentions, to deliver up to him his mother and sisters as hostages. He likewise offered, with the emperor's approbation, to march into *Italy*, and restore *Nepos*, who was nearly related to the empress *Verina*, *Zeno*'s mother-in-law, and had been lately driven from the throne

Which are rejected by Zeno.

f by *Glycerius*. To these proposals *Adamantius* answered, That he had no power to grant him any terms, till *Duras* was restored [c]; but that he would write to the emperor, and acquaint him with his answer. The *Romans*, in the mean time, became more intractable, being elated with some advantages they gained at that very time over the *Goths*. *Theodoric* had marched before with a strong detachment to surprise *Duras*, while the main body, with the baggage, followed by slow marches, under the conduct of his brother *Theudimund*. This *Sabinianus*, general of *Illyricum*, and at that time the best commander in the whole empire, no sooner understood, than he ordered all the troops quartered in that province to assemble at *Lychnidus* in *Macedon*,

[x] Males. p. 83—96. [y] Idem, p. 83, 84. [z] Idem, p. 78. [a] Idem, p. 79.
[b] Idem, p. 95. [c] Idem, p. 84.

Macedon, and, marching from thence with incredible expedition, overtook the *Goths*, as they were descending from the mountains of *Candavia*, between *Lychnidus* and *Duras*. *Theudimond*, and his mother, who followed the army, had just time to pass a torrent, and cause the bridge to be broken down, by which means they saved themselves, but stopped the march of the army; so that the *Romans*, falling upon them, cut most of them in pieces, took five thousand prisoners, two thousand waggons, and an immense booty [d]. *Zeno*, elated with this victory, and not doubting but he should either take *Theodoric* himself prisoner, or oblige him to submit to what terms he pleased, wrote to *Sabinianus*, and to *Gento*, a *Goth* of great reputation in the *Roman* service, to pursue the war, and not suffer *Theodoric*, with the troops he had with him, to retire, but to keep him shut up on all sides, ordering at the same time *Adamancus* to break off the conferences, and return to *Constantinople* [e]. But of this war all we know is, that the following year 480. *Theodoric* ravaged *Greece*, and that *Sabinianus*, as count *Marcellinus* writes, put, in the end, a stop to his ravages, more by address than by dint of arms [f]; which plainly shews, that the *Romans* had not been attended with the success they expected.

Most of Theodoric's *army cut in pieces by the* Romans.

Year after Christ 479.

No further mention is made of *Theodoric* till the year 482. when, *Sabinianus* being dead, he ravaged without controul both *Macedons* with *Thessaly*, and even took and plundered *Larissa*, the metropolis of the latter province [g]; insomuch, that the emperor, to appease him, was at length obliged to yield to him part of *Lower Mœsia* and *Lower Dacia*, to give him the command of the troops of the household, and to name him consul for the ensuing year 484. which was the greatest honour he could confer upon him. Hereupon *Theodoric*, disbanding his troops, set out for *Constantinople* with a small retinue, and, being received there by the emperor with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, discharged the following year the office of consul [h]. During his consulship, *Leontius*, a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Against him *Zeno* dispatched *Illus*, captain of his guards; but he, instead of opposing *Leontius*, joined him, and both together defeated and took prisoner *Longinus*, the emperor's brother, who, at the head of a considerable army, had ventured to engage them in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; which city, after his defeat, submitted to the usurper. *Zeno*, upon the news of the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched one *John*, an officer of great valour and experience in war, into *Syria*, and prevailed upon *Theodoric* to join him with a numerous army of *Goths*. These two commanders, meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* in the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to fly for refuge to the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia* [i]. *Evagrius* and others ascribe this victory to the *Valamerians*, that is, the *Goths*; for so we find them styled by several writers, from their king *Valemer* [k]. As the rebels were no more in a condition to give the least apprehension or uneasiness, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his forces with the other commander to pursue the war, returned with the rest to *Constantinople*; but finding that *Zeno* began to mistrust him, and even to seek under-hand his destruction, he withdrew from court, and retired into *Thrace*, the emperor having, some time before, appointed him general of the troops quartered in that country. Thus *Evagrius* [l]. But *Marcellinus*, accusing *Theodoric* of ingratitude towards his benefactor *Zeno*, tells us, that, not satisfied with the innumerable favours he had received at the emperor's hands, he retired from court, and began to seek some plausible pretence of making war on the empire [m]. *Jornandes*, ever favourable to that prince, but not well acquainted with his history, supposes him to have retired into *Pannonia*, chusing rather to live in poverty amongst his *Goths*, than in affluence among the *Romans* [n]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, soon after his leaving *Constantinople*, he fell upon the *Bulgarians*, who, under the conduct of their king or leader named *Libertem*, had broken into *Thrace*, and gained a complete victory over them, *Libertem* himself being dangerously wounded, and most of his men cut in pieces [o]. The following year 486. *Theodoric* spent in raising forces, and in 487. broke into *Thrace* at the head of a powerful army putting all to fire and sword. Upon what provocation he thus turned his arms against the empire, we are no-where told; but, without all doubt, the same motives that, some

Theodoric *grows powerful, and ravages* Macedon *and* Thessaly; *but is appeased by the emperor*

He defeats the usurper Leontius.

He falls out with Zeno, *and retires from* Constantinople.

He defeats the Bulgarians.

He ravages Thrace.

[d] Idem, p. 85. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Marcel. chron. [g] Idem ibid. ad ann. 482. [h] Marcel. chron. Theoph. p. 222. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 57. p. 686. Mad. p. 84. [i] Theoph. p. 111, 118. Evagr. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. [k] Evagr. ibid. [l] Idem, l. iii. c. 27. p. 356. [m] Marcel. ad ann. 485. [n] Jorn. c. 57. p. 696. [o] Ennod. p. 292, 296.

a some time before, had induced him to withdraw from court, prompted him now to act as an enemy. Having ravaged *Thrace*, he approached *Constantinople*, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Melantiades*, a city placed by *Sanson* about fifteen miles west of *Constantinople*, with a design, as was believed, of laying siege to the imperial city. But, while the inhabitants were under the utmost consternation, *Theodoric*, decamping all on a sudden, marched back to *Novæ* in *Mœsia*, whence he was come [p]. Some writers ascribe his sudden retreat to the regard he had for that metropolis; others to a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, who, putting him in mind of the kindness he had ever shewn him, and of the many honours he had heaped upon him, and representing to him at the same time the danger to which he exposed himself in making war on the empire, persuaded him to conclude a peace with the b *Romans*, and turn his arms against *Odoacer*, who, having put *Orestes* to death, and deposed his son *Augustulus*, had taken upon him the title of king of *Italy* [q]. The *Romans* afterwards pretended, that *Zeno* had sent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himself, but for the emperor of the east, to whom of right it belonged [r]. On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded *Italy* to *Theodoric* and his posterity [s]. Of this opinion was not only *Jornandes* [t], by nation a *Goth*, but *Procopius*, a *Roman* writer [u], who tells us, that *Zeno* encouraged *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, which he was to keep for himself. *Ammianus* writes, that, in virtue of this treaty with *Zeno*, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his life; but that, upon his c death, it was to be re-united to the empire [w]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Theodoric* received with joy the proposal made him by the emperor of driving *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, and returned, as we have hinted above, to *Novæ* in *Mœsia*, in order to make the necessary preparations for that expedition.

Is advised by Zeno *to turn his arms against* Odoacer.

THE following year 488. *Theodoric*, having assembled, says *Ennodius* [x], an infinite number of people, carrying with them on waggons their wives, children, and all their effects, set out from *Novæ*, bending his march towards *Italy*. His mother, and sister named *Amafrides*, attended him in this expedition [y]. Several *Romans* of great distinction flocked to him from all parts to serve as voluntiers in this war, and among the rest *Artemidorus*, who was nearly related to, and in great favour with, the d emperor; but joyfully abandoned his country, and the grandeur he lived in at *Constantinople*, to share with *Theodoric* in his good and bad fortune, who afterwards created him a patrician, and made him governor of *Rome* [z]. On the other hand, a great many *Goths* declined following *Theodoric* into *Italy*, and, settling on the sea-coast in *Thrace*, formed there a separate nation, which lived in amity with the *Romans*, and is highly commended by *Procopius* [a]. From *Novæ* in *Mœsia Theodoric* marched strait to the *Adriatic* sea; but, for want of ships, was obliged to go round, and traverse the several nations dwelling on the coast. This march he performed in the depth of winter, a violent plague and famine, says *Ennodius* [b], raging the whole time in his army, and carrying off great numbers of his people. He found the *Gepidæ* encamped e on the banks of a certain river, with a design to oppose his passage; but *Theodoric*, passing it at the head of a choice body of men, charged them so briskly, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight. At another place he was met by the *Sarmatians*, whom he likewise overcame, and put to flight [c]. Thus, after a long and fatiguing march, he entered at length *Italy*, and, advancing to the river *Sontius*, now *Zonzo*, in the neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, halted there, in order to rest his men, being informed, that *Odoacer* was in full march to meet him with a very numerous army, consisting of various nations, commanded by their respective kings or chiefs [d]. Soon after, *Odoacer* appeared, and was met by *Theodoric* with his men in battle-array. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which *Odoacer* was, after a faint f resistance, put to flight, and great numbers of his men cut in pieces. *Theodoric* pursued the fugitives, and, on the 28th of *August* 489. entered their camp, though defended by a river and a great many works [e]. *Odoacer* retired to the plains of *Verona*, and encamped there at a small distance from the city. But *Theodoric*, pursuing him close, forced him to a second engagement, when he met with a far more vigorous

He sets out for Italy. *Year after Christ* 488

He defeats the Gepidæ *and the* Sarmatians *on his march.*

He puts Odoacer *to flight.*

[p] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 6. p. 461. MARCELL. THEOPH. p. 113. [q] JORN. p. 697. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 27. p. 356. [r] MAL. p. 84. [s] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 6. p. 402. [t] JORN. c. 57. p. 696, 697. [u] PROCOP. p. 655. [w] AMMIAN. p. 479. [x] ENNOD. vit. Theodor. p. 298, 299. [y] Idem ibid. p. 303. [z] CASSIODOR. l. i. epist. 43. [a] PROCOP. ædif. c. 7. p. 63. [b] ENNOD. vit. Theod. p. 299. [c] Idem, p. 301. [d] JORN. p. 697. ENNOD. ibid. [e] Iidem ibid. THEOPH. p. 361.

vigorous oppoſition than in the former, for great numbers were killed on both ſides; a
but, in the end, *Odoacer* was again put to flight, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Ravenna*; ſo that *Theodoric*, having now no enemy in the field to oppoſe him, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important places, and among the reſt of *Milan* and *Pavia*[f]. At the ſame time, *Tufa*, commander in chief of *Odoacer*'s forces, came over to *Theodoric*, with moſt of the troops under his command, and was immediately by him diſpatched, with one of his own officers, in purſuit of *Odoacer* to *Ravenna*. *Odoacer* had left that city, and was advanced as far as *Faenza*, in which place he was cloſely beſieged by *Tufa*; but that treacherous commander, declaring for his former maſter, joined him anew with all his troops, delivering up to him, at the ſame time, ſeveral officers, who had been appointed by *Theodoric* to command under him, and were, b
by *Odoacer*'s orders, ſent in irons to *Ravenna*[g]. *Ennodius* writes, that *Theodoric* did not ſend againſt *Odoacer* all the troops that came over to him with *Tufa*, but placed ſeveral detachments of them, together with his own forces, in the towns that had ſubmitted to him. He adds, that, when *Theodoric* was informed of *Tufa*'s treachery, he cauſed them all, by a private order, to be cut in pieces, leſt they ſhould follow the example of their general[h]. About the ſame time, *Frideric*, the ſon of *Fava* king of the *Rugians*, who had joined *Theodoric* with a conſiderable body of his countrymen, fled over to *Odoacer*; who, being thus reinforced, left *Faenza*, and advanced as far as *Milan*; which city he is ſuppoſed to have taken, ſince he is ſaid to have recovered all *Liguria*[i]. *Theodoric* in the mean time, finding himſelf abandoned both c
by *Tufa* and *Frideric*, kept himſelf ſhut up in *Pavia*, a place in thoſe days of great ſtrength, while *Odoacer*, without controul, ravaged the country that had ſubmitted to him, and beſieged him at laſt in *Pavia*, where the *Goths*, who had brought along with them their families and all their effects, were greatly ſtreightened for want of room. But Heaven, ſays *Ennodius*[k], openly declared in favour of *Theodoric*, the enemy's men quarrelling daily among themſelves, and every thing contributing to their ruin. However, *Theodoric*, fearing he ſhould in the end be overpowered with numbers, had recourſe to *Alaric* king of the *Viſigoths*, who had ſettled in *Gaul*. As the *Viſigoths* and *Oſtrogoths* were originally one and the ſame nation, and the *Viſigoths* had received among them, about ſixteen years before, a great number of *Oſtrogoths*, d
under the conduct of their king *Videmir*, couſin-german to *Theodoric*, they readily granted him the deſired ſupplies; which he no ſooner received, than leaving *Pavia*, he marched to the river *Addua*, where the enemy lay encamped, engaged them the third time, and gave them a total overthrow. *Odoacer* took refuge anew in *Ravenna*; but left numerous gariſons in all the ſtrong places[l]. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh of *Auguſt*, *Odoacer* loſt ſeveral officers of diſtinction, and among the reſt *Pierius*, his *comes domeſticorum*, or captain of the guards[m]. *Theodoric*, after the battle, marched in purſuit of *Odoacer*, and, approaching *Ravenna*, encamped at a place called *Pinaia*, about three miles from the city. On the other hand, *Odoacer*, with many new works, fortified himſelf in the town, and, with frequent ſallies, e
eſpecially in the night, greatly haraſſed the *Goths*. The ſiege laſted three years, during which time, great numbers were killed on both ſides in the frequent ſallies and attacks. Authors ſpeak in particular of a ſally made, according to ſome, on the tenth, according to others, on the fifteenth, of *July* 491. in which *Odoacer* commanded in perſon, and, at the head of the *Heruli*, entered the camp of *Theodoric* at *Pinaia*, and made a dreadful havock of his men; but he was, after a long and ſharp diſpute, obliged to retire. The *Goths* purſued him to the very gates of the city, killing many of his men, and among the reſt *Libila* or *Levila*, who commanded the *Heruli* under the king, and had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that occaſion[n]. After this, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his army before *Ravenna*, marched with the reſt againſt the ſtrong-holds, in which *Odoacer* had left gariſons, and was everywhere received with great joy, except at *Ceſena* in *Romagna*, where he met with ſome oppoſition[o]. Thus he made himſelf maſter of *Italy*[p], not at once, but by degrees; for he laid ſiege to *Ravenna* in 490. and pope *Gelaſius*, who was raiſed to the ſee of *Rome* in 492. ſpeaking of *Odoacer*, ſtill gives him the title of king of *Italy*.

And makes himſelf maſter of Milan *and* Pavia.

He is obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Pavia.

He receives a powerful ſupply from the Viſigoths.

He beſieges Odoacer *in* Ravenna. *Year after Chriſt* 490.

He reduces all Italy.

[f] Ammian. anonym. p. 479. Jorn. p. 697. Ennod. p. 303, 304. [g] Ennod. vit. Epiph. p. 302. Cassiodor. l. ii. ep. 16. p. 38. [h] Ennod. panegyr. Theodor. p. 306. [i] Idem de Laurent. p. 465. [k] Idem vit. Epiph. p. 397. [l] Ammian. anonym. p. 470. Cassiodor. p. 68. Procop. bell. Goth. p. 309. [m] Ammian. anonym. p. 479. [n] Jorn. c. 57. p. 697. Onuph. p. 17. Ennod. pan. Theodor. p. 306. [o] Ennod. ibid. p 309. [p] Jorn. ibid.

[a] *Italy*[q]. The ſally we have ſpoken of above was made on the tenth or fifteenth of *July*, and *Theodoric* was, on the thirty-firſt of the following *Auguſt*, at *Pavia*, and returned to the ſiege of *Ravenna* on the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt* 492. pitching his camp at a place called the *Little Palace*. He was then maſter of *Italy*, no one place remaining to *Odoacer*, except *Ravenna*, in which he had been ſhut up three years with his foreign and ſome *Roman* troops, now reduced to great ſtreights by the enemy without, and the famine within [r], wheat being ſold at ſix pieces of gold a buſhel [a]. On the other hand, the *Goths* were quite worn out with the fatigues of a three years ſiege; ſo that both parties being willing to put an end to the war, *Odoacer* ſent *John* biſhop of *Ravenna* to *Theodoric*, with propoſals for an accommodation. This prelate died in 494. and there is ſtill extant the original act of a donation made to [b] him in *January* 491 [t]. *Jornandes* writes, that *Odoacer* only begged his life; which *Theodoric* bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to grant him [u]. *Procopius* tells us, that they agreed to live together on equal terms in *Ravenna* [v]; which expreſſion we do not well comprehend, it being altogether incredible, that *Theodoric*, who was already maſter of all *Italy*, and had reduced *Odoacer* to the laſt extremity, ſhould ſuffer him to reign jointly, and have an equal ſhare of power, with himſelf. The agreement was concluded on the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, *Odoacer* delivering up his ſon named *Thelan* to *Theodoric* as an hoſtage, who thereupon entered *Ravenna* in triumph by the *Fleetgate*, on the fifth of *March* [x]. *Theodoric* did not long ſtand to the agreement he had made; for having, a few days after, invited *Odoacer* to a banquet, [c] unmindful of his oath, he diſpatched him with his own hand, according to ſome, in the palace, according to others, in a grove of laurels adjoining perhaps to the palace [y]. Some authors pretend, that *Odoacer* had formed a deſign upon the life of *Theodoric*, which he being acquainted with, reſolved to be before-hand with him [z]. But the dead are always found guilty. *Jornandes*, though himſelf a *Goth*, ſeems to inſinuate, that *Odoacer* was murdered upon a bare ſuſpicion, and that, as was then believed, quite groundleſs [a]. All his ſervants and relations were maſſacred at the ſame time, except his brother *Aonulphus*, and a few more, who, having had the good luck to make their eſcape, retired beyond the *Danube* [b]. *Theodoric* had ſent, ſome months before, *Fauſtus Niger*, a leading man in the ſenate of *Rome*, to obtain [d] of the emperor *Zeno* the enſigns of royalty. But *Odoacer* having ſubmitted before the return of the embaſſador, *Theodoric*, without waiting for the emperor's permiſſion, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed by his *Goths* king of *Italy* [c]. However, he diſpatched ſoon after *Feſtus* or *Fauſtus*, his *magiſter officiorum*, and *Irenæus*, both diſtinguiſhed with the title of *illuſtrious*, to *Conſtantinople*, to excuſe the liberty he had taken [d]. The embaſſadors were received in a very obliging manner by *Anaſtaſius*, the ſucceſſor of *Zeno*, who readily confirmed the peace, which his predeceſſor had made with *Theodoric*, approved of what he had done, and ſent him the enſigns of royalty [e]. Hence it is manifeſt, that *Theodoric* himſelf owned he held the kingdom of *Italy* of the emperors of the eaſt, by whom he ſuffered even the *Roman* conſuls to [e] be named [f]. There is ſtill extant a letter from *Theodoric* to *Anaſtaſius*, concerning one *Felix*, who was conſul in 511. wherein he acquaints the emperor, that he had named *Felix* for the conſulſhip, and at the ſame time intreats him to confirm, by his ſuffrage, that dignity to ſo deſerving a perſon [g].

The beſieged reduced to great ſtreights.

Odoacer *ſubmits, and is put to death by* Theodoric. *Year after Chriſt* 493.

Theodoric *proclaimed by the* Goths, *and acknowledged by the emperor, king of* Italy.

Theodoric, now maſter of all *Italy*, began to make the neceſſary preparations for reducing the iſland of *Sicily*, which refuſed to acknowledge him; but the inhabitants were perſuaded by *Caſſiodore* to ſubmit to their new lord without bloodſhed. After this, *Theodoric*, ſheathing his ſword, endeavoured, in the firſt place, to eſtabliſh himſelf in his new kingdom, by alliances with the neighbouring princes. With this view, he ſent *Feſtus* to *Conſtantinople*, to confirm the peace he had made with *Anaſta-* [f] *ſius*, marrying at the ſame time *Andefleda*, the daughter of *Clodoneus* king of the *Franks*, and beſtowing his own two daughters, whom he had by a concubine, on *Alaric* king of the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, and on *Sigiſmund*, the ſon of *Gundobald* king of the *Burgundians*. Having thus ſecured his new kingdom, he made it his chief ſtudy to

Sicily *ſubmits to him.*

He ſecures his new kingdom by alliances.

[q] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1208. [r] Jorn. p. 698. Procop. p. 309. [s] Anonym. p. 480. [t] Uch. tom. ii. p. 333. Mabil. it. Ital. p. 201. [u] Jorn. p. 698. [w] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 310. [x] Idem ibid. p. 310. Onuph. p. 57. Anonym. p. 488. [y] Procop. Anonym. ibid. [z] Vide Vales. rer. Franc. p. 344. [a] Jorn. de reg. c. 47. p. 655. [b] Anonym. ibid Isidor. chron. p. 721. [c] Anonym. p. 408. [d] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181. [e] Procop. l. ii. c. 6. p. 402. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Cassiodor. l. ii. ep. 1.

to govern it with ſalutary laws, following therein the advice of *Caſſiodore*, a man of great learning and integrity, whom he had created a patrician, and raiſed to the dignities of count, of conſul, and even to that of *præfectus prætorio*. He firſt placed all his *Goths* in the caſtles and ſtrong-holds, with their officers who were to command them in time of war, and govern them in time of peace. The *Roman* laws he retained, and commanded them to be inviolably obſerved, and to have the ſame force, which they had had under the emperors of the weſt [h]. In the firſt five books of *Caſſiodore*, conſiſting of the letters and edicts of *Theodoric*, nothing is ſo much recommended to the judges and magiſtrates as the due obſervance of, and reſpect for, the *Roman* laws. In theſe books are quoted many conſtitutions of the *Theodoſian* code, and many *novellæ* of *Theodoſius*, *Valentinian*, and *Majorianus* [i], *Theodoric* declaring, that he did not intend to introduce any new laws into *Italy*, the *Roman* laws, by which it had been ſo long governed, being the moſt equitable that could be enacted; nay, ſo great was the reſpect he bore to the *Roman* laws, that he ordered them to be obſerved, not only by the *Romans*, but likewiſe by the *Goths*, who lived among the *Romans*. To his *Goths* he left ſome of their own laws, or rather cuſtoms; but, in all matters of moment, ſuch as ſucceſſions, teſtaments, adoptions, contracts, penalties, crimes, and in whatever belonged to public or private property, the *Roman* laws were common to all. All law-ſuits and diſputes between a *Roman* and a *Goth*, or a *Goth* and a *Roman*, were to be decided by the *Roman* laws, as appears from one of *Theodoric*'s reſcripts to *Januarius*, preſident of *Samnium* [k]. But when the diſpute aroſe between *Goth* and *Goth*, they were to have recourſe to their own judge, who decided it according to *Theodoric*'s own edicts, which did not much differ from the *Roman* laws, and were given to thoſe, who were ſent into the provinces as judges of the *Goths* [l]. *Theodoric* not only retained the ſame laws, but the ſame form of government, the ſame diſtribution of provinces, the ſame magiſtrates and dignities. As the emperors had, before his time, tranſlated the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, to be near at hand, and ready to put a ſtop to the irruptions of the barbarians, who, on that ſide, broke into *Italy*, he likewiſe choſe that city for the uſual place of his reſidence, governing from thence the provinces by the ſame magiſtrates, that had preſided over them in the times of the emperors, *viz.* by the *conſulares*, the *correctores*, and the *præſides*. But, beſides theſe, he ſent, according to the cuſtom of the *Goths*, to each city inferior judges, diſtinguiſhed with the title of *counts*, who were to adminiſter juſtice, and decide all controverſies and diſputes: and herein the polity of the *Goths*, far excelled, as *Grotious* obſerves, that of the *Romans*; for, in the *Roman* times, a whole province was governed by a *conſularis*, a *corrector*, or a *præſes*, who reſided in the chief city, and to whom recourſe was to be had at a great charge from the moſt remote parts; but *Theodoric*, beſides the *conſularis*, the *corrector*, or the *præſes*, appointed, not only in the principal cities, but in each ſmall town and village, inferior magiſtrates of known integrity, who were to adminiſter juſtice, and, by that means, ſave thoſe who had law-ſuits the trouble and expence of recurring to the governor of the whole province [m], no appeals to diſtant tribunals being allowed, but in matters of the greateſt importance, or in caſe of manifeſt injuſtice [n]. Thus *Italy*, from the dominion of the *Romans*, came under that of the *Goths*, almoſt without perceiving the change. But of the eminent virtues of *Theodoric*, of his glorious reign, and the reigns of the *Gothic* kings of *Italy* his ſucceſſors, to the expulſion of the *Goths* by *Narſes*, we ſhall, purſuant to our plan, ſpeak at length in a more proper place, and, in the mean time, proceed to the hiſtory of other antient nations.

He retains the Roman *laws.*

And the ſame magiſtrates.

[h] Cassiodor. l. iii. c. 43. & l. i. c. 27. [i] Vide Grot. in proleg. c. 3. [k] Edict. Theodor. apud Cassiodor. [l] Cassiodor. l. ii. var. ep. 13. & l. vii. c. 2. [m] Grot. in proleg. hiſt. Goth. Cassiodor. l. vi. c. 7. [n] Grot. ibid.

SECT.

SECT III.

The antient state of the Vandals, *till their settling in* Spain *and* Africa.

The origin of the Vandals.

THE *Vandals* were originally a *Gothic* nation; for *Procopius*, who could not be a stranger to their descent, being well acquainted with *Gelomir* their king, and the other *Vandals*, who were brought prisoners to *Constantinople* in the reign of *Justinian*, tells us in expres terms, that the *Goths* and *Vandals* were one and the same people, distinguished in names, but agreeing in original and manners[o]. He adds, that they spoke the *Gothic* language, as did likewise the *Gepidæ*, *Lombards*, *Burgundians*, and *Alans*. *Their name.* They were called *Vandals* from the *Gothic* word *Vandelen*, which signifies *to wander*, because they often changed their seats, wandering from one country to another[p]. They are supposed to have come originally out of *Scandinavia* with the other *Goths*, under the conduct of king *Eric*, of whom we have spoken in the foregoing section, and to have settled in the countries now known by the names of *Mecklenburg* and *Brandenburg*. Several ages after, another colony of the *Goths*, leaving *Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berig*, settled in *Pomerania*, after having driven out the *Rugians*, by *Jornandes* called *Ulmerugians*. At the same time *Berig* subdued the *Vandals* inhabiting the above-mentioned countries; but, instead of driving them from their antient seats, he only obliged them, as they were a *Gothic* nation, to share their territories with the new-comers[q]. In the reign of *Augustus*, part of the *Vandals*, streightened in their own country for want of room, settled on the banks of the *Rhine*; but were driven from thence by *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, and obliged to return home. As their country was overstocked with people, great numbers of them soon left it anew, and, taking their rout eastward, entered the country lying between the *Bosporus Cimmerius* and the *Tanais*, inhabited at that time by the *Sclavi*, whom they drove out, and, seizing on their country, took the name of the antient inhabitants, calling themselves *Sclavi*. Some of these, several ages after, that is, in the reign of *Mauritius*, which began in 586, settled in *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, which from them were called *Sclavonia*[r]. Others seated themselves in the eastern parts of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, which province comprehended the present countries of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, and the eastern parts of *Upper Hungary*. From those who remained in *Germany*, the present *Poles* and *Bohemians* are said by most writers to derive their origin[s]. But the *Vandals* who, under *Godegisilus* their king, broke into *Gaul*, and afterwards settled in *Spain* and *Africa*, came, according to *Procopius*[t], from *Dacia*, and the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*. As the *Vandals* were a *Gothic* nation, the same customs, manners, religion, form of government, *&c.* obtained among them as among the *Goths*. They had, without doubt, their own kings long before they were known to the *Romans*; but *Godegesilus*, under whose conduct they entered *Gaul* in 406. is the first of their princes, whom we find mentioned in history. He was succeeded by *Gunderic*, who, in 409. from *Gaul* passed into *Spain*, and settled in *Galicia*. *Genseric* reigned next, who, abandoning *Spain* in 428. passed with his *Vandals* over into *Africa*, which the *Vandals* held under the following kings, *Hunneric*, *Gundamund*, *Thrasamund*, *Genseric* II. and *Gelimer*, till the year 533, when an end was put to their dominion by *Belisarius*, and *Africa* reunited to the empire. *Salvianus*, speaking of the *Vandals*, says, that they were excelled by all the other barbarous nations both in power and courage; but nevertheless made themselves masters of the best and most fertile provinces of the empire, Providence so disposing to convince the world, that their conquests were not owing to their valour, but to the Lord of hosts, who made use of so weak and contemptible an enemy to punish the sins of the *Romans*[u]. They embraced the christian religion at the same time that the *Goths* were converted, but held, like the other *Gothic* nations, the tenets of *Arius*, and were irreconcilable enemies to the catholic church. *Salvian* however extols their continence and chastity[w].

Their different seats.

Their kings.

As

[o] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. [p] Vide Matth. Prætor. in orbe Goth. [q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 4. [r] Vide Olaum Rudbeck. Atlantica, part. i. c. 24. & Joann. Marian. l. v. c. 1. [s] Matth. Prætor. in orbe Goth. l. iii. c. 1. & 2. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. [u] Salvian. l. vii. p. 161. [w] Idem, p. 160, 166.

As to their irruptions into the empire, for we know nothing of their wars with other nations, they first began to be troublesome to the *Romans* in the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, about the year 166. when, entering into an alliance with other barbarous nations, *viz.* the *Marcomanns*, the *Narischians*, the *Hermundurians*, *Quadians*, *Suevians*, *Sarmatians*, *Victovalians*, *Roxolanians*, *Basternians*, *Costobochians*, *Alans*, *Iazygians*, &c. they broke into the empire, took and plundered several cities, and, having put to flight the *Roman* armies sent against them, committed everywhere unheard of ravages. Of this war, which is compared by the antients to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have spoken in our *Roman* history [x]. On this occasion the *Marcomanns* and *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Pannonia*, after having defeated and killed *Furius Victorinus* the *præfectus prætorio*, who, with a considerable army, attempted to put a stop to their inroads [y]. They continued in *Pannonia* till the year 170. when they were driven out by *M. Aurelius*, who pursued them to the *Danube*, and cut great numbers of them in pieces as they were passing that river [z]. They entered, it seems, afterwards into an alliance with the *Romans*; for one of the articles of the peace concluded in 180. between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alemans* was, that they should not make war upon the *Vandals* [a]. In the year 215. a war was kindled between them and the *Marcomanns*; for *Caracalla*, as we read in *Dion* [b], used to glory in his having set at variance these two nations, which, till then, had lived in peace and amity with each other. By this war both nations were greatly weakened; and this is all we know of it. In 271. the second of *Aurelian*'s reign, while the emperor was engaged in a war with several *German* nations, who had broken into *Italy*, the *Vandals*, having passed the *Danube* under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes, laid waste the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Aurelian*, having gained a complete victory over the *Germans*, led his army against the *Vandals*, who, upon the news of his approach, retired with great precipitation. The emperor, however, pursued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him, as hostages, the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men amongst his own troops, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube*. Five hundred of them, who had separated from the rest to plunder the country, were cut in pieces by the general of the foreign troops, and their leader put to death by their king's order [c]. They continued quiet the remaining part of *Aurelian*'s reign; but they no sooner received the news of his death, which happened in 275. than entering into an alliance with the *Lygians*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*, they advanced as far as the *Rhine*, and having, without opposition, crossed that river, entered *Gaul*, and made themselves masters of almost the whole country, which they held for the space of two years, that is, till the year 277. when *Probus*, who had succeeded *Tacitus*, marching against them, overcame them in several battles. Most of the *Lygians*, a *German* nation, were cut off, and their king *Semno* taken prisoner; but he was soon after set at liberty, in virtue of a treaty, by which the *Lygians*, after having restored the booty, and dismissed the prisoners they had taken, solemnly promised not only to live in amity with the *Romans*, but to guard the confines of the empire against the other barbarians, who should attempt to break into it [d]. The *Vandals* and *Burgundians* retired at the approach of the *Roman* army, and, having crossed the *Rhine* before *Probus* could overtake them, encamped on the banks of that river. However, being provoked by the insults and raillery of the *Roman* soldiers encamped on the opposite bank, they attempted to pass the river, with a design to give them battle; but the *Romans*, falling upon the first that landed, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took many prisoners, and drove the rest, who were hastening to the assistance of their companions, back into the river, where most of them perished. The emperor was preparing to pass the *Rhine*, in order to pursue the shattered remains of their army; but, upon their suing for peace, and promising to send back all the prisoners and booty they had taken, he agreed to let them retire unmolested. This promise they did not perform with due fidelity; which so provoked the emperor, that, crossing the *Rhine*, he fell upon them as they were retiring, put many of them to

The Vandals *make themselves masters of* Pannonia. *Year after Christ* 476.

Are driven out by M. Aurelius

They break into the empire; but are driven out with great slaughter by Aurelian. *Year after Christ* 271.

The Vandals *receive a great overthrow from* Probus. *Year after Christ* 277.

[x] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 68, 69.
[y] M. Aur. vit. p. 29.
[z] Idem ibid. p. 31.
[a] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 817.
[b] Dio, p. 754, 757. Dexip. legat. p. 12.
[c] Aur. vit. p. 215. Zos. l. i. p. 664.
[d] Prob. vit. p. 238, 239.

a to the ſword, and took a great number of priſoners, among whom was *Igillus* their king, with other perſons of great diſtinction [e]. Theſe were afterwards ſent by *Probus* into *Britain*, and are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, where, according to *Bucherius*, they gave name to the village of *Vandelſburg* [f]. Two years after, *Probus* finding, on his return from *Perſia*, the province of *Thrace* almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, allowed a great number of *Baſtarnæ*, a *Scythian* nation, ſome ſay an hundred thouſand, to ſettle there. He likewiſe granted lands in the ſame province to the *Gepidæ*, the *Juthungians*, and the *Vandals*. The *Baſtarnæ* continued faithful to the empire, and by degrees brought themſelves to live after the *Roman* manner; but the other nations revolting, while the emperor's troops were employed againſt *Saturninus* and *Proculus*, of whom the former had aſſumed the b purple in *Egypt*, and the latter in *Gaul*, over-ran, ſays our hiſtorian, the whole empire, committing every where dreadful ravages, to the great diſhonour of the *Roman* name [g]. But *Probus*, having with great ſucceſs overcome the two uſurpers, marched all his forces againſt the barbarians, and, in ſeveral battles, the particulars of which are unknown to us, made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that few of thoſe, who had entered the *Roman* dominions, had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter [h]. No farther mention is made of the *Vandals*, till the year 291. the eighth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, when we find them engaged in a war with the *Goths*. The *Taifalæ* aſſiſted the *Goths*, and the *Gepidæ* the *Vandals*; but as the *Romans* were no-ways concerned in this war, authors only tell us in general terms, that it was carried on with great c vigour; and that the barbarians were ſo weakened by it, that, for a conſiderable time, they ſuffered the *Romans* to live in peace, not being in a condition to moleſt them [i]. As for the *Vandals*, they ſeem to have continued quiet till the year 406. the twelfth of *Honorius*'s reign, when, ſtirred up by *Stilicho*, who hoped, by their means, to raiſe his ſon *Eucherius* to the empire, they broke into *Gaul* with the *Alans* and *Suevians*. The *Vandals*, in attempting to croſs the *Rhine*, were attacked by the *Franks*, who cut twenty thouſand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigiſcles*; and would have put them all to the ſword, had not the *Alans* and *Suevians* come ſeaſonably to their relief. Theſe, joining the *Vandals*, obliged the *Franks* to retire; and, croſſing without oppoſition the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul*, on the laſt day of the preſent d year 406 [k]. *Procopius* writes, that the *Vandals*, who entered *Gaul*, had been obliged, by a famine that raged among them at home, to abandon their own country, and ſeek new ſettlements; but that the greater part of the nation continued in their antient ſeats beyond the *Danube* [l]. Having paſſed the *Rhine*, they firſt ravaged *Germania Prima*, took by ſtorm, and levelled with the ground, the city of *Mentz*, the metropolis of that province. From *Germania Prima* they paſſed into *Gallia Belgica*, and from thence into *Aquitain*, the moſt fertile and opulent province of all *Gaul*. Having advanced to the *Pyrenean* mountains, which they did not at firſt venture to paſs, they over-ran all the neighbouring provinces, committing every-where unheard-of ravages. The *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians* were ſoon joined by the *Burgundians* e and other barbarous nations, ſtirred up partly by *Stilicho*, and partly by the deſire of booty, and hopes of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo many wealthy provinces [m]. An incredible number of barbarians, ſays St. *Jerom*, writing about this time, have ſpread themſelves all over *Gaul*: the whole country between the *Alps*, the *Pyrenean* mountains, the ocean, and the *Rhine*, is held by them [n]. In the mean time, *Conſtantine*, being proclaimed emperor by the *Britiſh* legions, from *Britain* paſſed over into *Gaul*, taking with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in the iſland, and the flower of the *Britiſh* youth, who were joined, ſoon after his landing at *Bologne*, by the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*. With theſe he overcame the *Vandals* and other barbarians in ſeveral battles, and, in the end, reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that f they were obliged to ſue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit *Gaul*, probably becauſe he hoped to maintain himſelf, by their means, in the power he had uſurped [o]. Soon after, *Geroncius*, to whom *Conſtans*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, revolting upon ſome diſguſt, and ſetting up one *Maximus* for emperor, the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians* flew to arms,

Some of them allowed to ſettle in Thrace.

They revolt, and are defeated by Probus.

They break into Gaul. *Year after Chriſt* 406.

[e] Idem, p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 663. [f] Buch. Belg. l. vii. c. 1. p. 218. [g] Prob. vit. p. 240. Zos. l. i. p. 666. [h] Prob. vit. p. 240—245. [i] Paneg. xi. p. 135—138. [k] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. Oros. c. 40. p. 223. Vales. p. 98. [l] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 22. p. 227. [m] Zos. l. vi. p. 825. Salvian. l. vii, p. 167. Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. [n] Hier. ep. xi. p. 93. [o] Oros. ibid.

arms, probably at the inſtigation of the uſurper, and made themſelves maſters of a
ſeveral cities in *Gaul*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no relief either from *Hono-*
rius or *Conſtantine*, reſolved to defend themſelves; and accordingly, uniting their
forces, they fell upon the barbarians, and defeated them in ſeveral encounters. The
barbarians, meeting with greater oppoſition than they expected, and at the ſame
time acquainted with the diſtracted ſtate of *Spain*, which was repreſented to them as
a wealthy and fruitful country, reſolved to try whether they could ſettle there. With
this deſign, they bent their march towards the *Pyrenees*, which they paſſed without
oppoſition, the guards, who had been placed there, either abandoning their poſts at
the approach of ſuch multitudes, or joining them, in order to avoid the puniſhment
due to the ravages they had committed in thoſe provinces before their arrival [p]. b

The Vandals, Suevians, *and* Alans *enter* Spain. *Year after Chriſt* 409.

Thus the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans* firſt entered *Spain* in 409. according to ſome, on the twenty-eighth of *September* [q]; according to others, on the thirteenth of *October* [r]. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and ſtrong holds, defeated the troops, which *Conſtantine* had ſent, under the conduct of his ſon *Conſtans*, to ſuppreſs the rebellion of *Geroncius*, and before the end of the year 410. obliged *Conſtans* himſelf to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles* [s]. As for *Geroncius*, he entered into a kind of alliance with them againſt their common enemy *Conſtantine* [t]. And now the barbarians, having no enemy to oppoſe them, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of cruelties; which they themſelves afterwards repented [u]. St. *Auſtin*, ſpeaking of the duty of biſhops c
on ſuch occaſions, alledges the example of the biſhops of *Spain*, when over-run by the barbarians: Many holy biſhops, ſays he, fled, after having ſeen their flocks diſperſed by the barbarians, put to the ſword, deſtroyed by long ſieges, or carried into captivity; but many more remained among the barbarians, becauſe thoſe who were committed to their care, choſe to remain, being willing to endure all ſorts of hardſhips, rather than be wanting to their duty [w]. The barbarians allowed ſuch of the natives, as deſired to abandon the country, to retire unmoleſted; nay, for a ſmall ſum, they conducted them to ſuch places of ſafety, as they thought proper to chuſe [x].

The unhappy condition of thoſe provinces

Idatius, who was about this time biſhop of a city in *Spain*, deſcribes at length the calamities ſuffered on this occaſion by that unhappy people. He tells us, that in d
409. the country was ravaged on one ſide by the barbarians, and on the other by a dreadful plague, which daily ſwept off great numbers [y]; that, beſides theſe two evils, ſo great a famine raged in 410. that many were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of feeding upon human fleſh; that ſeveral parents, preſſed by hunger, devoured their own children; and that the wild beaſts, accuſtomed to live upon the dead bodies of thoſe who were killed by the barbarians, or died of the plague, being deprived of that food, fell upon the living, and made a dreadful havock of the country-people in the fields and villages. To theſe calamities was added, ſays our author, the cruelty of the ſoldiers and officers, who, being employed by *Conſtantine* to levy the taxes, ſeized and carried off the effects and wealth of the inhabitants, who had e
conveyed them into the towns, as places of ſafety [z]. *Olympiodorus* tells us, that the *Romans*, who, upon the breaking in of the barbarians, had taken refuge in the fortified cities and ſtrong-holds, were in the end obliged to feed upon one another. He adds, that a woman, who had no fewer than forty children, killed and devoured them one after the other; which the people no ſooner knew, than they fell upon her, and ſtoned her to death [a]. Such was the deplorable condition, to which the provinces of *Spain* were reduced by the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, upon their firſt entering that country; and in this ſtate they continued from the year 406. to 411. when Heaven, ſays *Idatius* [b]. inſpiring the barbarians with thoughts of peace, they

The Vandals, Alans, *and* Suevians *divide the provinces of* Spain *among them.*

began to prefer agriculture to war. Having therefore divided among themſelves by f
lot the provinces of *Spain*, they applied themſelves to the tilling of the ground, and to other works of agriculture. In that diviſion, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, the former having *Gonderic*, who had ſucceeded *Godigiſcles*, for their king, and the latter *Ermeric*; *Luſitania* and the province of *Cartagena* to the *Alans*; *Bætica* to the *Vandals*, called *Silingians*, who are ſuppoſed to have given to their lot the name

[p] GREG. TUR. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. SOZOM. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. [q] PROSP. chron. [r] IDAT. faſt. & chron. [s] OROS. ibid. SOZ. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. SALV. l. vii. p. 108. [t] PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. [u] OROS. ibid. [w] AUG. ep. clxxx. p. 306. [x] OROS. c. 41. p. 223. [y] IDAT. chron. p. 10. [z] Idem, p. 11. [a] PHOT. c. 80. p. 189. [b] IDAT. ibid.

a name of *Vandaluſia*, changed afterwards into that of *Andaluſia* [c]. Such of the natives as had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and taken refuge in the fortified places, ſubmitted in the end to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the goſpels, ſwore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they obſerved ſo religiouſly, that many *Romans* choſe to live in poverty under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire [d]. However, the inhabitants of *Galicia* maintained their liberty, and formed a ſeparate ſtate in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked by *Ermeric* king of the *Suevians*, who, in the end, ſuffered them to live in peace, being ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he languiſhed the ſeven laſt years of the fourteen he reigned [e].

b Pope *Leo* obſerves, that the catholic church ſuffered greatly by this irruption of the barbarians, who would not ſuffer the civil and eccleſiaſtical laws enacted againſt heretics, eſpecially the *Priſcillianiſts*, to be put in execution. On the other hand, the biſhops not meeting and holding councils as uſual, the followers of *Priſcillian*, who, till that time, had been obliged to keep themſelves concealed, began publicly to own their tenets, and gained over a great many proſelytes [f].

In the year 416. *Vallia*, king of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, took upon him to drive the barbarians out of *Spain*; which gave riſe to a war, of which we know but very few particulars. *Oroſius* writes, that on this occaſion *Vallia* gave ſignal proofs of his zeal for the welfare of the empire [g]; and

c *Idatius*, that *Vallia* made head againſt the *Alans* and *Vandals*, maſters of *Luſitania* and *Bætica*, and gained great advantages over them [h]. This is all we know of the preſent war. In 422. the emperor *Honorius*, acquainted with the low condition to which the *Vandals* had been reduced by the *Goths* under the conduct of *Vallia*, reſolved to attempt the recovery of the provinces held by them in *Spain*. With this view, he ordered *Caſtinus*, general of the foot, and captain of the guards, to march againſt them at the head of a conſiderable army, in which ſerved a great number of *Goths*. *Caſtinus* defeated them in ſeveral encounters, and reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they began to think of abandoning the country, which they had ſeized; but the *Roman* general having in the mean time unſeaſonably ventured an engagement,

d twenty thouſand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged, with the poor remains of his ſhattered army, to take refuge in the city of *Tarraco* [i]. *Idatius* aſcribes this defeat to the treachery of the *Goths*, who ſerved as auxiliaries in the *Roman* army; but *Gregory* of *Tours*, and *Salvian*, ſuppoſe it to be intirely owing to the raſhneſs of *Caſtinus*. After this victory, the *Vandals* made themſelves maſters of *Seville*; and, having firmly eſtabliſhed their dominion in *Andaluſia*, they ravaged the neighbouring provinces, almoſt utterly deſtroyed the city of *Cartagena*, and, paſſing over into the *Balearic* iſlands, committed unheard-of ravages there, carrying back with them into *Spain* an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives [k]. Not long after, the *Vandals* and *Suevians* falling out, *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, gained

e great advantages over *Ermeric* king of the *Suevians*, whom, in the end, he obliged to fly for refuge to the mountains of *Biſcay*, and there kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, *Aſterius*, count of *Spain*, and the vicar *Maurocelus*, falling unexpectedly upon *Gonderic*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to abandon *Biſcay* and *Galicia*, and retire into *Andaluſia* [l]. *Gonderic*, on his return to *Seville*, took the church of that city from the catholics, and gave it to the *Arians*; upon which, being immediately poſſeſſed, ſays *Idatius*, and tormented with an evil ſpirit, he periſhed ſoon after, that is, in 428. in a miſerable manner [m]. The *Van-* Gonderic
dals gave out, that he had been taken priſoner by the *Suevians*, and by them put to *dies.*
death, hoping by that means, ſay ſome modern writers, to conceal his ſhameful end;

f which was a manifeſt condemnation of the tenets of *Arius* held by them. *Gonderic* left ſeveral ſons behind him; but was nevertheleſs ſucceeded by his brother, named by the antients *Gaiſeric*, *Geiſeric*, and *Gizeric*, but now commonly known by the Genſeric.
name of *Genſeric*. *Procopius* tells us, that he was the natural ſon of *Godigiſcles*, killed by the *Franks* in 406. and *Sidonius*, that he was the ſon of a king; but that his mother was a ſlave [n]. He renounced the catholic faith, which he firſt profeſſed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius* held by the *Vandals* his countrymen [o]. He was remarkably

They gain a great victory over the Romans.

[c] Oros. c. 41. p. 223. [d] Idem, l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. [e] Isidor. chron. [f] Leo, ep. xv. p. 449. [g] Oros. ibid. [h] Idat. chron. [i] Greg. Tur. l ii c. 9. p. 63, 64. Salvian. l. vii. p. 165—168. [k] Idat. chron. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem, p. 27. [n] Sid. car. ii. & v. p. 300, 310. [o] Idat. p. 17.

remarkably brave and couragious, well ſkilled in the art of war, and, from his infancy, inured to the hardſhips and toils attending a military life [p]. But, as we have elſewhere drawn his character [q], we ſhall only add here from *Idatius*, that, before his acceſſion to the crown, he was well known to the *Romans* by the many advantages he had gained over them in *Spain*; that the victory over *Caſtinus* in 422. was no leſs owing to his bravery, than to the raſh conduct of the *Roman* general; and that chiefly by his means the *Suevians* in *Spain* were reduced to the loweſt ebb of power [r]. Upon his arrival in *Africa*, he cauſed the wife of the deceaſed king to be drowned in the river *Amſachus*, and ſoon after put all her children to death, to prevent the diſturbances they might have raiſed, as they had an undoubted right to the crown [s]. *Genſeric* had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when he was invited over into *Africa* by count *Bonifacius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in that province. *Bonifacius* had ſerved the empire with the utmoſt fidelity, and, on that account, had been raiſed by the empreſs *Placidia* to the higheſt honours, and ſent with an unlimited power into *Africa*; which province he had defended with great bravery againſt the repeated attempts of the uſurper *John*. His riſe gave no ſmall jealouſy to his rival *Aetius*, who thereupon found means to perſuade *Placidia*, that *Bonifacius* had preſerved *Africa* for himſelf, and only waited an opportunity of pulling off the maſk, and eſtabliſhing there an independent ſovereignty. *Placidia*, giving intire credit to the inſinuations of *Aetius*, whom ſhe did not in the leaſt miſtruſt, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, as we have related more at length elſewhere [t], and diſpatched a ſtrong body of troops againſt him. *Bonifacius*, finding the empreſs bent upon his ruin, and himſelf not in a condition to contend with the whole ſtrength of the empire, had recourſe to *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, who, at this time, peaceably enjoyed the province of *Andaluſia*. *Procopius* writes, that, in virtue of the treaty concluded between them and *Bonifacius*, *Gonderic*, whom he ſuppoſes to be ſtill living, againſt the teſtimony of *Idatius*, and *Genſeric*, were to have two-thirds of *Africa*, and he the other; and that they were to aſſiſt each other to the utmoſt of their power [u]. The treaty being agreed to, *Genſeric* began to make the neceſſary preparations for ſo important an expedition. The barbarians, ſay *Proſper* [w], had no veſſels, neither did they know how to make uſe of them; but thoſe who employed them, took care to ſupply them with every thing they wanted. When neceſſary veſſels were got ready, and the *Vandals* upon the point of going on board, *Genſeric* was informed, that *Hermigarius*, a celebrated commander of the *Suevians*, was laying waſte the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Genſeric*, putting himſelf at the head of a choſen body of troops, went in queſt of the enemy; and, coming up with them in *Luſitania*, gave them a total overthrow. *Hermigarius* their leader attempted to make his eſcape; but was drowned in croſſing on horſeback the river *Guadiana* near *Merida* [x]. *Idatius* looks upon his death as a puniſhment inflicted upon him for ſpeaking contemptuouſly of St. *Eulalia*, and pillaging the city of *Merida*, where the body of that ſaint was kept and revered [y].

He is invited by Bonifacius *into* Africa.

He defeats the Suevians.

From this expedition *Genſeric* returned to the place where the veſſels were kept in readineſs for his embarkation. There he had ordered, before his departure, all the *Vandals* to aſſemble, with their wives, children, and effects; and having, upon his return, commanded them to go on board, he put to ſea in the month of *May* of the year 428. and, abandoning *Spain*, croſſed the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, and landed in *Africa* [z]. The *Romans* took poſſeſſion anew of the provinces, which the *Vandals* had abandoned, and held them till they were driven out by the *Suevians*, as the *Suevians* were in their turn by the *Goths*, as we have related above. *Genſeric* gave out, that his army was eighty thouſand ſtrong; but in that number he muſt have compriſed the old men, the children, and even the ſlaves [a]. The author of St. *Auſtin*'s life deſcribes at length the dreadful ravages committed by them in that wealthy province. According to that writer, they were, in the month of *May* of the year 430. already maſters of all the cities of *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Cirtha*, and *Hippo*. *Caſſiodore* writes, perhaps to curry favour with thoſe under whom he lived, that the *Vandals* were driven out of *Spain* by the *Goths* [b]. But *Salvian* aſſures us, that they abandoned thoſe

The Vandals *abandon* Spain *and paſs over into* Africa. *Anno after Chriſt* 428.

[p] Procop. p. 184. [q] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 481. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Vict. Vitens. de perſecut. Vandal. l. ii. p. 21. Malch. leg. p. 959. [t] Univerſ. hiſt. vi. p. 480. [u] Procop. p. 45. [w] Prosp. chron. [x] Idat. p. 27. [y] Idem, p. 28. [z] Prosp. chron. Idat. p. 17, 18. Vict. Vitens. de perſecut. Vandal. l. i, p. 3. [a] Vict. Vitens. ibid. [b] Cassiodor. chron.

those countries of their own accord, when they were in a condition to maintain themselves in the poſſeſſion of what they had acquired with their valour, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of their enemies, Heaven, that had made uſe of them to puniſh the ſins of the *Spaniards*, employing them for the ſame purpoſe againſt the *Africans*. The ſame writer adds, that they themſelves could not help owning, that they were animated to this enterprize more by a ſecret impulſe from Heaven, than by their own inclination [c]. In the mean time, *Placidia*, having diſcovered the true cauſe of the revolt of *Bonifacius*, wrote a moſt kind and obliging letter to him, aſſuring him of her favour and protection for the future, and exhorting him to return to his duty, and exert his uſual zeal for the welfare of the empire, by driving out the barbarians, whom the malice of his enemies had obliged him to call in for his own ſafety and preſervation. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them conſiderable ſums, provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*. But the *Vandals*, already maſters of the far greater part of *Africa*, firſt returned him a ſcoffing anſwer, and then, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himſelf to take refuge in *Hippo*; which place they inveſted in the month of *May* 430. about three months before the death of St. *Auſtin* biſhop of that city. The ſiege laſted about fourteen months, that is, till the month of *July* of the following year 431. when the *Vandals* were forced, by a famine that began to rage in their camp, to drop the enterprize, and retire [d]. Soon after, *Bonifacius* having received two reinforcements, the one from *Rome* and the other from *Conſtantinople*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Aſpar*, a reſolution was taken by the *Roman* generals to offer the enemy battle. The *Vandals* readily accepting the challenge, a bloody engagement enſued, in which the *Romans* were utterly defeated by the barbarians, who took an incredible number of captives, and obliged the reſt to take ſhelter among the rocks and mountains. Among the priſoners was *Marcian*, then aſſeſſor to *Aſpar*, and afterwards emperor. *Aſpar*, who commanded the eaſtern troops, eſcaped with much-ado out of *Africa*, and returned to *Conſtantinople*. As for *Bonifacius*, he repaired with all ſpeed to *Italy*, being called thither by the empreſs *Placidia*. Upon their departure, the barbarians over-ran all *Africa*, committing every-where, without controul, unheard of ravages; which ſtruck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with ſuch terror, that they abandoned their city, which was firſt plundered, and then ſet on fire, by the victorious enemy; ſo that *Cirtha* and *Carthage* were the only two ſtrong places in *Africa* ſtill held by the *Romans* [f]. About the ſame time, *Genſeric* made ſeveral attempts upon *Sicily*; but was conſtantly repulſed by *Caſſiodore*, great-grandfather to the celebrated ſenator of the ſame name [g]. At length a peace was concluded on the eleventh of *February* of the year 435. between *Valentinian* and *Genſeric* [h], whoſe moderation is greatly extolled by *Procopius* [i]. But other writers aſcribe his making peace with the *Romans*, not to his moderation, but to the apprehenſion he was under of being attacked anew by the united forces of both empires. Be that as it will, the *Romans* yielded to him part of *Numidia*, the province *Proconſularis*, and likewiſe *Byzacene* [k]. *Proſper* writes, that, for theſe provinces, *Genſeric* was to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of the eaſt [l]. He delivered up to the *Romans* his ſon *Hunneric* by way of hoſtage; but ſo great was the confidence they placed in *Genſeric*, that, ſome time after, they ſent him back his ſon; of which they had ſoon occaſion to repent, being convinced by experience, that he had either brought with him into *Africa*, or learnt there, the treachery peculiar to the inhabitants of that country; for four years after, that is, in 439. the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Goths* in *Gaul*, *Genſeric*, laying hold of that opportunity, ſurpriſed the city of *Carthage* on the twenty-third of *October*; by the taking of which place, the *Vandals* remained maſters of the *Proconſularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Gætulia*, and part of *Numidia* [m]. However, *Valentinian* maintained, ſo long as he lived, the other provinces of *Africa*, though reduced to a moſt deplorable condition. Theſe were the two *Mauritanias*, viz. *Cæſarienſis* and *Sitifenſis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of *Numidia*, in which *Cirtha* ſtood. Thus *Carthage* fell under the power of the *Vandals*, after it had belonged to the *Romans* for the ſpace of five hundred and eighty-five years [n]. When news of the taking of *Carthage* by the *Vandals* was brought to *Rome*, *Valentinian*, not doubting but

They gain ſeveral victories over the Romans.

Genſeric, *king of the* Vandals, *concludes a peace with the* Romans, *who yield to him part of* Africa *Year after Chriſt* 435.

He takes Carthage.

[c] Salvian. gub. l. vii. p. 168.
[d] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185. Vit. S. Aug. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4.
[e] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185.
[f] Salvian. gub. p. 141, 142.
[g] Cassiodor. l. i. p. 5.
[h] Prosp. chron.
[i] Procop. ibid. c. 1. p. 386.
[k] Vict. Vitens. l. i. p. 5.
[l] Prosp. chron.
[m] Idat. p. 22. Prosp. chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730. Vict. Vitens. l. v. p. 5.
[n] Prosp. chron.

but they would ſoon make ſome attempt upon *Italy* itſelf, ordered the walls, towers, a and gates of all the cities on the coaſt to be repaired. The governor of *Rome* was ſtrictly injoined to put that city in a ſtate of defence againſt any ſudden attack, and impowered to oblige all the inhabitants, without diſtinction, to concur in the work. Levies were made, and guards placed on the walls, and at the gates, as appears from a law enacted on the ſecond of *March*, and addreſſed to the people of *Rome* [p]. From another law dated the twenty-fourth of *June* 440. we learn, that the *Roman* people had already received intelligence of *Genſeric*'s being ſailed from *Carthage* with a powerful fleet, but were ſtill unacquainted with his deſign. Hereupon *Valentinian* publiſhed a law, granting to all ranks of people the liberty of taking arms, to defend themſelves againſt the common enemy. By the ſame law b he yields to them whatever they ſhall take from the *Vandals*, and exhorts them to act on this occaſion with the courage of true *Romans*, and with that moderation and juſtice, that become men of honour. He adds, that an army, deſtined by *Theodoſius* for the defence of *Italy*, was in full march; and that *Aetius* would ſoon arrive from *Gaul* at the head of another army. Several bodies of troops were placed, at proper diſtances, along the coaſt, under the conduct of *Sigiſvult*, by nation a *Goth*; and the people ordered to be in readineſs to take arms upon the firſt alarm [q]. But, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, *Genſeric*, in the month of *June*, made a deſcent upon *Sicily*, and, meeting with little or no reſiſtance, ravaged the open country, and even laid ſiege to *Palermo*; but, not being able to reduce the place, c he returned to *Africa* with an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives [r]. It was, without all doubt, on this occaſion, that *Paſcaſinus*, biſhop of *Lilybæum*, was carried into captivity, as pope *Leo* informs us, and kept in a moſt miſerable ſervitude for the ſpace of three years, *viz.* to the year 443. when he returned back to his ſee [s].

He ravages Sicily.

Genſeric being now become formidable to both empires, *Theodoſius* reſolved to aſſiſt *Valentinian* his couſin and ſon-in-law againſt ſo powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he fitted out a fleet conſiſting of eleven hundred large ſhips, and, putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of *Arcovindas*, *Anſilus*, and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in *Africa*, and, joining the weſtern forces there, to drive d *Genſeric* out of the countries he had uſurped. But *Genſeric* pretending in the mean time to be deſirous of concluding a peace with both empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coaſt of *Sicily* the reſult of the negotiations, till the ſeaſon proper for action was over. The following year 442. the *Hunns* breaking into *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and committing there dreadful ravages, *Theodoſius* was obliged to recal his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genſeric*, which he could not obtain, but by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa* which he had ſeized [t]. Some years after, that is, in 455. *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian* III. being forced, by the uſurper *Maximus*, who had murdered her huſband, to marry him, e in order to revenge this affront, diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to *Genſeric*, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and reſcue her out of the arms of a tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of her huſband [u]. As the empreſs aſſured him, that he would meet with little or no reſiſtance in *Italy*, and at the ſame time promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of her power, he embraced, with great joy, ſo favourable an opportunity of enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of ſo wealthy a country; and, putting to ſea without loſs of time, ſteered his courſe ſtrait to *Rome*, which he took and plundered, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [w]. Amongſt other perſons of great diſtinction, *Genſeric* carried with him over into *Africa* the empreſs *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius* the ſon of *Aetius*. *Marcian*, who ſucceeded *Maximus*, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Genſeric*, earneſtly intreating him to ſuffer the empreſs f and the two princeſſes her daughters to return to *Rome*; but he, deſpiſing both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462. when he ſent back *Eudoxia*, with her ſecond daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo*, the ſucceſſor of *Marcian*; but kept *Eudocia*, and married her to *Hunneric* his eldeſt ſon, who had by her *Hilderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* [x]. *Victor Tununenſis* tells us, that *Leo*, then biſhop

Valentinian *yeilds to* Genſeric *all the countries he had ſeized. Year after Chriſt* 442.

Genſeric *takes and plunders* Rome. *Year after Chriſt* 455.

[p] Novell. xl. p. 17. & xli. p. 18. [q] Novell. xx. p. 102. [r] Prosp. Idat. chron. [s] Leo, tom. i. p. 412. [t] Chron. Alex. p. 730. Prosp. chron. [u] Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298. [w] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 502. [x] Procop. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 9. p. 255. Theophil. p. 93. Evagr. p. 98.

a bishop of *Rome*, went out to meet *Genseric*, and, with his affecting eloquence, persuaded him to forbear shedding the blood of the innocent citizens, and setting fire to the city [y]; but, according to *Evagrius*, the *Vandals* not only pillaged the city, but set it on fire; so that several public as well as private buildings were intirely consumed [z]. *Baronius* writes, upon what authority we know not, that *Genseric* spared, as *Alaric* had done, the churches of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and the *Lateran* [a].

Genseric, upon his return to *Africa*, made himself master of the countries that were still held there by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had succeeded *Valentinian* III. dispatched embassadors to him, putting him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the empire in 442. and threatening, if he did not observe the articles of that
b convention, to make war upon him, not only with his own forces, but with those likewise of his allies, meaning the *Visigoths*, that were ready to embarque and pass over into *Africa*. Accordingly, he sent a numerous fleet to *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in our *Roman* history, with orders to keep themselves in readiness to put to sea upon the first notice [b]. But *Genseric*, without the least regard to the emperor's remonstrances or threats, sailed from *Carthage* with a fleet of sixty ships, having on board a great number of land-forces, and shaped his course towards *Corsica*, it being yet a secret whether he designed to make a descent upon *Italy* or *Gaul*. But *Ricimer* no sooner heard he had put to sea, than he too weighed anchor, and, coming unexpectedly upon him near
c *Corsica*, utterly defeated him [c]. However, he returned soon after with a more numerous fleet, and, making a descent on the coast of *Italy*, carried off unmolested an immense booty and a great number of captives; which *Marcian*, emperor of the east, hearing, and at the same time pitying the condition to which *Eudoxia* and her two daughters were reduced, dispatched embassadors to *Genseric*, earnestly intreating him to send back the three princesses, and to forbear ravaging the lands of the empire, pursuant to the treaties he had concluded with the emperor of the west. *Genseric* heard the embassadors; but dismissed them without any answer. Upon their return, *Marcian*, imagining, that an *Arian* might speak with more liberty to, and be more favourably received by, a prince of that persuasion, wrote a letter to
d him with his own hand, and charged *Bleda*, a bishop of that sect, to deliver it to him. *Bleda*, finding he could obtain nothing by prayers and intreaties, told him boldly, that he ought not to let himself be so blinded by the success that had hitherto attended him, as not to reflect on the danger to which he exposed himself, by provoking such a warlike prince as *Marcian*. *Genseric* heard him with patience; but refused to comply with either of the emperors requests [d]. Some writers tell us, that *Marcian*, finding he could obtain nothing of *Genseric* by fair means, resolved to make war upon him, but died before he could put his design in execution [e]. *Jornandes*, as quoted by other writers, supposes him to have concluded a peace with the *Vandals* [f]. *Procopius*, who greatly extols *Marcian* in other respects, blames him for
e neglecting the affairs of *Africa*, and scrupling to make war upon *Genseric*, by reason of the oath he had been obliged to take, when prisoner in *Africa*, that he would never molest the *Vandals* [g]. *Evagrius* supposes *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to have been sent back to *Marcian* [h]; but he was therein certainly mistaken; for *Genseric* set those two princesses at liberty several years after, at the request of the emperor *Leo*. *Priscus* writes, that *Genseric* obtained of the emperor of the east, *Marcian*, or his successor *Leo*, part of the effects of the deceased emperor *Valentinian*, as the portion of *Eudocia* that prince's daughter married to *Hunneric* the son of *Genseric* [i]. But we do not well comprehend what right the emperor of the east had to dispose of what belonged to the emperor of the west. In the year 457.
f *Avitus*, emperor of the west, who had succeeded *Valentinian* III. being deposed, after a short reign, *Majorianus* was chosen in his room. In the beginning of that prince's reign, the *Vandals* made a descent on the coast of *Campania*; but the *Romans*, falling upon them while they were busied in plundering the country, put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genseric*, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves on board their fleet [k]. *Majorianus*, not satisfied with this small advantage, resolved to pass over into

He is defeated at sea by Ricimer.

The Vandals *defeated by the* Romans.

[y] Vict. Tun. chron. [z] Evagr. ibid. [a] Baron. ad ann. 455. [b] Prisc. legat. p. 63.
[c] Idat. p. 34. Vict. Vitens. p. 34. [d] Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298. [e] Theodor. lect. l. ii. p. 552.
[f] Prisc. p. 41. not. p. 208. [g] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 4. p. 186. [h] Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298. [i] Prisc. p. 42. [k] Sid. car. v. p. 321.

Majorianus *reſolves to paſs over into* Africa. *Year after Chriſt* 460.

into *Africa*, and attempt the recovery of thoſe wealthy provinces. With this view he aſſembled a fleet conſiſting of three hundred veſſels, hired a great number of troops of the barbarians, who lived in amity with the empire, and are named by *Sidonius*[l], and made other neceſſary pregarations for ſo great an undertaking; the *Gauls*, though greatly exhauſted by heavy impoſts, contributing with joy their ſhare towards them[m]. Of theſe military preparations mention is made by *Procopius*[n], and likewiſe by *Caſſiodore*[o], who tells us, that *Majorianus* ſpent the whole year 457. and the three following, in making the neceſſary preparations for driving the *Vandals* out of *Africa*. At length, in the year 460. *Majorianus* leaving *Arles*, where he then reſided, ſoon after *Eaſter*, which that year fell on the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, bent his march towards *Spain*, which he entered in the month of *May*, with a deſign to croſs over from thence into *Africa*[p]. *Procopius* writes, that *Majorianus*, the better to inform himſelf of the ſtrength of the enemy, went in diſguiſe to the court of *Genſeric*, pretending to be an embaſſador ſent by the *Roman* emperor with propoſals for an accommodation: he adds, that, while *Genſeric* was ſhewing him his arſenal, all the arms moved of their own accord with a dreadful noiſe[q]. The *Romans* did not in the leaſt doubt of ſucceſs, having *Majorianus* for leader; and the *Vandals*, dreading the iſſue of a war under the conduct of ſo renowned a commander, did all that lay in their power to avoid it. *Genſeric* ſent embaſſadors with propoſals for concluding a peace with the empire, which he promiſed to obſerve with the utmoſt fidelity; but theſe being rejected by the emperor, he laid waſte all *Mauritania*, and even poiſoned the waters, being informed, that *Majorianus* deſigned to land there, and thence march to *Carthage*[r]. In the mean time, the *Roman* fleet being aſſembled in the bay of *Alicant*, and *Majorianus* ready to embarque, a ſquadron of *Genſeric*'s beſt ſhips appeared unexpectedly, and, falling upon the *Roman* veſſels at anchor, ſunk a great number of them, diſabled others, and returned with ſome in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which, we are told, was owing to the treachery of ſome on board the *Roman* fleet, diſconcerted all the emperor's meaſures, and put a ſtop to the enterprize. However, *Majorianus*, perſiſting in his reſolution of invading *Africa*, ordered the ſhips to be repaired, and in the mean time returned to *Arles*, to paſs the winter there. *Genſeric*, finding the late misfortune had not diverted *Majorianus* from his former reſolution, and dreading the arms and valour of ſo great a general, diſpatched embaſſadors to him with new propoſals, which he in the end accepted[s]. Thus a peace was concluded between *Majorianus* and *Genſeric*; but the articles of the treaty have not been tranſmitted to us. Whatever they were, *Genſeric* did not long obſerve them; for he was no ſooner informed of the death of *Majorianus*, which happened the following year 461. than he ſent a powerful fleet to pillage the coaſts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and even made himſelf maſter of *Sardinia*[t].

His fleet ſurpriſed by the Vandals.

Concludes a peace with Genſeric.

THE following year 462. the inhabitants of *Italy*, being informed, that *Genſeric* was making great preparations with a deſign to renew his ravages on their coaſts, had recourſe to *Leo* emperor of the eaſt, *Severus*, whom *Ricimer* had raiſed to the empire of the weſt, being no-ways qualified for that high ſtation, and altogether incapable of protecting them againſt ſo powerful an enemy as *Genſeric*. They earneſtly intreated *Leo* either to ſupply them with ſhips of war, or to procure for them, by his mediation, ſome kind of agreement with the king of the *Vandals*. *Leo* declined ſending them any ſupplies, which, he ſaid, would be an open breach of the treaties ſubſiſting between *Genſeric* and the emperors of the eaſt; but diſpatched embaſſadors into *Africa*, with propoſals for a peace with the weſtern empire, earneſtly preſſing *Genſeric* at the ſame time, to ſend back *Euxdoxia* and her daughter *Placidia*. *Genſeric* anſwered, that he would hearken to no terms till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him, which he claimed as the portion of *Eudocia*, that prince's eldeſt daughter, whom his ſon *Hunneric* had married. However, he ſent back to *Leo* the two princeſſes, declaring, that he was willing to live in peace with the emperor of the eaſt; but under the above-mentioned pretences he never failed, for ſome years, to make deſcents early in the ſpring on the coaſts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, pillaging the country; but ever avoiding to engage the *Romans*, and retiring as ſoon as their forces appeared[u]. *Olybrius*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere[w], having ſoon after married

Genſeric *ravages the coaſts of* Italy *and* Sicily.

[l] Idem ibid. p. 324. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Procop. bell. Vand. l. vii. p. 194. [o] Cassiodor. ad an. 457. [p] Marc. Idat. chron. Prisc. p. 42. [q] Procop. ibid. [r] Procop. ibid. [s] Idat. p. 39, 40. Sid. l. i. ep. 11. p. 28. Cusp. p. 552. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. [u] Idat. p. 41. Prisc. p. 42. Sid. car. ii. v. 349. [w] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 511.

a ried *Placidia*, *Genseric* took from thence a new pretence to ravage *Italy* more than ever, declaring, that he would wage an eternal war with the western empire, unless *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity [x]. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Italy* had recourse anew to the emperor *Leo*, who dispatched the patrician *Tatian* to *Genseric*, injoining him to conclude a peace with that prince upon any terms; but *Genseric* would hearken to none [y]. In the mean time, the emperor *Severus* dying, the *Romans* sent deputies to *Constantinople*, intreating *Leo* to send *Anthemius* into *Italy*, whom they designed to chuse emperor. *Anthemius* was a native of *Constantinople*, descended of an antient and illustrious family, had married the daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, and was at that time count of the east. *Leo* b readily complied with the request of the *Romans*; so that *Anthemius*, arriving in *Italy*, was with one consent chosen emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by *Genseric* in favour of *Olybrius*. Hereupon *Genseric*, highly provoked against *Leo* for contributing to the promotion of *Anthemius*, sent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage *Peloponnesus* and the *Greek* islands, which they did accordingly, committing unheard-of cruelties, and carrying off a great number of captives [z]. *Leo* was no sooner informed of these ravages, than he dispatched one *Philarchus* to acquaint *Genseric*, that, if he did not forbear such acts of hostility, he should be obliged to make war upon him, and repel force with force. But *Genseric*, despising his menaces, answered, that, if *Leo* thought fit to make war upon him, he should not find him c unprepared; and soon after, to bid him, in a manner, defiance, he sent his fleet to ravage anew the coasts of *Greece* and the other maritime provinces of the eastern empire; nay, a report was spread in *Constantinople*, that his fleet had appeared before the city of *Alexandria*, which greatly alarmed the emperor and the whole court. But we are told, that the famous anchoret *Daniel Stylita*, to whom the emperor had recourse, removed their fears, by assuring them, that the design of the barbarians would prove abortive; and that they would soon return to *Africa*, without being able to make themselves masters of *Alexandria*, or any other place. As he foretold, so it happened; for the barbarians, after several unsuccessful attempts on *Alexandria* and some other places, returned home, without either captives or booty [a].

And likewise Peloponnesus *and the* Greek *islands.*

d THE following year 468. *Leo*, resolving, at all events, to revenge the affront offered by *Genseric* to the eastern empire, made vast preparations for carrying the war over into *Africa*. *Procopius* writes, that on this occasion he spent an hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold [b]. *Candidus*, as quoted by *Suidas*, tells us, that the prefects contributed forty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold towards defraying the charges of this war; the prince seventeen thousand of gold, and seventy thousand of silver, out of his privy purse; that the mony arising from the sale of confiscated estates was employed in buying up provisions, purchasing ships, hiring troops, *&c.* and that *Anthemius*, emperor of the west, assisted *Leo* to the utmost of his power both with men and money [c]. *Cedrenus* computes the charges of this war e in a manner, that to us seems quite intelligible [d]. *Leo*, says *Procopius*, assembled all the ships that were found in the seas and ports of his empire [e], which, according to *Theophanes*, amounted to one hundred thousand [f]. But that writer confounded perhaps the number of the ships with that of the men, who, according to *Procopius* [g], did not exceed that number. *Nicephorus* supposes, with *Theophanes*, the fleet to have consisted of an hundred thousand sail; but, speaking of the rowers, he makes them to amount to no more than seven thousand [h]; a mistake altogether unpardonable, *Procopius* only says, that *Leo* fitted out the greatest fleet the *Romans* had ever had [i]; and *Cedrenus*, that the number of the ships amounted to one thousand one hundred and thirteen, each ship having an hundred men on board [k]. In this enterprize f were employed the best troops of both empires; for not only *Anthemius* sent very considerable supplies both of men and ships [l], but likewise *Marcellinus*, who had established a new sovereignty in *Dalmatia*, as we have related elsewhere [m]; nay, that prince commanded in person, not only his own troops, but those likewise that were sent by *Anthemius* emperor of the west [n]. The fame of these warlike preparations struck the whole world, says *Constantine Manasses* [o], with terror and amazement: nothing,

Leo *makes vast preparations, with a design to invade* Africa.

x PRISC. p. 43. y Idem ibid. z Chron. Alex. p. 478. PROCOP. ibid. l. i. c. 6. p. 191.
a THEOPH. p. 99. b PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. c SUID. p. 1126. d CEDREN. p. 350. e PROCOP. ibid. f THEOPH. p. 96. g PROCOP. ibid. h NICEPH. p. 631. i PROCOP. ibid. p. 192. k CEDREN. p. 350. l SID. car. ii. ver. 540. m Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 507. n SID. ibid. o CONST. MANASS. in breviar. p. 59, 60.

nothing, continued he, ſeemed capable of defeating ſo numerous an army, ſo powerful a fleet, except gold, which no power can reſiſt. But as the time appointed by Providence for puniſhing the *Vandals* was not yet come, Heaven ſuffered *Leo* to commit the whole management of this war to *Baſiliſcus*, brother to his wife *Verina*. *Baſiliſcus* had gained great advantages over the barbarians in *Thrace*, where he had commanded as general of that province; ſo that, as to his military capacity, he ſeemed ſufficiently qualified for ſo great a command, the more as he had under him one *John*, a perſon of extraordinary courage and experience in war [p]. But, on the other hand, *Baſiliſcus* was actuated by two very dangerous paſſions, *viz.* avarice and ambition. The latter even prompted him to aſpire at the ſovereignty, which he hoped to attain by means of *Aſpar*, who governed under *Leo* with almoſt an abſolute ſway; but, as he profeſſed the doctrine of *Arius*, he was himſelf, on account of his religion, excluded from the imperial dignity. He had lately quarelled with *Leo* and therefore fearing, leſt that prince, if he got the better of the *Vandals*, ſhould, by his victory, be enabled to reduce his power, and puniſh him, as he well deſerved, for his arrogance, he is ſuppoſed to have entered into a private treaty with *Baſiliſcus*, promiſing to raiſe him to the throne, provided he ſpared *Genſeric*, for whom he might likewiſe have ſome regard, as for one who profeſſed the ſame tenets with himſelf [q]. The iſland of *Sicily* was appointed the place of the general rendezvous [r]. From thence *Marcellinus* was to ſail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately ſeized; *Heraclius* of *Edeſſa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Libya*; and *Baſiliſcus*, with the greateſt part of the fleet and the flower of the troops, to ſteer his courſe ſtrait to *Carthage* [s]. Purſuant to this plan, *Marcellinus* landed in *Sardinia*, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland, while *Heraclius*, with the troops quartered in *Egypt*, in *Thebais*, and *Cyrenaica*, landing unexpectedly in the province *Tripolitana*, reduced *Tripolis*, and the other cities in that country. From thence he began his march by land, with a deſign to join *Baſiliſcus* at *Carthage* [t]. That commander, ſailing from *Sicily*, arrived with his fleet at cape *Mercury*, but fourteen leagues from *Carthage*, ſoon after *Genſeric* had received the diſagreeable news of the loſs of *Sardinia* and *Libya*. The arrival of ſo formidable a fleet, and the loſſes he had already ſuſtained, ſtruck him, tho' a man of great intrepidity, with ſuch terror, that, looking upon himſelf as irretrievably loſt, he is ſaid to have had ſome thoughts of evacuating *Africa*, and retiring elſewhere: and truly, if *Baſiliſcus* had marched directly to *Carthage*, during the panic which had ſeized the barbarians, he might, in all likelihood, have made himſelf maſter of that city, and put an end to the war at once, by an intire reduction of the country [u]. Some authors write, that he had already gained conſiderable advantages over the fleet of *Genſeric* [w]; and *Jornandes*, that he attacked *Carthage* ſeveral times by ſea; but either for want of ſkill, or becauſe he was willing to favour *Genſeric*, his attacks were not ſo vigorous as the barbarians expected [x]. Hereupon *Genſeric*, recovering from his late conſternation, ſent deputies to the *Roman* admiral, begging a truce of five days, to ſettle with him the conditions, on which he was to ſubmit to *Leo* [y]. Some writers tell us, that, with the embaſſadors, *Genſeric* ſent privately a conſiderable ſum to *Baſiliſcus*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to grant him his requeſt; which he did accordingly, continuing in the mean time inactive in his camp [z]. *Genſeric* demanded the above-mentioned truce, hoping a favourable wind might ſpring up during that time for falling upon the *Roman* fleet; for his men were all on board the ſhips of war, which were to tow other light and empty veſſels. The wind proving as favourable as the *Vandals* could wiſh, before the truce was expired, they weighed anchor, and, drawing near to the *Roman* fleet, ſet fire to the empty ſhips, which being, by the wind, driven upon the *Roman* fleet, ſpread to many of their ſhips, and threw their whole navy into the utmoſt confuſion. While the *Romans* were thus in diſorder, and buſied either in keeping off the fire-ſhips, or extinguiſhing the flames on board their own, the *Vandals*, falling upon them, overwhelmed them with ſhowers of darts, took ſeveral of their ſhips, ſunk others, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves in the beſt manner they could [a]. Several *Romans* diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner; but above all *John*, whom we have mentioned above, who, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy,

Sardinia *and* Tripolis *recovered from the* Vandals.

The Roman *fleet in* Africa *intirely defeated. Year after Chriſt* 468.

[p] Procop. l. i. p. 191. & 193. Theoph. p. 99. [q] Procop. ibid. Theoph. p. 100 Theodoret. lect. p. 555. [r] Phot. c. 242. p. 1041. [s] Theoph. p. 101. [t] Procop. p. 192. Theoph. ibid. [u] Procop. ibid. [w] Theoph. p. 100. Phot. c. 79. p. 174. Candid. Iſaur, p. 15 [x] Jorn. p. 654. [y] Procop. ibid. [z] Jorn. reg. p. 654. Procop. ibid. [a] Procop. p. 192—194.

a enemy, attacked them one after another, and killed a great number of them on board their veſſels; but, not being able to prevent their boarding his, when he ſaw himſelf overpowered, he threw himſelf, armed as he was, on a plank into the ſea. *Genſon*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, admiring his courage and gallant behaviour, begged he would not abandon himſelf to deſpair, offering him at the ſame time his life and liberty; but the brave commander anſwering, John *ſhall never fall into the hands of ſuch dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned [b]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Genſeric* fell upon the *Romans* in the night, and that finding them not upon their guard, but aſleep, as they depended upon the truce, he eaſily overcame them [c]. *Baſiliſcus*, ſays *Conſtantine Manaſſes*, was glad to be overcome [d]; and *Zonaras* writes, that, inſtead of b encouraging his men with his example, he betook himſelf the firſt to flight; which gave new vigour to the enemy, and quite diſheartened the *Romans* [e]. *Heraclius*, who was in full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad ſucceſs of *Baſiliſcus*, thought it adviſeable to turn back, and haſten into the territories of the empire. *Marcellinus* returned to *Sicily*, where he was aſſaſſinated by an officer who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was ſuppoſed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no ſmall umbrage [f]. As for *Baſiliſcus*, he returned to *Sicily* with the few ſhips that had eſcaped, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where, upon his arrival, he took refuge in the church of St. *Sophia*. But though his treachery was publicly known, his life was ſpared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in c *Thrace*, the empreſs *Verina*, his ſiſter, having employed the great intereſt ſhe had with the emperor in his behalf [g]. But *Aſpar*, who had promiſed him the ſovereignty, as the reward of his treachery, was ſo far from being able to perform his promiſe, that he could not ſave his own life, being, by *Leo*'s orders, put to death ſoon after, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [h]. Such was the iſſue of this unhappy expedition, which is ſaid to have drained both empires of their wealth, and to have coſt them the lives of above fifty thouſand men [i]. *Genſeric*, finding the *Romans* quite diſheartened by the loſſes they had ſuſtained, reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of extending his conqueſts. Accordingly, without loſs of time, he put to ſea, and, landing in *Sardinia*, recovered that iſland from the *Romans*. Genſeric *reduces* Sicily, Sardinia, *&c.*

d Thence he ſailed to *Sicily*, which he likewiſe reduced, as he did the three following years all the iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa* [k], the *Romans* being no-ways in a condition to put a ſtop to his conqueſts, and trembling at the very name of *Genſeric* [l]. From theſe iſlands he ſent yearly fleets to ravage the coaſts of *Italy*, of *Peloponneſus*, and the *Greek* iſlands, equally deſpiſing both emperors, and bidding defiance to their power. At length, in the year 476. he concluded a peace with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, to whom he yielded the iſland of *Sicily*, but upon condition he ſhould hold it of him, and pay him a yearly tribute, for the ſecuring of which he kept the ſtrong caſtle of *Lilybæum* [m]. The year before, he had concluded a peace with the emperor *Zeno*, *Concludes a peace with* the ſucceſſor of *Leo*, who, renouncing all claim to the provinces of *Africa*, yielded e them for ever to *Genſeric* and his deſcendants. The perſon employed by *Zeno* on this occaſion was one *Severus*, a ſenator of an unblemiſhed character, and highly eſteemed on account of his diſintereſtedneſs, candor, and integrity. He was received by *Genſeric* with all poſſible marks of honour and eſteem, that prince, who was ſtricken in years, being deſirous to put an end to the war by a laſting peace, that his ſon *Hunneric* might quietly enjoy the kingdom he had founded. After the concluſion of the peace upon the terms we have mentioned above, *Genſeric*, greatly taken with the frugal life and modeſty of the *Roman* embaſſador, ſent him a conſiderable ſum of money, and very rich preſents; which he refuſed, ſaying, That the only preſent worthy of a *Roman* embaſſador, would be the delivery of the many *Romans*, who were held in captivity. *Genſeric* was ſo pleaſed with this anſwer, that he immediately f ſent for *Severus*, and told him, that all the *Roman* captives, who had fallen to his ſhare, and to the ſhare of his children, were free, and at his diſpoſal; and gave him at the ſame time leave to ranſom ſuch as had been divided among the ſoldiers and officers of his army, provided he could prevail upon them to part with them, it not being in his power to force them to it. *Severus*, having thus obtained without ranſom the liberty of all the *Roman* captives belonging to the king and the royal fa-

renounces all claim to Africa.

Year after Chriſt 475.

mily,

[b] Procop. p. 192. [c] Theoph. p. 100 [d] Const. Manass. p. 60. [e] Zonar. p. 42.
[f] Marc chron. Procop. l. i. c. vi. p. 193. [g] Procop. ibid. [h] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 510.
[i] Theoph. p. 100. [k] Procop. l. ii. c. 5. p. 341. [l] Vict. Vit. l. i. p. 5. [m] Vict. Vit. & Procop. ibid.

mily, sold publicly by auction all his plate and furniture, and, with the money accruing from thence, redeemed many others [n]. *Severus* prevailed likewise on *Genseric* to suffer the church of the catholics at *Carthage* to be opened, and to recal the eccleſiaſtics belonging to it, whom he had baniſhed ſome time before [o]. *Genſeric* died ſoon after; but the peace was religiouſly obſerved by his ſucceſſors till the reign of *Juſtinian*, who, eſpouſing the cauſe of *Hilderic* againſt his brother *Gilimer*, who had uſurped the crown, drove the *Vandals* out of *Africa*, and reunited thoſe provinces to the empire. But as by this peace the dominion of the *Vandals* was firmly eſtabliſhed in *Africa*, the *Romans* renouncing all claim to that province, we ſhall, purſuant to our plan, reſerve a farther account of their affairs to a more proper place, and in the mean time deliver what we have found in the antients concerning the *Sueves*, from the earlieſt account of time till their ſettling in *Spain*.

[n] Malc. p. 87. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195. [o] Vict. Viten. l. i. p. 16.

SECT. IV.

The antient ſtate, &c. *of the* Sueves, *till their ſettling in* Spain.

The name, ſeats, origin, &c. of the Sueves.

THE *Sueves* were, in *Cæſar*'s time, the greateſt and moſt warlike nation of all *Germany* [p]. *Tacitus* divides them into ſeveral tribes or nations, known by different names, comprehending, under the common name of *Sueves*, the following people, *viz.* the *Longobardi*, the *Semnones*, the *Rheudingi*, the *Aviones*, the *Angli* [q]. *Ptolemy* mentions only three nations of the *Sueves*, *viz.* the *Suevi Longobardi*, the *Suevi Samnones*, and the *Suevi Angili*, whom *Tacitus*, and other writers, call *Angli*. Some writers will have the *Vandals* and *Sueves* to be one and the ſame people, called *Vandals* from the word *Wandrende*, and *Sueves* from the word *Schwacbende*, both which ſignify *wanderers*; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Sueves* often changed their ſeats, wandring from place to place [r]. In the time of the emperor *Nero*, they dwelt between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*; for *Strabo*, who flouriſhed under that prince, ſpeaks of them thus: The *Sueves* are a great and powerful people; for their country extends from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, nay, ſome of that nation dwell beyond the *Elbe*. Some years after, that is, in the time of *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, they were ſeated between the *Elbe* and the *Viſtula* or *Weiſſer*; for there they are placed by that writer [s]. From them the *Suevus*, now the *Oder*, took its name; and the *Baltic* was called the *Suevian* ſea. *Solinus* is of opinion, that they were called *Suevi* from mount *Suevio*, parting *Germany* from *Sarmatia*. As to ther origin, nothing has been alledged by authors but what is very uncertain, and no-ways to be depended upon, ſome deriving their origin from *Scandinavia*, ſome from *Sarmatia*, ſome from *Hungary*, and ſome endeavouring, with ſeveral arguments and monuments of antiquity, to convince us, that they were originally a *German* nation [t]. Some writers tell us, they came out of *Scandinavia*, and ſettled on the banks of the *Albis* or the *Elbe*; that they were there ſubdued by the *Saxons*, and thence blended under their name, as were all the other nations conquered by that people. However, the *Sueves* retained at the ſame time their own name; and hence the *Angli*, who were, as we have hinted above, a *Suevian* nation, are ſometimes called *Saxones Angli*, and ſometimes *Suevi Angli*. *Ciſnerus* ſuppoſes theſe to be two different nations [u]; but his opinion is plainly confuted by the learned *Sheringham* [w]. The *Sueves* were a warlike nation, and, as ſuch, are commended both by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*, of whom the former often confounds them with the *Catti*, as after him does *Strabo* [x], and likewiſe *Seneca* the tragic writer [y]; for, by theſe writers, they are placed in the *Hercynian* foreſt, which was, beyond diſpute, inhabited by the *Catti* or *Chatti*. The *Sueves* had kings of their own, and ſeem to have agreed in cuſtoms and manners with the other *German* nations. But of their affairs we know very little till the *Romans* became acquainted with them, which happened in the year of *Rome* 742. the twenty-ſecond of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and about eight years before the birth of our Saviour, when *Druſus*, the ſon of *Livia* and brother to *Tiberius*, paſſing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, in three campaigns, reduced all

[p] Cæsar bell. Gall. l. i. [q] Tacit. de mor. Ger. c. 38. [r] Strabo, l. vii. [s] Tacit. ibid. [t] Vide Rudbeck Atlant. par. i. c. 24. Grot. in proleg. Prætorium in orb. Goth. l. iii. c. 1. Pastorium in hiſt. Polon. c. 7. [u] Cisner, in præfat. ad Krantz. p. 3. [w] Sherinc. de Anglor. gent. orig. c. 2. [x] Strabo, l. iv. p. 134. [y] Senec. in Medea, v. 713.

all the nations between that river and the *Elbe* [z], and among the reſt the *Sueves*. But that young prince dying on his return to *Rome*, the nations he had ſubdued threw off the yoke; which obliged *Auguſtus* to diſpatch *Tiberius* againſt them, who overran great part of *Germany*, and forced the barbarians to ſend deputies to *Auguſtus*, ſuing for peace; but the emperor would not even hear them, becauſe the *Sicambrians*, one of the moſt warlike nations among them, had not ſent their deputies with thoſe of the other barbarians. The war was therefore continued, till the *Sicambrians*, no longer able to hold out, ſubmitted to ſuch conditions as *Auguſtus* thought fit to impoſe upon them, as did likewiſe the *Sueves*, the allies and confederates of the *Sicambrians* [a]. The *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* having thus ſubmitted, *Tiberius*, purſuant to the inſtructions he had received from *Auguſtus*, obliged forty thouſand of them to paſs the *Rhine*, and ſettle in *Gaul* [b]. *Suetonius* tells us, that ſeats were allotted to them on the banks of that river [c]; but *Suetonius*, ſays *Bucherius*, was therein perhaps miſtaken, it being probable, that they were placed at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Rhine*, to prevent their paſſing that river, and joining the other *German* nations; nay, that author endeavours to prove from ſeveral antient monuments, which are ſtill extant, that the country about *Courtray* was antiently inhabited by the *Sueves* [d]. Some are of opinion, that from theſe *Sueves* ſprung the *Burgundians*, ſo called from the *boroughs*, in *Latin burgi*, in which they were placed by the *Romans*; but this opinion is generally exploded. There are no traces remaining, whence we can conjecture what country was allotted to the *Sicambrians* [e]. Though ſome of that people remained beyond the *Rhine*, yet, in the ſpace of about ſixty years, the whole nation was extinct [f]. Of them therefore is to be underſtood what we read in *Dion*, *viz.* that *Auguſtus* having diſtributed into ſeveral villages the *Germans* he had taken in war, they were ſo grieved thereat, that they deſtroyed themſelves with their own hands, eſpecially the perſons of diſtinction among them, who were very numerous [g]. Mention is made of the *Sicambrians* after this time; but it is commonly thought, that the name of *Sicambrians* was given to the neighbouring nations, who ſettled in their country [h], that is, in the ſouthern parts of *Weſtphalia*. *Auguſtus* thus obliged part of the *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* to quit their own country, in order to weaken them, having found by experience, that he could neither depend upon their word nor their hoſtages [i].

The Sicambrians *and* Sueves *ſubmit to* Tiberius. *Year before Chriſt* 8.

Part of them tranſplanted into Gaul.

In the reign of *Tiberius*, the *Sueves*, quarrelling among themſelves, which was chiefly owing to his intrigues, drove out *Marobodes* their king, a prince greatly dreaded by the *Romans*, and choſe *Catualdes* in his room, who, at the inſtigation of *Tiberius*, had ſtirred up the *Sueves* againſt him. *Marobodes* took refuge in the *Roman* dominions, and was allowed by *Tiberius* to ſettle at *Ravenna*, where he paſſed the laſt eighteen years of his life. *Catualdes* himſelf was ſoon after driven from the throne, and obliged to take refuge in the city of *Frejus*. As both princes came attended by great numbers of *Sueves*, their friends and adherents, *Tiberius*, apprehending they might diſturb the peace of the empire, allotted them lands beyond the *Danube*, and appointed a *Quadian*, by name *Vannius*, to reign over them, *Vannius* governed them for the ſpace of thirty years, that is, to the year 50. of the chriſtian æra, the tenth of the emperor *Claudius*, when being in the end become obnoxious to the nation, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, he was by them, with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours the *Hermundurians* and *Lygians*, depoſed and baniſhed [k]. *Claudius* refuſed to aſſiſt him; but nevertheleſs allowed him to retire into *Pannonia*, and even gave him and his followers lands in that province [l]. *Vangio* and *Sido*, nephews to *Vannius* by his ſiſter, but his declared enemies, divided his dominions between them, and continued ever faithful to the *Romans* [m]. *Sido*, and *Italicus*, who had ſucceeded *Vangio*, joined *Veſpaſian* with all their forces againſt *Vitellius*, and on that occaſion commanded their troops in perſon [n]. In the year 83. a colony of *Sueves* was ſettled in *Friſia*; for *Tacitus*, in the life of *Agricola*, tells us, that ſome *Germans* in the *Roman* ſervice, and quartered in *Britain*, having killed their officers, and made their eſcape, were driven aſhore on the coaſt of *Germany*, and there

They drive out their king Marobodes.

Some Sueves *allowed to ſettle beyond the* Danube. *Year after Chriſt* 19.

[z] Tacit. annal. ii. c. 41. p. 53. Suet. l. iii. c. 50. p. 386. Vell. l. ii. Dio, l. lv. p. 548. [a] Suet. l. ii. c. 21. p. 178. [b] Suet. p. 178. Strabo, l. vii. p. 290. [c] Suet. l. iii. c. 9. p. 336. [d] Buch. l. i. c. 20. p. 49, 50. [e] Idem, p. 49. [f] Tacit. ann. xii. c. 39. p. 181. [g] Dio, l. lv. p. 552. [h] Buch. ibid. [i] Strabo, l. vii. p. 91. [k] Tacit. annal. ii. c. 62, 63. p. 61, 62. & annal. xii. c. 20. p. 180. [l] Idem, ann. xii. c. 29, 30. p. 180. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem, l. iii. c. 7, 21. p. 63, 67.

there taken and sold for slaves by the *Sueves* and *Frisians*, who believed them pirates [o]. How, or on what occasion, the *Sueves* came to settle there, we are no-where told. a
In the year 85. the *Sueves*, and their allies the *Lygians*, being greatly harassed by the neighbouring nations, sent deputies to *Domitian*, earnestly intreating him to assist them in their distress. *Domitian* dismissed the embassadors with a favourable answer, but sent them only one hundred horsemen; which so provoked the *Sueves*, that, joining the *Iazyges*, a *Sarmatic* nation, they resolved to pass the *Danube*, and, by laying waste the *Roman* territories, revenge the affront that had been offered them; for they thought themselves affronted and derided by the emperor [p]. What happened after, our historian has not thought fit to tell us; but *Tacitus*, in one place [q], writes, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* rose in arms against the empire: and in another [r], that, soon after *Agricola* was returned to *Rome*, that is, in 85. the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia*. The *Sueves*, of whom *Dion* speaks here, were, without all doubt, those to whom *Tiberius* had allotted lands beyond the *Danube*, as we have related above. That writer places them, and likewise the *Lygians*, in *Mœsia*, giving to that province a far greater extent than other historians and geographers have done; for, even according to him, these people dwelt beyond the *Danube*, which was, according to all other writers, the boundary of *Mœsia* to the north, that province extending along the south side of the *Danube*, from the confluence of that river and the *Saw* or *Savo*, at *Belgrade*, to the *Euxine* sea [s]. We find no farther mention of the *Sueves* till the year 168. when, joining the *Marcomanns* and other c
German nations, they laid waste several provinces, defeated great armies, and threatened the empire with utter destruction. But of this war, which is compared, by the antients, to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history [t], to which we refer the reader. In 268. the first of *Claudius*'s reign, the *Sueves*, entering into an alliance with other *German* nations, broke into *Italy*, and advanced as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *lago di Garda*, in the neighbourhood of *Verona*; but were there utterly defeated by the emperor, and most of them cut in pieces [u]. This, perhaps, is the victory of which *Vopiscus* speaks, where he tells us, that, in the reign of *Claudius*, *Aurelian* fought a great battle with the *Sueves*, and gained a signal victory over them [w]. In 357. the twenty-first of *Constantius*'s reign, d
the *Sueves* broke into *Rhætia*, the *Quadians* into *Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians* into *Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mœsia*, which obliged the emperor, who was then at *Rome*, to quit that metropolis, and march against them [x]. But as he returned soon after to *Italy*, and no mention is made of any engagement, we may conclude from thence, that at his approach the barbarians withdrew, and retired to their respective countries. The poet *Claudian*, in his poem against *Eutropius*, tells us, that when news was brought to *Honorius* of that minister's promotion to the consulship, the prince was then busied, with *Stilicho*, in receiving the submissions of the *Alemans*, the *Sicambrians*, and the *Sueves*; in giving them kings, and settling the number of troops which they were to furnish [y]. This is supposed to have happened about the year e
398. but as these nations are not said, by any historian, to have submitted to *Honorius*, we are inclined to believe these pretended submissions to be only a poetical fiction. In the year 406. they entered *Gaul* with the *Alans* and *Vandals*, and from thence passed into *Spain* in 409. as we have related above. They continued ravaging that country, putting all to fire and sword, till the year 411. when, the *Romans* being quite driven out, they made peace with the natives, and divided the *Spanish* provinces, by lot, among them. In this division, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Sueves*; but the inhabitants of that province, refusing to submit to the barbarians, stood up in defence of their liberties, and formed a separate state in a corner of their antient country, where they were often attacked by the *Sueves*, under the conduct f
of *Emeric* or *Ermeric*, their king. But that prince, being seized with a lingering distemper, suffered them to live in peace the seven last years of his reign [z]. About three years after the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans*, had divided the *Spanish* provinces among them, *Ataulphus*, king of the *Visigoths*, quitting *Gaul*, settled in *Catalonia*, where he was murdered the same year, as was likewise his successor *Sigeric*, after a short

They defeat the Romans *in* Pannonia. *Year after Christ* 85

They enter Gaul, *and thence pass into* Spain.

Which they divide with the Vandals *and* Alans. *Year after Christ* 411.

[o] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 28. p. 147. [p] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 761. [q] Tacit. l. i. c. 2. p. 4. [r] Idem, vit. Agric. c. 41. p. 151. [s] Vide Plin. l. iii. c. 26. [t] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 66—69. [u] Aur. vit. p. 213. & Goltz. p. 118. [w] Vit. Aur. ibid. [x] Ammian. l. xvi. 3. 72. [y] Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 111. & l. i. p. 102. [z] Oros. l. iii. c. 23. p. 163. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. Idat. chron.

a short reign of seven days, as we have related above. But *Vallia*, who succeeded *Sigeric*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, fell upon the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans* in *Spain*, gained several advantages over them, and cut off such numbers of the *Alans*, that the few, who escaped the general slaughter, were obliged to submit to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*. The *Sueves* likewise sustained great losses in this war; but nevertheless maintained, against the utmost efforts of the *Goths*, that part of *Galicia*, which, in the division of the provinces, had fallen to their share. The *Goths* returning soon after, that is, in 418. to *Gaul*, where *Constans* had bestowed on them *Aquitania Secunda*, the *Vandals* and *Sueves* began to quarrel among themselves; for, the year after the departure of the *Goths*, we find the *Sueves*, with their king b *Emeric*, shut up by *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, among the mountains of *Biscay*. But *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and *Maurocelus*, vicar to the *præfectus prætorio*, falling unexpectedly upon the *Vandals*, obliged them to leave the *Sueves*, and retire out of *Galicia* into *Bætica* [a]. Upon their retreat, the *Sueves* made themselves masters of that part of *Galicia* which had been held by them. In the year 430. a body of *Sueves* attempted to cross the *Rhine*, with a design to enter *Gaul*, and from thence to pass into *Spain*, and join their countrymen settled in *Galicia*; but *Aetius*, who was then in *Gaul*, falling upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to return to their own country, between the *Elbe* and *Weissel* [b]. Of this victory *Jornandes* speaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Aetius* overcame the c *Sueves*, made a dreadful havock of that nation, and subjected them to the empire [c]. At the same time, he defeated, with great slaughter, the *Juthongians*, whose country bordered on *Rhætia*, and the *Norici*, who were subjects of the empire, but had revolted, and joined the *Sueves* and *Juthongians* [d].

The Sueves *in* Germany *defeated by* Aetius. *Year after Christ* 430.

In *Spain* the *Sueves* made their utmost efforts to reduce the inhabitants of *Galicia*; but that brave people still maintained themselves free, defending their strong holds, against the repeated attacks of the barbarians, with such resolution, that *Emeric* thought it advisable to conclude a peace with them, that his people, who began to be greatly distressed for want of corn, might apply themselves to the tilling of the land and other works of agriculture. This peace, however, was but short-lived; d for, the following year 431. the *Sueves* began hostilities anew, and, breaking into the territories of the natives, committed there dreadful ravages, destroying all with fire and sword. Hereupon the unhappy *Galicians* dispatched *Idatius* the chronologer, their bishop, into *Gaul*, to acquaint *Aetius* with the deplorable condition to which they were reduced; and to intreat him to send what troops he could spare to their assistance. *Aetius*, who was then at war with the *Franks*, not being able to afford them the least aid, send count *Censorius* into *Spain*, with the character of embassador, to *Emeric*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to conclude a peace with the natives. *Emeric* received the *Roman* embassador with the greatest marks of honour, and, at his request, began to treat with the *Galicians*; but the treaty was soon broken off, e and hostilities renewed, which continued till the year 437. when *Censorius* was sent again to the court of *Emeric*, with one *Fretimund*, to bring about an accommodation between that prince and the *Galicians*; which they did in the end, *Emeric* being seized with a lingering distemper, and thereby rendered incapable of bearing the toils of war [e]. A peace being thus concluded, *Emeric* resigned the crown to his son *Rechila*, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, reckoning from the year 409. when the *Sueves* first entered *Spain* under his conduct. He lived four years after his resignation quite retired, without ever concerning himself with public affairs [f]. *Rechila* signalized the beginning of his reign, says *Idatius*, with a victory gained in *Bætica* over one *Andevotus*, whose rich treasures he pillaged [g]; but who this *Andevotus* was, f we are no-where told. In the year 439. *Rechila*, entering *Lusitania*, made himself master of *Merida*, the capital of that province [h]; and, pursuing his conquests, reduced, the two following years, the city of *Seville*, and the two provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*. Hereupon the *Romans*, who had anew taken possession of *Bætica*, upon the departure of the *Vandals*, dispatched into *Spain* one *Astierus*, to drive them out of the provinces they had seized. *Astierus* fell upon the *Bagaudæ*, who had lately settled in the province of *Tarraco*, and, cutting most of them in pieces, recovered that country [i]; but we do not find, that he attempted any thing against the *Sueves*.

Not

Rechila, *king of the* Sueves, *makes himself master of* Merida, Seville, *and the provinces of* Bœtica *and* Cartagena. *Year after Christ* 441.

[a] Idat. chron. Greg. Tur. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. [b] Sid. p. 131. [c] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 34 p. 660. [d] Tiro Prosp. chron. [e] Idat. p. 21. [f] Idem, p. 25. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem, p. 22. [i] Idem, p. 23.

Not long after, *Vitus*, who commanded a considerable body of *Roman* troops in *Spain*, with the title of *magister militiæ*, entering the provinces of *Bætica* and *Carta-gena*, committed there great ravages; but a body of *Goths*, who came to his assist-ance, being defeated by *Rechila*, both he and his army were seized with such a panic, that, betaking themselves to a shameful flight, they left the *Sueves* at full liberty to pillage the country at their pleasure. and reduce several strong-holds, that, till then, had been held by the *Romans*[k]. Two years after, that is, in 447. died *Rechila*, and was succeded by his son *Rechiarius*, who took the royal ensigns at *Merida*, in the month of *August* of the present year, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from some of his own nation[l]. He professed the catholick faith; but began his reign by plundering his neighbours lands[m]. The following year, he married the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, and, immediately after his marriage, entering the territories of the *Gascons*, who were still in *Spain*, says father *Labbé* in his chronology, laid them waste far and near[n]. From thence he went to pay a visit to his father-in-law at *Thoulouse*, and, on his return to *Spain*, surprised the city of *Lerida*, whence he carried with him a great number of captives. He afterwards pillaged the territory of *Saragosa*[o], which, according to *Isidorus*, in his chronology of the *Sueves*, belonged to the *Romans*[p]. The same writer adds, that in this expedition *Rechiarius* had with him a body of *Goths*; and that he likewise laid waste the province of *Cartagena*, which *Rechila*, says he, had restored to the *Romans*[q]. In the year 452. the twenty-seventh of the reign of *Valentinian* III. *Mansuetus*, count of *Spain*, and count *Fronto* were sent, by the emperor, to *Rechiarius*, with proposals for an accommodation between him and the natives of *Spain*, who still continued subject to the *Romans*. *Rechiarius* not only received the *Roman* embassadors with the greatest marks of esteem, but concluded a peace upon the terms which the emperor had injoined them to propose. What these terms were, we are no-where told; but they are said, by *Idatius*, to have been very advantagious to the empire[r]. The peace, thus concluded, was religiously observed by *Rechiarius* till the death of *Valentinian* in 455. when, taking advantage of the general confusion occasioned by the murder of that prince, and likewise of his successor *Maximus*, he over-ran and pillaged the province of *Cartagena*, with a design, says *Jornandes*, to make himself master of all the countries that were still held in *Spain* by the *Romans*[s]. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had succeeded *Maximus*, dispatched count *Fronto* into *Spain* to put the king of the *Sueves* in mind of the treaty he had concluded with *Valentinian*. At the same time, *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, who had espoused the interest of *Avitus*, dispatched embassadors to *Rechiarius* his son-in-law, earnestly intreating him not to seize on the countries belonging to the empire, lest he too should be obliged to treat him as an enemy, and join the emperor, whom he was bound to support against him[t]. What answer *Rechiarius* returned to the embassadors, our historian does not inform us: he only tells us, that he had no sooner dismissed them, than, breaking into the pro-vince of *Tarraco*, which belonged to the *Romans*, he laid it waste, without the least regard either to treaties or justice[u]. Hereupon *Theodoric* sent him a second embassy, to which he answered, with great haughtiness, that if *Theodoric* found fault with his conduct, he was ready to give him an account of it at *Thoulouse*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this answer, began to prepare for war; and, having first concluded a peace with the neighbouring nations, he set out, with the consent and approbation of *Avitus*, for *Spain*, leading with him a very numerous army, consisting of his own people, and a body of auxiliary *Burgundians*, commanded by *Gondiac* and *Hilperic*, or *Chil-peric*, the son, as is supposed, of *Gundicarius*, king of that people, who was killed about the year 436[w]. *Rechiarius* was in the mean time busied in ravaging anew the province of *Tarraco*, whence he carried with him into *Galicia* a considerable booty and a great number of captives[x]. But hearing that *Theodoric* was marching against him, he went to meet him at the head of a powerful army. Hereupon an engage-ment ensued, on the banks of the *Urbicus*, now *Orbegua*, at a place about twelve miles from *Astorga*. Both armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity; but in the end the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and put to flight. *Rechiarius*, who was dangerously wounded, with much ado made his escape, and took refuge in a distant corner of *Galicia*. The battle was fought on a *Friday*, the fifth of *October*; and

Rechila *succeeded by his son* Rechiarius.

Year after Christ 447.

Rechiarius *concludes a peace with the* Romans.

Theodoric *king of the* Visigoths, *espouses the cause of the* Romans *against him.*

Rechiarius *utterly defeated, taken, and put to death by* Theodoric.

[k] Idat. p. 24. [l] Idem, p. 25. [m] Idem, p. 26. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid.
[p] Isidor. chron. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idat. p. 29. [s] Jorn. p. 675. Idat. p. 30. [t] Jorn. ibid.
[u] Idat. p. 32. [w] Idem ibid. Isidor. chron. Jorn. p. 676. [x] Idat. p. 33.

and *Theodoric*, purſuing the enemy, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, and gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers[y]. From *Braga* he advanced to a place called *Portucal*, whither the fugitive king had retired. *Jornandes* writes, that *Rechiarius* attempted to make his eſcape by ſea, but was driven back by a ſtorm[z]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, by whoſe orders he was put to death, after he had been kept ſome time in priſon[a]. The *Sueves*, diſheartened by the captivity of their king, ſubmitted to the *Goths*, by whom great numbers of them were put to the ſword, though *Theodoric* had ordered their lives to be ſpared[b]. *Theodoric* appointed one of his officers, named *Aquiulphus*, to govern the *Sueves* who had ſubmitted to him. But he, revolting from *Theodoric*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of the *Sueves*; which obliged *Theodoric* to ſend a powerful army againſt him, by whom he was defeated, taken priſoner, and, by *Theodoric*'s orders, ſoon after beheaded[c]. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only ſays, that he died the following year at *Porto*[d]. The *Sueves*, who, refuſing to ſubmit to the *Goths*, had retired to the moſt diſtant corner of *Galicia*, no ſooner heard, that *Rechiarius* was dead, than, ſcorning to live in ſubjection either to the *Goths*, or the treacherous *Aquiulphus*, they choſe one *Maldra*, the ſon of *Maſſilel*, in his room[e].

Maldra *choſen king in his room. Year after Chriſt* 456.

Theodoric king of the *Viſigoths*, after the above-mentioned victory over the *Sueves*, had marched from *Galicia* into *Luſitania*, and there, after reducing ſeveral other cities, had laid ſiege to *Merida*, the metropolis of the province, which, in the end, was obliged to ſurrender. The king deſigned at firſt to give up the city to be plundered by his ſoldiers; but St. *Eulalia*, a famous martyr of that place, is ſaid to have deterred him, by ſome prodigies, from putting his deſign in execution[f]. Being ſoon after obliged to return to *Gaul*, he left behind him part of his troops, conſiſting of *different* nations, and commanded by ſeveral generals, with orders to march into *Galicia*, and there reduce ſuch of the *Sueves*, as had not yet ſubmitted to him. But theſe troops, after having committed dreadful ravages in the countries belonging to the *Romans*, were recalled by *Theodoric*, who had occaſion to employ them elſewhere, before they began to act againſt the *Sueves*. That people, having now nothing to apprehend from ſo formidable an enemy, began to quarrel among themſelves, ſome of them continuing faithful to *Maldra*, whom they had lately choſen, and others ſetting up againſt him one named *Franton*. Being thus divided among themſelves, they made peace with the *Galicians*, or the natives of that province, who ſtill held ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and maintained themſelves a free people among the mountains, and in ſome of the fortified towns[g]. Theſe are, by moſt authors, ſtyled *Romans*, becauſe they ſtill acknowledged the *Roman* emperor, and looked upon themſelves as ſubjects of the empire. Notwithſtanding the peace concluded between them and the *Sueves*, the partiſans of *Maldra*, breaking unexpectedly into *Luſitania*, pillaged the country, and put to the ſword a great number of *Romans*, under pretence of making war on the *Goths*. Being received into *Liſbon* as friends, they made themſelves maſters of the city, and kept it[h]. Soon after, that is, in 458. *Franton* dying, the whole nation of the *Sueves* acknowledged *Maldra* for their king, by whoſe orders they laid waſte that part of *Galicia*, which lay on the *Douro*, without the leaſt regard to the treaty of peace concluded the year before[i]. About this time, *Theodoric* ſent an army into *Spain* againſt the *Sueves*, under the conduct of *Cyrila*, who, entering *Bætica*, which belonged to the *Romans*, committed there the ſame diſorders, as the *Sueves* did in *Galicia*, without offering to moleſt thoſe againſt whom they were ſaid to have been ſent. At the ſame time, embaſſadors were ſent to the *Sueves*, both by *Theodoric* king of the *Viſigoths*, and by *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, probably to conclude, not only a peace, but an alliance with them againſt the emperor *Majorianus*, whoſe great parts and military genius gave them no ſmall umbrage. The peace however was not concluded; for the following year 459. *Theodoric*, having recalled *Cyrila*, and the army commanded by him, ſent one *Sunieric* with another army in his room; which did not prevent the *Sueves* from pillaging *Luſitania* under the conduct of *Maldra*, and *Galicia* under that of his ſon *Remiſmund*[k], by *Jornandes* called *Richmund*. Some writers ſpeak of a battle fought this year between the *Sueves* and

The Sueves *quarrel among themſelves.*

They make themſelves maſters of Liſbon.

[y] Jorn. ibid. Isidor. chron. Idat. ibid. [z] Jorn. ibid. [a] Isidor. chron. Idat. p. 34. [b] Jorn. ibid. [c] Jorn. p. 677. [d] Idat. p. 37. [e] Idem, p. 34. [f] Idem, p. 35. [g] Idat. chron. Cuep. p. 451. [h] Idat. p. 37. [i] Idem ibid. Isidor. chron. p. 5. [k] Idat. p. 37.

and *Galicians*, in which the latter loſt many perſons of diſtinction[l]. The ſame year, 459. *Maldra* killed, upon what provocation we are not told, his brother, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. Soon after this murder, he ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of *Portucal*, which was held by the natives. But he was ſoon overtaken by the doom his treachery and barbarity well deſerved, being killed, by whom our hiſtorian does not tell us, in the end of *February* of the following year 460[m]. Upon his death his ſon *Remiſmund* and *Frumarius* divided his troops between them. *Frumarius* was likewiſe, as we may ſuppoſe, the ſon of *Maldra*, and brother of *Remiſmund*; for he not only had part of the troops, but ſhared with *Remiſmund* the dominions of the deceaſed prince. In the firſt year of their reign, the *Sueves* of *Lugo* in *Galicia*, falling treacherouſly upon the *Romans*, who lived in that city, on *Eaſter-day*, which in 460. fell on the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, as they were not upon their guard, thinking themſelves ſufficiently protected by the ſolemnity of a day held by all chriſtians in the greateſt veneration[n]. *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, who commanded the troops of *Theodoric* in *Spain*, no ſooner heard of this outrage, than they detached part of their forces to take vengeance on the traitors. The *Goths*, entering *Galicia*, laid waſte the territory of *Lugo*; but a falſe report being ſpread among them by *Dictines*, *Spinio*, and *Aſcanius*, who were natives of the country, but held a private correſpondence with the *Sueves*, they returned into their own territories, without daring to advance farther into the enemy's country[o]. The ſame year, the three above-mentioned perſons led a party of *Sueves* through by-ways to ſurpriſe the city of *Aquæ Flaviæ*, where they took *Idatius*, biſhop of the place, priſoner, on the twenty-ſixth of *July*, and carried him into captivity, as he himſelf relates[p]. After this, *Frumarius* laid waſte the territory of *Braga*, and *Remiſmund*, at the ſame time, that of *Orenſo*, on the *Minho* in *Galicia*. But the two princes, growing jealous of each other's power, began to quarrel, which gave the natives ſome reſpite; for with them they concluded a peace, that they might be more at leiſure to watch each other's motions. This peace was obſerved for the ſpace of four years, that is, till the year 464. when, *Frumarius* dying, the *Sueves* were again all reunited under *Remiſmund*, who immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Theodoric*, acquainting him with the death of *Frumarius*, and ſoliciting him to conclude a peace with the *Sueves*, which he did accordingly, ſending embaſſadors to *Remiſmund* with rich preſents, and likewiſe arms, in token of his ſincere friendſhip and the confidence he repoſed in him. At the ſame time he ſent him a young woman of extraordinary beauty, whom he married[q]; but who ſhe was, our hiſtorian does not inform us. *Fornandes* writes, that *Remiſmund* ſent the biſhops of *Galicia* to *Theodoric*, hoping, by their mediation, to obtain a peace; that *Theodoric* received them with all the reſpect that was due to their rank and dignity; that he ſoon after recalled the general and troops he had in *Spain*; and that *Remiſmund*, by a ſecond embaſſy, returned him thanks for the peace he had granted him. This peace, however, did not hinder *Remiſmund* from ſurpriſing, this very year, the city of *Coimbra*, which was held by the natives, and carrying with him from thence ſeveral captives. He did not, it ſeems, keep this city; for, three years after, that is, in 467. he ſurpriſed it anew[r]. The following year 465. *Remiſmund* was prevailed upon by *Theodoric* to ſet at liberty the priſoners he had taken at *Coimbra*, and make peace with the natives[s]. But this peace, ſays *Idatius*, was attended with a greater and far more dangerous evil than the war itſelf. *Rechiarius*, king of the *Sueves* from the year 447. to 456. renouncing paganiſm, had embraced the catholic faith, and his example had been followed by the whole nation of the *Sueves*; but at this time they ſuffered themſelves to be infected with the hereſy of *Arius* by one *Ajax*, a native of *Galatia*, who, abandoning the catholic faith, had been ordained by the *Arians*. Coming into *Gaul*, he had ſtaid ſome time at the court of *Theodoric*, and had been treated by that prince, who held the tenets of *Arius*, with great reſpect. From *Gaul* he paſſed into *Spain*, where he was well received by the *Sueves*, upon the recommendation of *Theodoric*. The kind reception he met with encouraged him to propagate his errors among the *Sueves*, and impugn the doctrine of the trinity[t]. *Iſidore* writes, that he infected the whole nation with the peſtiferous tenets of *Arius*, and that they continued in their errors during the

Maldra *killed and ſucceeded by* Remiſmund *and* Frumarius. *Year after Chriſt* 460.

They lay waſte great part of Spain.

Remiſmund *ſole king of the* Sueves.

He ſurprizes Coimbra.

The Sueves *embrace the tenets of* Arius *Year after Chriſt* 465.

[l] Idat. p. 38. Cusp. p. 451. Isidor. chron. [m] Idat. & Isidor. chron. [n] Idem, ibid.
[o] Idat. p. 39. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. Isid. chron. [s] Idat. p. 43, 44. [t] Idem ibid.

a the reigns of ſeveral princes, till the time of king *Theodomir*, who, about an hundred years after, brought them back to the true faith [u].

In the mean time, *Theodoric* being murdered by his brother *Euric*, *Remiſmund*, thinking himſelf no longer bound by the treaty of peace, which he had concluded by his mediation with the natives, broke into *Luſitania*, and, having ſurpriſed the city of *Coimbra*, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He likewiſe ravaged and laid waſte the territory of *Aunona* belonging to the *Galicians*; who thereupon ſent deputies to *Euric* king of the *Viſigoths*, begging his mediation and good offices with the king of the *Sueves*. Accordingly *Euric* prevailed upon *Remiſmund* to grant a peace or truce to the people of *Aunona*; but, in the mean time, he himſelf commit-

b ted dreadful ravages in *Luſitania*, made himſelf maſter of *Pampelona* and *Saragoſa*, and, having overcome and put to flight the nobility of the province of *Tarraco*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*, made himſelf maſter of all *Upper Spain* [w]. Thus were the inhabitants of *Spain*, who could not prevail upon themſelves to withdraw their obedience to the *Romans*, and ſubmit to the barbarians, in a moſt cruel manner plundered and haraſſed on one ſide by the *Goths*, and on the other by the *Sueves*, while the *Romans* were no-ways in a condition to relieve them. Of the calamities they ſuffered, the reader will find a full and pathetic account in *Idatius*, who tells us, that the *Sueves*, when they ſurpriſed *Coimbra*, plundered the houſes, laid moſt part of the city in aſhes, and carried with them into captivity ſuch of the inhabitants

c as had not the good luck to make their eſcape [x]. The following year 688. they made themſelves maſters of *Liſbon*, which was betrayed to them by one *Luſides*, who was a native of the place, and commanded in the town. As *Liſbon* was at that time held by the *Goths*, the troops of that nation, entering *Luſitania*, committed dreadful ravages on the territories belonging to the *Sueves*, as did the *Sueves* on thoſe of the *Goths*. However, *Euric*, being wholly bent upon driving the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*, with a deſign to fall afterwards upon the *Sueves*, concluded, for the preſent, a peace with *Remiſmund*, and then, turning his arms againſt the *Romans*, made himſelf maſter of all the places, that had been hitherto held by them, as we have related above, in the hiſtory of the *Viſigoths*; but he died before he could put in execution the

d deſign he had formed againſt the *Sueves*. *Remiſmund*, finding he could no longer cope with the *Viſigoths*, who were now maſters of almoſt all *Spain*, retired into *Galicia*, and there, giving over all thoughts of new conqueſts, ended his days. His ſucceſſors followed his example, contenting themſelves with the kingdom of *Galicia*, and obſerving a ſtrict neutrality in the diſputes, that aroſe between the *Viſigoths* and the *Romans*. By this means they maintained themſelves in the quiet poſſeſſion of *Galicia* till the year 585. when they were ſubdued by *Leunigild* or *Leovigild* king of the *Viſigoths*, and their kingdom reduced to a province of the *Gothic* monarchy, after it had laſted an hundred and ſeventy-four, or, as ſome will have it, an hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, years. But of the ſucceſſors of *Remiſmund*, to which prince the em-

e peror *Anthemius* is ſaid to have yielded *Galicia* in 468. and of the downfal of their kingdom, we ſhall ſpeak at length in a more proper place.

They ſurprize a ſecond time, and plunder Coimbra.

The greater part of Spain *reduced by the* Viſigoths.

Galicia *yielded to* Remiſmund.

u Isidor. chron. w Idem, ibid. p. 719. x Idat. p. 45.

SECT. V.

The antient ſtate of the Franks, *till their ſettling in* Gaul.

f AS the antients, by whom mention is firſt made of the *Franks*, have given us no account of their origin, and *Valeſius*, a moſt diligent and curious inquirer into the antiquities of his nation, has prudently waved this ſubject, it cannot be expected we ſhould ſay any thing relating thereto, that may be depended upon. Of the various opinions, or rather conjectures, that have been offered on this head by the modern writers, and which it would be too tedious to relate, that of *Bucherius* ſeems to us the moſt probable, *viz.* that the *Franks* were originally a motly multitude of ſeveral antient nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*, who, uniting againſt the *Romans* in defence of their common liberty, ſtyled themſelves *Franks*, that word ſignifying, in their language, as it ſtill does in ours, *free* [y]. It is certain, that under the

The origin and name of the Franks.

y Buch. l. vi. c. 13. p. 116.

the name of *Franks* are compriſed in hiſtory ſeveral nations, whoſe names were known a long before theirs, *viz.* the *Attuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Friſii*, *Chauci*, *Amſivarii*, and *Catti*. The *Franks* are ſometimes called *Sicambrians*, becauſe they inhabited the country formerly poſſeſſed by that nation, of which the far greater part was cut off by *Auguſtus*, and the reſt tranſplanted into *Gaul*, as we have related above. As for the opinion of thoſe writers, who derive the name and origin of the *Franks* from one *Francio*, the ſon of *Hector*, it is too fabulous to be ſeriouſly confuted. No leſs ridiculous, if we may be allowed to uſe that term, is the opinion of the abbot *Urſpurgenſis* and ſeveral others, who ſuppoſe the name of *Franks* to have been firſt given them by the emperor *Valentinian*. The original of the *Franks*, ſays *Urſpurgenſis*, is to be fetched from the antient ſtock of the *Trojans*; for at the time that *Æneas*, after b the deſtruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, other *Trojan* exiles arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and, ſettling there, inlarged their bounds as far as *Pannonia*, and built the city of *Sicambria*, from which they took the name of *Sicambrians*. Being in proceſs of time become a powerful and mighty nation, they drove out the *Alans* their neighbours. *Valentinian*, admiring their courage and intrepidity in war, gave them the name of *Franks*, and, for the ſpace of ten years, exempted them from all tributes and taxes. That time being expired, the emperor ſent an officer to raiſe the uſual tribute; but they, ſhaking off all ſubjection, ſlew the officer, and openly declared they would no longer obey the *Roman* emperors. At that time reigned amongſt them two, who bore the antient names of *Priamus* and *Antenor*. The emperor, highly c incenſed againſt them, ordered all the *Roman* forces, and a great many auxiliaries, to march into their country. The *Franks* met them; but, in the battle that enſued, they were overpowered with numbers, and put to flight, their king *Priam* being killed in the engagement. Scorning to live in ſubjection to the *Romans*, they abandoned their country, and, retiring into *Germany*, ſettled in *Thuringia*, where they were governed by *Marcomicus* the ſon of *Priam*, and *Sunno* the ſon of *Antenor*. Thus *Urſpurgenſis*. And the ſame account of the origin and name of the *Franks* is given by *Aimonius*, *Ado* archbiſhop of *Vienna*, *Gaguinus*, and *Æneus Sylvius*; only the latter writer ſuppoſes *Francio* to have been their leader from *Troy* to the *Palus Mæotis*; and *Ado* brings them from thence, not into *Thuringia*, but to the countries bordering on d the *Rhine*. This account, of all others the moſt akin to the idle romances of our *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, is ſo far from being vouched by any antient hiſtorian, that, on the contrary, it evidently contradicts all antient hiſtory, in ſuppoſing the *Franks* to have been ſo called from *Valentinian*; whereas it is certain, that their name occurs in hiſtory at leaſt an hundred years before that emperor's time. *Goropius Becanus* explodes the opinion of thoſe, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*; but at the ſame time ſuppoſes them to have come from the *Palus Mæotis* into *Germany*, without being able to allege any thing to ſupport his opinion, but a few groundleſs, not to ſay childiſh, conjectures. *Bodin* will have the *Franks* to have been deſcended from the *Gauls*, who, being increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the country was too narrow for e them, ſent colonies beyond the *Rhine* into *Germany*. Some of theſe colonies ſettled on the banks of that river, and, in proceſs of time, conquered their antient country. *Cæſar* indeed tells us, that the *Cauls* ſent colonies into *Germany*; but upon what authority can we ſuppoſe the *Franks* to have been deſcended from thoſe *Gauls*, rather than from ſome other of the many nations ſettled in *Germany*? Upon the whole, we think the opinion of *Bucherius*, which we have mentioned above, to be by far the moſt probable; for, as we have hinted before, we find ſeveral *German* nations, whoſe names occur in hiſtory many ages before that of the *Franks* was known, compriſed under the general name of *Franks*; a ſtrong proof, that the *Franks* were not a new nation come from the *Palus Mæotis*, or any other country, to ſettle in *Germany*, but conſiſted of ſeveral *German* nations united, as *Bucherius* conjectures, againſt the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty.

Derived by ſome from the Trojans.

By others from the Gauls.

Their ſeat. As for the ſeats of the *Franks*, it appears from their conſtant incurſions into *Gaul*, that they dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. All hiſtorians ſpeak of them as placed there, till their ſettling in *Gaul*[z]. The orator *Eumenes*, who flouriſhed at *Autun*, in the end of the third century, diſtinguiſhes the country, which the *Franks* held originally, and he places on the coaſt of the ocean, from the country which was conquered by the *Romans* beyond the *Rhine*, and afterwards

z Vide Vales. p. 2. & Coint. p. 235.

wards seized by the *Franks* [a]. Their country, according to the best modern geographers and historians, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west by the ocean and the *Rhine*; on the south by the *Lhone* or the *Mein*; and on the east by the *Weser* [b]: according to which description, they possessed the present countries of *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and some adjacent states. St. *Jerom* calls them a nation not so great as powerful, and places them between the *Saxons* and *Alemans* [c], *viz.* the *Saxons* to the east, and the *Alemans* to the south; for those were properly called *Alemans*, who dwelt between the *Rhine*, the *Mein*, and the *Danube*. The same writer tells us, that the *Saxons* received a great overthrow at *Deuson*, in the country of the *Franks* [d]; which place *Pontanus*, and most other writers, suppose to be the same, that, by later historians, is called *Duitsium*, and now *Dutys*, over-against *Cologne*. *Pontanus* adds, that, in his time, a stone was discovered in a monastery there, with an inscription, importing that fortress to have been placed there in the country of the *Franks* by the emperor *Constantine*. *Beatus Rhenanus* assures us, that he saw at *Augsburg*, in the custody of *Peutinger*, a map drawn in the time of the later emperors, wherein the country, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to *Cologne*, is marked in capital letters with the word *Francia*. *Aimoinius* likewise writes, that *Clodio*, who succeeded *Pharamond*, resided at *Dysspargum*, now *Duisburg*, at a small distance from the *Rhine*. Upon the whole, we may conclude, that the *Franks* possessed the countries we have mentioned above, and that, in process of time, they extended their borders along the *Rhine*, as far as the mouths of that river and the ocean. The *Franks* were anciently divided into several tribes, whereof the *Ansuarii* and *Salii*, mentioned by *Ammianus*, were by far the most considerable. *Pontanus* supposes the *Ansuarii* to be the same people with the *Ansinarii*, of whom mention is made by *Tacitus*. These, being driven out of their own habitations by the *Chauci*, seized on the country from which the *Frisians* had been driven by the command of *Nero*. *Tacitus* calls them a more powerful nation than that of the *Frisians*. *Pontanus* is of opinion, that they were a nation that wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation, ready to join any other, as they found their advantage therein; that, agreeable to this principle, they joined the *German* nations lying towards the ocean, when, uniting against the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty, they took the name of *Franks*; that they too were blended under that common appellation, but at the same time retained their ancient name, being called *Ansuarii*, or *Ansinarii Franci*. This name some derive from the *Teutonic* word *Hance*, signifying *excellent*, *free*; whence the free towns of *Germany* are still called the *hance towns*. Others, and among the rest *Goropius Becanus*, will have them called *Ansuarii* or *Ansinarii*, from the *German* word *Ansie*, signifying *society*, because they were ready to join any other nation in league and society; and hence, according to these writers, the free towns of *Germany* are styled *hance towns*, they being united in one society, though far separated from one another. As for the *Salian Franks*, who broke into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, but were driven out by *Julian*, as we read in *Ammianus* [e], *Beatus Rhenanus* derives their name from the *Sala*, which falls into the *Mein*; *Paulus Æmilius* from another river of the same name, that empties itself into the *Elb*; *Sidonius Apollinaris* from the *Latin* word *Salio*, as if they had been so called from their leaping and dancing; and lastly, *Pontanus* from the river *Sala*, now the *Issel*, on the banks of which they dwelt. The latter opinion seems to us by far the most probable, since the other two rivers, bearing the same name, flowed at some distance from the territories of the *Franks*. As for the derivation of *Sidonius*, it appears to us quite childish, though perhaps not ill adapted to the present *Franks*, a leaping and dancing people. As for their manners, *Vopiscus* paints them as a most treacherous and faithless nation, accustomed to sport with the most solemn oaths and ties, and not deeming it at all dishonourable to break their word [f]. *Salvianus*, mixing together their good and bad qualities, says, that they were greatly addicted to lying, but civil and kind to strangers [g]. *Procopius* describes them as of all nations the most faithless, and regarding the least their word and oaths [h]. But *Agathias*, who flourished soon after *Procopius*, extols them on account of the fidelity, justice, and concord, with which they lived among themselves [i]; and St. *Bernard*, in one of his epistles, tells us, that they observed their oaths with the greatest strictness and

The Ansuarian Franks.

And Salian Franks.

The manners of the Franks.

[a] Eumen. pan. ix. p. 193. [b] Vales. not Gall. p. 200. & rer. Franc. p. 209. Buch. p. 306. [c] Hier. vit. Hil. p. 246. [d] Hier. chron. ad. ann. 389. [e] Ammian. l. xvi. [f] Vopisc. in Procul. vit. p. 247. [g] Salv. l. vii. p. 172. [h] Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 25. p. 447. [i] Agath. l. i. p. 13,

and religion; insomuch that they thought themselves bound by a public oath, even a when it was sinful to take it [k]. This change the *French* writers ascribe to the christian religion; but whether they may not still be taxed with their original want of faith in the observance of the most solemn oaths and treaties, let the world judge. They seem to have been always troublesome neighbours; whence *Egonhardus*, chancellor to *Charles the Great*, used to say, *I should chuse a* Frank *for a friend, but not for a neighbour:* and truly, from the earliest accounts we have of that restless and ambitious nation, it appears, that they have ever incroached upon their neighbours, till they attained the power they now enjoy, which, however great, is not capable of satisfying their boundless ambition, and preventing their aspiring at a far greater power, and grasping at universal monarchy.

Their form of government, and kings.

As to their form of government, it was, without all doubt, monarchical, tho' b authors have given us no account of their first kings. The *Franks* are first mentioned in history about the year 241. and yet *Tyro Prosper* tells us, that the most ancient king of that nation, whose name occurred to him in searching the records of time, was *Priam*, who reigned about the year 382 [l]. After him reigned his two sons *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, and at the same time *Genobald*. Next to them came *Theodomir* or *Theudemir*, the son of *Ricimer*, who was consul in 384. *Theodomir* was succeeded by *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*, and grandson of *Priam*. It is however to be observed here, that as *Fredigarius* supposes *Theodomir* to have been the son and immediate successor of *Clodio*, and ascribes to the former whatever else is by other writers c ascribed to the latter, the learned *Usher* concludes from thence, that *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person, and accordingly places the defeat and death of *Pharamond* in the year 428. when *Clodio* began his reign, and the *Franks* were by *Aetius* driven out of that part of *Gaul*, that bordered on the *Rhine*, as we read in *Prosper*. In the reign of *Pharamond*, or not long before, the *Franks*, passing the *Rhine*, which had been the boundary between them and the *Romans* for the space of near two hundred years, settled in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. These kings were chosen out of the most illustrious families among them, and distinguished from their d subjects by the length of their hair [m]. But whether *Pharamond* had any authority over the other princes, or was only a prince more powerful than the rest, is what we cannot gather from history. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that, in *Pharamond*'s time, *Honorius* concluded a treaty with them, in virtue of which they were allowed to settle in the country bordering on the *Rhine* on the side of *Cologne* [n]. But what he writes is not vouched by any of the ancients. *Aetius* obliged them, as we have hinted above, to repass the *Rhine*, having overcome them in battle, and slain their king *Theodomir* or *Pharamond*. However *Clodio*, the successor of *Pharamond*, settled anew in *Gaul*; for we are told by *Gregory* of *Tours*, that he resided in the castle of *Disparg*, supposed by *Bucherius*, and most geographers, to have stood in *Brabant*, on the borders of *Thongria* [o]. *Clodio* was succeeded by *Merovæus*, *Merovæus* by *Childeric*, and he by *Clodavæus* or *Clovis*, the first christian king of the *Franks*, who drove the *Goths* out of *Gaul*, and fixed the royal seat at *Paris*, where it has continued ever since his time.

Tyro Prosper tells us, as we have observed above, that *Priam*, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, is the first king of the *Franks*, whose name he found recorded in history; but it is certain, that, by the ancients, other kings are mentioned long before his time, that is, before the year 382. when *Tyro Prosper* supposes him to have reigned. These are *Atec*, *Genobald*, *Ascaric*, *Gaisus* or *Regaisus*, *Maloric*, *Mallobaudus* or *Mellobaudus*. *Atec* and *Genobald* seem to have reigned at the same time, but over different nations or tribes of the *Franks*; for they are both named by *Mamertin*, in his panegyric on *Diocleſian*, pronounced about the year 288. as reigning at that time. *Atec*, with his *Franks*, had plundered the coasts of *Gaul*; but was obliged by *Diocleſian* to sue for peace, and make great submissions to that prince, in order to appease him, and be confirmed by him in his kingdom. *Genobald* likewise was forced to submit, says our panegyrist, which was the only means of his being restored to the quiet possession of his dominions [p]. In the same panegyric *Mamertin* speaks of a great victory gained by the generals of *Diocleſian* over a fickle and deceitful nation of barbarians; which description suits no nation so well as that of the *Franks*. It was perhaps

[k] Bernard. ep. ccxix. p. 203. [l] Vide Coint. p. 417. & Vales p. 86. [m] Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 3. p. 64. [n] Buch. p. 450, 451. [o] Idem, p. 475. Coint. p. 426. Child. p. 7—9. [p] Panegyr. x. p. 125—127. Buch. Belg. p. 223. Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 11, 12.

perhaps upon this victory that the two above-mentioned kings were obliged to submit to the emperor, who, in all likelihood, took, on that occasion, the surname of *Francicus*, which, in ancient inscriptions, is given both to him and his collegue *Maximian*[q]. *Ascaric* and *Gaisus* or *Regaisus* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Constantius* the son of *Constantine the Great*, and were, by the latter, in the first year of his reign, that is, in 306. taken prisoners, and exposed to the wild beasts in the public sports[r]. *Malaric*, who lived in the reigns of *Constantius* the son of *Constantine*, of *Julian* and *Jovian*, is called, by *Marcellinus*, only the governor, or chief of his countrymen, in the emperor's palace[s]; but is, by *Procopius*, reckoned among their kings. *Jovian*, in the year 364. the first of his reign, appointed him general of
b the *Roman* troops in *Gaul*[t]; but he declined that employment[u]. *Mallobaudus*, or *Mellobaudus*, styled by *Marcellinus* king of the *Franks*[w], commanded under *Gratian* in 377. and the following year 378. gained a signal victory over the *Alemans*, of whom thirty thousand were killed upon the spot, and, among the rest, *Triarius* their king[x]. *Mallobaudus*, though king of the *Franks*, served in the *Roman* army, and thought himself honoured with the employment of *comes domesticorum* to the emperor *Gratian*. *Ricomer*, *Ricimer*, or *Richimer*, who was *comes domesticorum* to the same emperor, general of the *Roman* horse, and consul in 384. is, by some, reckoned among the kings of the *Franks*. His son *Theodomir* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Honorius*, and was killed by the *Romans*, with his mother *Ascila*, according
c to an ancient chronicle quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours*[y]. *Fredigarius* supposes him to have been killed by count *Castinus*, who was sent against the *Franks*, by the emperor *Honorius*, about the year 421[z]. at which time all other writers suppose *Pharamond* to have reigned. *Usher*, as we have hinted above, will have *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* to have been one and the same person. But why might not *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* have reigned at the same time? it being certain, that the *Franks*, in the time of *Pharamond*, had several other kings, nay, as many kings as they had cities or cantons, as we have observed above. 'Tis true, that *Fredegarius* makes *Theodomir* the father and immediate predecessor of *Clodio*, and says of him what is said by other writers of *Pharamond*. But *Fredegarius*, whom *Valesius* styles an impertinent writer[a],
d might have been, and probably was, therein mistaken; seeing all other writers suppose *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*, or of *Sunno*, as we read in *Vitalis*[b], to have succeeded *Theodomir*. *Tyro Prosper* is the only author that mentions *Priam*, according to him, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*. His name perhaps gave rise to the romances of those writers, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*, whose last king bore that name. Such romances were, in some degree, countenanced, not only by the name of *Priam*, but by an opinion, which obtained among most writers, as *Gregory* of *Tours* informs us[c], *viz.* that the *Franks* had dwelt in *Pannonia* before they settled on the banks of the *Rhine*. Having thus given the reader the best account we have been able to gather from the most authentic writers of the first kings of the
t *Franks*, without taking upon us to ascertain the order of their succession, or their descents, we shall now pass to their wars and exploits, from the time they are first mentioned in history to their settling in *Gaul*.

They break into Gaul, *but are repressed by* Aurelian.

The first historian, by whom mention is made of the *Franks*, is *Vopiscus*, in the life of the emperor *Aurelian*; where that writer tells us, that the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, and, though few in number, committed there dreadful ravages. But *Aurelian*, then only tribune of the sixth legion, quartered at that time in *Mentz*, marching against them, killed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty and retire[d]. This event is placed, by *Valesius*, in the year 254. the second of the emperor *Valerian*'s
f reign[e]; by *Bucherius* and *Cointius*[f], in 234. in which year it is certain the *Germans* made an irruption into *Gaul*; and *Aurelian*, say they, born in 200. and then only thirty-four years old, might have attained to no higher post in the army than that of tribune. But as it appears from *Vopiscus*, that at the time *Aurelian* overcame the *Franks*, the emperor was preparing to march against the *Persians*, and *Gordian* marched

[q] Vide Val. ibid. [r] Eutrop. p. 587. Eumon. panegyr. ix. p. 198. [s] Ammian Marcel. l. xv. p. 39. [t] Idem, l. xxv. p. 302. [u] Idem, p. 307. [w] Idem, l. xxxi. p. 454 [x] Idem ibid. p. 453. [y] Greg. Tur. p 64. [z] Vide Val. l. iii. p. 112. [a] Vales. l. ii. p. 61. & l. iii. p. 125. [b] Vital. apud Buch. l. xiv. c. 9. [c] Greg. Tur. hist. Fran. l. ii. p. 64. [d] Vopisc. vit. Aur. p. 212. [e] Vales. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 2. [f] Buch. Belg. l. vi. c. 13. p. 209. Coint. tom. i. p. 14.

marched againſt them in 242. *Vorburgus* concludes from thence, that the *Franks* a were defeated by *Aurelian* the preceding year 241[g]. But at what time ſoever this happened, it is agreed on all hands, that the *Franks*, who afterwards proved ſo troubleſome neighbours to the *Romans*, and greatly contributed to the downfal of the weſtern empire, are firſt mentioned in hiſtory on this occaſion. In the year 256. the fourth of *Valerian*'s reign, they broke anew into *Gaul*, with ſeveral other *German* nations, but were intirely defeated by *Gallienus*, whom *Valerian* had taken for his partner in the empire[h]. For this victory *Gallienus* took the ſurname of *Germanicus*, as appears from a medal ſtruck in the latter end of the preſent year[i]. However, the *Franks* and other *German* nations returning ſoon after in far greater numbers, *Gallienus*, no longer able to repreſs them by force, offered advantagious terms to one of their b chiefs, who, readily accepting them, took upon him to guard the frontiers of the empire, which he did accordingly, often engaging the *Franks*, and other barbarians, attempting to break into the empire. Thus *Zoſimus*[k]; but who this prince was, he has not thought fit to tell us: *Vopiſcus* indeed informs us, that *Gallienus* lived in friendſhip with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomans*, to whom he yielded part of *Upper Pannonia*, taking his daughter, by name *Pipa*, or *Pipara*, as he pretended, for his wife; but by hiſtorians ſhe is looked upon only as his concubine, he being already married to *Solonina*[l], ſtyled, in the ancient inſcriptions, *Cornelia Solonina Auguſta*[m]. The following year 257. ſome *Franks* ſeem to have ſerved in the *Roman* army againſt the *Goths*; for among the auxiliaries that marched with *Aurelian* into *Thrace*, which c province the *Goths* were then pillaging, mention is made of *Hartoman*, *Haldegaſtus*, *Hildemon*, and *Carioviſcus*[n], which names bear a great reſemblance to others that frequently occur in hiſtory among the *Franks*; whence *Vorburgus* concludes them to be the names of ſome chief men of that nation, who came with a body of their countrymen to aſſiſt the *Romans* in this expedition[o]. Three years after, that is, in 260. *They ravage Gaul, and part of* Italy. *Year after Chriſt* 260. the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, taking advantage of the confuſion which the captivity of *Valerian*, taken priſoner by the *Perſians*, had cauſed throughout the empire, broke into *Gaul*, and, having ravaged the moſt wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into *Italy*[p]. St. *Jerom*[q] and *Oroſius*[r] add, that the *Franks*, croſſing the *Alps*, and paſſing through *Rhætia* and *Lombardy*, advanced to the neighbourhood d of *Ravenna*, laying waſte the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Zoſimus* writes, that this ſudden irruption obliged *Gallienus* to take the field, in order to drive back the barbarians, but whether they were forced by him to retire, or withdrew of their own accord, he does not tell us. Five years after, they commit- *They break into* Spain, *which they hold for the ſpace of twelve years.* ted unheard-of ravages in *Spain*. *Victor* writes, that, after they had ravaged *Gaul*, they paſſed from thence into *Spain*[s]; but *Valeſius* endeavours to prove, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Conſtantine*, that they conveyed themſelves thither by ſea[t]; for that author writes, that they ſuffered themſelves to be tranſported, by their war- *Year after Chriſt* 265. like ardor, beyond the bounds of the ocean, and ſtruck terror into the coaſts of *Spain* itſelf[u]. They paſſed the bounds of the ocean, according to *Valeſius*, by entering the *Mediterranean*, and landing in one of the *Spaniſh* provinces bordering on that ſea. Be that as it will, they penetrated into a country, to uſe the expreſſion of *Eutropius*, ſo far diſtant from their own, and made themſelves maſters of it, as we are told by St. *Jerom*[w]. *Oroſius* writes, that they held, or rather pillaged, *Spain* for the ſpace of twelve years[x]; and that they took by ſtorm, plundered, and almoſt utterly deſtroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which was then one of the chief cities of *Spain*, and the metropolis of ſeveral provinces; but for the ſpace of a hundred and fifty years it bore the marks, adds the ſame author, of what it ſuffered on that occaſion[y]. Some of the *Franks*, having provided themſelves with veſſels, croſſed over into *Africa*, with a deſign to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of that wealthy nation[z]; but what was the iſſue of that undertaking, we are not told. The ſame year 265. *Poſthumius*, who had revolted in *Gaul*, and taken upon him the title of emperor, gained great advantages over the *Franks*: attempting to break into thoſe provinces, drove them all beyond the *Rhine*, and even built ſome forts in their country; whence, on

[g] VORBURGH. hiſt. Roman. German. p. 474. [h] Zos. l. i. p. 646. ZON. vit. Gallien. p. 235. [i] BIRAG. p. 371. [k] Zos. ibid. [l] AUR. vit. epiſt. p. 521. GALLEN. vit. p. 184. [m] GOLTZ. BIRAG. p. 380. [n] AUR vit. p. 212. [o] VORB. p. 519. [p] AUR. vit. p. 215, 216. DEXIP. legat. excerp. p. 8. [q] HIER. chron. [r] OROS. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214. [s] VICT. in Gallien. [t] VAL. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 3, 4. [u] Panegyr. vii. p. 163. [w] HIER. chron. [x] OROS. l. vii. c. 23. p. 223. [y] Idem ibid. [z] VICT, & VAL. p. 5.

a on his medals he is ſtyled *the reſtorer of* Gaul, *the defender of the empire*[a]. On the ſame medals frequent mention is made of his victories over the *Franks*, chiefly in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 265. and on ſome he is ſtyled *Germanicus Maximus*, the *Franks* being diſtinguiſhed in thoſe times, as *Valeſius* well obſerves, by the name of *Germans*, from the *Alemans* and other nations inhabiting *Germany*. That writer is of opinion, that the medals of *Poſthumius*, on which *Deuſo*, now *Duitz*, over-againſt *Cologne*, and *Macuſa*, now *Inchuſe*, in north *Holland*, are mentioned, allude to the victories he gained over the *Franks*[b]. However, they afterwards ſerved under him againſt *Gallienus*, and ſupported him, to the utmoſt of their power, in the authority he had uſurped[c]. In the year 273. the fourth of the emperor *Aure-*

b *lian*'s reign, they made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were driven back with great ſlaughter by that prince, who, having taken ſeveral of them priſoners, led them, with the captives of ſeveral other nations, in triumph, when he made his public entry into *Rome*, which we have deſcribed at length in our *Roman* hiſtory[d]. *Aurelian* dying two years after, the *Franks*, together with the *Lyges*, the *Burgundians*, and the *Vandals*, croſſing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul*, and, having reduced above ſeventy of the chief cities of that country in the ſpace of two years, looked upon themſelves as maſters of all *Gaul*. But in the mean time *Tacitus*, who had ſucceeded *Aurelian*, dying, *Probus*, who was choſen in his room, marching in perſon againſt the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, diſpatched ſome of his beſt generals againſt the *Franks*, who gave them a

c total overthrow, and obliged them to abandon their booty, and return home[e]. *Probus* himſelf was attended with the like ſucceſs againſt the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*; ſo that all *Gaul* was, by his valour, delivered, to uſe the expreſſion of St. *Jerom*, from the yoke of the barbarians. The emperor, not ſatisfied with driving them out of *Gaul*, purſued them croſs the *Rhine*, laid waſte their territories far and near, and even built ſome forts in their country; which ſtruck the barbarians with ſuch terror, that nine of their kings came in perſon to ſue for peace, which *Probus* granted them, upon their promiſing to ſupply the *Romans* yearly with a certain quantity of corn, and other proviſions, and to ſend ſixteen thouſand men to ſerve in the *Roman* army[f]. Theſe *Probus* divided into ſeveral companies of fifty or ſixty men, diſtributing them

d among the *Roman* troops in different places[g]. Some of the *Franks*, who had either ſubmitted to *Probus*, or had been taken priſoners in this war, were ſent by the emperor to the coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, where lands were allowed them to cultivate. There they continued for ſome time; but growing weary in the end of living after the *Roman* manner in a country ſo far diſtant from their own, having ſeized on ſome ſhips, they put to ſea, and, roaming about, pillaged firſt the coaſts of *Aſia* and *Greece*, and then, paſſing over into *Africa*, landed in ſeveral places there; but, being conſtantly repulſed by the *Roman* troops quartered in that province, they quitted *Africa*, and, ſteering their courſe to *Sicily*, landed in that iſland, took and plundered the city of *Syracuſe*, and, having put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, reim-

e barqued with an immenſe booty. From *Sicily* they ſailed for the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, and, entering the ocean, plundered the coaſts of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and returned, in the end, loaded with booty, to their native country, at the mouth of the *Rhine*[h]. This happened while *Probus* was making war on ſeveral tyrants[i], that is, about the year 280. The ſame year, *Proculus* having revolted, and aſſumed the title of emperor at *Cologne*, the *Franks* at firſt eſpouſed his cauſe, and promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power; but as they ſcrupled no more, in thoſe days, than they have done in later times, to break their word, they not only abandoned, but betrayed, the uſurper into the emperor's hands[k]. From this time they continued quiet till the year 287. the fourth of *Dioclefian*'s reign, when, in conjunction with the *Saxon* pirates,

f they plundered the coaſts of *Gaul*, carrying off an immenſe booty and an incredible number of captives. But *Carauſius* having, by the emperor's order, fitted out a fleet at *Boulogne*, and gained ſome advantages over them, they retired for a while to their reſpective countries[l]. It was, no doubt, on account of theſe advantages, that *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric on *Maximian*, by whom *Carauſius* had been ſent againſt theſe pirates, calls him the conqueror of the *Franks*; and adds, that he put an end to

The Franks, Burgundians, *and* Vandals, *ſeize on ſeventy cities in* Gaul. *Year after Chriſt* 275.

But are driven out by Probus.

A ſmall number of Franks *ravage the coaſts of* Aſia, Greece, Sicily, *&c.*

[a] Trig tyr. c. 4. p. 186. BIRAG. 393. [b] VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 6. [c] Trig. tyr. p. 177. [d] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 192. [e] TACIT. vit. Aur. p. 227. Prob. vit. p. 218. VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 7, 8. [f] Prob. vit p. 238, 239. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Zos. l. i. p. 666. Prob. vit. p. 240. Panegyr. x. p. 218. [i] Prob. vit. ibid. [k] Procul. vit. p. 247. VICT. epit. Eutrop. [l] EUTROP. p. 585.

to the piratic war [p]. But as *Carausius* kept, and applied to his own use, the booty a
he had taken from the barbarians, instead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian*, suspecting, that with this view he connived at their piracies, resolved to put him to death; but he, having timely notice of his design, passed over into *Britain*, with the fleet under his command, and there caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, as we have related elsewhere [q]. The following year, *Maximian*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, having laid waste the enemy's country far and near, returned to *Gaul* with an immense booty and a great number of captives. The
Atec and Genobald, two kings of the Franks, submit to Maximian.
fame of his name struck such terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Atec* and *Genobald*, the first we find named in history, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms [r]. From an ancient inscription it appears, b
that *Diocletian*, as well as his collegue *Maximian*, took, probably on this occasion, the surnames of *Francicus*, *Alemanicus*, and *Germanicus* [s].

Year after Christ 288.
The following year, *Maximian* allowed lands, in the neighbourhood of *Treves* and *Cambray*, to great numbers of *Frank* and *Letes*, who had submitted to him, those territories being almost quite destitute of inhabitants [t]. The *Letes* were originally a *Gallish* nation; but having afterwards left *Gaul*, and settled in *Germany*, they were reckoned among the *German* nations [u]. Their name often occurs in history, as appears from *Valesius*, who is of opinion, that the names of the river *Lis* in *Flanders*, and of the *Abbey* of *Leissis* in *Hainault*, owe their origin to them [w]. *Ammianus* speaks of this nation as dwelling in *Germany*, on the banks of the *Rhine*, about the c
year 356 [x]. A few years after, the *Franks* made themselves masters of *Batavia*, and
Several Franks transplanted into Gaul by Constantius Chlorus.
that part of *Flanders* which is watered by the river *Escaut*; but *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, marching against them soon after he was raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*, overcame them in battle, and, having obliged them to surrender at discretion, transplanted them, with their wives and children, into *Gaul*, where they were forced to cultivate the lands, which they themselves had wasted, to pay the usual tributes and taxes, as subjects of the empire, and to serve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Upon their submitting, their arms were taken from them, nor were they allowed any in their new settlements, that they might, by degrees, forget their native fierceness and barbarity, and accustom themselves to live after the d
Year after Christ 293.
Roman manner [y]. The emperor *Julian*, speaking of *Maximian* and *Constantius*, tells us, that they not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, which they had long held, and cultivated as their own, but built several castles on the frontiers; by which means the country, no longer infested by the barbarians, enjoyed a profound tranquillity [z]. It was perhaps on account of the victory, which *Constantius* gained over the *Franks*, that the surname of *Germanicus* was given him on a monument erected to him by the city of *Nicomedia*, while he was consul, that is, in 294 [a]. From this time they continued quiet till the year 306. the first of *Constantine*'s reign, when, that prince being employed in *Britain*, they laid hold of the opportunity to
Constantine takes two of their kings prisoners, whom he exposes to the wild beasts.
break into *Gaul*. But the emperor, returning soon after, fell upon them unexpect- e
edly, while they were busied in plundering the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and having taken two of their kings prisoners, *Ascaric* and *Gaisus*, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts, in the magnificent shews which he afterwards exhibited [b]. He thought himself obliged, says the panegyrist, to renew the rigor of the ancient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to restrain, by the fear of punishment, a perfidious nation, that made no account of the most sacred ties [c]. After this victory he crossed the *Rhine*, and, entering the country of the *Bructerians*, who were one of the several nations then known by the name of *Franks*, he made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prisoners, f
whom he likewise exposed to the wild beasts [d]. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous garisons in them, kept on that river a great number of vessels well armed and manned, and by that means put a stop, for some time, to the incursions of the *Franks*. In memory of the advantages he had gained over them, he instituted solemn sports, called, from them, *ludi Francici*, which were annually celebrated

[p] Panegyr. xi. p. 133. [q] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 208. [r] Panegyr. x. p. 125. Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 11, 12. [s] Vales. ibid. [t] Panegyr. ix. p. 112. [u] Val. rer. Franc. l. p. 32, 33, & l. iv. p. 162. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 135. [y] Panegyr. i. iii. vii viii. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107. [z] Julian. orat. i. p. 12. [a] Lact. pers. p. 366. [b] Panegyr. ix. p. 190, 197. v. 127. vii. 163. [c] Panegyr. v. p. 126. ix. p. 196, 197. [d] Panegyr. ix. p. 197, 198.

celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth [e]. However, two years after, that is, in 308. they began anew to assemble in considerable bodies, with a design, as was supposed, to make an irruption into *Gaul*; but *Constantine* marching against them upon the first news of their motions, they dispersed [f]. In 310. all the nations known by the name of *Franks*, taking arms, approached the banks of the *Rhine*, and there dividing their army, which was very numerous, into several bodies, attempted to break into *Gaul* at different places. *Constantine* marched in person against them, and, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured, in disguise, into the midst of their army, pretending to be a deputy sent to them from the emperor. As he found that, not caring to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, they designed to carry on the war in separate bodies, which would have rendered it more tedious, he assured them, that the emperor was not then with the army; which they no sooner understood, than they dismissed the pretended deputy, and, uniting all their forces, marched against the enemy. *Constantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to flight at the first onset, and made a dreadful havock of them in the pursuit [g]. *Eusebius* writes, that he not only drove the barbarians out of *Gaul*, but utterly subdued those, who dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, and near the ocean [h], that is, the *Franks*. However, three years after, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, who was gone to *Rome*, they began to assemble anew on the banks of the *Rhine*; which *Constantine* no sooner understood, than leaving *Italy*, he hastened into *Gaul*. The *Franks*, who had not yet passed the *Rhine*, withdrew at his approach; but *Constantine*, giving out, that the *Alemans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*, left some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, and retired with the rest. The *Franks* no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the *Rhine*; but the *Romans*, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass that river in the utmost confusion. *Constantine* followed them in person with his whole army, and, entering their country, laid waste their lands, and burnt their habitations, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts. This severity towards a perfidious and faithless enemy is commended by his panegyrist; but it does not answer the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which is given to *Constantine* by most writers of those times. For this victory over the *Franks*, he took the title of *Francicus* [i]. Notwithstanding his severity, the *Franks* were no sooner informed, that *Constantine* had left *Gaul*, with a design to visit *Italy* and *Illyricum*, than they crossed the *Rhine* in great numbers, and, entering *Gaul*, laid waste several provinces. But *Crispus*, the son of *Constantine*, marching against them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire. *Optatianus* seems to insinuate, that he gained a great victory over them [k]; but *Nazarius* only says, that he drove them out of *Gaul*, and obliged them to sue for peace; which he readily granted them [l]. From some medals it appears, that the young prince gained a victory over the *Alemans*, who, in all likelihood, had invaded *Gaul* at the same time [m]; but the *Franks*, it seems, quitting their booty, retired at his approach [n]. This happened in 320. and no farther mention of the *Franks* is made in history till the year 341. the fourth of *Constantius*'s reign, when they made an irruption into *Gaul*, committing every-where great ravages. *Constans* marched against them, and gave them battle; but as the loss was equal on both sides, the war was not ended till the ensuing year [o], when *Constans* either conquered or appeased them, as *Idatius* expresses it, that is, prevailed upon them, with presents and money, to retire, as may be gathered from *Libanius*, who tells us, though speaking as a panegyrist, that the *Franks* were not conquered by dint of arms [p]. Be that as it will, it is certain they concluded a peace with *Constans*, and submitted to the princes he was pleased to appoint over them [q]. As they were the most powerful nation in those parts, the peace, they concluded with the emperor, prevented the others from attempting any thing against the empire; so that *Constans*, having nothing to fear on that side, passed over into *Britain*, to oppose the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* dominions.

They are defeated with great slaughter by Constantine. *Year after Christ* 310.

Who punishes them with great severity.

[e] Eutrop. p. 587. [f] Paneg. ix. p. 200, 201. [g] Paneg. vii. p. 164. Syn. reg. p. 19. [h] Euseb. vit Const. l. iii. c. 25. p. 420. [i] Vales. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23. [k] Optat. c. 15. [l] Paneg. vii. p. 164. [m] Buch. l. viii. c. 16. p. 265. [n] Vales. p. 26. [o] Socr. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. [p] Lib. orat. iii. p. 139. [q] Idat. p. 85. Socr. l. ii. c. 12. p. 90. Vales. l. i. p. 28.

nions[r]. Some years after; that is, in 355: the eighteenth of the reign of *Constantius*, *Malaric*, king of the *Franks*, held a chief employment in the emperor's court[s]. But the following year, those of his nation, no longer able to live in peace, entering into an alliance with the *Alemans* and *Saxons*, crossed the *Rhine*, took and pillaged above forty cities on the banks of that river, laid waste the neighbouring provinces, and carried off an incredible number of captives. The city of *Cologne* was on this occasion taken by them, and almost intirely ruined[t]: From thence they advanced as far as *Autun*, which city they besieged; but being vigorously repulsed by the veterans, who were quartered there, they abandoned the enterprize, and contented themselves with plundering the open places, roaming about without controul, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. *Constantius*, who was then in *Italy*, not thinking it adviseable to quit that country, raised his cousin *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and at the same time appointed him governor of *Gaul*. *Julian*, without loss of time, set out for his government, and, arriving at *Vienne*, was received there with extraordinary marks of joy. As he arrived in that city in the depth of winter, he continued there the remaining part of that season, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign; and, taking the field early in the spring, he marched, at the head of a small body, from *Vienne* to *Autun*, and from thence to *Auxerre*. On his march, he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who moved about in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, and opened himself a way through the midst of the barbarians to *Troies*, and from thence to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army waited his arrival. Being joined there by all the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*, he hastened from thence to *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze* on the *Seille* in *Lorain*, with a design to fall upon the *Franks*, who were busied in ravaging the country. But the enemy, receiving timely notice of his approach, took advantage of a dark and wet night to attack his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, turned back to their assistance. The *Franks*, encouraged with this success, attacked him anew a few days after; but were put to flight, though not with great loss. However, this small victory opened him a way to *Cologne*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, after it had been ten months in their hands. During his stay at *Cologne*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, dreading his arms, sent deputies to him to sue for a peace; but *Julian* only granted him a short truce[u].

They make themselves masters of above forty cities in Gaul. *Year after Christ* 355.

But they are defeated and driven out by Julian.

The following year, *Julian* gained a complete victory over the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, that had invaded *Gaul*, as we have related at length elsewhere[w], and took by storm two castles on the *Meuse*, in which some *Franks* had shut themselves up, after having ravaged the country about *Rheims*. They defended themselves with great bravery for the space of fifty-four days; but being in the end obliged to surrender, they were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops[x]. After this, *Julian* put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*. But, in the mean time, the *Salii*, a nation of the *Franks*, breaking unexpectedly into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, settled there; but *Julian*, marching against them early in the spring, obliged them to abandon the country they had seized, though they offered themselves ready to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, to supply the *Romans* with troops when required, and to pay the usual taxes and tributes. *Zosimus* tells us, that they had been driven out of their own country by the *Saxons* and *Quadians*, who were by *Julian* forced to restore it to the ancient proprietors; which so gained the *Salian Franks*, that, submitting to *Julian*, great numbers of them served in his army[y].

Count Theodosius *gains some advantages over them.*

The *Franks* continued quiet the whole time *Julian* reigned; but they no sooner heard of his death, than, entering into an alliance with their neighbours the *Saxons*, they began to infest *Gaul* both by sea and land. But count *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, being sent against them by *Valentinian*, obliged them to retire with great loss[z]. That commander is said to have overcome the *Saxons*, to have gained a victory over them off the *Orcades*, and to have defeated the enemies of the empire in *Batavia*, near the *Rhine* and the *Vahal*; which country was then held by the *Franks*[a]. From an inscription of 369. or 370. it appears, that *Valentinian* styled himself the con-

[r] Lib. orat. iii. p. 140. [s] Ammian. l. v. p. 39. [t] Idem ibid. p. 50. [u] Idem, l. xx. p. 168. l. xxiii. p. 203. Liban. orat. xii. p. 270. & orat. ix. p. 237. [w] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 501. [x] Ammian, l. xvii. p. 89. [y] Zos. l. iii. p. 561. [z] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 346. [a] Valesii rer. Franc. l. vi.

a conqueror of the *Franks*[c]; no doubt on account of the advantages gained over that nation by count *Theodosius*. As it appears from a law dated the thirtieth of *September* 368. that *Valentinian* was then at *Cologne*, some writers conclude from thence; that he marched in person against the *Franks*; but of this expedition no mention is made by any of the ancients. At this time *Mallobaudes* was king of the *Franks*, and engaged in a war with the *Alemans*, who, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, had entered, upon what provocation we know not, the territories of the *Franks*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Mallobaudes* met them at the head of a considerable army, and, pretending to avoid an engagement, drew them into an ambuscade; by which means he cut great numbers of them in pieces, and among the rest their
b king *Macrianus*, a warlike prince, who had long infested, with continual inroads, the *Roman* dominions[e]. Three years after, that is, in 377. *Mallobaudes* was raised by the emperor *Gratian* to the consulate, having the emperor himself for his collegue in that dignity[f]. The following year he was honoured by the same emperor with the post of *comes domesticorum*, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the battle of *Argentaria*, in which above thirty thousand of the *Lentinenses*, who had broken into the empire, were cut in pieces, with their king *Triarius*. This victory was chiefly owing to *Mallobaudes*, who, on this occasion, commanded the *Roman* troops, in conjunction with count *Nennianus*, as we have related in our *Roman* history[g]. He was consul the second time in 383. the eighth and last of *Gratian*'s reign, and
c commanded the army, under that prince, against the usurper *Maximus*; but was not attended on that occasion with his usual success, for *Gratian* was put to flight, soon after taken prisoner, and put to death at *Lions*. All authors agree, that the unhappy prince was betrayed by his own people; and *Prosper*, in his chronicle, names *Mallobaudes* among those, who kept a private correspondence with the usurper[h]. But *Baronius* maintains, that *Prosper* was therein mistaken, and that *Mallobaudus* continued ever faithful to *Gratian*[i]. And truly *Pacatus* upbraids *Maximus* for hating *Mallobaudes*, and reducing him to the fatal necessity of laying violent hands on himself, for no other crime than that of an inviolable fidelity to *Gratian*, whose cause he had maintained to the last[k]. Three years after the death of *Gratian*, that is, in the
d year 388. we find the *Franks* ravaging *Gaul* with more fury than ever, perhaps to revenge on the usurper *Maximus* the death of *Gratian*, who had shewn a particular kindness to their nation. However that be, *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that they overran all *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where unheard-of ravages, made the city of *Cologne* tremble, burnt several villages, and then returned home with their booty, leaving several parties in *Gaul* to pursue the ravages they had begun. These were defeated by *Nannius* and *Quintinus*, the two generals of *Maximus*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces in the province of *Hainault*. *Quintinus*, not satisfied with this advantage, passed the *Rhine* at *Nuys*, contrary to the opinion of *Nannius*, who refused to follow him, and, entering the enemy's country with the troops under his
e command, burnt several villages, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants. Encouraged with this success, he advanced far into the country; but being, on his return, cunningly drawn into marshes, woods, and unpassable places, by the enemy pretending to fly before him, he found himself on a sudden surrounded on all sides by great multitudes, who, falling upon his men while they were entangled in the woods and marshes, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves in the woods, where they perished with famine, only *Quintinus*, and a few more, having, with the utmost difficulty, found means to make their escape, and return to *Gaul*, after suffering unexpressible hardships in the enemy's country. The loss sustained by the *Romans* on this occasion was very great, and is, by some, compared to the disaster of
f *Varus* and his legions, in the time of *Augustus*[l]. This happened while the *Franks* were governed by *Genobald*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*, who, being elated with this victory, broke anew into *Gaul* the following year; which obliged *Theodosius* to send *Valentinian* to make head against them. Upon that prince's arrival in *Gaul*, *Arbogastes*, general of the troops in those provinces, advised him to march into the enemy's country, and force them to restore the booty they had carried off the year before, and deliver up the authors of the war[m]. Whether or no *Valentinian* followed his advice, we

A Roman army cut off by the Franks. Year after Christ 388.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 83, 84. [e] Ammian. l. xxx. [f] Idem, l. xxxi. p. 451. Grut. p. 370. [g] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 387. [h] Prosp. chron. [i] Bar. ad ann. 383. [k] Pacat. p. 267. [l] Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, 59, 60. [m] Idem ibid.

we are not told. All we know is, that he had a conference with *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, who delivered up hoſtages; and that he afterwards retired to *Treves*, and there paſſed the winter [n]. a

THREE years after, that is, in 392. *Arbogaſtes*, having put *Valentinian* II. to death, perſuaded *Eugenius*, whom he had raiſed to the empire in his room, to make war upon the *Franks*. *Arbogaſtes*, of whom we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [o], was himſelf by nation a *Frank*; but, as he bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, he not only induced *Eugenius* to make war upon them, but, taking upon himſelf the whole management of it, he paſſed the *Rhine* near *Cologne*, in the depth of winter, and laid waſte the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamavians*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, *Marcomir* only ſhewing himſelf at a b diſtance on the hills with ſome parties of the *Anſivarii* and *Chatti*. But, as to the iſſue of this war, hiſtorians only tell us, that *Arbogaſtes*, after having put many of his countrymen to the ſword, concluded in the end a peace with them; and that *Eugenius* himſelf approached the *Rhine* to renew the ancient treaty with the kings of the *Franks* and *Alemans* [p]. From this account it appears, that the *Franks* had ſeveral kings at the ſame time, and that under the name of *Franks* were compriſed ſeveral ancient *German* nations. Great numbers of the *Franks* liſted themſelves among the troops of *Eugenius*; for *Oroſius* tells us, that he led againſt *Theodoſius* an infinite number of *Franks* and other barbarians [q]. Two years after, *Theodoſius* died, and, by his laſt will, divided the empire between his two children, bequeathing the eaſt c to his eldeſt ſon *Arcadius*, and the weſt to *Honorius*. *Stilicho*, who was prime miniſter to the latter, adviſed him, in the firſt place, to renew the ancient alliances with the *Franks* and other *German* nations, which they had broken, by aſſiſting the uſurper *Eugenius* againſt *Theodoſius*. This province *Stilicho* took upon himſelf, and, repairing to the banks of the *Rhine*, accompliſhed it in a very ſhort time [r]. However, *Marcomir* and *Sunno* attempting to raiſe new diſturbances ſoon after the concluſion of the peace, one of them, ſays *Claudian*, was taken, and, after having been kept ſome time in priſon, confined to *Tuſcany*. The other was for revenging on the *Romans* the affront they had offered his brother; but his own people, unwilling to engage in a war with the empire, put him to death. *Claudian* adds, that *Honorius* appointed d other kings over the *Franks* in their room [s]. An ancient hiſtorian ſuppoſes *Marcomir* to have outlived *Sunno*, and conſequently that it was he who was baniſhed into *Tuſcany* [t]. *Marcomir*, or, as the ancients call him, *Marcomer*, is ſuppoſed to have been the father of *Pharamond*, the firſt in the catalogue of the *French* kings [u]. In the year 406. the *Franks*, falling upon the *Vandals*, as they were attempting to break into *Gaul* with the *Sueves* and *Alans*, cut near twenty thouſand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigiſcles*; and would have put them all to the ſword, had not the *Alans* come ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance. Theſe two nations, together with the *Sueves*, opened themſelves a way, in ſpite of the *Franks*, and, paſſing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul* [w]. Great numbers of *Franks* followed them, to have ſome ſhare in the e ſpoils of thoſe wealthy provinces; but far greater numbers of the ſame nation entered *Gaul* four years after, being invited thither by the uſurper *Conſtantine*, of whoſe forces the commander in chief was one *Edobic*, a *Frank* by nation [x]. In the year 413. they made an irruption into *Gaul*, and not only pillaged, but burnt, the city of *Treves* the ſecond time, ſays *Frigerid*, an ancient author quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours* [y]. When this firſt irruption happened, we are no-where told; but that unhappy city was the third time plundered, and ſet on fire, by the *Franks*, about the year 420. as *Salvian* informs us, who was an eye-witneſs of the deplorable condition, to which it was reduced on that occaſion [z]. Our author greatly complains of the inſenſibility and hardneſs of heart, which he diſcovered in the inhabitants, who having loſt all their effects, and with much-ado eſcaped with their lives, inſtead of applying themſelves to works of piety, preſſed the emperor to cauſe the ſports of the f circus to be exhibited among the aſhes and ruins of their demoliſhed city [a].

They renew the ancient alliances with Honorius. *Year after Chriſt* 325.

They cut off 20,000 *of the* Vandals *attempting to enter* Gaul. *Year after Chriſt* 406.

The beginning of Pharamond's *reign uncertain.*

ABOUT this time *Pharamond* muſt have reigned over the *Franks*. He is ſaid by *Vitalis* to have been the ſon of *Sunno*; but all other writers ſuppoſe him to have been the

[n] Idem ibid. p. 60, 61. [o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 396, 413, 419, 420. [p] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9 p. 61. [q] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [r] CLAUD. p. 128. [s] Idem, p. 129. [t] Vide VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 119. [u] Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 92. [w] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. OROS. c. 40. p. 223. [x] Soz. l. ix. c. 13. p. 814. [y] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9 p. 63. [z] SAL. l. vi. p. 143—147. [a] Idem ibid.

a the ſon of *Marcomir*, the brother of *Sunno*. *Gregory* of *Tours*, a very accurate writer, never once mentions this prince; which is very ſurpriſing. But both *Aimonius* and *Tyro Proſper* ſpeak of him, and place his reign at this time. In the chronicle of the latter, as publiſhed by *Scaliger*, at the twenty-fifth year of *Honorius*'s reign, we read the following words; Pharamond *reigns in* France: then follows the year 26. with theſe words; *This year there was an eclipſe of the ſun.* If therefore *Pharamond* reigned in the year preceding the eclipſe, he reigned in the year 417. for all authors agree, that there was an eclipſe on *Friday* the 19th of *July* 418. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that the ſtars were then ſeen at two in the afternoon [b]. The *Alexandrian* chronicle, and likewiſe the chronicles of count *Marcellinus* and *Idatius*, mention this eclipſe; but
b the latter, by miſtake, ſuppoſes it to have happened on a *Thurſday*; whereas, in 418. the 19th of *July* fell on a *Friday*. *Tyro Proſper* likewiſe was miſtaken, in ſuppoſing the year 418. to have been the twenty-ſixth of *Honorius*, that year being, according to the beſt chronologers, only the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of his reign. Father *Le Cointe* will have *Pharamond* to have begun his reign the ſame year in which the eclipſe happened; others, and among the reſt father *Labbé* in his chronology, maintain, that he began to reign in 420. and not before [b]. But it is impoſſible to fix, with any certainty, the preciſe time, in which this prince began his reign, ſince *Proſper*'s chronicle, on which we muſt chiefly depend, is full of miſtakes, and differently read in this very place. It is even uncertain, whether it was in his reign, or ſome
c time before, that the *Franks*, paſſing the *Rhine*, firſt ſettled in *Gaul*. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that, about this time, *Honorius*, entering into a treaty with their chiefs, yielded to them the country bordering on the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*, and on the ſame ſide of that river, which country was afterwards called *Ripuaria*; but he alledges only a few conjectures to ſupport his opinion [d]. *Gregory* of *Tours* ſuppoſes them to have ſettled about this time in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed, as we have hinted above, by as many kings as they had cities or cantons [e]. *Pharamond*, who reigned at this time, was one of the moſt powerful princes among them; but we are not told whether he had any authority over the reſt. He is ſuppoſed to have reigned from the year 417. or 418. to the year 428. in which
d *Cledio*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, is ſaid by *Tyro Proſper* to have reigned in *France*, that is, in the country of the *Franks* [f]. In the year in which he is ſuppoſed to have died, the famous *Aetius* made war upon the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and drove them from the country in which they had ſettled [g]. Of this war *Jornandes* ſpeaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Aetius*, with great ſlaughter, tamed the barbarity of the *Franks*, and forced them to ſubmit to the empire [h]. The learned *Uſher* is of opinion, that, in this war, *Pharamond* was killed [i]. *Chifletius*, a learned antiquary, will have *Pharamond* to have made himſelf maſter of all *Belgica Secunda*, and to have died at *Rheims*, the metropolis of that province. He founds his opinion on the authority of an old manuſcript genealogy lodged in the palace at *Bruſſels*, in which *Pharamond*
e is ſaid to have been buried at *Rheims*, according to the cuſtom of the barbarians, without the city, towards *Laudunum*, on a little hill [k]. But we can hardly believe, that all the ancients would have paſſed over in ſilence the conqueſt of ſuch an extenſive country; for *Belgica Secunda* compriſed *Champagne* and all the countries lying between that province and the ocean. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Salic* laws were compiled by *Pharamond*, after his ſettling in *Gaul*, with the aſſiſtance of four ſages, named *Wiſegaſt*, *Leſegaſt*, *Widegaſt*, and *Solegaſt*; but *Valeſius* thinks, that the *Franks* had no written laws till the time of *Clovis*, who, according to him, was their firſt legiſlator [l].

Pharamond was ſucceeded by his ſon *Clodio* in the year 428. the fourth of the reign Clodio.
f of *Valentinian* III. *Gregory* of *Tours* calls him a moſt illuſtrious prince, and one to *Year after Chriſt* 428.
whom his people, whoſe intereſt he had at heart, were highly indebted [m]. An hiſtorian, who flouriſhed in the time of *Charles Martel*, and after him moſt other writers, ſuppoſe both *Clodio* and his ſucceſſor *Merovæus* to have been the children of *Pharamond* [n]. *Fredegarius*, in his abridgment of *Gregory* of *Tours*, which he compiled in the time of *Pepin*, will have him to have been the ſon of *Theodomir*, who was killed by

[b] Philost. l. xii. c 8. p. 166. [c] Vide Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 118. Buch. de Belg. p. 453. Coint. tom. i. p. 44, 45. Childer. p. 4. [d] Buch. p 450. [e] Greg. Tur. l. ii. p. 64. [f] Prosp. p. 51. [g] Vide Buch. Belg. l. xv. c. 8. p. 471. [h] Jorn. rer Goth. c. 34. p. 660. [i] Uss. rer. Brit. p. 402, 403. [k] Vide Miræi. chron. Belg. p. 518. [l] Vales. p. 119, 120. [m] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. [n] Vales. p. 124, 125.

by the *Romans*, as we have related above. The authority of *Fredegarius* is of no great weight; but as *Gregory* of *Tours* too mentions the death of *Theodomir*, some are of opinion, that *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person, as we have hinted above. As *Gregory* of *Tours* begins the history of the *Franks* with the reign of *Clodio*, (for he makes no mention of *Pharamond*) and derives from him the pedigree of the succeeding kings[o], several historians reckon him the first king of that nation[p]. And truly he ought to be deemed the founder of the *French* monarchy in the country we now call *France*, since he established his dominion so firmly there, that the *Romans* were never after able to drive him out, as they had done his predecessor *Pharamond* about the year 428. He is commonly surnamed *the long-haired*, as if he had been the first among the princes of his nation, who was distinguished from his subjects by the length of his hair; whereas this mark of distinction is taken notice of by several historians, as common to the kings of the *Franks* before his time[q]. On this subject *Bucherius* makes a long descant[r], and to him we refer the reader. *Sidonius*, speaking of the *Franks*, describes their hair, their beard, their arms, and their whole attire[s]; and from him it appears, that their hair was long before, and quite short behind. We know but very little from the ancients of what happened in this prince's reign. *Idatius* tells us, that, in the year 431. *Aetius* was employed in an expedition in *Gaul*[t]. This expedition was, without all doubt, undertaken against the *Franks*; for the same writer, who was then with *Aetius*, adds, that, in 432. he overcame the *Franks* in a combat. *Majorianus*, afterwards emperor, served, in all likelihood, under *Aetius* in this expedition; for *Sidonius* extols his exploits on the *Rhine*, the *Vahal*, and the *Meuse*; and adds, that nothing was performed by *Aetius* without him[u]. *Aetius*, after having overcome the *Franks*, concluded a peace with them the same year[w]; but upon what terms we know not. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that *Aetius*, being obliged to march against the *Visigoths* and other barbarians settled in *Gaul*, in order to keep the *Franks* quiet, restored to them the country from which he had driven them in 428. that is, the territory of *Tongres*[x]. This, he thinks, may be gathered from the *notitia*; but the whole is founded upon a mere conjecture. *Gregory* of *Tours*, speaking of *Clodio* before the conquest of *Cambray*, supposes him to have resided in the castle of *Disparg*, commonly thought to be the present *Doesburg*, between *Brussels* and *Lovain*, in the ancient diocese of *Tongres*, or on the confines of that country[y]; which is agreeable to what that writer adds, *viz.* that the country, which the *Romans* still held, lay south of the territories possessed by *Clodio* residing at *Disparg*. In the year 435. the *Franks* made, it seems, an attempt upon *Tours*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that *Majorianus* defended that city against them. Not long after, the *Franks* made an irruption into the country of the *Attrebates*, now *Artois*. But *Aetius*, marching against them with all possible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, while, without the least apprehension of danger, they were celebrating the nuptials of one of their chiefs, and cut great numbers of them in pieces[z]. This action happened at a place called *Vicus Helenæ*, which some take to be the village now called *Le Vieil Hesdin*, and others the city of *Lens* on the *Escaut*. The latter opinion seems the most probable to such as have examined narrowly those places, and compared them with the description, which *Sidonius* gives of the spot, where the action happened[a]. This was, without all doubt, the only advantage gained by the *Romans* in this war, since no other is mentioned by *Sidonius* in his panegyric on *Majorianus*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in conjunction with *Aetius*, and distinguished himself in the above-mentioned action. *Valesius*, who supposes the battle of *Lens* to have been fought in the year 437. tells us from *Gregory* of *Tours*, that *Clodio*, having sent spies to reconnoitre and view the country as far as *Cambray*, upon their return, set out on his march, advanced, in spite of all opposition, to that city, and, having made himself master of it, fixed, for some time, his residence there[b] (D). From *Cambray Valesius* supposes him to have made the above-mentioned irruption

He is overcome by Aetius.

[o] Greg. Tur. p. 65. [p] Buch. p. 473. [q] Idem, p. 475, 479. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Sid. car. v. p. 316. [t] Idat. p. 19. [u] Sid. car. v. p. 315. [w] Idat. ibid. [x] Buch. Belg. p. 473. [y] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. [z] Sid. p. 315, 316. [a] Vales. p. 132. [b] Idem, p. 131, 132. Greg. Tur. l. i. ii. c. 9. p. 64.

(D) The words of *Gregory* of *Tours* are: *Chlogio*, (for so he calls him) having sent spies as far as *Cambray* to view the country, set out with his army, upon their return, and, marching through the country which they had viewed, overthrew the *Romans*, and made himself master of the city, in which residing

irruption into the *Artois*, and to have been surprised by *Aetius* and *Majorianus* at *Lens*. But, notwithstanding that overthrow, he extended his conquests as far as the *Somme*[c]. Some add, that he took *Tournay*, *Amiens*, and several other cities[d]. But we shall content ourselves with what we find in the best and most credible writers, among whom we do not reckon *De Guise*, the author of the annals of *Hainault*, tho' *Bucherius* has copied many things from him. *Aetius* is supposed to have afterwards concluded a peace with the *Franks*, and to have left them in possession, at least, of some part of the country they had conquered, since he granted the like favour to other nations, whom he dreaded less[e]. *Priscus*, who flourished in those days, tells us, that he saw at *Rome* the second son of the king of the *Franks*, who had been sent thither on an embassy, tho' a youth yet quite beardless. He takes notice of his long, yellow hair; and adds, that *Aetius* adopted him for his son, by presenting him with his armour, and treated him with the greatest marks imaginable of esteem, friendship, and affection[f]. Upon his leaving *Rome*, he was loaded with rich and valuable presents, sent him both by *Aetius* and *Valentinian* III. then emperor[g]. This young prince was, in all likelihood, *Merovæus*, the successor of *Clodio*; for he lived in great friendship with *Aetius* and joined him against *Attila*. He went, in all likelihood, to *Rome* in 439. for in that year *Valentinian* was there.

He extends his conquests as far as the Somme.

Salvianus, who wrote about the year 440. tells us, that the city of *Treves* had been the fourth time pillaged by the *Franks* and utterly destroyed[h]. This must have happened about the year 477. during the war between him and the *Romans*, of which we have spoken above. The same writer adds, that the *Franks* made themselves masters of another city not yielding to *Treves* in grandeur, and standing at a small distance from it[i]. This city can be no other but *Cologne*, which was held by the

He destroys Treves.

Takes Cologne.

[c] Greg. Tur. p. 65. [d] Val. p. 130, 131. Du Ch. tom. i. p. 164. Buch. p. 505. [e] Val. l. iii. p. 134. [f] Prisc. legat. p. 40. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Salv. gub. l. vi. p. 133. [i] Idem ibid.

siding some time, he extended his conquests as far as the *Somme* (1). The author of *the gests of the* Franks adds, that *Clodio*, entering the *Carbonarian* forest, marched to the city of *Tournay*, which he took; and from thence advancing to *Cambray*, he likewise made himself master of that place, put the *Roman* garison to the sword, and, in a short time, reduced the whole country between *Cambray* and the *Somme* (2). The *Sylva Carbonaria* was part of the *Sylva Arduenna*, which extended, as we read in *Cæsar* (3), from the *Rhine* to the *Scheld*, and the country of the *Nervii*, that is, to *Tournay*. *Gregory of Tours* supposes *Clodio* to have resided at *Dispard* or *Doesburg* before he set out on this expedition: and truly from that place, if situated in the country of *Tongres*, the shortest route he could take was through the *Carbonarian* forest (4). By the taking of *Cambray* and *Tournay*, the *Franks* became absolute masters of the whole country between these cities and the *Rhine*, and at the same time had a free communication with *Tongria*, with the *Wahal*, and consequently with the ancient *Francia*; for the country between *Tournay* and the *Wahal*, which is now so well peopled and cultivated, was, even in the fifth century, almost quite destitute of inhabitants, and covered with woods and forests. It was under the successors of *Clovis* and *Charlemagne* that the cities of *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, *Brussels*, *Malines*, *Louvain*, &c. were built, the country between the *Artois*, the ocean, and the *Rhine*, being, till their time, filled with woods and marshes. As therefore *Tournay* and *Cambray* were, in the days of *Clodio*, the only cities in that tract, by the reduction of them the *Franks* became masters of the whole country. This expedition is placed by *Petavius* in 445 (5). But by father *Daniel* before the year 428. in which year, *Felix* and *Taurus* being consuls, the *Franks* were overcome by *Aetius*, as we read in *Prosper*, driven out of *Gaul*, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*. But that writer is certainly mistaken; for *Majorianus*, afterwards emperor, who performed wonders in the battle of *Lens* or *Hesdin*, if *Sidonius* is to be credited, was still a young man in 458. since *Sidonius*, in the panegyric which he pronounced that year, styles him *juvenis*, *a young man*; and how could he be a young man then, if he had signalized himself in a battle fought at least thirty years before? Thus father *Sirmond* (6), who rightly observes, that, in 428. *Aetius* waged war with the *Franks* on the banks of the *Rhine*; whereas the battle mentioned by *Sidonius* was fought in *Artois*, near the village of *Helena*; which some take to be *Lens*, and others place on the *Canche*, where the ruins of it are still to be seen, and known by the name of *Vieil-Hesdin*. Father *Daniel* will have *Clovis* to have possessed nothing in *Gaul* when he came to the crown; and, to support this system, he places the irruption of the *Franks* under *Clodio*, the taking of *Cambray*, and the battle of *Lens* or *Hesdin*, before the year 428. in which the *Franks* were driven out of *Gaul* by *Aetius*, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*. That writer was well apprised, that he could not allow the above-mentioned events to have happened after the year 428. without allowing at the same time the countries, which *Clodio* seized in that irruption, to have been kept by him, since no mention is made in history of the *Franks* being driven out of *Gaul* after the year 428. But against father *Daniel*'s system lie the above-mentioned, in our opinion, unanswerable objections, to which we shall add another, *viz.* that we find *Clovis* possessed of *Tournay*, without being told by any historian, that either he or his predecessors *Merovæus* and *Childeric*, reduced it; whence we conclude it to have been held by him, and the two princes who reigned before him, as the successors of *Clodio*, by whom the whole country between *Cambray* and the *Rhine* was reduced, in the manner we have related.

(1) *Greg. Tur. l.* ii. *c.* 5. (2) *Gest. Franc. c.* 5. *apud Du Ch. tom.* i. *p.* 699. (3) *Cæs. l.* v. *c.* 3. & *l.* vi. *c.* 29. (4) *Vide Val. in notit. Gal. ad voc. Syl. Carbon.* (5) *Petav. rat. temp. l.* vi. *p.* 343. (6) *Sirm. in not. ad Sid. p.* 120.

the *Franks*, as appears from that writer, in the year 440. The enemy entered the city while the chief inhabitants were feasting and revelling, without the least apprehension of danger[k]. Several of *Salvianus*'s relations were, on that occasion, taken by the *Franks* and by them kept in slavery, and, among the rest, a holy widow, who, having ransomed herself, was reduced to such poverty, that she was obliged to earn her bread by working for the wives of the barbarians[l]. The taking of *Cologne* happened, according to the best chronologers, in the reign of *Clodio*, about the year 438. or 439[m]. 'Tis to be observed, that this town, in the time of *Clovis*, had a king of its own, but a *Frank* by nation[n]. Father *Le Cointe* observes, that, till his time, *Cologne* is constantly called *Agrippina*, and seldom *Colonia*; whereas the latter name universally prevailed and the former was quite laid aside, after the *Franks* became masters of the place, which induced *Hincmar* and some others to imagine, that the name of *Colonia* had been given it by them[o]. As the *Franks* were still pagans, the church suffered much in the countries subject to them; and hence it is, that we find no bishops of *Cologne*, named in the ecclesiastic history, from the time of *Evergilius*, who is supposed to have died about the year 430. till the time of *Aquilinus*, who governed that church in the reign of *Clovis*[p]. The churches of *Tournay* and *Cambray* fared no better; for they seem to have had no bishops from the year 407. when the *Vandals* broke into those countries, till the end of that century[q]. *Clodio* reigned about twenty years, that is, from the year 428. to 448. when *Tyro Prosper* tells us, that *Merovæus* reigned in *France*[r], that is, in the countries subject to the *Franks* on either side of the *Rhine*. From the words of *Prosper* some conclude, that the *Franks* held yet nothing in *Gaul*; for, by the word *Francia*, say they, is to be understood the country inhabited by the *Franks* on the *German* side of the *Rhine*. But they are therein certainly mistaken; since it is manifest from all the ancients, that both *Clodio* and *Merovæus* were masters of several places in *Gaul*. There is a great disagreement among authors about *Merovæus*: according to the opinion which to us seems the most probable, he was the second son of *Clodio*, and him *Priscus* saw at *Rome* in 439. as we have hinted above, he being then about eighteen years old. Both he and his elder brother outlived their father *Clodio*; but *Merovæus*, by the assistance of *Aetius* and the *Romans*, carried the crown; for that there were great contests between them, is certain, the elder brother having called in *Attila* to his assistance; for this *Attila* himself alledged, among the other motives that had prompted him in 451. to enter *Gaul*. He had a considerable number of *Franks* in his army, those, without doubt, who had espoused the cause of his elder brother. But *Merovæus*, king of the *Franks*, fought for the *Romans*, and distinguished himself in the famous battle of *Chalons*, which to him secured the crown, and made his elder brother give over all hopes of ever wearing it; nay, *Attila* himself advised him, after the battle, to return home[s]. The elder brother's name is commonly thought to have been *Claudebald*, who, in an ancient manuscript copy of the *Salic* law, is said to have been the son of *Clude*, or *Clodio*, the son of *Pharamond*, and the brother of *Cleno*, of whom no farther mention is made[t]. *Valesius* takes *Claudebald* to be the same person with *Clodomir*, who, in the life of St. *Genulphus*, is said to have reigned between *Clodio* and *Merovæus*[u]. But that life was written long after those times, and is therefore of no great authority. *Gregory* of *Tours* only says of *Merovæus*, that he was the father of *Childeric*[w]. However, he must have been a prince of no small renown, since the authors of the seventh and eighth century, and after them many others, have given the name of *Merovingian* to the kings who reigned after him, till the time of *Pepin* the first king of the second race, as they style it[x], the first being called *Merovingian* from *Merovæus*. *Rorico* extols him greatly, but by elogiums couched in general terms[y]; and besides, no great stress is to be laid on what that author writes. Of his exploits, *Bucherius* speaks at length; but all he says is founded upon conjecture[z]. *Valesius*, from what we read of *Childeric*, concludes *Merovæus* to have extended his conquests from the *Somme* to the *Seine*, probably after the death of *Aetius*. All we know for certain is, that upon the news of the death of *Valentinian* III. the *Franks*, under the conduct of *Merovæus*, ravaged *Germania*

Takes Cologne.

He dies.

Merovæus. *Year after Christ* 448.

He extends his conquests from the Somme *to the* Seine.

[k] Idem, p. 143, 144. [l] Idem, epist. i. p. 198. [m] Coint. tom. i. p. 69. [n] Val. l. iv. p. 236. [o] Coint. tom. i. p. 92. [p] Idem, p. 63. [q] Idem, p. 70. [r] Val. c. iii. p. 125, 144. [s] Sid. car. vii. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 7. p. 56. Du Ch. p. 393. [t] Du Ch. ibid. [u] Val. p. 144. Bulland. 17. Jun. p. 98. [w] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65. [x] Val. p. 144, 145. [y] Du Ch. p. 801. [z] Buch. p. 520, 521.

Germania Prima and *Belgica Secunda*, that is, the provinces of *Mentz* and *Rheims*[a]. *Bucherius* thinks, that *Merovæus* died the year after *Valentinian* III. that is, in 456[b]. but *Valesius* will have him to have lived till the year 458[c]. *Rorico* writes, that he was loved, honoured, and revered, by his people, as a common father, and that from him the *Franks* in general were called *Merovingians*[d]. In a genealogical table of the *French* kings, prefixed to a manuscript life of *Charles the great*, lodged in the royal library at *Brussels*, he is made the stock or head of the first race (E).

He dies.

Merovæus was succeeded by his son *Childeric*. When he was but a youth, he was taken prisoner by *Attila*, with his mother and other persons of distinction; but delivered from captivity by the fidelity, courage, and address, of a *Frank*, named *Wiomald*, as we read in *Fredegarius*[c]. This happened in the year 453. when *Attila*;

Childeric. *Year after Christ* 456.

[a] Sid. car. vii. p. 342. [b] Buch. p. 526. [c] Val. l. iv. p. 189. [d] Gest. Franc. l. i. [c] Du Ch. tom. ii. p. 726.

(E) It is greatly disputed among authors, whether *Merovæus* was brother to his predecessor *Clodio*, only his kinsman, or even of a different family. *Gregory* of *Tours* only says, that by some it was held for certain, he was of the same race or family (1). It is past all doubt, that the king of the *Franks*, who died some time before the year 451. and could be no other but *Clodio*, had two sons, who, after his death, contended for the kingdom (2). If *Merovæus* was one of these princes, he was certainly the son of *Clodio*. But perhaps both *Clodio*'s children lost what each of them strove to get, and a kinsman of theirs, or one who was no-ways related to the family, possessed himself of the kingdom. *Du Chesne* seems to have been of this opinion (3). It is not unlikely, that *Merovæus* was the first of a new branch, since his successors were from him called *Merovingians* (4). But on the other hand, if we admit the authority of *Tyro Prosper*, we can hardly deny *Merovæus* to have reigned in 451. when *Attila* broke into *Gaul*, and consequently to have been one of the two sons of *Clodio*. For *Priscus* does not say that a contest arose among three princes; but only, that the two brothers contended for the kingdom; and it is certain, that this contest was not ended in 451. for *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks* in favour of the elder brother (5). It appears from *Priscus*, that the king of the *Franks*, who sided with *Aetius* against *Attila* in 451. fought at the same time against his brother and the king of the *Hunns* (6). The very expression used by *Priscus*, viz. that *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks*, in favour of the elder brother, shews, that the bulk of the nation acknowledged the younger; and, since *Attila* was obliged to retire, it is not at all likely, that the elder brother, supported by him, got the better of the younger, supported by the *Romans*, by whom *Attila* was overcome and forced to abandon *Gaul*. The king of the *Franks* had, according to *Gregory* of *Tours* (7), a share in the victory; and in history we find no mention made of any but *Merovæus*, who in 451. could be styled king of the *Franks*. *Gregory* of *Tours* knew of no other king between him and *Clodio*, who died before the irruption of the *Hunns*. We must therefore either suppose *Merovæus* not to have begun his reign in 448. but only in 451. and consequently bring in another king between him and *Clodio*, for which there is not the least foundation in history, or allow *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*. Father *Le Cointe* allows *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*; but will have him to have been the elder brother, and adds, that he was acknowledged king; that the younger brother had recourse to the *Romans* and to *Attila*; and that the *Romans*, hearing *Attila* was coming with a formidable army, abandoned the younger brother, and declared for the elder, who thereupon sided with the *Romans* against *Attila* (8). But is it at all probable, that *Merovæus* would have dared to abandon, nay, to betray *Attila*, at a time when all nations, the *Romans* not excepted, trembled at his name? Besides, it is certain, that *Attila* was assisted by the *Franks*, and that several of that nation served in his army (9). The above-mentioned writer could not persuade himself that the younger son of *Clodio*, who was a beardless youth when he came to *Rome*, was the father of *Childeric*, who, as early as the year 456. had abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery; and this is what induced him to embrace the aforesaid opinion. Some chronologers suppose the son of *Clodio* to have gone to *Rome* in 439 and others place his journey to that metropolis still later. If in 439. he was eighteen, he might have had *Childeric* in 440. *Le Cointe* places the beginning of the reign of *Childeric* in 456. and *Valesius* in 458. when that prince, then eighteen years old, might well have been guilty of all the debaucheries, which, by historians, are laid to his charge. Besides, we are not told, that he abandoned himself to a debauched life as soon as he ascended the throne: so that the chief argument with which *Le Cointe* strives to support his opinion is of no weight. The only proof of any strength, that can be alledged in favour of the opinion denying *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*, is the name of *Merovingian*, which was given to his successors; for if they were descended from *Clodio*, as well as from him, why did they take their name rather from him than from *Clodio*? But that name is not given by *Gregory* of *Tours* to the kings of his time, nor is it to be found in any writer till near two hundred years after *Merovæus*'s time; and some authors will have it to have been common to the *Franks* in general. Those, who maintain *Merovæus* not to have been the son of *Clodio*, must at the same time suppose, with *Du Chesne*, that both the sons of *Clodio* were by him excluded from the throne; that this happened after the defeat of *Attila*; that is, after the year 451. and that the *Romans* suffered it, though they had espoused the cause of *Merovæus*, finding they could reap no advantage from a war with the usurper (10). As for the fables related by *Fredegarius* on the birth of *Merovæus*, it would be degrading our history to allow them a place in it (11); and with them are much of a piece those we read in the annals of *Hainault*, by *du Guise*, though *Bucherius* thinks them agreeable to what we find in *Priscus*. It is surprising, that a man of his learning and penetration should reason on that subject in the manner he does (12): he surely must never have perused the original *Greek* copy of *Priscus*.

(1) *Greg. Tur. hist. Fran. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *p.* 65. (2) *Prisc. legat. p.* 40. (3) *Du Ch. p.* 14. (4) *Val. p.* 145. *Buch. Belg. p.* 505. (5) *Prisc. p.* 40. (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Greg. Tur. l.* ii. *c.* 8. *p.* 56. (8) *Coint. p.* 72. (9) *Sid. car.* vii. *p.* 541. (10) *Du Ch. p.* 14. (11) *Vide Val. p.* 144. (12) *Buch. p.* 506.

tila, attempting to pass the *Rhine*, in order to enter *Gaul*, was opposed by *Merovæus*, a at the head of the *Franks* who had espoused his cause against his competitor. *Childeric* no sooner ascended the throne, than he began to think of inlarging his dominions, the more, as *Aetius*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, was now dead. He is said to have extended his conquests as far as the *Loire*, and to have reduced the city of *Paris*, after a siege, according to some, of five, according to others, of ten years[f]. In the year 470. he made himself master of *Angers*, after having killed count *Paul* the *Roman* governor of the place[g]. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*, without acquainting us how count *Paul* and *Childeric* came to fall out; for he had told us, a few lines before, that the *Roman* general, with the assistance of the *Franks*, had made war on the *Goths* and gained some advantages over them. *Bucherius* thinks, that b the *Romans* and *Franks* were overcome by the *Goths*; and founds his opinion upon the authority of *Sidonius*, who writes, without marking any time, that the *Franks* were defeated and put to flight by *Euric* king of the *Goths*[h]. The same author adds, that *Euric*, after having overcome the *Franks*, entered into an alliance with them[i]; and elsewhere, that he gave his daughter in marriage to one *Sigismer*, a barbarian prince[k], whom *Valesius* takes to have been a *Frank*[l]. This alliance between the *Goths* and the *Franks* induced, in all likelihood, *Childeric* to turn his arms against the *Romans*, and seize on the city of *Angers*, at that time belonging to them. He likewise made himself master of *Orleans*, after having defeated one *Odoacer*, who came with a body of *Saxons* to the relief of the place[m]. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, c that *Childeric*, entering into an alliance with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, marched against the *Alemans*, who had entered that country and gave them a total overthrow. Soon after his return to *Gaul*, he died at *Ternacum*, now *Tournay*, where his remains were discovered in 1653. with many gold coins of the *Roman* emperors, and other things of great curiosity and value; among which was the king's signet, with the inscription *Childerici regis*, and his image engraved on it, with his long hair covering both his shoulders, and a dart in his right-hand. But of this discovery the curious reader will find a minute and learned account in the *Anastasis Childerici*, which *Chifletius* wrote in 1655. by order of the archduke *Leopold*, at that time governor of the *Low-coun-* d *tries* for *Philip* IV. king of *Spain*[n]. *Childeric*, in the beginning of his reign, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, loading at the same time his subjects with exorbitant taxes and impositions, to supply his extravagant expences. Hereupon some of those, whose wives and daughters he had debauched, revolting, drove him from the throne. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, foreseeing the storm, he prudently withdrew of his own accord, and retired into the territory of *Tongres*, where he continued, till, his subjects returning to their duty, which was chiefly owing to his trusty friend *Wiomald*, he was recalled and restored to the throne. During his absence, the *Franks* submitted to *Ægidius*, by nation a *Gaul*, but commander of the *Roman* troops in that country[o], whom, upon the return of *Childeric*, they easily drove out, and received their lawful sovereign with the greatest marks of joy imaginable (F). e

He extends his conquests to the Loire.

He dies.

Frede-

[f] Bolland. 3. Jan. p. 140. [g] Greg. Tur. p. 282. [h] Sid. l. vii. ep. 3. p. 285. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p. 215. [l] Val. p. 219, 220. [m] Du Ch. p. 697, 802. [n] Anastasis Childerici, per Chifflet. Antwerpiæ, 1655. [o] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. Papir. Masson. annal. l. i. p. 13.

(F) This event is thus related by *Gregory* of *Tours*: *Childeric*, by seducing the daughters of his subjects, provoked them to such a degree, that, fearing he should be assassinated by them, he thought it advisable to abandon his kingdom and retire. He therefore withdrew into the country of the *Thuringians*; but left behind him a trusty friend to mollify the exulcerated minds of his people, and dispose them to receive again their lawful sovereign. Upon his departure he cut in two a piece of gold, whereof he took one part with him, and left the other with his friend, to be sent to him, as a token, that he might return without the least apprehension of danger. After this he withdrew and took refuge in *Thuringia*, living as a private person in the court of king *Basinus* and queen *Basina* his wife. *Childeric* being thus withdrawn, the *Franks* with one consent chose *Ægidius* for their governor, who had been raised by the emperor to the post of *magister militiæ*, or commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*. While *Ægidius* was in the eighth year of his reign, *Childeric*'s faithful friend, having privately and by degrees reconciled the minds of the *Franks* to his master, dispatched a messenger to him with the piece of gold, which he had kept. *Childeric*, understanding, from that token, that his subjects were ready to receive him, left *Thuringia*, and, returning home, was restored to the throne (13). Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*, who was born about sixty-three years after the death of *Childeric*, and consequently must have been acquainted with several persons who had conversed, at least, with his contemporaries, and, probably, knew some who had seen *Childeric* himself: so that it can hardly be supposed, that he was not well informed of such remarkable events as the deposition and restoration of the king of the *Franks*, and

(13) *Greg. Tur. l.* ii. *c.* 12.

a *Fredegarius*, in his epitome of the history of the *Franks*, tells us, that *Childeric*, being driven from the throne, fled to *Constantinople*, to implore the protection of the emperor *Mauritius*, and returned from thence by sea into *Gaul*. A strange anachronism! *Mauritius* having been raised to the imperial throne near an hundred years after the flight of *Childeric*. *Wilthomius*, in his chronicle written in the year 810. reads *Martianus* instead of *Mauritius*; but, according to the best chronologers, *Martian* died in 457. whereas *Childeric* either fled, or was driven out, in the year 461. and restored eight years after. Besides, *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived in the next age, takes no notice of his journey to *Constantinople*; and *Aimonius* expressly tells us, that he kept at a small distance from his own dominions, not doubting but *Wiomald* would, by some b means or other, appease his subjects, and procure his return [P]. He was received in his

[P] Aimon. l. i. c. 7.

and the chusing of *Ægidius* to reign in his room. And yet father *Daniel* looks upon this account as altogether incredible and fabulous: he thinks, that the conduct of the *Franks*, had they chosen *Ægidius* for their king, would have been no less unaccountable than that of the *Turks* in 1687. if, after deposing *Mahomet* IV. they had raised to the throne prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, who then commanded the emperor's army in *Hungary*, and owed all his glory to the advantages he had gained over them. Is it at all likely, says he, that the *Franks*, who were barbarians and pagans, should chuse for their king a *Roman*, and one who professed the christian religion; and supposing they had to such a *Roman* offered the crown, would not he, thro' fear of incurring the emperor's indignation, have rejected their offer? But in those days we find several instances of pagans acknowledging and obeying christian princes, and of pagan princes ruling over those who professed the christian religion. As to the jealousy, which his accepting that dignity might have given to the emperor, *Majorianus* reposed an entire confidence in *Ægidius*; and besides, the crown, which the *Franks* placed upon his head, was but a small addition to the power and honours he enjoyed before, as *magister militiæ*, which employment raised him above all the kings of the barbarians, whom he commanded accordingly in the field. The title of king was no great thing in those times, since it was given not only to all the chiefs of the barbarians, but to the different leaders of many tribes, into which each nation was divided. *Ennodius*, bishop of *Pavia*, who flourished in the fifth century, speaking of the army which *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* led against the barbarians, says, that the country, in which that prince encamped, could hardly supply with provisions so many soldiers as he had kings in his army (13). The title of king, therefore, which the *Franks* bestowed on *Ægidius*, could give no jealousy to the emperor: it was far inferior to that of *magister militiæ*, which he bore already, and with which the greatest kings among the barbarians thought themselves greatly honoured. Nay, *Majorianus*, who reposed an intire confidence in *Ægidius*, must have been highly pleased to hear, that the *Franks* had submitted to him, which, in effect, was submitting to the empire. The *Franks* did not then wage war with the *Romans*, but were their confederates, and had often served in their armies under the conduct of *Ægidius*, whose probity and moderation could not, by that means, be unknown to them; so that every one must be well apprised of the wide difference between their chusing him and the *Turks* chusing *Charles* of *Lorrain*, for their king. But the circumstances, adds father *Daniel*, attending the deposition of *Childeric*, and election of *Ægidius*, are evidently fabulous. This we allow to be true, speaking of the circumstances that have been added to those events by later writers; but, in the account *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us of them, nothing occurs that to us seems childish, to use father *Daniel*'s expression, or incredible. *Gregory* of *Tours* is not accountable, and much less are we, for the fables which later writers have been pleased to add to his relation. Is an event related, we may say, by a contemporary writer, to be deemed fabulous, because others, who wrote after, have added to it several fabulous circumstances? How many uncontested events have been thus disfiguered, and turned into fables? As for the silence of the contemporary writers on which father *Daniel* lays great stress, the flourished at that time but two, *viz.* *Idatius* and *Apollinaris Sidonius*, of whom the former, who wrote in *Spain*, at that time over-run by the barbarians, was not perhaps informed of what passed among the *Franks* in *Gaul*, or, if he was, he did not think proper to insert in his chronicle an event that no-ways concerned his countrymen; for, in the affairs of *Gaul*, he is so concise, as to give, in in one line, an account of the most memorable battles and sieges that happened there. As for *Sidonius*, he did not write the history of those times, but only speaks of some events occasionally; and his subject did not lead him to mention the deposing of *Childeric* by the *Franks*, and their chusing *Ægidius* in his room. The only objection of any weight that can be brought against the account of *Gregory* of *Tours*, is in point of chronology. It is certain, that *Ægidius* was *magister militiæ* when he was chosen by the *Franks* for their king; that *Majorianus* was then acknowledged emperor in *Gaul*; and that he was not acknowledged there before the latter-end of the year 458. On the other hand it is no less certain, that *Childeric* was restored before the death of *Ægidius*; and that *Ægidius* died in 464. the fifth year after the deposition of *Childeric*. *Gregory* of *Tours* therefore was certainly mistaken, in supposing *Ægidius* to have reigned eight years over the *Franks*. This mistake in point of chronology has induced father *Daniel* to question the whole account *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us of the deposition of *Childeric*, and election of *Ægidius*. But might not this mistake have crept into the text of our historian through the ignorance or carelessness of the transcribers? It is owned by all the critics, that in several other passages the numbers have been altered by the transcribers; and this they cannot help owning, without supposing *Gregory* of *Tours* to have contradicted himself. Why then may not the mistake as to the years of *Childeric*'s exile be likewise charged upon the transcribers? the more, as in all the ancient manuscript copies the numbers are written in arithmetical figures, which are very liable to be altered. But allowing *Gregory* of *Tours* to have been mistaken as to the years *Ægidius* reigned, can we infer from thence, that he did not reign at all? Are not the best historians sometimes grossly mistaken in doint of chronology?

(13) *Ennod. in pan. Theod.*

his own territories by the inhabitants of *Barrum*, who went out to meet him, and were, on that account, exempted from all tribute, which immunity they enjoyed for many years. This *Barrum Franchett* will have to be *Barrum ducis*, or *Bar le duc*; *Belleforeſt* to be *Bar* on the *Seine*; while *Uredius* and *Chiffletius* take it to be a place in *Brabant* or *Holland*; for they are of opinion, that *Childeric* took ſhelter, not in *Tungria*, but in *Thuringia*, as we read it in *Gregory* of *Tours*; but that writer, or his tranſcriber, often confounds theſe two countries (G). Whatever place he came from, he was ſoon followed by *Baſina* the wife of king *Baſinus*, by whom he had been entertained during his exile. Some *French* hiſtorians would make us believe, that ſhe abandoned her huſband to follow *Childeric*, being taken with his good qualities. But the anſwer ſhe gave to *Childeric*, when aſked by him for what reaſon ſhe had left her huſband to follow him, ſeems to inſinuate, though related by *Gregory* of *Tours* in the moſt modeſt terms, that ſhe was not ſo much taken with his good qualities, as with the abilities of another kind, which ſhe had diſcovered in him (H). Be that as it will, *Childeric* married her, and had by her *Clodovæus*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom[q].

Clodovæus. *Year after Chriſt* 482.

Clodovæus, called alſo *Hlüdovicus*, *Ludovicus*, *Ludicin*, and *Clovis*, was no ſooner raiſed to the throne, than he began to think of inlarging his dominions, which, according to the beſt writers, extended only from the *Wahal* to the city of *Tournay*. That *Childeric* was, at his death, maſter of *Tournay*, cannot be queſtioned, ſince he was interred there; and, on the other hand, we know for certain, that *Clovis* reſided at *Tournay* during the firſt years of his reign[r]. The kingdom, therefore, to which he ſucceeded, was bounded on the north by the *Wahal*; on the eaſt by the city of *Tongres*, which belonged to another tribe of *Franks*, and was not reduced by *Clovis* till the tenth year of his reign, as *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us in expreſs terms; on the ſouth by the kingdom of *Ragnacharius*, who held *Cambray*; on the weſt by the kingdom of *Chararic*, commonly placed between the *Eſcault* and the ocean. *Ragnacharius* and *Chararic* were likewiſe kings of the *Franks*, but ruled over different tribes, and were quite independent of *Clovis*, as well as of each other. The other provinces of *Gaul* were held by the *Romans*, by the *Viſigoths*, and by the *Burgundians*, who all lorded it over the unhappy natives. *Clovis*, reſolved to inlarge his dominions, and perhaps, as his ambition knew no bounds, he being then but in the twentieth year of his age, aſpired at nothing leſs than the monarchy of all *Gaul*, thought it adviſeable to begin with the *Romans*, who, by the downfal of the weſtern empire, were reduced to the loweſt ebb of power. *Syagrius*, the ſon of *Ægidius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, held the city of *Soiſſons*. He had ſucceeded his father in the government of that city, and perhaps had made himſelf abſolute maſter of it during the anarchy which had prevailed in *Gaul*, upon the downfal of the weſtern empire, ſince he is, by *Gregory* of *Tours*, diſtinguiſhed with the title of king[s]. However that be, *Clovis*, being reſolved to reduce that city, invited *Chararic* and *Ragnacharius* to aſſiſt him in the enterprize, which the latter readily did; but *Chararic* declined being

He makes war upon Syagrius. *Year after Chriſt* 487.

[q] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 12. [r] Vide DU CH. tom. i. p. 632. [s] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 27.

(G) A modern critic (14) is of opinion, that the words *Tungria* and *Thuringia* were uſed by thoſe who tranſcribed the hiſtory of *Gregory* of *Tours*, as ſynonymous terms to expreſs one and the ſame country, *viz.* that of *Tongres*. *Morel*, who in 1561. publiſhed the ſecond edition of the hiſtory of *Gregory* of *Tours*, writes, that in an ancient manuſcript of that hiſtorian he found the following words: Diſpargum, *which ſtands on the borders of the* Tungrians *or* Thuringians; and father *Ruinart*, a moſt accurate writer, quotes two manuſcript copies of the hiſtory of *Gregory* of *Tours*, *viz.* that which was made uſe of by the firſt editor of that hiſtory, and another lodged in the abbey of *Royaumont*, in both which the *Franks* are ſaid to have ſettled in *Thuringia* after they had paſſed the *Rhine*; which evidently proves, that by *Thuringia* was meant *Tungria*, or the country of *Tongres*, lying on the *Roman* ſide of the *Rhine*; for there they ſettled after having croſſed that river.

(H) The words of *Gregory* of *Tours* are: *His ergo regnantibus ſimul, Baſina illa, quam ſupra memoravimus, relicto viro ſuo, ad Childericum venit. Qui cum ſolicite interrogaret, qua de cauſa ad eum de tanta regione veniſſet, reſpondiſſe fertur: Novi, inquit, utilitatem tuam, quod ſis valde ſtrenuus; ideoque veni, ut habitem tecum. Nam noveris, ſi in tranſmarinis partibus aliquem cognoviſſem utiliorem te, expetiſſem utique cohabitationem ejus. At ille gaudens eam ſibi conjugio copulavit.* Is not the meaning of theſe words, *novi utilitatem tuam*, &c. as plain as a modeſt writer could well make it, and very different from that which *Dubos*, in his *critical hiſtory of the* French *monarchy*, would obtrude upon us? *viz.* Becauſe I know you are a man of honour, of courage, and worthy of my affections: had there been a more deſerving man in the world, I ſhould have croſſed the ſeas in queſt of him, *&c.* (15). Is this ſpeech conſiſtent with the character of a woman who had broken her conjugal faith, and abandoned her huſband to cohabit with another man?

(14) *Dubos, hiſt. critic. vol.* i. *c.* 7. *p.* 339.

(15) *Idem ibid. vol.* xi. *c.* 6. *p.* 86.

a being any-ways concerned in that war, with a design, says *Gregory* of *Tours*, to join the prince who should prevail over the other[k]. *Clovis* was no sooner joined by *Ragnacharius*, whom our historian calls his kinsman, than he set out on his march for *Soissons*, and, arriving with his army in the neighbourhood of that city, he sent a messenger to *Syagrius*, offering him battle. *Syagrius*, accepting the challenge, marched into a neighbouring plain, where the two armies engaged. The combat lasted some time; but the *Romans* being in the end put to flight, *Syagrius*, from the field of battle, fled to *Tholouse*, and there took refuge at the court of *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*; which *Clovis* no sooner understood, than he dispatched embassadors to *Alaric*, threatening to make war upon him, if he did not forthwith deliver the fugitive *Roman* into his hands. *Alaric*, unwilling to provoke the king of the *Franks*, ordered b *Syagrius* to be immediately delivered up to the embassadors; upon whose return he was, by *Clovis*'s order, kept under close confinement, till that prince had reduced *Soissons*, and then privately beheaded[l]. *Clovis*, now master of *Soissons*, transferred his royal seat from *Tournay* to that city[m]. He afterwards waged several wars, says *Gregory* of *Tours*; and in the tenth year of his reign subdued the *Thuringians*, meaning, without all doubt, the *Tongrians*; for *Thuringia* lay on the other side of the *Rhine*, at a great distance from his dominions, and separated from them by the countries which the *Alemans* held on the one side of that river, and the *Franks*, called *Ripuarians*, on the other, who had a king of their own. It is therefore passed all c doubt, that the country, said by our historian to have been subdued by *Clovis*, in the tenth year of his reign, was the city of *Tongres* and its territory, which bordered on the territory of *Tournay*, and opened a free communication between his dominions and those of *Sigebert*, king of the *Ripuarians* and his kinsman; for the *Ripuarians* held *Cologne*, and were masters of the country between the *Lower Rhine* and the *Lower Meuse*. *Tongria*, when reduced by *Clovis*, was held, according to the most probable opinion, by another tribe of *Franks*, who had settled there some time before. The same year *Clovis* married *Clothildis*, or *Chrothechildis*, as she is called by *Gregory* of *Tours*, the daughter of *Childeric*, king of the *Burgundians*, who had been murdered some years before by his brother *Gundebald*, as we shall relate in the d history of that nation. Of this marriage, *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: The embassadors, whom *Clovis* had often occasion to send to the court of the king of the *Burgundians*, during their abode there, took particular notice of a young woman named *Chrothechildis*, and, being charmed with her beauty, her wisdom, and her engaging behaviour, and at the same time informed, that she was of the blood royal, upon their return home, they gave the king an high idea of her good qualities, which made so deep an impression on his mind, that, soon after, he sent embassadors to king *Gundebald*, asking her in marriage. *Gundebald*, afraid to disoblige the king of the *Franks*, granted him his request, delivering the young princess to his embassadors, who immediately conveyed her to their master. The king was so e taken with her beauty and amiable qualities, that he immediately married her, tho' he had already, by a concubine, a son named *Theodoric*[n]. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*: but the epitomiser of the history of the *Franks*, and the author of the *Gests of the* Franks, add several circumstances which seem to have been unknown to our historian. The account they give us is as follows: *Clovis*, desiring to marry *Clothildis*, often sent embassadors to the court of the king of the *Burgundians*; but these finding no opportunity to speak to her, he charged a *Roman*, by name *Aurelian*, to wait upon her, and, by conversing with her, to discover her real sentiments, delivering to him one of his rings by way of credentials. *Aurelian*, the better to execute his commission, went in the disguise of a beggar to *Geneva*, where *Clothildis* then resided with her sister. f The two young princesses, who spent most of their time in acts of charity and hospitality, entertaining all the poor who came to the place, received *Aurelian* among the rest, and conducted him to the place where they used to wash the feet of the poor pilgrims and beggars, according to a custom which then prevailed, as it still does in some places of *Italy*. This gave *Aurelian* an opportunity of speaking to *Clothildis*, and letting her know, that he had been sent by the king of the *Franks*, who, being informed of her good qualities by his embassadors, begged she would give him leave to ask her in marriage. At the same time, he delivered to her the ring as a certain

He defeats Syagrius, *and reduces* Soissons.

He makes himself master of the city and territory of Tongres.

He marries Clothildis.

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 27. [m] Hincmar. in vit. S. Remig. [n] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28.

tain token of his embaſſy. The young princeſs received the ring with great joy, and returning thanks to the king for the good opinion he entertained of her, and the honour he deſigned her, readily conſented to the propoſal; but at the ſame time deſired *Aurelian* to acquaint his maſter, that unleſs the whole was concluded before the return of *Aridius*, who had been ſent to *Conſtantinople* by her uncle *Gundebald*, he would leave no ſtone unturned to put a ſtop to their intended marriage. In taking her leave of the embaſſador, ſhe pulled off her ring, and, delivering it to him, deſired him to preſent it, in her name, to the king, as a token of the affection and eſteem ſhe had for ſo great a prince. *Aurelian*, returning without delay to *Soiſſons*, delivered the ring to *Clovis*, acquainting him at the ſame time with the anſwer *Clothildis* had given him. Hereupon the king immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Gundebald*, demanding his niece in marriage. The king of the *Burgundians* was not inclined to the match, but nevertheleſs, through fear of diſobliging ſo powerful a prince, granted him his requeſt; ſo that *Clothildis* was immediately betrothed to *Clovis*, and, after that ceremony was over, delivered to the embaſſadors, to be conveyed by them to their maſter. The embaſſadors ſet out without loſs of time; but were ſcarce gone, when news was brought, that *Aridius* was landed at *Marſeilles*. Hereupon *Clothildis*, quitting her chariot, mounted on horſeback, and, purſuing her journey with all poſſible expedition, arrived at the place where *Clovis* waited for her. In the mean time *Aridius*, who, on his landing, had been informed of the marriage, flew to court, and, by remonſtrating to the king the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a match, *viz.* that *Clothildis*, mindful of the murder of her father and brothers, would, one day or other, prevail upon her huſband to revenge their death, perſuaded *Gundebald*, by whoſe orders they had been aſſaſſinated, to diſpatch immediately a body of troops, with orders to bring back *Clothildis*. But ſhe had already reached *Villers*, a place in the territory of *Troyes*, and in that city *Clovis* waited for his royal bride. However, the ſoldiers ſent by *Gundebald* ſeized on her chariot and equipage. Thus the epitomizer of the hiſtory of the *Franks*[n], with whom the author of the *Geſts of the* Franks agrees in the main[o]; but as *Gregory* of *Tours*, whom we may call a contemporary writer, takes no notice of the particulars related by them, we cannot help looking upon them as doubtful, if not fabulous.

A few years after, the *Alemans*, one of the moſt powerful nations in *Germany*, having paſſed the *Rhine*, broke unexpectedly into *Germania Secunda*, held at that time by the *Franks* called *Ripuarians*, who had *Sigebert* for their king. That prince drew together what forces he could; but not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt ſo numerous an army with his own troops, he had recourſe to *Clovis*, who readily joined him, being glad to lay hold of every opportunity that offered to ſignalize himſelf and inure his men to the fatigues and dangers of war. The two kings, after their conjunction, marched againſt the *Alemans*, and engaged them at a village called *Tolbiacum*, thought to be the preſent *Zulpick*, about twelves miles from *Cologne*. The battle proved very bloody, both parties exerting their utmoſt efforts; but in the end, king *Sigebert* receiving a wound in his leg, of which he ever after continued lame, the *Franks* began to give ground; which *Clovis* no ſooner perceived, than, lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſays *Gregory* of *Tours*, he implored the aſſiſtance of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who, *Clothildis* had often told him, was the ſon of God, and never failed to aſſiſt thoſe in diſtreſs who put their confidence in him, promiſing at the ſame time to believe in him, and be baptized, if, by granting him a victory, he convinced him of his divine power. He had ſcarce made this promiſe, when the *Alemans*, notwithſtanding the advantage they had gained, betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. In this battle their king was killed, and with him moſt of their chief men; which ſo diſheartened them, that they ſubmitted to *Clovis* and acknowledged him for their king. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*[p]; whoſe words have induced ſome to believe, that the whole nation of the *Alemans* ſubmitted to the king of the *Franks*. But that writer muſt be underſtood only of ſuch of that nation as had been formerly allowed to continue in the places of *Gaul* which they had ſeized. For it is certain, that numbers of them had recourſe to *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, who took them under his protection and permitted them to ſettle in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, then ſubject to him. Nay, that prince wrote to the inhabitants of *Noricum*, injoining them to ſupply ſuch of the *Alemans*, as were not willing to continue there, with freſh

He overthrows the Alemans.

[n] Hiſt. Fran. epit. c. 19, 20. [o] Geſt. Franc. c. 11. [p] Greg. tur. l. ii. c. 30.

a fresh oxen to draw their waggons, taking, in exchange, their oxen fatigued with so long a march [q]. This letter has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*, with another which *Theodoric* wrote to *Clovis*, exhorting him to give over pursuing the flying *Alemans*, especially those who had taken refuge in his dominions [r]. In this letter, after congratulating the king of the *Franks* on the victory he had gained over so numerous and warlike a nation, and intreating him to spare the remains of that unhappy people, he tells him, that he had sent embassadors to impart to him, by word of mouth, several affairs of the greatest importance, and disclose to him some secrets, which it greatly concerned him to know. These secrets perhaps related to
b the conditions of the treaty, which about this time the king of the *Burgundians* concluded with the emperor *Anastasius*; and it is not improbable, that *Theodoric*, who was at variance with the emperor, should propose now that offensive alliance against the *Burgundians*, which they concluded three years after, as we shall relate anon. *Clovis*, it seems, at the request of *Theodoric*, who had married his sister *Audefleda*, gave over pursuing the *Alemans*; of whom part settled in the provinces of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, and part was, by *Theodoric*, transplanted into *Italy*, as appears from the panegyric of *Ennodius* on that prince, where he tells us, that, under *Theodoric*, *Italy* was guarded by the *Alemans*, who had formerly plundered it; and that unhappy nation, after having lost their king and been driven from their native country, were become the subjects of a generous and good-natured prince, who had given them a
c far better country than that which they had been forced to abandon [s]. Such of the *Alemans*, as settled in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, continued subject to the kings of *Italy*, till the *Ostrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of that country. From what we have said, it appears, that the *Alemans* received a total overthrow at *Tolbiac*, since, after the battle, they were quite driven out of their country by the two confederate kings of the *Franks*. The *Alemans* in *Gaul*, masters of a considerable part of the present *Switzerland*, submitted to *Clovis*, as we have hinted above, and acknowledged him for their king. Some of that nation had likewise settled in *Alsace*, and of that country too *Clovis* made himself master on this occasion, and likewise of the city of *Basle*; for, among the bishops who subscribed to
d the first council of *Orleans* held by order of *Clovis* in 511. we find the name of *Adelphius* bishop of *Basle*; and it is well known, that bishops were not allowed, in those days, to assist in councils that met in places not subject to their prince.

And makes himself master of the country they possessed in Gaul.

Clovis no sooner returned from pursuing the fugitives, than he acquainted the queen with the vow or promise he had made, acknowledging at the same time, that the victory he had acquired was owing to it. Hereupon *Clothildis*, without loss of time, dispatched a messenger to *Remigius* bishop of *Rheims*, acquainting him with what had happened, and intreating him to hasten to court, in order to instruct the king in the mysteries of the christian religion. *Clovis* received the holy prelate with the greatest marks of respect and esteem; but being informed, in the several private conferences
e he had with him, that he must, in the first place, renounce the worship of the gods he had till then adored, he told the bishop, that he was ready to comply with his instructions, but being afraid, lest the *Franks*, attached to the religion of their forefathers, might thence be prompted to revolt, he begged leave to acquaint them first with his design, and to try, whether the arguments, that had convinced him, might not be of equal weight with them. Having therefore, with this view, assembled the *Franks*, he no sooner began to speak, than they all cried out, with one voice, We renounce the worship of the false gods, and are ready to acknowledge the God whom the bishop of *Rheims* preaches. Hereupon the holy prelate, transported
f with joy, ordered every thing to be got ready for the baptizing of the king, and the ceremony was performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity. When the bishop was upon the point of administring the sacrament, he addressed the king thus: *Bow your head with humility, O* Sicambrian; *adore what you formerly burnt, and burn what you formerly adored.* *Remigius*, adds *Gregory* of *Tours*, from whom we have copied this whole account, was, by all his contemporaries, held in great veneration for the holiness of his life; nay, he was even said to have raised one from the dead [t]. With *Clovis* were baptized, according to the same writer, three thousand of his subjects able to bear arms, and one of his sisters, named *Albofleda*. At the same time, another

The conversion and baptism of Clovis. *Year after Christ* 497.

[q] Cassiodor. var. l. ii. ep. 50. [r] Idem ibid. ep 51. [s] Ennod. in pan. Theodor. [t] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 31.

other ſiſter, by name *Lantildis*, renounced the errors of *Arius*, and was received into the church. *Albofleda* died a few days after ſhe had been baptized; and upon her death *Remigius* wrote a conſolatory letter to the king, whereof the beginning has been tranſmitted to us by *Gregory* of *Tours*[u], and ſome fragments of it gathered from other writers by *Du Cheſne*[w], to whom we refer the reader. *Clovis* was not baptized during the ſolemnity of *Eaſter*, as *Hincmar*[x] and *Flodoard* have written[y]; but in that of *Chriſtmas*, as is evident from the latter which *Alcimus Avitus*, biſhop of *Vienne* wrote to *Clovis*, congratulating him upon his converſion. The epitomizer of the hiſtory of the *Franks* tells us, that *Remigius* having preached, to *Clovis* and thoſe who had been baptized with him, a ſermon on the paſſion of our Saviour, the king, in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, *If I had been there with my* Franks, *that ſhould not have happened*[z]. Before his converſion, he had two ſons by *Clotbildis*, of whom the eldeſt, named *Ingomer*, was baptized, by the care of his pious mother, but died a few days after; which greatly provoked the king, who aſcribed his death to his being offered to the God of *Clotbildis*, and not to thoſe of his forefathers. However, the zealous queen cauſed the other likewiſe, by name *Clodomire*, to be baptized, who ſoon after was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, which incenſed the king anew againſt his conſort; but the child recovered, and the queen never ceaſed to preach to her huſband the true God, whom ſhe adored, till, with the miraculous aſſiſtance of Heaven, ſhe brought about his converſion[a]. From the whole account of the converſion and baptiſm of *Clovis*, which we have copied from *Gregory* of *Tours*, the reader muſt conclude him to have been, in religious matters, a very credulous writer; but, credulous as he is, he makes no mention of the *holy phial* ſaid to have been ſent from heaven, wherein is kept the oil with which the *French* kings are ſtill anointed at their coronation. Of this phial *Hincmar* gives us the following account: *Clovis* and St. *Remigius* were no ſooner entered into the baptiſtery, than all the avenues to it were ſo filled with the croud, that the eccleſiaſtic, who carried the holy oil, and was not gone in with them, could by no means find a way through the multitude. Hereupon the holy prelate, not finding the oil when he was to uſe it, had recourſe to heaven, begging with a ſhort, but fervent, prayer, that the want of what was neceſſary to accompliſh the ceremony might be ſupplied by ſome means or other. He had ſcarce done, when a dove, exceeding the very ſnow in whiteneſs, was ſeen carrying a phial filled with oil; which the biſhop had no ſooner received, than the dove diſappeared and was never afterwards ſeen. With this oil, *Remigius* anointed the king, and the odour it ſpread was ſweet beyond imagination or expreſſion[b]. Of all this, not a word in *Gregory* of *Tours*, though a great believer of miracles; which plainly ſhews, that in his time this fable was not yet invented. It is to be obſerved, that *Clovis* was at this time the only catholic prince in the *Roman* world. *Anaſtaſius*, emperor of the eaſt, was greatly inclined to the doctrine of *Arius*. *Theodoric*, king of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*, *Alaric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, maſter of almoſt all *Spain*, and of the third part of *Gaul*, the king of the *Burgundians*, and the king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, were avowed and zealous followers of that hereſiarch: as for the other kings of the *Franks* ſettled in *Gaul*, they were ſtill pagans. No wonder therefore, that not only *Anaſtaſius* II. then biſhop of *Rome*, but ſeveral other biſhops, though ſubject to different princes, wrote to the king of the *Franks*, congratulating him on his converſion, and teſtifying their joy for ſo happy an event[c].

The holy phial.

The Armorici *ſubmit to* Clovis.

But to return to the military atchievements of *Clovis*: the year after his converſion, the *Armorici*, that is, the people dwelling on the coaſt of the ocean between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, who had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke, and formed themſelves into a republic, ſubmitted of their own accord to *Clovis*, and became one nation with the *Franks*[d]. Hereupon the *Roman* troops, that were ſtill in *Gaul*, finding themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemies of the empire, and not caring to ſerve under the *Arians*, ſays *Procopius*, that is, the *Burgundians* and *Viſigoths*, capitulated with the *Franks* and *Armorici*, and, ſurrendering to them the places they held, entered into their ſervice. Theſe, adds *Procopius*, ſtill obſerve, both in their attire and manner of marching and fighting, the ancient cuſtoms and diſcipline of the *Romans*[e].

The end of the Roman *dominions in* Gaul.

Thus ended the dominion of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, after they had been maſters of that

Year after Chriſt 498.

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Du Ch. tom. 1. p. 849. [x] Hincmar. vit. Remig. [y] Flod. hiſt. eccleſ. Rem. l. i. c. 13. [z] Hiſt. Franc. epit. c. 22. [a] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 29. [b] Hincmar. in vit. Remig. [c] Vide Le Cointe ann. eccleſ. Franc. tom. i. p. 194. & epiſt. Avit. ep. 41. edit. Sirmond. p. 94. [d] Procop. bell. Goth. c. 12. [e] Idem ibid.

a that country for the space of five hundred years and upwards, which was now held by three different nations, *viz.* the *Franks*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Burgundians*. To the above-mentioned union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Procopius*, who flourished soon after, ascribes the great power which the *Franks* had already attained in his time (H). The year after the union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Theodorit*, king of *Italy*, being resolved to make war on the *Burgundians*, in order to recover that part of *Gaul* which was held by them, and had been formerly subject to *Rome*, entered into an offensive alliance with *Clovis*, at that time the most powerful prince in *Gaul*. In virtue of this treaty, they were to fall upon the king of the *Burgundians* at the same time, and, if attended with success, divide his dominions between them: b if either of them should fail to take the field at the time appointed, and the other, by that means, be obliged to fight alone against the king of the *Burgundians*, he, who had not fulfilled his engagement, should pay to the other a certain sum, and not receive any share of the conquered king's dominions, till he had paid it [f]. Of this war *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: At this time *Gundebald* and his brother *Godegiselus* reigned over the *Burgundians* who were masters of the countries lying on the *Rhône* and the *Saone*, and of the province of *Marseilles*. Both princes were *Arians*, as well as their subjects. However, as the two brothers were at variance, *Godegiselus* privately concluded an alliance with *Clovis*, whose troops were in great repute. The articles of this treaty were: That *Godegiselus* should, by some c means or other, get the whole power into his hands, and thereupon pay an annual tribute to the king of the *Franks*. Pursuant to this agreement, *Clovis* took the field, and in an hostile manner entered the dominions of *Gundebald*, who immediately dispatched a messenger to his brother, of whom he did not entertain the least jealousy or suspicion, intreating him to march without delay to his assistance, which *Godegiselus* promised to do; but, when the two armies joined battle, instead of affording him the promised assistance, he fell unexpectedly upon his brother's troops, who, finding themselves attacked at the same time in the front and the rear, betook themselves, after a faint opposition, to a precipitous flight. This battle was fought at *Divio*, now *Dijon*, on the *Ousche*; and from thence *Gundebald*, upon the defeat of his d army, fled to *Avenio*, now *Avignon*, and shut himself up in that city. Upon his flight *Godegiselus* seized on his dominions, and caused himself to be acknowledged at *Vienne*, the capital of his brother's kingdom [g]. *Clovis* pursued the fugitive king to *Avignon*, and laid close siege to that city, with a design to take him prisoner, and afterwards dispose of him as he and *Godegiselus* should think proper. But in the mean time, *Aredius*, or *Aridius*, one of *Gundebald*'s ministers, a person of extraordinary parts,

Clovis *enters into an offensive alliance with* Theodoric, *king of* Italy, *against the king of the* Burgundians.

He defeats Gundebald. *Year after Christ* 500.

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 32.

(H) the union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks* is founded chiefly on the authority of *Procopius*; but, in the text of that writer, the people, who submitted to the *Franks*, are called *Arborici*. However, all those, who have had occasion to speak of this event, read, as we have done, *Armorici* instead of *Arborici* (1); except father *Daniel*, who, contrary to the opinion of all those who wrote before him, maintains, that in the reign of *Clovis* there was a people in *Gaul* called *Arborici*. But, in the first place, that nation was utterly unknown to *Cluverius*, who, speaking of them, expresses himself thus: Who these *Arborici* were, no writer has been yet able to discover (2). Father *Daniel*, in the map which he has prefixed to his history, places them between the *Meuse*, the ocean, and the *Escault*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for in none of the notitias, or descriptions of *Gaul*, which have reached our times, and were composed under the last emperors, mention is made of the *Arborici*, who must have been a very numerous people, though all the other nations, inhabiting *Gaul* and *Belgica Secunda*, are there minutely described. *Apollinaris*, *Sidonius*, *Salvianus*, and *Avitus*, frequently enumerate the various nations that, in the fifth century, were settled in *Gaul*; but no mention is made of the *Armorici* by any of them. Besides, if the *Arborici* had dwelt in the country allotted them, by father *Daniel*, on the most distant borders of *Belgica Secunda*, how could their joining the *Franks* oblige, as we read in *Procopius*, the *Roman* troops, who guarded the *Loire*, to capitulate with *Clovis*? For these reasons, all those who have had occasion to speak of the *Armorici*, even after father *Daniel* published the first volume of his history, have read *Armorici* instead of *Arborici*; nay, *Hertius* (3), *Eccard* (4), and father *Lobineau* (5), cannot help expressing great surprise, that such an able writer as father *Daniel* should be guilty of so gross a mistake. Had he read *Procopius*, says *Eccard*, with more attention, he would himself have been convinced of his error. In the same passage we find, in the text of *Procopius*, *Eridianus* instead of *Rhodanus*, which mistake, as well as that of *Arborici* instead of *Armorici*, ought to be charged upon the transcribers, and not to the author, who had lived too long in *Italy* not to know, that the *Po* was a river of that country, and not of *Gaul*.

(1) *Vales. rer. Franc. tom.* i *p.* 278. *& not. Gall. p.* 44. *Vignier ancien état de la petite Bretagne. Cluver. Germ. l.* ii. *c.* 20. *p.* 226. (2) *Cluver. ibid.* (3) *Hert. notit. regn. Franc. veter. c.* 3. (3) *Eccard. leg. Franc. Sal. & Rip. p.* 208. (5) *Lobineau. hist. de Bretagne, p.* 16.

parts, and greatly attached to his maſter's intereſt, pretending to have abandoned him upon ſome diſguſt, went over to *Clovis*, and, being received by him with the greateſt marks of eſteem, he prevailed upon him by degrees, with arguments drawn from the uncertainty of fortune, to raiſe the ſiege of a place which he ſaid was impregnable, and content himſelf with a yearly tribute, which *Gundebald* readily agreed to pay him. *Clovis* was no ſooner returned to his dominions, than *Gundebald*, having aſſembled what forces he could, marched with all poſſible expedition to *Vienne*, where *Godegiſelus* then reſided, and, having got into the town, with a choſen body of men, through an aqueduct, at his firſt appearing, ſtruck the king and the garriſon with ſuch terror, that, believing the enemy maſter of the city, they only thought of ſaving themſelves in the churches. But *Godegiſelus* was, by his brother's orders, killed in his aſylum, with a biſhop who had there taken refuge with him. A ſmall body of *Franks*, who had remained with *Godegiſelus*, withdrew into a tower, with a deſign to defend themſelves there; but being in the end forced to ſubmit, *Gundebald* only diſarmed them, and ſent them thus diſarmed to *Alaric* king of the *Viſigoths*. But as for the ſenators and chief men, who had declared for *Godegiſelus*, he ordered them all to be put to death. *Gundebald*, continues our hiſtorian, being, by the death of his brother, become maſter of the whole country now known by the name of *Burgundy*, publiſhed a new code, containing ſeveral laws in favour of his *Roman* ſubjects, that they might be no longer oppreſſed by the *Burgundians* [h].

Gregory of *Tours*, in his account of this war, has omitted, as the reader muſt have obſerved, ſuch events as belonged to the hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths*; and, on the other hand, *Procopius* takes very little notice of thoſe that belonged to the hiſtory of the *Franks*. The former writer thought, perhaps, an account of what the *Oſtrogoths* performed in, or acquired by this war, foreign to his purpoſe; and the latter contented himſelf with a detail of thoſe events in which the *Oſtrogoths* were chiefly concerned; ſince, in this war, they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities in *Gaul*, which they ſtill held, when *Juſtinian*, whoſe wars with them he deſcribes, undertook to ſubdue them. The account he gives, after the concluſion of the above-mentioned treaty between the *Franks* and the *Oſtrogoths*, is as follows: Purſuant to this treaty, the king of the *Franks* took the field with a numerous army, and entered the territories of the *Burgundians* in an hoſtile manner. *Theodoric*, on the contrary, pretending to haſten his warlike preparations, ordered them privately to be carried on ſlowly, with a deſign to wait the iſſue of the firſt engagement between his ally and the king of the *Burgundians*. When the troops were, in the end, ready to take the field, he gave private orders to his generals to advance with ſlow marches, till ſuch time as they had received certain intelligence of the ſucceſs that had attended the *Franks*. If the *Franks* had defeated the *Burgundians*, the *Oſtrogoths* were to advance with all poſſible expedition; but to halt, and wait for further orders, if the *Burgundians* had gained the advantage. While the *Oſtrogoths*, therefore, were yet on their march, the *Franks* alone engaged and put to flight the common enemy, purſuing them to the fartheſt borders of their country, where they had ſeveral ſtrongholds, in which they ſhut themſelves up, abandoning the reſt of their territories to the conquerors. Upon the firſt news of this victory, *Theodoric*'s army marched, with all poſſible expedition, to join the *Franks*, and, alledging the badneſs of the roads, as an excuſe for their coming ſo late, offered to the king of the *Franks* the ſum, which, agreeable to the treaty, they had forfeited by their delay. *Clovis* accepted the offer, and, upon his receiving the money, divided with the *Oſtrogoths*, purſuant to the ſame treaty, the country he had conquered. The conduct of *Theodoric*, on this occaſion, continues our hiſtorian, was a ſtrong proof of his wiſdom and prudence, ſince, without expoſing the lives of his ſubjects, and only by paying a ſmall ſum, he acquired one half of his enemy's country [i], *viz.* the city of *Marſeilles* and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhône*.

Some writers are of opinion, that *Gregory* of *Tours* and *Procopius* ſpeak of different wars. *Clovis*, according to them, waged war with the *Burgundians* at two different times. In the firſt of theſe wars, he had *Godegiſelus*, the brother of *Gundebald*, for his ally, and, in the ſecond, *Theodoric* king of the *Oſtrogoths*. But this does not at all agree with what we read in *Marius Aventicenſis*, a contemporary writer, who, ſpeaking

[h] Idem, c. 33. [i] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

speaking of the war in the year 500. in which *Gundebald* was defeated in the neighbourhood of *Dijon*, that is, of the war described by *Gregory* of *Tours*, concludes thus: *Gundebald*, therefore, having recovered, upon the death of his brother, his own dominions, and likewise made himself master of those that had belonged to *Godegiselus*, governed them with great prosperity to the day of his death [k]. This we cannot persuade ourselves the bishop of *Avanches* would have written, had *Gundebald*, after his restoration in 500. been engaged in such an unsuccessful war as that of which *Procopius* speaks. However, we cannot help thinking it very strange, that *Procopius* should not mention the alliance of the *Franks* with *Godegiselus*, nor *Gregory of Tours* that of the *Ostrogoths* with the *Franks*. 'Tis true, both historians agree in some particulars, *viz.* that in the very beginning of this war a decisive battle was fought, in which the *Burgundians* were utterly defeated by the *Franks*; and that, after their defeat, they took refuge in their fortified towns, situated on the most distant borders of their country. Besides, it appears, from the acts of a conference held at *Lions* on religious matters, in the year 499. that *Clovis*, who was then preparing to make war on the *Burgundians*, had already entered into an alliance with a prince who was then at war with them. This ally could neither be *Godegiselus* nor *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*; for the alliance of the former with the king of the *Franks* was kept secret till the battle of *Dijon*, fought, according to the bishop of *Avanches* [l] and the best chronologers, the following year 500. As for *Alaric*, he was not at war with the *Burgundians*; since their king sent, as we have related above, the *Franks*, whom he had taken at *Vienne*, to be kept by him. As it appears, therefore, from hence, that *Clovis* had *Theodoric* for his ally in the war which he waged with the *Burgundians* in 500. we may well suppose *Procopius* to have spoken of this war without recurring to a second. To conclude; if *Gregory* of *Tours* and *Procopius* speak of different wars, they are both highly to blame, the former for taking no notice of the second war, and the latter for being quite silent as to the first. *Clovis* was so far from revenging the death of *Godegiselus* his friend and ally, that, on the contrary, he restored to *Gundebald*, no doubt in virtue of some treaty unknown to us, that part of his dominions which had fallen to his share. As for *Theodoric*, he kept the city of *Marseilles* and some adjacent places, which *Gundebald* perhaps yielded to him, in virtue of a treaty of marriage concluded this year between *Sigismund* the son of *Gundebald*, and *Ostrogotha* one of *Theodoric*'s daughters.

Clovis *and* Alaric *quarrel.*

Clovis had scarce concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, when, some differences arising between him and *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*, both princes began to prepare for war; which *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, no sooner understood, than he interposed his good offices, and offered his mediation, sending both to them, and to the kings of the *Burgundians*, the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, letters on that subject, which are still to be seen in *Cassiodore* [m]. He advises *Alaric* not to be too confident on the reputation of his *Visigoths*, for the great things formerly atchieved by them; but bids him consider what an alteration long peace and idleness may have wrought in them: he tells him, that passion is a bad counsellor, and not only prompts men to take pernicious resolutions, but to make choice of the worst means to put them in execution; that war ought to be looked upon as the last resource, and never ought to be entered into by princes, till all other methods of obtaining what is due to them in justice have proved unsuccessful: he therefore exhorts him to forbear all hostilities against the king of the *Franks* till the return of the embassadors, whom he designed to send to that prince with an offer of his mediation, in order to prevent either of the two princes, so nearly allied to him, from aggrandizing himself at the expence of the other. He closes his letter thus: It is not to revenge the blood of your fathers, or to recover part of your dominions injustly seized and detained by either of you, that you take arms against each other, but only on account of some unguarded words; so that your differences may be easily composed, if not heightened by unseasonable hostilities. Give me leave, therefore, to acquaint *Clovis*, before you come to an open rupture, that he shall have me too for his enemy, if he makes war upon you. When justice speaks to princes with a sword in her hand, they readily hearken to her. We have therefore dispatched embassadors to you, who will farther acquaint you, by word of mouth, with our intention. We have ordered them to repair afterwards to the courts of the king of the *Burgundians*, and

Theodoric *interposes.*

His letters to several princes on this subject.

[k] Marius Aventic. chron. ad ann. 500. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Cassiodor. variar. l. ii. ep. 3.

and of ſuch other princes as you ſhall think proper, and to act there purſuant to the inſtructions they ſhall receive from you. Above all things, take care you be not the firſt in committing hoſtilities; leſt you ſhould incur the hatred which all men bear to the violaters of treaties. Perſuade yourſelf, that we are ſo far from ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord among our neighbours, in order to take advantage of their misfortunes, that we ſhall look upon thoſe, who fall upon you, as a common enemy, and act accordingly[n]. In this letter to *Luduin*, for ſo he calls *Clovis*, he tells that prince, that he cannot but wonder he ſhould be ſo eaſily provoked, and, upon ſo ſlight an occaſion, make war upon *Alaric*, being uncle to his wife *Theodogotha*; that their common enemies wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to ſee the *Franks* and *Viſigoths* weakening and deſtroying each other: he bids him conſider, that they are both kings of b powerful nations, and in the flower of their age; and therefore that they ought the more to be upon their guard againſt evil counſellors, leſt they ſhould, by raſhly entering into a war, bring their kingdoms to the brink of ruin. He propoſes the mediation of the neighbouring princes, and adviſes him to ſheath his ſword, which he could not in honour ſee drawn by either of them: he concludes by threatening to make war upon the firſt, whether *Luduin* or *Alaric*, who ſhould commit hoſtilities againſt the other; and by aſſuring both, that the advice he gave them proceeded from the moſt ſincere friendſhip, ſince none but a true friend, who was far from envying their proſperity, would adviſe them as he had done. In his letter to *Gundebald*, he tells that prince, that he thinks himſelf bound in duty to moderate the ardour of two young princes, whoſe conduct is condemned by all men of experience and prudence; that they ought to hearken to thoſe, who, by their age and experience, are entitled to adviſe them; that he cannot ſuffer two princes, who are both nearly allied to him, to deſtroy each other, and therefore is reſolved to declare againſt him, who ſhall firſt commit hoſtilities: he adds, that he has diſpatched embaſſadors to him, with orders to repair afterwards to the court of the king of the *Franks*, with the deputies of the other princes his friends and allies, to negotiate an accommodation between the contending parties. He cloſes his letter with adviſing the king of the *Burgundians* to act in concert with him, and do all that lies in his power to prevent a war, which, ſhould they be remiſs in their good offices, the world will believe to have been under-hand kindled by them. In theſe letters *Theodoric* pretends to ſtand quite neuter, and to have taken no other reſolution, but that of declaring againſt the aggreſſor, whether *Clovis* or *Alaric*; but in the letter he wrote to the three brothers, *Hermanafred*, *Baderic*, and *Berthier*, who at that time reigned jointly over the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, he betrays great partiality for *Alaric*, and no ſmall prejudice againſt *Clovis*. It was couched in the following terms: The proud are deteſted by Heaven, and it is incumbent on every man to curb their arrogance. He who ſeeks to oppreſs a people, whom every nation would be glad to have for neighbours, ſhews but too plainly, that he only wants an opportunity of treating all other princes in the like manner. A prince, who pays no regard to the laws of equity, thinks every thing lawful when he has been once attended with ſucceſs in an unjuſt attempt: ſuch a prince ought to be abhorred by all mankind. It behoves therefore you, whoſe valour is capable of ſtemming the moſt unbounded ambition, to prevent the execution of ſuch iniquitous projects. Begin with joining your ambaſſadors to thoſe whom king *Gundebald* and we have diſpatched to the king of the *Franks*, in order to divert him from falling upon the *Viſigoths*, and perſuade him to pay due regard to the laws of equity and right of nations. If he refuſes to ſubmit to the arbitration of ſo many powerful princes, let him be deemed the common enemy of mankind. And truly what elſe can a prince, who is actuated by good principles, wiſh for, than to have ſuch mediators, who readily take upon them to ſee juſtice done him, if he has been wronged? To ſpeak my ſentiments openly; a prince, who pays no regard to the law of nations, muſt neceſſarily be hatching dangerous projects, which may end in the ruin of other ſtates. Let us therefore ſtem the torrent at its ſource, and cover the countries that are expoſed to his ravages, leſt they ſhould feel, before they are aware, the direful effects of his fury. You remember, without all doubt, the many favours you have received at the hands of *Buric*, the father of *Alaric*, the magnificent preſents he often ſent you, the efforts he made, and the vaſt charge he was at, to prevent the neighbouring nations from making

[n] Idem ibid. ep. 1.

making incurſions into your territories. It is now time to repay to the ſon the good offices of the father. If the king of the *Franks* is ſuffered to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of his neighbours, the moſt diſtant nations will be no longer ſafe. Theſe are the motives that have induced us to diſpatch embaſſadors to you, who will farther inform you of our ſentiments by word of mouth, and to whom, after ſeeing their credentials, you may give intire credit. We exhort you therefore to enter into the meaſures we have taken to ſecure the public tranquillity, and to concern yourſelves in what paſſes in the neighbouring countries, that you may not have a war in your own[o]. From theſe letters it appears, that *Theodoric* entertained no ſmall jealouſy of *Clovis*, and was greatly prejudiced againſt him. But the king of the *Franks*, not thinking it adviſeable to break with the *Viſigoths* at this juncture, forbore all hoſtilities till five years after, that is, till the year 507. and in the mean time, probably, conſented to that interview with *Alaric* which *Gregory* of *Tours* ſpeaks of: for, according to that hiſtorian, *Alaric*, alarmed at the conqueſts *Clovis* was daily making, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, inviting him to an interview. With this invitation *Clovis* readily complied; ſo that the two princes met in an iſland formed by the *Loire*, over-againſt *Amboiſe*, a place in the territory of *Tours*. There they conferred, and, having dined together, they parted, promiſing to live in friendſhip and amity with each other[p]. This is all we find in *Gregory* of *Tours* concerning this interview. But to his account hiſtorians, who came after him, have added ſeveral particulars, which we look upon as fabulous, ſince they have not been mentioned by him; namely, that *Alaric* laid ſnares for *Clovis*, which he happily eſcaped; a circumſtance that ſeems to have been invented to juſtify the war which *Clovis* made a few years after on *Alaric*, that is, *in* 507.

An interview between Clovis *and* Alaric.

Of this war *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: In thoſe days moſt people in *Gaul* were deſirous of living under the dominion of the *Franks*, and, among the reſt, *Quintianus* biſhop of *Rhodes*; which the *Viſigoths* being well appriſed of, they reſolved to diſpatch him, leſt he ſhould betray that city to them. But the holy prelate, receiving timely notice of their deſign, made his eſcape in the night, and retired into *Auvergne*. When *Clovis* heard of the treatment *Quintianus* had met with from the *Viſigoths*, It grieves me, ſaid he, turning to his people, that theſe *Arians* ſhould hold any thing in *Gaul*: let us march againſt them, and, with the aſſiſtance of Heaven, make ourſelves maſters of the fine country they poſſeſs. His ſpeech being received by all with loud acclamations, he began his march without loſs of time, bending his route to *Poitiers*, where *Alaric* then was. On his arrival at the *Vienne*, he found the enemy encamped on the oppoſite bank, and that river ſo ſwelled with the heavy rains that had fallen for ſeveral days together, that it was not then fordable, nor could he attempt to lay bridges over it, or convey his men in boats to the oppoſite bank, without expoſing them to the greateſt and almoſt inevitable dangers, the other ſide of the river being all along lined with the enemy's troops. This gave *Clovis* great uneaſineſs, who thereupon continued all night in prayer; and the next morning a hind of an extraordinary ſize was ſeen by the whole army to enter the river, and ford it, as if ſent by Heaven on purpoſe to point out to the *Franks* the place where the *Vienne*, notwithſtanding the depth of its waters, was fordable. The whole army followed their guide, and, having croſſed the river without the loſs of a man, encamped in ſight of *Poitiers*. While he lay there, he obſerved, one night, a globe of fire over the church of St. *Hilarius*, in the city of *Poitiers*, darting rays towards his camp, and, as it were, inviting him to engage, without loſs of time, the king of the *Viſigoths*, who had his head-quarters in that city. Accordingly *Clovis* immediately ſet out anew on his march, and, coming up with the enemy in the plain of *Vouglé*, about ten miles from *Poitiers*, he gave them a total overthrow. In this battle moſt part of the enemy's troops were cut off, and the reſt obliged to take refuge in their ſtrong-holds and fortified towns. *Clovis* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner, and killed, as all writers agree, the king of the *Viſigoths* with his own hand; but was himſelf in the utmoſt danger, two of *Alaric*'s guards having attacked him while he was engaged with their king; but his breaſt-plate being proof againſt their lances, he happily eſcaped[q]. *Gregory* of *Tours* does not mention the number of the dead; but only tells us, that moſt of the inhabitants

Clovis *makes war on the* Viſigoths.

Whom he defeats, and kills their king.
Year after Chriſt. 507.

[o] Idem ibid. ep. 3. [p] Greg. Tur. l. ii c. 35. Vales. rer. Franc. l. vi p. 291 [q] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 37.

ants of *Auvergne*, who, under the conduct of *Apollinaris*, came to the assistance of *Alaric*, were cut off, and that among the dead there were many senators and persons of distinction (I). Of this battle *Procopius* gives us a very succinct account. That writer, after relating what we have inserted above of the war which *Clovis* and *Theodoric* made jointly on the *Burgundians* in the year 500. continues thus: The power of the *Franks* being considerably increased, they no longer paid any regard to *Theodoric*, but, free from all fear, made war upon *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*. That prince was no sooner acquainted with their design, than he had recourse to *Theodoric*, who immediately put himself at the head of his army, and marched to the assistance of his son-in-law. In the mean time the *Visigoths*, upon intelligence that the enemy began to appear upon the frontiers of *Poitou*, posted themselves under the walls of *Poitiers*, and kept some days within their trenches, waiting the arrival of the *Ostrogoths*. This highly affronted the *Visigoths*, who, thinking themselves a match for the *Franks* without the assistance of any other nation, forced *Alaric* in the end to engage the enemy before he was joined by *Theodoric*. But the *Visigoths* were defeated, and great numbers of them killed on the spot, and, among the rest, their king. We are told by several writers, who lived in those times, or soon after, that *Clouis* had for his ally in this war *Gundebald* king of the *Burgundians*[s]; and from *Gregory* of *Tours* it appears, that a body of *Ripuarian Franks* joined him before the battle, under the conduct of *Chloderic*, the eldest son of *Sigebert* king of that tribe[t]. The battle of *Vouglé* was fought in the year 507. the emperor *Anastasius* being consul the third time in the east, and *Venantius Decius* in the west. As *Clovis* was chiefly prompted by his zeal for the catholic faith, to make war upon *Alaric* an *Arian* prince, no wonder that *Gregory* of *Tours*, an ecclesiastic and credulous writer, should believe and gravely relate the miracles that were said to have been wrought by Heaven in his favour, but were utterly unknown to *Procopius*.

The Franks *make themselves masters of several places.*

Clovis, taking advantage of the consternation the *Visigoths* were in on the defeat of their army and the death of the king, dispatched his son *Theodoric*, with part of his forces, to reduce the *Albigeois*, *Rovergne*, and *Auvergne*; which he did accordingly, making himself master of all the places in that tract between the confines of the *Visigoths* and those of the *Burgundians*[u]. *Clovis*, with the rest of the army, advanced to *Carcassone*, and laid close siege to that place; but being informed, that *Theodoric* was drawing near at the head of his *Ostrogoths*, he thought it advisable to retire. However, he made himself master of that part of *Gaul* which lies between the *Rhône* and the ocean, that is, of the two *Acquitains*[w]. After this he took up his winter-quarters in *Bourdeaux*, whither he caused great part of the treasures of *Alaric* to be conveyed from *Toulouse*. Early in the spring he took the field, and laid siege to *Engouleme*, which he soon reduced. Our credulous historian tells us, that the walls of that city fell as soon as *Clovis* appeared before them, and that thereupon the *Visigoths* evacuated that place, and the inhabitants, with great joy, took the oath of allegiance to the king of the *Franks*[x]. From *Engouleme* the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*, their allies in this war, advanced to the city of *Arles*, which it was of the utmost importance for them to reduce; since, by the reduction of it, all communication would be cut off between the province, which the *Ostrogoths* possessed in *Gaul*, and that part of the province of *Narbonne*, which was still held by the *Visigoths*. The *Franks*, upon their arrival before the place, attempted to make themselves masters of a bridge on the *Rhône*, and, by that means, of an island named *Camargue*, which is formed by the *Rhône*, on which *Arles* stands, dividing itself there into two arms. The *Visigoths* made a vigorous resistance, and in the end obliged the *Franks* to retire, who thereupon crossed the river in boats, and joined the *Burgundians* encamped on the opposite bank. The siege, of which we know but very few particulars, must have lasted some time; for, from several ancient records and letters, it appears, that the inhabitants suffered greatly by famine, and that the city was reduced to the utmost extremity[y]. But in the end the *Franks* were obliged, by the troops which *Theodoric* sent to

They lay siege to Arles.

Which they are obliged to raise with great loss.

[r] PROCOP. bell Goth. c. 12. [s] DU CH. tom. 1. p 231. GREG. TUR. ibid. [u] Idem ibid.
[w] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 12. [x] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 37. [y] DU CH. tom. i. p. 232.

(I) *Apollinaris*, who commanded the troops of *Auvergne*, was the son of the celebrated *Apollinaris Sidonius* by *Papianilla*, daughter to the emperor *Avitus*. Most of his Men were killed in the battle of *Vouglé*; but he had the good luck to escape the general slaughter. He was a few years after chosen bishop of *Auvergne*, but lived only three months after his election.

to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterprize and retire. Of this event *Cassiodore* speaks thus: In the conſulſhip of *Venantius* the younger and *Celer*, our ſovereign *Theodoric* ſent an army into *Gaul*, where the depredations of the *Franks* had occaſioned great confuſion. By this army the enemy was defeated, and put to flight, and great part of the country reduced [z]. From the life of *Cæſarius*, at that time biſhop of *Arles*, which was written ſoon after the ſiege, it appears, that the *Franks* and *Burgundians* were cloſely purſued in their retreat by the *Oſtrogoths*, who cut many of them in pieces, and took an incredible number of captives [a]. In this war *Theodoric* made himſelf maſter of *Avignon*, and ſome other places belonging to the *Burgundians* [b]. But no mention is made by any of the ancients of his making himſelf maſter of any town or country ſubject to the *Franks*.

The Franks defeated with great ſlaughter. A peace concluded between them and the Goths.

THE following year 509. *Hilba*, one of *Theodoric*'s generals, gained a memorable victory over the *Franks*, of whom thirty thouſand, if *Jornandes* is to be credited [c], were killed upon the ſpot. Soon after, a peace was concluded between *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, whereof one of the articles was, that the *Franks* ſhould keep the countries, which they had taken from the *Viſigoths* [d]; which inclines us to queſtion the truth of what *Jornandes* writes concerning the memorable victory of the *Oſtrogoths* over the *Franks*, the more as no mention is made of it by *Procopius*; nay, that writer tells us in expreſs terms, that *Theodoric* yielded to the *Franks* the countries they had ſeized, after he had attempted in vain to drive them out of them. *Amalaric*, the grandſon of *Theodoric*, was, at this time, king of the *Viſigoths*; but, as he was yet under age, *Theodoric*, who was his guardian, exerciſed the ſame authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. By this peace, the power of the *Viſigoths* was greatly impaired; for nothing now remained to them in *Gaul* but the city of *Narbonne*, and five or ſix other cities within the diſtrict of that metropolis. As for the *Oſtrogoths*, they continued maſters of the province they held before, lying between the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Rhone*, and the *Durance*, and appropriated to themſelves the city of *Arles*, for the charges they had been at in this war. A peace being thus concluded, *Clovis* repaired to *Tours*, and there received the embaſſadors, who had been ſent to him by the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, with the enſigns and ornaments of the conſulſhip; for that prince, hearing of his great exploits, thought it adviſeable, by ſuch a kind of empty reſpect, to gain his favour; the rather as *Theodoric* and the emperor were, at this time, at variance; for the *Oſtrogoths* had ſeized on *Pannonia*, and the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Romanus*, were ravaging the coaſts of *Italy*. *Clovis*, having received the preſents ſent him by the emperor, and the reſcript of his election, appeared firſt in the great church of St. *Martin*, with the *tunica trabeata*, the *chlamys*, and the other enſigns of his new dignity, and from thence rode, with a diadem on his head, to the cathedral, throwing gold and ſilver to the populace, who, in great crouds, attended him. From that time forwards he was acknowledged, concludes *Gregory* of *Tours*, as conſul and emperor [e]. From which words *as conſul*, and from his name not being found in the *faſti*, ſome authors conclude, not the real and ordinary, but only the titular and honorary conſulſhip to have been conferred upon him. In all the *faſti*, that have been tranſmitted to us, *Boetius* alone is marked as conſul of the year 510. *Boetius* was one of *Theodoric*'s miniſters, and is no leſs known by his writings, than by his misfortunes. To this objection ſome anſwer, that, in *Gaul*, all the public regiſters were kept at *Arles*, at that time ſubject to *Theodoric*, who, envying the king of the *Franks* his new dignity, would not ſuffer his name to be regiſtered in the *faſti*. But this anſwer is of no weight, ſince the name of *Boetius* alone is to be found, not only in the *faſti* written in *Gaul*, but in all others. *Baronius* is of opinion, that only the titular or honorary conſulſhip was offered him by *Anaſtaſius*; and that he, thinking it below him to accept of ſuch a dignity, refuſed the emperor's offer. But this opinion evidently contradicts *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived ſoon after *Clovis*, and muſt have been acquainted with ſeveral perſons, who had ſeen that prince. Beſides, even the honorary conſulſhip was often conferred on the kings of the barbarians, and other very deſerving and eminent perſons, as is manifeſt from innumerable inſtances in hiſtory. From *Tours*, where *Clovis* had taken the enſigns of conſul, he repaired to *Paris*, which city he choſe for the uſual place of his reſidence, and fixed the royal ſeat there [f]. This metropolis was deemed of ſuch importance,

Clovis honoured with the conſulſhip, conferred on him by the emperor Anaſtaſius.

He fixes his royal ſeat at Paris.

Year after Chriſt 510.

[z] CASSIOD. faſt. ad. ann. 508. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem, var. ep. 38. [c] JORN. de reb. Get.
[d] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. [e] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 38. [f] Idem ibid.

importance, that the grandchildren of *Clovis*, in dividing his dominions among them, agreed, that it ſhould not be compriſed in any lot; but remain common to all; and that none of them ſhould enter it without the expreſs conſent of the reſt, on pain of forfeiting his whole ſhare. *Paris* has been the ſeat of the *French* monarchy ever ſince the time of *Clovis*, who firſt reſided there. The kingdoms, over which his grandchildren reigned, after the diviſion of his dominions, had each its particular metropolis; but *Paris* ſtill continued to be the metropolis of the whole monarchy.

Clovis had hitherto greatly inlarged his dominion at the expence of the *Viſigoths*, as we have related above; but now he formed a deſign of cauſing himſelf to be acknowledged king by the other tribes of the *Franks*, who were governed by their own princes, and, by adding their dominions and forces to his own, eſtabliſhed his kingdom ſo firmly in *Gaul*, that it ſhould be out of the power of any other prince to overturn it. This he accompliſhed, and in the following manner, which no-ways redounds to his glory, though related by *Gregory* of *Tours*, his panegyriſt rather than hiſtorian. While he reſided at *Paris*, ſays that writer, by his emiſſaries he repreſented to *Chloderic*, the ſon of *Sigebert*, that his father was now ſtricken in years, and moreover lame of the wound he had received at the battle of *Tolbiac*, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he was reſolved to eſpouſe his cauſe, and maintain him on the throne after the death of his father. *Chloderic*, depending upon the promiſes of *Clovis*, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo blinded by his ambition, as to commit a parricide; for one day, while *Sigebert*, who had paſſed the *Rhine* to take the air in the foreſt of *Buchovia*, was ſleeping after dinner, he was diſpatched by two aſſaſſins hired for that purpoſe by his ſon. A few days after, *Chloderic* was overtaken by the like fate; for having acquainted *Clovis* with the death of his father, and deſired him at the ſame time to ſend proper perſons to take poſſeſſion of the deceaſed prince's treaſures, which were at his diſpoſal, one of thoſe, who were ſent to view the treaſures, (for *Clovis* declared he did not want them) bid *Chloderic* thruſt down his hand, and ſearch one of the deepeſt cheſts to the bottom; but the prince had no ſooner inclined his body, in compliance with his requeſt, than, with his battle-ax, he gave him a blow on the head, which daſhed out his brains. *Clovis*, upon the news of his death, flew to the place, where the murder had been committed; and having aſſembled the ſubjects of *Sigebert*, he aſſured them, that he was no-ways privy to the death either of the father or the ſon; but that the father had been barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by the ſon, and the inhuman parricide, by a juſt puniſhment from Heaven, put to death by perſons to him utterly unknown. He concluded his harangue by adviſing them, ſince they were deſtitute of a prince and leader, to chuſe him for their king, aſſuring them, that he was ready to defend them againſt all their enemies at the expence of his own life. His ſpeech was received with loud ſhouts of joy; and he had ſcarce done, when he was, with one voice, proclaimed by the multitude king of their tribe[g]. Thus *Clovis* made himſelf maſter of the dominions and treaſures of *Sigebert*, adding the ſubjects of that unfortunate prince to his own. *Gregory* of *Tours* cloſes his account of the murder of *Sigebert*, and his ſon *Chloderic*, with the following words: Thus were the enemies of *Clovis* delivered daily up into his hands by Providence, becauſe his intention was upright, and his conduct pleaſing to Heaven[h]. Some writers, to excuſe *Clovis*, and indeed *Gregory* of *Tours* for ſpeaking thus of a prince guilty of ſuch enormities, ſuppoſe *Sigebert*, and his ſon *Chloderic*, to have been the aggreſſors, and to have made ſome attempt upon the life of *Clovis*; but of this not a word in *Gregory* of *Tours*, who would not, as we conceive, have paſſed over in ſilence ſuch an attempt, ſince it might, in ſome degree, have extenuated, in the eyes of the world, the guilt of *Clovis*, in whoſe favour that writer was greatly prejudiced. Beſides, let the provocation be ever ſo great, the ſtirring up a ſon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his father, muſt be highly criminal. We cannot therefore conceive what could induce our hiſtorian, after relating the murder of the father by the ſon at the inſtigation of *Clovis*, and of the ſon by the emiſſaries of that prince, to add what we have inſerted above, *viz.* that Providence delivered his enemies into his hands, becauſe his intention was upright, and his conduct pleaſing to Heaven. By his upright intention the biſhop meant perhaps his intention of gaining the *Ripuarian Franks* over to the chriſtian religion; for both they, and the two princes, were ſtill pagans, whereas *Clovis* was a zealous profeſſor of the catholic faith. This alone, as we apprehend,

Clovis cauſes Sigebert *and his ſon* Chloderic *to be murdered.*

He is proclaimed king of the Ripuarian Franks.

[g] Idem, l. ii. c. 40. [h] Idem ibid.

a hend, could excuſe, and, in the opinion of our hiſtorian, even ſanctify, the moſt inhuman and unnatural murders. Be that as it will, *Clovis*, by the death of thoſe two princes, became maſter of the whole country held by the *Ripuarian Franks*, which, according to the moſt probable opinion, extended weſt of the *Rhine* as far as the river *Fuld*, and on the eaſt to the city of *Chalons* on the *Marne*, having *Cologne* for its metropolis. The country, lying weſt of the *Rhine*, was part of ancient *France*, which the *Ripuarians* had defended againſt the efforts of the *Thuringians*, attempting to drive them from thence. Some time before the invaſion of *Attila*, they croſſed the *Rhine*, and, being allowed to ſettle in the parts of *Gaul* bordering on that river, they extended, by degrees, their territories to *Chalons*. In the life of St. *Meſmin*, b the ſecond abbot of *Mici*, in the dioceſe of *Orleans*, and the cotemporary with *Clovis*, which was written ſoon after his death, and likewiſe in a chronicle of the twelfth century, by one *Hugo*, we find a long account of the ſiege and reduction of *Verdun* by *Clovis*, which, according to the beſt chronologers, happened at this time, the inhabitants of that city, who were highly provoked at the treacherous murder of their princes, refuſing to acknowledge him for their king, as we read in the above-mentioned chronicle. However, they were in the end obliged to ſubmit, as were ſeveral other cities, which had belonged to *Sigebert*, and were unwilling to receive *Clovis* for their king [i]. The *Ripuarian Franks* ſeem to have been, next to the *Salians*, the moſt powerful of all the tribes of that nation ſettled in *Gaul*; for, even after they c had acknowledged *Clovis* for their king, they continued a diſtinct tribe, ſeparated from that of the *Salians*, had their own code of laws, and lived according to them, even under the kings of the ſecond race. But all the other tribes, after they had ſubmitted to *Clovis*, were incorporated, and became one people, with the tribe of the *Salians*, of which *Clovis* was king, no further mention being made in hiſtory of the *Chatti*, *Chamavi*, *Ampſivarii*, &c. whoſe names ſo often occur in the hiſtorians, who wrote before that time.

Colvis *ſeizes on the dominions of* Chararic, *king of another tribe of the* Franks.

But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: *Gregory* of *Tours*, after relating in what manner *Clovis* united the dominions of *Sigebert* to his own, gives us an account of the tragical end of *Chararic* king of thoſe *Franks*, who, according to the moſt probable c opinion, had ſettled in the country compriſing the preſent dioceſes of *Bologne*, *St. Omers*, *Bruges*, and *Ghent*. *Clovis*, ſays our hiſtorian, marched afterwards againſt *Chararic*, who, refuſing to join him againſt *Syagrius*, had waited the iſſue of the battle, in order to ſide with the conqueror. *Chararic* and his ſon fell into the ſnare, which *Clovis* had laid for them, who, having got them in his power, after ordering their hair to be cut, cauſed the father to be ordained prieſt, and the ſon deacon. As *Chararic* was one day bewailing his hard fate, the ſon, to alleviate the grief of his diſconſolate father; *In ſtripping us of our dignity*, ſays he, *and bereaving us of the enſigns of majeſty, they have only ſtripped a green tree of its leaves, which will ſoon bud anew. May our enemy periſh as ſoon as our hair will grow!* *Clovis*, being informed of t this diſcourſe, and not doubting but they intended to let their hair grow, which was a mark of royalty, and, by hiring aſſaſſins to murder him, attempt the recovery of their kingdom, reſolved to be before-hand with them, and accordingly ordered them both to be put to death. The two princes being thus diſpatched, he ſeized on their treaſures, made himſelf maſter of their country, and obliged their ſubjects, both *Romans* and *Franks*, to acknowledge him for their king [k].

He and his ſon are put to death by Clovis.

Ragnacharius, king of *Cambray*, was now the only prince among the *Franks*, of whom *Clovis* entertained the leaſt jealouſy. He therefore reſolved, in the next place, to fall upon him, being well appriſed, that, if he were once removed, the kings of the other tribes would be no-ways in a condition to make head againſt him, even with f their united forces. *Ragnacharius*, as *Gregory* of *Tours* takes care to tell us, was a moſt wicked prince, abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs, not ſparing his own relations, and intirely governed by a favourite miniſter named *Faro*, whom he treated rather as his equal than his ſervant. His debauched life, and the exorbitant power he allowed to his wicked favourite, who was the object of the public hatred, raiſed an univerſal diſcontent among his ſubjects. This *Clovis* reſolved to improve to his advantage, and, in order to gain over the diſcontented party, he ſent to the leading men among them bracelets of gilt braſs, pretending they were of pure gold. When he found he could depend upon thoſe, who had received his preſents, he entered unex-

[i] Labb. bibl. tom. i. p. 87. Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 531. Spicil. tom. iii. p. 307. [k] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 41.

unexpectedly the dominions of *Ragnacharius* at the head of a powerful army; which *Ragnacharius* no sooner understood, than he took the field with what troops he could assemble, in order to oppose the attempts of his rival. When *Clovis* drew near the place where he was encamped, he sent out some parties to reconnoitre the enemy; but these, being gained over by *Clovis*, assured him on their return, that the troops he discovered at a distance were his own subjects, coming, pursuant to his orders, to join him. In the mean time, *Clovis* advanced, and, falling upon *Ragnacharius* before he could draw up the few troops he had with him, put him to flight. The unhappy prince attempted to make his escape; but was taken, together with his brother *Richarius*, by the traitors he had about him, and both delivered up, with their hands tied behind their backs, to *Clovis*, who thus addressed *Ragnacharius*: *It was base and* b *scandalous in you to suffer one of our illustrious race to be thus bound, like a public malefactor. You ought to have avoided, at the expence of a thousand lives, such an ignominious treatment.* He had scarce uttered these words, when, with a blow of his battle-ax, he cleaved his head, and laid him dead at his feet. In the same manner he treated *Richarius*, after upbraiding him with cowardice, for not defending his brother with that courage and resolution, which became one of his blood. In the mean time, those, who had betrayed *Ragnacharius*, discovering that their bracelets were not of gold, complained thereof to *Clovis*, who is said to have returned them the following answer: *You well know what you have done, and therefore ought not to complain, but deem it a great favour, that I suffer you to live.* *Clovis*, continues our historian, was nearly c related to *Ragnacharius* and *Richarius*, who had another brother named *Regnomer*, king of the *Franks* settled at *Mans*; and him too *Clovis* caused to be murdered, making himself master of the dominions and treasures of the three brothers. By the murder of these, and several other princes, of whom, as they were his kinsmen, he entertained some jealousy, he extended his dominion all over *Gaul*. Having thus dispatched all the princes, who were any-ways related to him, he one day, in the presence of his nobles, bemoaned his condition, saying, That he was, in a manner, a stranger among his own people, having no kinsman to stand by him, in case he wanted his assistance. But this he said, not because he was concerned for their d death, but to try whether any one would own himself for his relation, that he might dispatch him, as he had done the others[l]. This is the account *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us of the manner, in which *Clovis* caused himself to be acknowledged king of all the tribes of the *Franks* settled in *Gaul*. Whether his intention could be upright, as that writer is pleased to express himself, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven, we leave our readers to judge.

He puts to death Ragnacharius, *and the other kings of the* Franks, *and seizes on their dominions.*

He dies. Year after Christ 511.

Clovis did not long enjoy his new conquests; for he died soon after the reduction of the several tribes of *Franks* settled in *Gaul*. *Clovis*, says *Gregory* of *Tours*, having transacted these things, that is, having forced all the tribes of the *Franks* in *Gaul* to acknowledge him for their king, died soon after at *Paris*, and was buried there in the church of the holy apostles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which had been built by him and queen *Clothildes*, or, as our historian styles her, *Crothildes*. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, five years after the battle of *Vouglé*, having reigned thirty years. After his death, *Clothildes* retired into *Touraine*, and there passed the remaining part of her life at St. *Martin*'s tomb[m]. This is all we find in *Gregory* of *Tours* concerning the death of *Clovis*. He left four sons behind him, *viz.* *Theodoric*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*. The three last he had by *Clothildes*, and the eldest by a concubine before his marriage with that princess. *Theodoric*, at his father's death, had already a son named *Theodobert*, a youth of great expectation[n]. As to the age of the other three, all we know is, that *Clodomir* the eldest was born before the battle of *Tolbiac* in 496. so that, at the time of his father's death, he must have been about seventeen. The four brothers divided their father's dominions equally amongst them. *Theodoric* reigned at *Metz*; *Clodomir* at *Orleans*; *Clotharius* at *Soissons*; and *Childebert* at *Paris*. Though these four kingdoms were rather members of one and the same monarchy, than four different monarchies, yet the princes were quite independent of each other, in the same manner as the kings of the different tribes had been of *Clovis*.

[l] Idem ibid. c. 42. [m] Idem ibid. c. 43. [n] Idem, l. iii. c. 1.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The ancient state of the Burgundians, Alemans, Heruli, Gepidæ, &c.

a THE *Burgundians*, who, upon the decline of the empire, seized on a considerable portion of *Gaul*, and founded a new kingdom there, were, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* [o], originally descended from the *Romans*. *Orosius*, who wrote about the year 420. was of the same opinion: We are told, says that writer, that *Drusus Nero* and his brother *Tiberius*, the adopted sons of *Cæsar Augustus*, having subdued the inner parts of *Germany*, left several camps in the country, and part of their army, to keep the neighbouring people in subjection. From the *Roman* soldiers, who were on this occasion left to guard the camps, are descended the *Burgundians*. The castles and strong-holds, built for the defence of a country, are by the *Germans* called *burgts*; and hence the *Romans* who guarded them, and their b descendants, were styled *Burgundians*. Their conquests in *Gaul*, continues our historian, speak them both a numerous and warlike nation. As they have embraced the catholic faith, our ecclesiastics, whose spiritual jurisdiction they acknowledge, have rendered them mild and tractable; for, in the countries where they have settled, they treat the natives, not as strangers whom they have subdued, but as brothers in Christ [p]. Thus *Orosius*, who, had he lived thirty years longer, wou'd not have commended the *Burgundians* on account of their gentle treatment of the natives; for, upon their embracing the tenets of *Arius*, which happened about the year 450. the natives, who professed the catholic faith, were treated by them more like slaves than brethren. But to return to their origin: *Pliny* the elder supposes them to be a *German* c nation, descended from the *Vindili*, whom most writers take to be the same people with the *Vandals* [q]. *Valesius* distinguishes the *Burgundians* of *Germany* from those of the same name, who dwelt more to the east, on the banks of the *Danube* [r]. The *Burgundians* of *Germany* were sometimes in alliance, and sometimes at war with the empire; but never had the reputation of a warlike nation: for the writers, who flourished in those times, speak of them as far inferior in courage and bravery to the other *Germans*, and observe, that the *Burgundians* dwelt in castles and fortified places, whereas the other *German* nations scorned any other fence but their arms [s]: and truly most of them were mechanics, and, before they settled in *Gaul*, they used in great numbers to flock into that country, to earn a livelihood by their respective profes- d sions. As to their government, they were divided into several tribes, each governed by their own chief or king, whose authority was so far from being hereditary, that it was not even during life. The kings of this nation, whom we find mentioned in history, are *Gundicar*, *Gundiac*, *Bilimer*, *Gundebald*, *Sigismund*, and *Godemar*. These princes reigned after the *Burgundians* had entered *Gaul*, that is, after the year 407. but they had, without all doubt, kings or chiefs long before that time, though not named by the historians, whose works have reached us. The kings of the *Burgundians*, as well as those of the other barbarians, did not think it below them to serve in the *Roman* armies, to discharge some of the chief offices of the empire, and to receive, at the hands of the emperors, such dignities as they used to confer on their e subjects. Thus *Gundiac* was, in the reign of *Anthemius*, *magister militiæ*, or general of the *Roman* armies; and *Gundebald* his eldest son patrician. *Chilperic*, the brother of *Gundebald*, had been likewise *magister militiæ*, and was afterwards created patrician [t]. His son *Sigismund*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, received from *Anastasius* the same dignity of patrician, on which occasion he wrote to the emperor the following letter: *My predecessors and I have been ever so attached to the* Roman *empire, as to think ourselves more honoured by the dignities the emperors have conferred on us, than by the titles which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors. We command at home, but think it a greater honour to serve abroad in your armies* [u]. The use of legal duels, or duels ordered f by the magistrates or judges, to discover, from the event, the truth of contested facts, was first introduced into *Gaul*, where it long obtained, by the *Burgundians*. *Gundebald* was the first, who established by law this maxim, that the best champion is

The origin of the Burgundians.

The least warlike of all the German *nations.*

Their kings.

They think themselves honoured with the dignities of the empire.

The use of legal duels introduced by them.

[o] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 375. [p] Oros. l. vii c. 19. [q] Plin. l. iv c. 14. p. 86. [r] Vales. rer Franc. p. 48. [s] Socrat. hist. eccles. l. vii. c 30. [t] Ennod. vit. p. 404. [u] Avit. ep. lxxxiii. p. 137.

is the beſt man, and ought to believed; a maxim which has ſo often proved fatal to innocence! This unjuſt and ſanguinary law was couched in the following words: Being fully convinced, that many of our ſubjects ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted by their avarice, or hurried on by their obſtinacy, ſo as to atteſt by oath what they know not, nay, and what they know to be falſe; to put a ſtop to ſuch ſcandalous practices, when two *Burgundians* are at law, if the defendant ſhall ſwear, that he owes not what is demanded of him, or that he is not guilty of the crime that is laid to his charge; and the plaintiff, on the other hand, not ſatisfied therewith, ſhall declare, that he is ready to maintain, ſword in hand, the truth of what he advances; if the defendant does not acquieſce, it ſhall be lawful for them to decide the controverſy by dint of ſword. This is to be likewiſe underſtood of the witneſſes of either party, it being juſt, that every man ſhould be ready to defend with his ſword the truth which he atteſts, and to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of Heaven. If one of the plaintiff's witneſſes ſhall be killed, all the others ſhall be condemned to pay immediately three hundred *ſolidi*. If the defendant is overcome, the plaintiff ſhall receive three times the ſum which he demanded. It is our will and pleaſure, that this law be ſtrictly obſerved and executed, that our ſubjects may conceive an utter averſion to the deteſtable ſin of perjury. Given at *Lions* the twenty ſeventh of *June*, *Abienus* being conſul, that is, in 501 [u]. This law was no ſooner publiſhed, than *Avitus*, biſhop of *Vienne*, wrote a letter to the king, remonſtrating, with equal zeal and learning, the injuſtice of it; but could, by no means, prevail upon that prince to repeal it; nay, however unjuſt and ſanguinary, it prevailed, by degrees, among the *Franks*, and all the other nations dwelling in *Gaul*.

The Burgundians *break into* Gaul; *but are driven out by* Probus. *Year after Chriſt* 275.

As to the hiſtory of the *Burgundians*, we find nothing worthy of notice concerning them till the year 275. the firſt of the emperor *Tacitus*'s reign, when, in conjunction with the *Lugians*, the *Franks*, and the *Vandals*, they croſſed the *Rhine*, over-ran all *Gaul*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeventy cities and upwards in that country, which they held for the ſpace of almoſt two years [w]. But in the mean time *Tacitus* being murdered, *Probus*, who was choſen in his room, marched againſt them, and, having gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, obliged them to ſue for peace; which was granted them, upon their promiſing to reſtore the booty, and ſet at liberty the priſoners they had taken. But, as they did not faithfully comply with this condition, *Probus* fell upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took many priſoners, whom he afterwards ſent into *Britain*, where they proved very ſerviceable to the *Romans* in all ſeditions and inſurrections [x]. In the year 287. the fourth of the emperor *Dioclefian*, they broke into *Gaul* anew with the *Heruli*, the *Alemans*, and the *Chaibons* or *Cavions*, a people on no other occaſion mentioned in hiſtory, and of whom all we know is, that their country, as well as that of the *Heruli*, lay at a great diſtance from *Gaul* [y]. We are told, that the *Alemans* and *Burgundians* were deſtroyed by their own numbers, which occaſioned a famine, that was followed by a plague; ſo that they were

They are defeated anew in Gaul by Maximian. *Year after Chriſt* 287.

eaſily overcome by *Maximian*, whom *Dioclefian* had taken for his partner in the empire, and diſpatched againſt them. We are told, that, of ſuch vaſt multitudes of barbarians, a very ſmall number returned home, the reſt being ſwept off by the plague, or cut in pieces by the *Romans* [z]. For the advantages gained over the barbarians on this occaſion, the two emperors were decreed a triumph, as appears from a medal of this year [a]. Some years after, that is, in the year 291. a war broke out between the *Burgundians* and *Alemans*, in which the former ſeem to have gained conſiderable advantages over the latter; for we are told, that they reduced great part of their country, and that the *Alemans* were ſtriving to recover what they had loſt [b]: and this is all we know of that war. In the year 370. the ſeventh of *Valentinian* I. the *Burgundians* appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, to the number of eighty thouſand fighting men, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a private intelligence with their chiefs, and had promiſed to paſs the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon *Macrian*, king of the *Alemans*, with whom they were then at variance. But the emperor, who was then buſied in building forts on the *Rhine*, not caring to interrupt the work and join them, as he had promiſed to do, they returned home, highly incenſed againſt *Valentinian*, by whom they had been

[u] Lex. Burg. tit. xlv. [w] Tacit. vit. p. 227. Vales. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 7, 8. [x] Prob. vit. p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 664. [y] Panegyr. xi. p 131. Buch. Belg. p. 221. [z] Idem ibid. p. 133. & Panegyr. x. p. 125. [a] Noris. de Dioclef. c. 4. p. 18. [b] Panegyr. xi. p. 138.

been thus disappointed and deluded [c]; but we do not find they committed any hostilities against the empire. In the year 407. they followed the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, and *Alans*, who had entered *Gaul* the last day of the preceding year, in order to share with them the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but they did not settle, it seems, in that country till the year 413. for in that year, *Prosper* tells us, they obtained that part of *Gaul*, which borders on the *Rhine*, that is, according to *Bucherius*, the present *Alsace* and the remaining part of *Germania Prima*, which, in the opinion of that writer, were yielded to them by *Honorius*, not able, by any other means, to put a stop to their ravages [d]. Such was the beginning of the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*. They continued quiet in the seats allotted them till the year 435. when, in conjunction with the *Heruli*, the *Hunns*, and the *Franks*, they entered *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, though they had, upon their first settling in *Gaul*, promised to assist the *Romans*, and serve in their armies as subjects of the empire. Hereupon *Aetius* marched against them, and, having overcome them with great slaughter in a pitched battle, reduced them to such straights, that *Gundicarius* their king was obliged to sue for peace; which, in the end, he obtained, but did not long enjoy, being, in the beginning of the following year 436. attacked by the *Hunns*, perhaps at the instigation of *Aetius*, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his subjects [e]. *Socrates* tells us, that the *Hunns* made frequent irruptions into their territories, putting all to fire and sword; that the *Burgundians*, no longer able to withstand them, had recourse to Heaven, and, repairing to a city in *Gaul*, embraced there the christian religion, and received the sacrament of baptism; which ceremony was no sooner over, than, full of courage and confidence, they marched against the enemy, and, finding them without a leader, (for we are told, that *Uptar* their king died suddenly the night before) cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight, though the *Burgundians* were in all but three thousand men. Thus *Socrates* [f]. But *Orosius*, who wrote in 417. assures us, that they had, at that time, already embraced the christian religion [g]. They continued on the banks of the *Rhine* till the year 438. or, as others will have it, 443. when they were removed from thence by *Aetius* to the present duchy of *Savoy*. During their abode there, *Gundiac*, who succeeded *Gundicar*, and is thought to have been his son, joining *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths* about the year 456. against the *Sueves*, marched with him into *Spain*, and signalized himself in the battle, that was fought that very year on the banks of the *Orbegua*, in which the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and their king *Rechiarius* wounded, and afterwards taken prisoner [h]. *Gundiac*, upon his return from *Spain*, seized on part of *Gaul*, dividing, according to an ancient chronologist, the lands with the *Roman* senators [i]. *Valesius* is of opinion, that he made himself then master of the city of *Lions* [k]. In 463. *Gundiac* wrote to *Hilarius* bishop of *Rome* concerning an affair of *Dié* in *Dauphiny* [l]; whence we may conclude, that he was then in possession of that city. Some are of opinion, that both *Dié* and *Vienne* were yielded to him by the emperor *Avitus*, whose cause he had espoused [m]. Others think, that *Gundiac*, taking advantage of the disturbances, that were occasioned by the deposition of *Avitus*, inlarged his dominions, and seized on the above-mentioned cities [n]. It is certain, that, in the war between the *Romans* and *Visigoths* about the year 470. the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of their king *Gundiac* and his son *Chilperic*, fought for the *Romans*; for we are told, that they defended the province of *Auvergne* against *Euric* king of the *Visigoths*, being jealous of the growing power of that prince [o]. Besides, both *Gundiac* and *Chilperic* were at that time *magistri militiæ*, and commanded the *Roman* troops [p]; whence it is probable, that the *Romans* either yielded to them the above-mentioned countries, or suffered them to seize them, not caring to quarrel at the same time with the *Visigoths* and *Burgundians*. Before the year 490. the *Burgundians* were masters of all *Lugdunensis Prima*, which *Sidonius* styles *Germanica Lugdunensis*, saying, it was then subject to *Chilperic* the son of *Gundiac* [q]. The same writer tells us elsewhere, that, when he left *Lions*, and retired to *Auvergne*, a *Burgundian* king resided in that city with his queen [r]. *Sidonius* withdrew from *Lions* about the year 470. finding himself obnoxious to the *Burgundians*, who supected him

The beginning of their kingdom in Gaul. *Year after Christ* 413.

Gundicarius *their king killed by the* Hunns. *Year after Christ* 436.

They are removed to the present duchy of Savoy. *Year afeer Christ* 438.

They make themselves masters of several cities and places in Gaul.

[c] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 377. [d] Buch. Belg. p. 440. [e] Idat. p 25. Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136, 138. [f] Socrat. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. [g] Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 219. [h] Jorn. p. 676. [i] Marc. chron. p. 210. [k] Vales. rer. Franc. p. 186. [l] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1043. [m] Buch. p. 525. [n] Vales. ibid. [o] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 678. Sid. l. iii. ep. 4. 68. [p] Ennod. vit. p. 404. [q] Sid. l. v. ep. 6, 7. p. 134, 137. [r] Idem, l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168.

him of privately favouring the *Franks*. *Chilperic* was likewise master of the country in which stood the abby of St. *Claudius*[s], that is, of the country of the *Sequani*. When *Sidonius* died, *Apruniculus*, bishop of *Langres*, finding the *Burgundians* suspected him as if he maintained a private correspondence with the *Franks*, made his escape from the castle of *Dijon*, and withdrew to *Auvergne*[t]. In 494. *Epiphanius*, bishop of *Pavia*, went to the court of *Gundebald* at *Dions*, and to that of *Godigiscles* at *Geneva*[u]; so that the *Burgundians* were then masters of all these places. On the other hand, we do not find they made war upon the *Romans*; nay, on the contrary, they assisted them against the *Visigoths*, and are styled, by the writers of those times, the friends and allies of the empire. We may therefore conclude, that they thus inlarged their dominion with the consent, or at least with the connivance, of the emperors, willing to yield to them, or to wink at their seizing, part of the country, which they could not maintain without them. *Chilperic*, who is often mentioned by *Sidonius*, and styled by him a *victorious prince*[w], was not, as some have imagined, the brother, but the son, of *Gundiac*, and grandson of *Gundicar*; for *Gundiac* married the sister of the famous *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in our *Roman* history, and had by her *Gundebald*, *Godegiscles*, *Chilperic*, called also *Hilperic*, and *Godemar*[x]. They divided, in all likelihood, among them the countries then subject to the *Burgundians*; for *Chilperic* is styled by *Sidonius* tetrarch[y], and by *Jornandes* king[z]. *Sidonius*, speaking elsewhere of these four princes, calls them *tirannopotæ*, intimating thereby, that they acted more like tyrants than kings. Father *Sirmond* tells us, that *Chilperic* and *Godemar*, joining against *Gundebald*, drove him out, and seized on his dominions; but that *Gundebald*, having in the end recovered his dominions, found means to dispatch his two brothers, with their issue male[a]. But this is vouched only by the chronicle of *Burgundy* written by *Vigner*, to which we do not give intire credit.

Gundebald puts his brothers to death.

Gundebald was in *Italy* in 472. and there raised by the emperor *Olybrius* to the rank of patrician. However, he might have returned from thence to *Gaul*, and there caused his brother *Chilperic* to be put to death, and his wife to be drowned, as we read in *Gregory* of *Tours*[b]. *Sidonius* styles her a *Tanaquil*, either on account of her prudence, or because she had a great ascendant over her husband[c]; for she is said to have tempered, with her address and engaging behaviour, the severity to which her husband was naturally inclined, and to have saved the lives of several persons unjustly accused[d]. *Chilperic* left two daughters behind him, who were both banished by *Gundebald*, or rather kept under confinement in a castle at some distance from the court[e]. *Mucuruna*, the eldest, embraced the state of virginity; the other was *Clothilda*, who was married to *Clovis* king of the *Franks*, as we have related in the foregoing section. In the year 473. *Gundebald* was at *Ravenna*; for he is said to have induced *Glycerius* to take upon him the title of emperor in that city[f]. After the deposition of *Glycerius*, *Gundebald* espoused the cause of *Nepos*, who was raised to the empire in his room,

He joins the Romans against the Visigoths.

joining the *Romans* in *Gaul* against the *Visigoths*, who, under the conduct of *Euric* their king, attempted to make themselves masters of *Auvergne*[g]. In the year 480. *Odoacer*, king of *Italy*, having yielded *Provence* to the *Visigoths*, *Gundebald*, jealous of the growing power of that nation, claimed part of the country that had been granted them, This gave rise to a war between the two nations, in which the *Burgundians* were subdued, says *Jornandes*[h], by the *Visigoths*, who made themselves masters of all *Gaul*. But that writer was certainly mistaken, since the *Burgundians* were, in the year 517. and 528. still masters of above twenty-eight cities, and, among the rest, of *Lions*, *Vienne*, *Besançon*, and *Embrun*, as appears from the acts of the councils of *Agde* and *Epaune*, held in those times[i]. In the year 490. the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of *Gundebald*, entering *Italy*, with a design, as they pretended, to assist *Odoacer* against *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, committed unheard-of ravages in *Liguria*, putting all to fire and sword, and carrying off with them, upon their return home, such numbers of captives, that, in most places, there were not left sufficient hands to till the ground. They met with no opposition, the *Romans*, who had always looked upon them as their friends and protectors, being no-ways upon their guard against them[k]. *Gundebald* after-

Ravages Liguria.

[s] Bolland. Mart. xxi. p. 265. [t] Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 23. p. 284. [u] Ennod. vit. Epiph. p. 402, 408. [w] Sid. l. v. ep. 6. [x] Ennod. vit. p. 403. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. p. 285. [y] Sid. p. 55. [z] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 44. [a] Sirmond. p. 57. [b] Greg. Tur. p. 285. [c] Sid. l. v. ep. 7. p. 137. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. p. 185. [f] Jorn. c. 45. p. 654. Onuph p. 57. [g] Sid. car. xii. p. 368. & l. vii. ep. 3. p. 172. [h] Jorn. p. 680. [i] Vide Val. not. Goll. p. 105. [k] Ennod. vit. Epiph. p. 398——405

a afterwards declared; that he had acted as an open enemy, to be revenged on the king of *Italy*, who had deceived him by a false alliance [l]; but whether he meant *Theodoric*, or *Odoacer*, is uncertain. Authors observe, that, on this occasion, bishops began first to fortify their mansions; that, on any sudden irruption of barbarians, they might serve as places of refuge for those who dwelt in the country [m]. About this time, *Gundebald* sent one *Laurentius*, a person of great distinction among the *Burgundians*, with the character of embassador to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople* [n]; but with what commission he was charged, we are no-where told. Two letters have reached us, both written in 497. the one by the emperor *Anastasius* to *Clovis*, intreating him to prevail upon *Gundebald* to allow one of *Laurentius*'s sons to repair to
b his father at *Constantinople*; the other by *Clovis* to *Gundebald*, who readily complied with the emperor's request and his [o]. In the history of the *Franks*, we have spoken of the war which *Gundebald* waged with *Clovis* and his brother *Godegiscles*, whom in the end he overcame, and put to death. Being restored to his dominions, he reigned, without disturbing his neighbours, or being disturbed by them, till his death, which happened in the year 516 [p]. Some years before his death, he was for renouncing privately the errors of *Arius*; but could, by no means, be prevailed upon, says *Gregory* of *Tours*, to acknowledge publicly the mystery of the holy trinity [q].

He dies. Year after Christ 516.

Gundebald was succeeded by his son *Sigismund*, who had no sooner taken possession of his father's dominions, than he dispatched embassadors to the emperor *Anastasius*
c at *Constantinople*, acquainting him with his accession to the crown. In the letter he wrote on this occasion to the emperor, he styles his father one of *Anastasius*'s most faithful subjects; and adds, that the nation, which he governed, had ever acknowledged *Anastasius* for their liege lord; that he himself deemed it a greater honour to obey his commands, than to be obeyed by a whole nation; that these sentiments were hereditary in his family; that his ancestors had ever had a heart truly *Roman*, thinking themselves more honoured by the titles, which the emperors had been pleased to confer upon them, than by those, however specious, which they had received by birth; that the country, which it was now his lot to govern, though lying at a great distance from the capital of the empire, was not, on that account, less subject to the
d imperial crown, than those that lay near it, *&c.* He closes the letter thus: The east is governed by your presence, the west under your auspices. By this letter therefore I offer my duty to the greatest of princes, and wait, with submission, your august commands [r]. From this letter it is manifest, that the princes of the barbarians, who reigned in *Gaul*, acknowledged themselves subjects of the empire. *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, refused a passage through his dominions to the embassadors, who were dispatched with these letters. However, *Anastasius* wrote to *Sigismund*, without waiting till he received letters from him, confirming to him the dignities, which he had conferred upon him in his father's life-time, and adding to them the patriciate [s]. *Sigismund* wrote a second letter to *Anastasius*, returning him thanks for the honours which he
e had raised him, and acquainting him, that, upon his father's death, he had immediately written to him; but that his embassadors had been stopped on their way to *Constantinople* [t]. In this letter, as well as in the former, and in a third, to which he wrote to the emperor *Justin*, he owns himself a subject of the empire, and uses all along the language of a subject to his sovereign. There was, without all doubt, at this time a misunderstanding between *Theodoric* and *Sigismund*, which, however, did not come to an open rupture. *Sigismund*, in the sixth year of his reign, caused his son *Sigeric* to be inhumanly murdered. Of this murder *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: *Sigismund*, says our historian, had to his first wife the daughter of
f *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, and by her a son named *Sigeric*. Upon the death of that princess, he married one of her household, who, looking upon *Sigeric* with the eyes of a step-mother, did all that lay in her power to incense his father against him. The young prince indeed, with his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, heightened the aversion, which the new queen bore him as a step-mother; for the queen having one day appeared in the robes of his mother, he publickly upbraided her for presuming to shew herself in the apparel of one, whose menial servant she had been. This bitter reproach galled her to such a degree, that, transported with rage, she resolved at all events to make *Sigeric* pay dearly for it. Accordingly, as she had a great ascendant over

He acknowledges himself a subject of the empire.

He causes his son Sigeric *to be put to death.*

[l] Idem ibid. p. 406. [m] Bar. ad ann. 489. [n] Avit. ep. xli. p. 97. [o] Idem, ep. xlii. p. 98. & ep. xliv. p. 99. [p] Vales. rer. Franc. l. vi. p. 328. [q] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 34. [r] Avit, ep. xciv. p. 139. [s] Idem, ep xliii. p. 98, [t] Idem, ep. xciv. p. 139.

over her husband, she persuaded him; that the young prince had formed a design of a
assassinating him; and joining his dominions to those of his grandfather *Theodoric*.
Sigismund gave intire credit to these false and malicious insinuations, and, without
further inquiry, to be before-hand with his son, caused him to be strangled, while he
was reposing after dinner. He was scarce dead, when *Sigismund*, stung with the
remorse of so heinous a crime, threw himself upon the dead body, and, bathing it in
tears, called himself of all men the most unhappy; which one of his servants hearing,
You have but too much reason, said he, *to bewail your own fate; but as for your son, he*
died free from all guilt, and is now happy. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours* [u]. A few days after,
Sigismund retired to the monastery of St. *Mauritius* in *Valais*, to do penance for the
crime he had committed; and there founded what is called by our historian *laus pa-* b
rennis, that is, a service to be celebrated night and day without intermission, by several
ecclesiastics relieving one another. After a short stay in the above-mentioned mona-
stery, he returned to *Lions*, and there married a daughter, which he had by his first
wife *Ostrogotha*, to king *Theodoric* or *Thierri*, the eldest son of *Clovis*. As the *Ostro-*
goths and their king *Theodoric* were highly provoked against *Sigismund* for the mur-
der of his son, whom they looked upon as a prince of their own blood; *Clothildis*
thought this a favourable conjuncture to be revenged on the posterity of *Gundebald*,
since he was no more, for the death of her father *Chilperic*, of her mother, and her
brothers, all massacred by that prince's order. Having therefore first put the three
kings, her children, *Clodomire*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*, in mind of the cruel and c
inhuman treatment, which her father and mother had met with at the hands of *Gun-*
debald, she exhorted them not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of revenging it
on his posterity. As this advice was intirely agreeable to the ambitious views of the
young princes, they readily hearkened to it, and began to make the necessary pre-
parations. They pressed *Theodoric*, whom their father *Clovis* had by a concubine,
as we have related above, to join them in the enterprize; but, as he had married the
daughter of *Sigismund*, and had not been any-ways injured either by him or his ance-
stors, he declared, that he would take no part in a war between his brothers and fa-
War between the Franks *and* Burgundians. ther-in-law, but observe a strict neutrality. The three princes therefore, finding
they could not prevail upon him to join them, took the field without him, and en- d
tering the dominions of *Sigismund*, began to lay them waste. Hereupon *Sigismund*,
having drawn together what troops he could, marched out against them; but, in
Sigismund *defeated and taken.* the battle that ensued, he was utterly defeated, and obliged to take refuge in a mona-
Year after Christ 523. stery, where he lay some time concealed in the habit of a monk; but his own sub-
jects, by whom he was abhorred, on account of the murder of his son, discovered
him to the *Franks*, who immediately seized him, and delivered him to *Clodomir*,
who had already in his power his wife and children. *Clodomir* sent both the prince
and his unfortunate family to the city of *Orleans*, where they were kept under close
confinement. Upon the news of his captivity, the far greater part of the country,
which he held, submitted to the *Franks* [w]. This happened, according to the bishop
of *Avanches*, in the year 523. In the consulship of *Maximus*, says that writer in his
chronicle [x], *Sigismund* was by the *Burgundians* delivered up to the *Franks*, who carried
him away in the habit of a monk, in which they had found him, and afterwards threw
him, with his wife and children, into a deep well, where they were all drowned.
Maximus was consul, as appears from all the ancient chronologers, in the above-men-
tioned year. What our chronologer relates of the unhappy end of *Sigismund* and his
family, did not happen till the following year, when the *Franks* retiring to their own
Godemar *king of the* Burgundians. country, the *Burgundians*, who had submitted to them, revolting, proclaimed *Go-*
demar, the brother of *Sigismund*; and, in order to induce the *Ostrogoths* to assist them,
at least under-hand, yielded to them four cities, *viz.* *Carpentras*, *Cavaillon*,
Tricastinum, now St. *Paul trois-chateaux*, and *Apt* [y]. No mention indeed is made of
any succours sent them by the *Ostrogoths*. It is not, however, to be doubted, but that
Theodoric, then king of that nation, and greatly alarmed at the growing power of
the *Franks*, assisted them so far as he could, without openly declaring in their
favour. News was no sooner brought to the three princes of the *Franks*, that *Go-*
demar had been proclaimed king of the *Burgundians*, and acknowledged even in those
countries, which had submitted to them, than they resolved to take the field
anew. But *Clodomir*, before he set out on his march, ordered *Sigismund*, with his
wife

[u] GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Idem ibid. c. 6. [x] AVENT. chron. ad ann. 523. [y] Vide COINT. annal. eccles. Franc. tom. i.

wife and children, to be put to death in the city of *Orleans*, in the manner we have related above, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and threats of *Avitus*, abbot of *Mici*, a perſon highly eſteemed and revered all over *Gaul* for the ſanctity of his life. *Gundebald* had cauſed the father, mother, and brother, of *Clothildis* to be thrown into a well, as we have related above, and in the ſame manner, by way of retaliation, *Clodomir* ordered *Sigiſmund* to be diſpatched, with his wife and children. Soon after, *Clodomir* led his troops againſt *Godemar*; and the two armies meeting at *Veſeronce* in the territory of *Vienne*, not far from the city of *Belley*, a bloody Battle enſued, in which the *Burgundians*, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, were in the end put to flight. But *Clodomir*, purſuing the enemy with more ardour than caution, was ſurrounded by them, and cut in pieces[z]. The *Burgundians*, ſays *Agathias*, concluding from *Clodomir*'s long hair, which covered his ſhoulders, that he was one of the king's of the *Franks*, ſtruck off his head, and, carrying it upon the point of a ſpear, returned to the charge; but were repulſed by the *Franks*, and a ſecond time put to the rout[a]. However, the *Franks* being deſtitute of a leader, (for the children of *Clodomir* were yet very young) they readily concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, whereof one of the articles was, that they ſhould reſtore to *Godemar* all the countries they had ſeized during the war[b]; which they did accordingly. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that *Godemar*, having raiſed a new army, purſued the war with great vigour, and in the end recovered the kingdom of his anceſtors[c]. According to the chronicle of the biſhop of *Avanches*, the battle of *Veſeronce* was fought the ſame year, in which *Godemar* had been proclaimed king, that is, in 524.

Sigiſmund *put to death by* Clodomir.

Peace between the Burgundians *and* Franks.

THE peace concluded between the *Franks* and *Burgundians* laſted for the ſpace of eight years, that is, till the year 532. when the two ſurviving brothers *Childebert* and *Clotharius* broke anew into the dominions of *Godemar*. What gave riſe to this new war, we are not told; but, ſo far as we can conjecture from *Procopius*, they were prompted merely by their ambition, and that luſt of conqueſts, which ſeems hereditary to the princes of that reſtleſs nation, to invade a kingdom, which, they were well appriſed, they could eaſily reduce; for a few years after the conqueſt of *Burgundy* by the *Franks*, an embaſſador from the emperor *Juſtinian* to the *Oſtrogoths*, with whom the *Franks* were at that time negotiating an alliance, addreſſed them thus, as we read in *Procopius*: The *Franks* pique themſelves upon ſtanding faithfully to their engagements; but, to ſay nothing at preſent of the manner, in which they have obſerved the treaties concluded with the *Thuringians* and *Burgundians*, you cannot have forgot the little account they have ever made of the moſt ſolemn engagements they have, from time to time, entered into even with you[d]. Of this war, which ended in the ruin of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: *Childebert* and *Clotharius*, having made the neceſſary preparations to invade the kingdom of *Burgundy*, ſolicited their brother *Theodoric* to join them in the enterprize; but he openly declared, that he would take no part in that war. This gave great offence to the *Franks*, who were ſubject to him: nay, they were diſpleaſed with his conduct to ſuch a degree, that they openly threatened to revolt from him, and acknowledge the other two princes, if he did not aſſiſt them with all his forces, and look upon their cauſe as the common cauſe of the *Franks*. *Theodoric*, to quiet his mutinous ſubjects, told them, that, without him, his brothers were well able to cope with the king of the *Burgundians*; that, however, he would not fail to join them, if they ſhould ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; but that, in the mean time, he deſigned to lead them againſt the inhabitants of *Auvergne*, who, during the war he had lately made on the *Thuringians*, had given ſtrong proofs of their diſaffection to his perſon and government; that he deſigned to lay waſte their country, and that thoſe, who followed him thither, ſhould have free quarters, and be at full liberty to plunder, and carry off what ſlaves, cattle, money, furniture, *&c.* they thought fit. The ſubjects of *Theodoric*, allured by theſe promiſes, gave over all thoughts of joining the other two princes in their expedition againſt the *Burgundians*. *Childebert* therefore and *Clotharius*, hoping to compaſs their deſign without the aſſiſtance of *Theodoric*, took the field, and, entering the territories of the *Burgundians*, laid ſiege to *Auguſtodunum*, now *Autun*, obliged *Godemar* to ſave himſelf by flight, and made themſelves maſters of his kingdom[e]. Thus, in a few words, *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us an account of the reduction of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, one of the moſt remark-

A new war between thoſe two nations.

[z] GREG. TUR. ibid. [a] AGATH. de reb. Juſtin. l. i. [b] Idem ibid. [c] GREG. TUR. ibid. [d] PROCOP. bell. Goth. c. 28. GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 11.

remarkable events in the hiſtory of the *Franks*. And *Marius Aventienſis* is no leſs concise in relating the ſame events: In the conſulſhip of *Paulinus* the younger, ſays that writer, *Childebert*, *Clotharius*, and *Theodobert*, kings of the *Franks*, reduced *Burgundy*, and, having put *Godemar* to flight, divided his kingdom among them [f]. From this writer it appears, that the war laſted two years, that is, from 532. to 534. and that *Theodoric* dying in the mean time, his ſon *Theodebert* joined the other two princes. From other writers we learn, that, in this war, the *Burgundians* were aſſiſted both by the *Oſtrogoths* and *Viſigoths* [g]; that, in ſeveral encounters, the *Franks* were defeated by thoſe two nations [h]; but that, upon the death of *Athalaric*, the *Oſtrogoths* having withdrawn their troops, the *Burgundians* were in the end obliged to ſubmit to the conquerors [i]. *Procopius* tells us, that *Godemar* was taken priſoner by the *Franks*, who kept him under cloſe confinement in one of their caſtles; that, upon his captivity, the *Burgundians* agreed to ſerve the *Franks* in their wars, and to pay them a yearly tribute, with ſuch taxes and cuſtoms, as they had paid to *Godemar* and his predeceſſors [k]. One of the conditions, on which they ſubmitted to the *Franks*, was, though not mentioned by *Procopius*, that they ſhould live according to their own laws; which they actually did to the reign of *Lewis* ſurnamed *the Debonnair*, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. Thus the *Franks*, prompted by their boundleſs ambition, extended their dominions, at the expence of their neighbours, till they became maſters of all *Gaul*.

The kingdoms of the Burgundians *reduced by the* Franks. *Year after Chriſt* 534.

[f] Mar. Avent. chron. ad ann. 534. [g] Cassiod. var. l. xii. ep. 28. [h] Idem ibid. lxi. ep. 1. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 13.

The Alemans.

THE *Alemans*, a nation, which, in proceſs of time, became ſo famous in hiſtory, made their firſt appearance about the year 214. the fourth of the emperor *Caracalla*'s reign [l]. *Agathias*, upon the authority of *Aſinius Quadratus*, a *Roman* hiſtorian, who wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, about the year 247. tells us, that the *Alemans* were originally a motley multitude, conſiſting of ſeveral nations, as appears, added that writer, from their very name [m]; ſo that, according to *Aſinius Quadratus*, the *Alemans* were ſo called, becauſe they conſiſted of *all men*, that is, of men of all nations. Some *German* writers, diſpleaſed with this etymology, derive the name of *Alemans* from the word *Atelman*, ſignifying *a man of diſtinction* [n]. But the other derivation is both more natural, and better grounded. The *Alemans*, according to the moſt common opinion, conſiſted chiefly of *Sueves*, who, in proceſs of time, were joined by ſeveral other *German* nations and ſome *Gauls*; for we are told by *Tacitus*, that a conſiderable number of *Gauls*, abandoning their own country, went to ſettle beyond the *Rhine*, in the country which had formerly belonged to the *Sueves* [o]. The *Alemans* are placed by *Aurelius Victor*, St. *Jerom* [p], and other writers, between the *Danube*, the *Upper Rhine*, and the *Mein*, that is, in the preſent duchy of *Wirtemberg*. They were a numerous and warlike nation, and are chiefly commended for fighting with great ſkill and dexterity on horſeback [q]. They had ſuch an averſion to ſlavery, that even their women, ſome of whom were taken priſoners by *Caracalla*, choſe rather to die than to be ſold for ſlaves. *Caracalla*, however, ordered them to be ſold; but, preferring death to ſlavery, they laid violent hands on themſelves, ſome of them having firſt diſpatched their children [r]. Their government was monarchical; for we find ſeveral of their kings mentioned in hiſtory, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak anon. As to their religion, they worſhipped the ſame deities as the other *German* nations. We ſhall now acquaint the reader with what we have been able to gather from the ancients concerning this nation. In the year 214. *Caracalla* is ſaid to have made war upon the *Cenni*, or, as ſome read it, the *Chatti*, the *Alemans*, and other *German* nations. The *Alemans*, it ſeems, had joined the *Chatti* or *Catti*; and *Caracalla*, under pretence of ſuccouring another nation, with whom they were at variance, made war upon them, and is ſaid to have defeated the *Alemans* on the banks of the *Mein* [s]. He afterwards concluded a peace with them, diſtri-

The Alemans.

Their origin.

Their country.

Their government and religion.

They are overcome by Caracalla. *Year after Chriſt* 214.

[l] Var. p. 473. [m] Agath. l. i. p. 17. [n] Ludewig. vit. Juſtin. p. 501. [o] Vide Buch. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. p. 199, 200. [p] Hier. vit. Hilar. p. 246. [q] Aur. Vict. [r] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 876. [s] Caracal. vit. p. 87. Dio Val. p. 749. & l. lxxvii. p. 876.

a distributed large sums among them, listed great numbers of them in his army, and even among his guards, chusing rather to trust his life to them, than to the *Romans* [t]. *Aurelius Victor* adds, that he often appeared in the dress peculiar to those barbarians, wearing false hair of the same colour with theirs [u]. For the victory he gained over the *Alemans*, he took the surname of *Alemannicus* [w]. In the year 234. the thirteenth of the emperor *Severus Alexander*, the *Alemans*, and other *German* nations, having passed the *Rhine*, made themselves masters of the forts built on the banks of that river, and, entering *Gaul*, committed dreadful ravages there. *Alexander*, who was just then returned from *Persia*, where he had gained great advantages over *Artaxerxes* the *Persian* king, upon the news of this irruption, hastened into *Gaul*, and advanced, b without loss of time, to the banks of the *Rhine*. But the enemy having repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be laid over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field. But he being in the mean time assassinated by the mutinous soldiery, *Maximinus*, who had stirred them up and was chosen in his room, entered *Germany* early in the spring, at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. We are told, that several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand [x]. For the signal advantages he gained in this expedition over the c *Alemans* and other *German* nations, the senate decreed both to him and his son the title of *Germanicus*, which is still to be seen on several of his medals [y]. The *Alemans* continued quiet from this time to the year 256. the fourth of *Valerian*'s reign, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Gaul*, they laid waste that country, while the *Juthongians*, that is, the *Alemans* who dwelt on the banks of the *Danube*, made an irruption into *Italy*. In *Gaul* they were defeated, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*, by *Postbumius*, governor of those provinces. In *Italy* they advanced as far as *Milan*, destroying all with fire and sword; but their numerous army, consisting of three hundred thousand men, was defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, if *Zonaras* is to be credited, by *Gallienus*, with a body only of ten thousand men [z]. But of this victory c no mention is made either by *Pollio* or *Vopiscus*; and *Zosimus* writes, that the *Alemans* and other barbarous nations, having ravaged *Illyricum* and great part of *Italy*, returned home, without meeting with the least opposition [a]. *Eutropius* [b], St. *Jerom* [c], and *Orosius* [d] suppose the *Alemans* to have first ravaged *Gaul*, and from thence passing through *Rhætia*, to have entered *Italy*. We find no further mention made of them till the year 268. the first of the emperor *Claudius*, when the *Juthongians*, breaking into *Italy*, advanced without opposition as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda* near *Verona*. *Claudius* had no sooner suppressed the rebellion of *Aureolus*, who had assumed the purple, than he marched against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and, having cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged the rest t to quit their booty, and save themselves by a precipitous flight into their own country [e]. This victory was not known, it seems, to *Pollio*, since he does not mention it; but it is confirmed by several medals, on which the title of *Germanicus* is given to *Claudius*, before that of *Gothicus*, which he took the year after, that is, in 269 [f]. Notwithstanding this overthrow, they no sooner heard of the death of *Claudius*, than, joining the *Marcomans*, they resolved to invade *Italy* anew. But *Aurelian*, who succeeded *Claudius*, having timely notice of their march, left *Pannonia*, where he then was, and meeting them with the flower of his army in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the present *Bavaria* and a great part of *Swabia*, gave them a total overthrow, and, pursuing them close, cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted f to pass the *Danube*. Hereupon they sent embassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their ancient alliance with the empire, provided they were allowed to return unmolested to their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. But the emperor refusing to hearken to any terms, the *Alemans*, by this means reduced to despair, after various debates and consultations, resolved at length to enter *Italy*, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded (for the empe-

Their country ravaged by Maximinus. *Year after Christ* 235.

They break into Gaul *and* Italy.

Gallienus *is said to have gained a great victory over them.*

Great numbers of them cut off by Claudius. *Year after Christ* 268.

And by Aurelian.

ror

[t] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 891. [u] Aur. Vict. de Cæsarib. ad ann. urb. 965. [w] Spart. in Caracal. c. 10. p. 731. [x] Maximin. vit. p. 142. Herod. l. vii. p. 590, 591. [y] Goltz. p. 101, 102. Birag. p. 329. [z] Zon. l. i. p. 650. [a] Zos. l. i. p. 646. [b] Eutrop. l. ii. p. 67. [c] Hier. chron. [d] Oros. l. ii. c. 22. p. 214. [e] Aur. Vict. in epit. [f] Goltz. p. 118.

ror thought only of cutting off their retreat) they advanced as far as *Placentia* before *Aurelian* could come up with them, committing every-where unheard-of ravages. As the emperor drew near, they concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods, whence sallying out upon him in the night, they gained a complete victory; which threw all *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, into the utmost consternation. The books of the *Sibyls* were consulted on this occasion by the emperor's orders, and several ceremonies performed to avert the impending storm, which, they apprehended, might be attended with the total ruin of the empire. But in the mean time *Aurelian*, having received strong reinforcements from *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy, in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as escaped from this first battle were slain in two others, one of which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man [g]. About four years after, the *Alemans*, who dwelt near the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were forced by *Probus*, who was afterwards emperor, and then commanded in those parts, to repass that river and return home [h]. They continued afterwards quiet, without molesting either their neighbours or the *Romans*, for the space of eleven years, that is, till the year 285. the third of *Diocletian*'s reign, when they attempted, it seems, to break into the empire; for *Diocletian* is said to have made war upon them, and to have gained some advantages over them [i]. In 287. they broke into *Gaul* anew, with the *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, *Cavians*, and several other barbarous nations; but were most of them cut off by *Maximian*, or destroyed by famine [k]. For the great advantages gained over them by *Maximian*, a triumph was decreed by the senate both to him and *Diocletian*, as appears from a medal of this very year 287 [l]. The following year, *Maximian* passed the *Rhine* at the head of a numerous army, and, entering the country of the *Alemans*, laid it waste far and near, destroying all with fire and sword. He took in this expedition an incredible number of captives, and reduced, if *Mamertin* his panegyrist is to be credited, great part of *Germany* [m]. At the same time, *Diocletian* entered *Germany* through *Rhætia*, and is said to have extended the confines of the empire to the source of the *Danube* [n]. In the year 291. the *Burgundians* seized on part of the country belonging to the *Alemans*, which gave rise to a war between those two nations [o]; but as to the issue of this war, we are quite in the dark. In the year 301. *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, gained a signal victory over the *Alemans*, who, breaking into *Gaul* with a numerous army, came upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a small body of troops with him; which obliged him at first to retire and shelter himself within the walls of *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered that city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and, engaging the enemy, gained a complete victory [p]. In this battle the *Alemans* lost sixty thousand men, as appears from *Eutropius* [q], St. *Jerom* [r], *Orosius* [s], and even from *Zonaras* [t], and not six thousand only, as we read it in the Greek text of *Eusebius*. The *Alemans*, disheartened with so great a loss, did not offer to disturb the peace of the empire during the remaining part of the reign of *Constantius*. But, in the first of his son *Constantine*, that is, in 306. they began anew to make inroads into *Gaul*, which provoked that prince to such a degree, that, having taken some of their kings prisoners, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the magnificent shews which he exhibited [u]. However, a few years after, that is, in 310. the *Alemans*, in conjunction with the *Bructerians*, *Cheruscans*, and *Chamavians*, having crossed the *Rhine*, laid waste the neighbouring provinces; but *Constantine*, marching against them, overcame them in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit their booty and repass the *Rhine* [w]. For this victory he is supposed to have taken the title of *Maximus*, which we find on his coins of this year [x]. From this time no mention is made of the *Alemans* till the year 355. the eighteenth of *Constantius*'s reign, when they attempted to break into *Italy*; which obliged the emperor to march against them: but as he drew near the enemy, who were advanced as far as the lake of *Constance*, he detached *Arbetio* with the flower of the army against them. *Arbetio*, falling

Who is afterwards defeated by them.

But in the end cuts off their whole army. Year after Christ 270.

Their several irruptions into the empire.

60,000 *of them cut off by* Constantius Chlorus. *Year after Christ* 301.

[g] Aur. vit. p. 215. Vict. epit. [h] Prob. vit. p. 237. [i] Noris. de Dioc. c. 4. p. 19, 20. [m] Panegyr x. p. 125, 126. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem xi. p. 138. [p] Eutrop. p. 586. Theoph. p. 5. [t] Zonar. p. 247. [q] Eutrop. l. ix. p. 587. [r] Hier. chron. [s] Oros. l. vii. c. 25. p. 215. [u] Eutrop. p. 587. [w] Panegyr. vii. p. 165. [x] Birag. p. 462.

a falling into an ambuſcade, was defeated with great loſs. But ſome of the officers, who commanded under him, engaging the enemy a few days after, without his orders, put the *Alemans* flight; and *Conſtantius*, ſatisfied with this ſmall advantage, returned to *Milan* [y]. The ſame year, another body of *Alemans*, breaking into *Gaul*, with the *Franks* and *Saxons*, took and plundered above forty towns on the banks of the *Rhine*, and, among the reſt, the city of *Cologne*, which they almoſt intirely ruined [z]. Hereupon *Conſtantius*, unwilling to leave *Italy* and march againſt the barbarians in perſon, raiſed *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and ſent him to head the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*. *Julian*, ſoon after his arrival, led what forces he had againſt the *Alemans*, who had advanced as far as *Lions*, with a deſign to ſurpriſe that city; but

b the enemy retiring upon his approach, he waited for them in the paſſes, through which they were to return to their own country, and there cut moſt of them in pieces. Only a ſmall number, who took their rout through the preſent *Switzerland*, had the good luck to make their eſcape, being ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted by *Barbatio*, another *Roman* general, who was encamped at *Baſle*, and is ſuppoſed to have had private orders from *Conſtantius* to thwart all the deſigns of *Julian* [a]. Be that as it will, *Julian*, having thus driven the *Alemans* out of *Gaul*, undertook the rebuilding of the *Tres Tabernæ*, a fort near *Argentoratum*, now *Straſburg*, known at preſent by the name of *Saverne*, which the enemy had demoliſhed. As it was ſo ſituated as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*, *Julian* not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but added new works to them, ſtored them with

c proviſions for a whole year, and left a numerous gariſon in the place, to keep the neighbouring country in awe [b]. In the mean time, a large body of *Alemans*, falling upon *Barbatio* while he was buſied in laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took moſt of his baggage, laid waſte the neighbouring country, and returned home loaded with booty. Elated with this victory, they aſſembled in great numbers under the banners of *Chnodomarius* and ſix other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Straſburg*. Being informed there by a deſerter, that *Julian*'s army was only thirteen thouſand ſtrong, *Chnodomarius* had the arrogance to ſend a meſſenger to him, commanding him to quit a country, which

d the *Alemans* had acquired by their courage and valour [c]. *Libanius* adds, that the meſſenger produced letters from *Conſtantius*, in which he yielded to them that country [d]. *Julian*, however, paying no regard to them, detained the meſſenger as a ſpy, and purſued the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy, having paſſed the *Rhine*, were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, interrupting the work, he marched directly againſt them, and engaging the ſame day, though his men were tired with their long march, gained a complete victory over them. They were thirty-five thouſand ſtrong, headed by ſeven kings, ten princes, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. The victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way, nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to return to the charge; but the vigorous reſiſtance made

e by the foot ſo diſheartened the barbarians, that, deſpairing to be able to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuoſity; which the *Romans* perceiving, made a laſt effort, and charging the barbarians, already quite ſpent, put them in the end to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. Vaſt numbers of them were drowned in the *Rhine*, in attempting to croſs that river. *Chnodomarius* himſelf was taken priſoner, and preſented to *Julian*, who ſent him to *Conſtantius*, by whoſe orders he was conveyed to *Rome*, where he died ſoon after a natural death. In this battle *Julian* loſt only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the *Alemans* ſix, or, as ſome write, eight thouſand men were killed in the field;

f but a great many dead bodies were ſeen floating on the river [e]. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſixty thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and an equal number drowned; but he muſt certainly have been miſtaken. *Julian* himſelf ſtyles the battle of *Straſburg* a ſucceſsful action, which reſtored *Gaul* to its ancient liberty [f]. *Mamertinus* ſays, that, by this ſingle battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined [g]. It is at leaſt certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of *Gaul*. *Julian*, from the field of battle, returned to *Saverne*, and, having finiſhed the works there, advanced with his

The battle of Strasburg, *in which the* Alemans *were intirely defeated by* Julian. *Year after Chriſt* 357.

[y] Ammian. l. xv. p. 36, 37. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, l. xvi. p. 73, 74. [b] Jul. p. 512. Liban. p. 273. Ammian. p. 75. [c] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 76, 77. [d] Liban. orat. xii. p. 269, 273. [e] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 75. & l. xvii. p. 86. Liban. orat. x. p. 237, & orat. xii. p. 274, 276. [f] Amm. l. xx. p. 160. [g] Panegyr. xi. p. 223.

his whole army to *Mayence*, where he built a bridge over the river, and, entering *Germany*, continued ravaging the countries of the *Alemans* and their allies, till after the equinox, when the ſnow preventing him from advancing farther, he returned to *Gaul*, after having repaired the caſtle of *Trajan*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent city of *Francfort*, and granted to the *Alemans* and their allies a truce for ten months, upon their promiſing to ſtore with proviſions the fort that was building in their country [h]. The truce no ſooner expired, than *Julian*, paſſing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered anew the country of the *Alemans*, and obliged two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, to ſue for peace; which he granted them, upon their ſending back all the *Roman* captives, and furniſhing timber, iron, and other materials, to repair the cities which they had ruined [i]. We are told by *Zoſimus*, that, in this expedition, *Julian* got two thouſand *Romans* ſet at liberty [k].

Julian obliges the princes of the Alemans *to ſue for peace.*

The following year 359. *Julian*, paſſing unexpectedly the *Rhine*, advanced to the moſt diſtant borders of the *Alemans* and *Burgundians*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Hereupon two of the kings of the *Alemans*, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaldus*, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, ſuing for peace. At the ſame time, *Vadomarius* king of the *Alemans*, whoſe country lay towards *Baſle*, came in perſon to wait on *Julian*, who, at his earneſt requeſt, reſtored to him his ſon, whom he had given as an hoſtage; but at the ſame time he declared, that he would treat him as an enemy, if he did not ſet at liberty the *Romans*, whom, to the number of three thouſand, he kept in captivity. As *Vadomarius* put off from time to time the ſending back the captives, *Julian*, leaving *Spire*, where he then was, marched directly to *Baſle*, and, arriving unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of that city, ſtruck *Vadomarius* and his people with ſuch terror, that the captives were immediately ſet at liberty. Hereupon *Julian* received the king of the *Alemans* as his friend and ally, ordering his men to forbear all hoſtilities [l]. We are told, that the emperor himſelf wrote to *Julian* in favour of *Vadomarius*, being induced thereunto by ſome *Alemans*, who were in great employments at court, *viz.* by *Latinus*, at that time *comes domeſticorum*; by *Agilo* the *tribunus ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe; and by *Agilo*, who had a chief command in the army [m]. Soon after, three other kings of the *Alemans*, *viz.* *Urias*, *Urſicinus*, and *Veſtralphus*, ſent deputies ſuing for peace; which *Julian* granted them, upon their ſetting at liberty the *Roman* captives [n]. *Julian*, having thus concluded a peace with the princes of the *Alemans*, left *Germany*, and putting his troops into winter-quarters, as the ſeaſon was already far advanced, retired himſelf to *Paris* [o]. Two years after, that is, in 361. the *Alemans*, thoſe chiefly who were ſubject to *Vadomarius*, broke anew into *Gaul* on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and committed dreadful ravages there.

They break anew into Gaul; *but are defeated by* Julian, *who takes one of their kings priſoners. Year after Chriſt* 361.

Vadomarius pretended to be much concerned for the hoſtilities committed by his countrymen, and to have the greateſt reſpect imaginable for *Julian*. But in the mean time, he wrote a letter to the emperor *Conſtantius*, filled with bitter invectives againſt him. *Julian*, having intercepted the letter, found means to have him arreſted at a banquet, and baniſhed him into *Spain* [p]. He had already ſent *Libano*, one of his generals, with a ſtrong detachment againſt the *Alemans*; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near *Sanctio*, thought to be the preſent *Seckingen*, in the neighbourhood of *Baſle*, *Julian* advanced in perſon againſt them, paſſed the *Rhine*, and, coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to reſtore the booty they had taken, and ſue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms [q].

Upon the death of Julian *they ravage* Gaul.

The *Alemans* continued quiet the remaining part of *Julian*'s reign; but they no ſooner heard of his death, than they renewed their ravages in *Rhætia* and *Gaul*. Hereupon *Valentinian* I. then emperor, diſpatched *Dagalaiphus*, one of his beſt generals, againſt them, and, leaving *Italy*, haſtened in perſon into *Gaul*, in order to make head againſt the numerous forces, which the *Alemans* and other barbarous nations were ſaid to be raiſing with a deſign to invade *Gaul*. The emperor advanced as far as *Rheims*; but the *Alemans* retiring at his approach, he turned back, and took up his winter-quarters at *Paris* [r].

They defeat the Romans.

In the mean time, the *Alemans* having, in the depth of winter, paſſed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated in a pitched battle the *Romans*, who attempted to oppoſe them, took the ſtandards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, killed

[h] Ammian. p. 88. Liban. orat. xii. p 277. [i] Idem, orat. xii. p. 279. [k] In Julian. p. 514.
[l] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 117. [m] Idem, l. xvi. p. 77, & l. xiv. p. 24. [n] Idem, l. xvi. p. 75.
[o] Idem, l. xx. p. 154. [p] Liban. orat. xii. p. 286. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 181, 182. [q] Ammian. ibid. [r] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315.

killed count *Charietto*, who commanded in both *Germanies*, and wounded count *Severianus*, who had the command of a body of troops[s]. *Zosimus* supposes *Valentinian* himself to have been present at this battle. But it is plain from *Ammianus*, that he was then at *Paris*; whence, upon the first news of the defeat of his troops, he dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences, that were likely to attend the late overthrow. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the horse, sent in his room, who defeated the *Alemans* in three battles, whereof the first was fought at a place called *Scarponna*, now *Charpeigne*, between *Toul* and *Metz*; the second in the neighbourhood of the *Moselle*; and the third near *Chalons* on the *Marne*. In the last of these three engagements, the enemy fought with great resolution and intrepidity, and the *Romans* were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the sudden flight of a tribune having disanimated the troops under his command. However, *Jovinus*, inspiring them with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, pressing with great resolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and in the end to betake themselves to a precipitous flight. On the enemy's side, six thousand were killed on the spot, and four thousand wounded; and of the *Romons* only two hundred killed and as many wounded[t]. The enemy withdrew in the night-time; but were intercepted in their retreat by several parties sent out by *Jovinus* for that purpose; insomuch, that few of them had the good luck to make their escape. One of their kings was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged by those who took him; which base action provoked *Jovinus* to such a degree, that he would have punished with death the tribune who commanded the party, had he not found, upon a strict inquiry, that *he* had done all that lay in his power to restrain the fury of the incensed soldiery[u]. Of this victory *Idatius* must, without all doubt, be understood, where he writes, that the *Alemans* were utterly defeated by *Valentinian*[w]. In the close of the following year 367. the *Alemans*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained the year before, passed unexpectedly the *Rhine*, and, having taken and plundered the city of *Mentz*, while the emperor was employed, says *Ammianus*, in some other expedition, committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of *Rhando*, one of their princes. The *Romans*, to be revenged on the *Alemans*, had recourse to treachery, and caused *Vithicabius*, a prince of the same nation, to be assassinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emissaries. *Vithicabius* was the son of *Vadomarius*, and a prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution[x]. *Valentinian*, having spent the following winter at *Treves* in making vast preparations, with a design to attack the *Alemans* in their own country, took the field on the seventeenth of *June*, and, having assembled all his troops, crossed the *Rhine*, entered the enemy's country, and advanced, without the least opposition, to a place called *Solicinium*, which the modern geographers take to be the city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*. The *Alemans* had posted themselves there on a high and steep mountain; but the *Romans*, notwithstanding their advantagious situation, attacked them with great intrepidity, and, though several times repulsed, dislodged them in the end, and pursued them with great slaughter. Some of the enemy made their escape by favour of the night; but the far greater part were put to the sword, their retreat being cut off by count *Sebastian*, at the head of a strong detachment. After this battle, which was fought at a small distance from the head of the *Neckar*, in the present duchy of *Wirtemberg*, the emperor returned to *Treves*, as the season was already far advanced, and there gave audience to the embassadors of the *Alemans* suing for peace; which, it seems, he granted them[y], but, upon what terms, we are not told. This peace, however, was not long-lived; for two years after, that is, in 370. there appeared on the banks of the *Rhine* eighty thousand *Burgundians*, whom *Valentinian* had invited to join him against *Macrianus* king of the *Alemans*. But the emperor being then busied in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine*, and unwilling to interrupt that work, the *Burgundians* returned home, without offering to molest the *Alemans*. However, *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, taking advantage of the consternation the *Alemans* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a con-

But are defeated with great slaughter by Jovinus. *Year after Christ* 366.

The Romans *cause one of their kings to be treacherously murdered.*

Valentinian *gains a signal victory over them. Year after Christ* 368.

[s] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 334. Zos. l. iv. p. 740. [t] Ammian. ibid. p. 334, 335. Zos. ibid. [u] Zos. ibid. [w] Idat. fast. ad ann. 366. [x] Ammian. ibid. p. 349. [y] Idem ibid. p. 350, 351. & l. xxviii. p. 352.

conſiderable number of priſoners, to whom the emperor allowed lands and ſettlements on the banks of the *Po* [z]. The following year, *Valentinian* broke unexpectedly into the country of the *Alemans*, hoping to ſurpriſe *Macrianus* their king, whom he chiefly dreaded; but *Macrianus*, having received timely notice of his approach, ſaved himſelf by flight; and the emperor returned to *Treves*, after having laid waſte the country round *Mentz* belonging to the *Alemans* called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave one of his own nation, named *Fraomarius*, for king. But the country being intirely ruined, *Fraomarius* was glad to quit his new dignity for the command of a body of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain* [a]. The following year, *Valentinian*, paſſing the *Rhine* in the beginning of the ſummer, committed ſome ravages in the country of the *Alemans*, and undertook the building of a fort in the neighbourhood of *Baſle*, to ſerve as a curb upon the *Alemans* on that ſide. But in the mean time the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* having broken into *Pannonia*, and cut in pieces two *Roman* legions there, the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. As he could not leave *Gaul*, without concluding a peace with the *Alemans*, who, he was well appriſed, would not fail to break into thoſe provinces upon his departure, he invited *Macrianus* to an interview in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. The king of the *Alemans* readily complied with the invitation; and though at firſt he betrayed a great deal of haughtineſs in ſeeing his friendſhip thus courted by the *Roman* emperor, yet, in the end, he accepted the advantagious conditions that were offered him, and ever after continued a faithful friend to the *Romans* [b]. Some years after, a war being kindled between the *Alemans* and *Franks*, *Macrianus*, having invaded the enemy's country, was killed in an ambuſcade by *Mellobaudes*, a warlike prince of that nation [c].

He concludes a peace with Macrianus *their king. Year after Chriſt* 374.

In the year 378. the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, having revolted, and defeated ſeveral *Roman* armies ſent againſt them, *Gratian*, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eaſtern provinces, reſolved to march in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his uncle, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of his forces to ſet out on their march from *Gaul*, where he then was, to *Illyricum*. Of this notice being immediately given to the *Alemans*, called *Lentienſes*, by a countryman of theirs, who was in ſome employment at the court of *Gratian*, without the leaſt regard to the treaty they had concluded with *Valentinian*, they paſſed the *Rhine*, and began to lay waſte the neighbouring provinces. They were repulſed at firſt by the *Roman* troops quartered in thoſe parts; but returning ſoon after, to the number of forty thouſand fighting men, *Gratian* was obliged to recal the troops that were already on their march into *Illyricum*, and to ſend them, reinforced with thoſe that were left in *Gaul*, under the conduct of count *Nannianus* and *Mellobaudes* king of the *Franks*, to oppoſe the attempts of the enemy, and to oblige them to repaſs the *Rhine*. The two generals gave them battle at a place called *Argentaria*, now, as is commonly believed, *Colmar*, and, tho' greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory, thirty thouſand of the enemy being killed on the ſpot, and the reſt either ſlain in the purſuit or taken priſoners. Their king *Triarius* and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction were in the number of the dead [d]. After this victory, *Gratian* paſſed the *Rhine* at the head of his army, and, entering the enemy's country, obliged them to take refuge among their barren mountains, where he kept them ſhut up, till they were forced by famine to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the conqueror thought fit to impoſe upon them, one of which was, that they ſhould deliver up their youth to ſerve in the *Roman* army; which they did accordingly [e]. Of the *Alemans* no further mention is made in hiſtory till the year 388. when we are told by *Oroſius* [f], that, dreading the arms of *Maximus*, who had uſurped the empire in *Gaul*, they ſubmitted to him of their own accord, paying him a yearly tribute, and ſupplying his army with ſuch quantities of corn and other proviſions as he thought fit to demand. In the reign of *Honorius*, which began in 395. a colony of the *Alemans* was allowed to ſettle in that part of the preſent *Switzerland*, which is ſeparated by mount *Jura* from the *Franche Comté*, and by the lake of *Geneva* and the *Rhône* from the preſent *Savoy* and province of *Vienne* [g]. *Servius*, who wrote his comment upon *Virgil* about the year 411. tells us, that, in his time, the country bordering on the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, was inhabited by the *Alemans* [h]. We find no farther mention made of the *Alemans* till the year 477. when *Audoacrius* king of

They break the treaty; but are defeated with great ſlaughter by Gratian. *Year after Chriſt* 378.

They ſubmit to Maximus.

They ſettle in Helvetia.

[z] Idem, p. 377. [a] Idem, l. xxix. xxx. p. 397, 398. [b] Idem, l. xxx. p. 417, 418. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem, l. xxxi. p. 453, 454. [e] Idem ibid. p. 455. [f] Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [g] Vales. l. v. p. 237. [h] Serv. in not. ad 4. georg. p. 158.

a of the *Saxons*, and *Childeric* king of the *Franks*, marching againſt thoſe of that nation who had ſettled among the *Alps*, and made frequent inroads both into *Gaul* and *Italy*, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and ſtripped them of the booty, which they had a little before brought with them from *Italy* [i]. Upon the downfal of the weſtern empire, the *Alemans* made themſelves maſters of that part of *Gaul*, which is now known by the name of *Alſace*, and ſettled there [k]. Theſe *Alemans*, being joined by their countrymen in *Germany*, and thoſe who dwelt between mount *Jura* and the lake of *Geneva*, in the year 496. entered *Germania Secunda*, which then belonged to the *Ripuarian Franks*, putting all to fire and ſword. Hereupon *Sigibert*, king of the country, not able to make head againſt them with his own forces alone, b had recourſe to *Clovis*, king of the *Salian Franks*; who immediately joined him. The two kings, after their conjunction, engaged the *Alemans*, and gained a complete victory over them at *Tolbiac*, thought to be the preſent *Zulpick*, about four leagues from *Cologne*. After this defeat, ſuch of the *Alemans* as had ſettled in *Alſace*, and in the neighbourhood of the lake of *Geneva*, acknowledged *Clovis* for their king. Others took refuge in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, being allowed to ſettle there by *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, as we have related above [l]. The ſame prince tranſplanted great numbers of them into *Italy*, and ſuffered the reſt to ſettle in the countries between the *Alps* and the *Danube*, which were ſubject to him. From this time the *Alemans* had no king of their own (for their laſt king was killed in the above-mentioned battle); but continued, as they were diſperſed in ſeveral counties, ſubject partly to c the *Oſtrogoths*, who were maſters of *Italy*, and partly to the *Franks*, who were lords of *Gaul*. When the *Oſtrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of *Italy*, all the *Alemans*, except thoſe whom *Theodoric* had tranſplanted into that country, ſubmitted to the *Franks*, as we ſhall relate in our hiſtory of the modern nations.

They are overcome by Clovis, *and diſperſed. Year after Chriſt* 275.

[i] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 19. [k] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. [l] Vide ſupra. p. 565.

The Gepidæ.

d THE *Gepidæ* were, without all doubt, a *Gothic* nation. *Jornandes*, ſpeaking of them, gives us the following account of their name and origin: The *Goths*, ſays that writer, leaving *Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berith*, put to ſea with three ſhips only. One of theſe, ſailing ſlower than the other two, was thence called *Gepanta*, ſignifying in the *Gothic* tongue *ſlow*; and hence the name of *Gepantæ* and *Gepidæ*, which was firſt given to that people by way of reproach [m]. *Procopius* likewiſe tells us in expreſs terms, that the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Viſigoths*, and the *Gepidæ*, were originally one and the ſame nation; that they had the ſame cuſtoms, manners, religion, and language, and that they only differed in names, borrowed perhaps, e ſays he, from their different leaders [n]: and *Paulus Diaconus*; The *Goths*, the *Gepidæ*, the *Vandals*, ſays he, agree in language, manners, and religion, and differ only in name [o]. They entered *Scythia*, according to *Jornandes*, with the other *Goths*, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of the *Tanais* and *Palus Meotis* [p]. There they continued till the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when their numbers being greatly increaſed, they approached the *Danube*, and, having ſome time after croſſed that river, they ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Singidunum* and *Sirmium*, about the year 400. where they ſtill were when *Procopius* wrote his hiſtory [q]. They had kings of their own, and formed a ſeparate and diſtinct nation both from the *Oſtrogoths* and *Viſigoths*; but perf haps not from the *Lombards*, who were afterwards maſters of *Italy* [r]. As for what we find of them in the ancient writers, *Jornandes* tells us, that, under the conduct of their king *Faſtida*, they gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians* about the year 245 [s]. The *Burgundians* whom they overcame, and almoſt utterly extirpated, were, according to *Valeſius*, as we have obſerved above, a different nation from the *Burgundians* who afterwards ſettled in *Gaul*. Be that as it will, *Faſtida*, elated with his ſucceſs againſt the *Burgundians*, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Oſtrogotha* king of the *Goths*, acquainting him, that as the *Gepidæ* were greatly ſtreightened for want of room,

The Gepidæ: *Their origin and name.*

Their country.

They defeat the Burgundians.

[m] Jorn. de reb. Goth. p 89. [n] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. [o] Paul. Diac. miſc. l. xiv. p. 429. [p] Jorn. ibid. p. 84. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Vide Grot. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. p. 53. [s] Jorn. l. xvii. p. 635.

room, he must either grant them lands, or prepare for war. *Ostrogotha* answered, That he should be very unwilling to make war upon his kinsmen; but was determined to part with no land. Hereupon *Fastida*, entering the territories of the *Goths*, began to lay them waste; which *Ostrogotha* no sooner understood, than, leaving *Mæsia*, which he was then ravaging, he hastened back to the defence of his own country, and, meeting *Fastida*, gave him a total overthrow; but, contenting himself with the victory, did not so much as pursue the flying *Gepidæ*, looking upon them rather as his kinsmen, than an enemy[t]. The *Gepidæ* joined the *Goths*, and other northern nations, in the famous irruption which they made with their united forces into the empire in 269. the second of the reign of *Claudius*; but they were defeated by that prince with great slaughter, as we have related at length elsewhere[u]. In the year 279. the emperor *Probus* granted to them, and likewise to the *Suthungians*, *Vandals*, and *Franks*, lands in *Thrace*, upon their promising to live as the other subjects of the empire. But while the emperor was engaged in war with *Saturninus*, who had revolted in the east, they laid hold of that opportunity to ravage the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Probus*, having successfully ended his other wars, marched against them in person, and, in several encounters, cut such numbers of them in pieces, that only a small body of *Franks* had the good luck to escape the general slaughter and return home[w]. In 291. a war broke out between them and the *Goths*, in which the *Gepidæ* were assisted by the *Vandals*, and the *Goths* by the *Taifalæ*, another *Gothic* nation. But all we know of this war is, that both parties were greatly weakened, and put out of a condition of disturbing, for some years, the peace of the empire[x]. The *Gepidæ* are mentioned by St. *Jerom* among the other nations of barbarians, that in 407. broke into *Gaul*, and over-ran those provinces[y]. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and in 451. served under him in his famous expedition into *Gaul*; on which occasion the *Franks* and they meeting in the dark, both parties engaged with such fury, that above fifteen thousand were left dead on the spot[z]. Upon the death of *Attila*, the *Gepidæ* shook off the yoke under the conduct of their king *Ardaric*; which occasioned a bloody war between them and the *Hunns*. But at length *Ardaric* having gained a complete victory over the *Hunns*, of whom thirty thousand were killed on the spot, with their king *Ellac*, the *Gepidæ* not only recovered their ancient liberty, but the country whence they had been driven by *Attila*, that is, all ancient *Dacia*, lying north of the *Danube*[a]. This memorable battle, which, in a manner, put an end to the empire of the *Hunns*, was fought on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*, about the year 480[b]. The *Gepidæ*, thus settled in *Dacia*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, who agreed to pay them an annual pension. *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* was thenceforth called, from its new inhabitants, *Gepidia*, as we read in *Jornandes*[c]. Some years after, part of *Illyricum* was likewise granted them, with the city of *Sirmium*; whence their kings are by *Theophanes* styled kings of *Sirmium*[d]. There they continued quiet till the year 537. when, joining the *Heruli*, they began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Justinian*, then emperor, having ended the war in *Italy* with the *Goths*, dispatched his best generals against them, who, having overcome them in several encounters, obliged them to abandon what they held in *Illyricum*, and content themselves with *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*[e]. In the year 550. a contest arose between the *Gepidæ* and the *Lombards* descended from them, says *Paulus Diaconus*[f], about their confines; for the *Lombards* held part of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, having been allowed to settle there by the *Roman* emperors, who indeed had abandoned that province, but claimed a right of disposing of it to whom they pleased. Both the *Gepidæ* and *Lombards*, before they came to an open rupture, dispatched embassadors to *Justinian*, soliciting succours, in virtue of their alliance with the empire. The emperor, after hearing the embassadors of both nations, declared, that, in case of a war, he was determined not to suffer the *Lombards* to be oppressed by their encroaching neighbours, ordering at the same time ten thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot to march to their assistance, under the command of *Constantianus*, *Buzes*, *Aratius*, and other generals; which the *Gepidæ* no sooner under-

But are defeated by the Goths. *Year after Christ* 248.

Great numbers of them cut off by Probus. *Year after Christ* 279.

They are subdued by Attila.

They defeat the Hunns *with great slaughter, and recover their their ancient liberty. Year after Christ* 480.

They are driven out of Illyricum *by* Justinian. *Year after Christ* 537.

They quarrel with the Lombards. *Year after Christ* 550.

[t] Idem, p. 636, 637. [u] Claud. vit. p. 207. & Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 186, 187. [w] Prob. vit. p 240. [x] Panegyr. xi. p. 131, 138. [y] Hier. ep. xi. p. 93. [z] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 664. [a] Idem ibid. p. 133, 134. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem, p. 93, 94. [d] Theoph. ad ann. Justin. 13. [e] Procop. bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 33. [f] Paul. Diac. l. xiii. p. 429.

a underſtood, than they concluded a peace with the *Lombards* [g]. But the *Roman* troops were ſcarce returned home, when the *Gepidæ*, refuſing to ſtand to the articles of the treaty, took the field anew, under the conduct of their king *Thoriſinus*. *Auduinus*, then king of the *Lombards*, having drawn together what troops he could, went out to meet the enemy; but both armies, ſeized with a panic while they were ready to engage, betook themſelves at the ſame time to a precipitous flight; which both kings looking upon as a prodigy, they concluded a two years truce [h]; which was no ſooner expired, than the *Gepidæ*, calling in the *Heruli* to their aſſiſtance, broke unexpectedly into the territories of the *Lombards*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. But the *Lombards*, receiving a timely reinforcement from *Juſtinian*, fell upon the *Gepidæ*, and gave them a total overthrow [i]. We are told, that *Juſtinian* had promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in this war; and that his promiſe was confirmed by the oath of twelve ſenators: but nevertheleſs, as the *Gepidæ* had not kept their word with him, he did not think himſelf bound, either by his own promiſe, or the oaths of the ſenators, who had ſworn in his name [k]. This defeat was followed by a peace between the two nations, which was concluded by the mediation of *Juſtinian*, unwilling that either ſhould aggrandize themſelves at the expence of the other. *Thoriſinus* was at this time king of the *Gepidæ*, and *Auduinus* of the *Lombards*; but neither had any right to the crown he wore. The lawful heir to *Elemund* the late king of the *Gepidæ* was *Uſtrigothus*, that prince's only ſon; but *Elemund* dying while he was yet c under age, *Thoriſinus* had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged in his room. In the ſame manner *Auduinus*, king of the *Lombards*, had excluded *Ildigeſal* the lawful heir from the crown, and placed it upon his own head. The above-mentioned peace between the two nations was ſcarce concluded, when *Ildigeſal* took refuge among the *Gepidæ*, and *Uſtrigothus* among the *Lombards*. Both princes were demanded with great earneſtneſs and threats by their reſpective nations; but neither caring to comply with the requeſt of the other, they both began to prepare for war. However, the two kings, or rather uſurpers, before hoſtilities were committed on either ſide, agreed to diſpatch each other's rival; which they did accordingly, deeming it leſs diſhonorable to aſſaſſinate than betray thoſe, who had put themſelves under their d protection [l]. Not long after, the two kings dying, *Thoriſinus* was ſucceeded by *Cunimundus*, and *Auduinus* by *Alboinus*. *Cunimundus* had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when, reviving ſome ancient claims upon the *Lombards*, which they refuſed to comply with, he took the field at the head of a very numerous army, and, entering the country of the *Lombards*, committed there unheard-of ravages. On the other hand, *Alboinus*, having drawn together a no leſs numerous army, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; which *Cunimundus* not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. The victory continued long doubtful; but, in the end, the *Gepidæ* were put to flight, and purſued by the victorious *Lombards* with ſuch ſlaughter, that ſcarce one was left alive of ſo numerous a multitude. *Alboinus* e killed *Cunimundus* with his own hand, and, cutting off his head, turned his ſkull into a cup called by the *Lombards*, ſays *Paulus Diaconus*, *ſchala*, and by the *Latins patera*. This *ſchala* or cup he ever afterwards uſed at all public banquets or entertainments. After this victory, the *Lombards* ſeized on all *Dacia*, obliging the *Gepidæ* either to ſubmit to them, or retire elſewhere. Thenceforth they had no king of their own, but lived in ſubjection either to the *Lombards*, who were maſters of their country, or to the princes of the neighbouring nations, eſpecially of the *Huns* ſettled in *Pannonia* [m]. Thus *Paulus Diaconus* in his hiſtory of the *Lombards*. *Lazius* adds, that, among the preſent *Hungarians*, the deſcendants of the *Gepidæ* are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who are ſprung from the *Huns* [n]. The ruin of the kingdom of the f *Gepidæ* is placed by *Pagi* in 553. while *Juſtinian* was ſtill living; but others more rightly in the year 572. *Juſtin*, the ſucceſſor of *Juſtinian*, being then emperor: for we are told, that the treaſures of the deceaſed king were conveyed to *Juſtin* at *Conſtantinople* by *Traſſaicus*, an *Arian* biſhop, and by *Reptilanes*, the late king's grandſon [o]. *Alboinus* afterwards married *Roſimund*, the daughter of *Cunimundus*; which made the *Gepidæ* bear the yoke more patiently [p]. *Theodebert*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, reproaches the emperor *Juſtinian* for aſſuming the title of *Gepidicus*, to which he had no claim, ſince that nation was never overcome or conquered by him [q].

The Gepidæ *receive a great overthrow from the* Lombards. *Year after Chriſt* 552.

The Gepidæ *defeated by the ſame nation with great ſlaughter.*

The end of their kingdom. Year after Chriſt 572.

Some

[g] Procop. ibid. c. 34, 39. [h] Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 18. [i] Idem ibid. c. 25. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. c. 27. [m] Paul. Diac. de geſt. Longibard l. i. c. 27. [n] Laz. de migrat. gent. l. p. 183. [o] Abbas Biclar. p. 12. edit. Scalig. [p] Paul. Diac. ibid. [q] Agath. l. i. p. 14.

Some writers think, that the king of the *Franks* was therein mistaken, since the surname of *Gepidicus* is not to be found on any of the almost innumerable monuments and coins of *Justinian*, which have reached our times. Others are of opinion, that *Justinian* took the surname of *Gepidicus*, not on account of his conquering that nation, but because the *Gepidæ*, by putting themselves, as they did, under his protection, were deemed his subjects, which, say they, intitled him to the surname of *Gepidicus*. It is certain, that he took, and, according to the most probable opinion, on this account, the title of *Francicus*, before he had gained any advantages over that nation, nay, several years before he made war upon them.

The Heruli.

The Heruli.

Their origin. Their different seats.

THE *Heruli*, by *Zosimus* called *Eruli*[r], by *Syncellus Aairuli*[s], but commonly *Heruli*, were originally, according to *Jornandes* and *Procopius*, a *Gothic* nation. The former writer tells us, that they first dwelt in *Scandinavia*, and that, being driven from thence by the *Dani*, they wandered eastward as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and settled in that neighbourhood[t]. *Procopius* speaks of them as inhabiting, in ancient times, the countries lying beyond the *Danube*[u], agreeing therein with *Jornandes*. There they continued, making frequent irruptions into the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, who succeeded *Zeno* in 491. when great numbers of them were cut off by the *Lombards*, and the rest driven from their ancient habitations. Some of them, after having long roved about from one country to another, settled in that of the *Rugians*, the present *Pomerania*, which they found uninhabited, the ancient proprietors being gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. Some time after, they removed from thence into *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, being allowed by the *Gepidæ*, then masters of that country, to settle among them. But being oppressed and ill used by the *Gepidæ*, they had recourse to the emperor *Anastasius*, who in 511. allowed them to pass the *Danube*, and settle in *Thrace*, upon their promising to serve with fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required[w]. Great numbers of them, upon their being driven out of their own country by the *Lombards*, as we have mentioned above, under the conduct of several princes of the blood royal, took their route westward, and, passing without opposition through several barbarous nations, came to the ocean, and, embarking there, set sail for *Thule*, where they settled[x]. By *Thule Procopius* meant, without all doubt, the peninsula of *Scandinavia*, which he calls ten times as big as *Britain*; and adds, that great part of it was destitute of inhabitants, but in that, which was inhabited, were seated thirteen populous nations, each of them being governed by their own kings and laws[y]. The *Heruli* had kings of their own; but their kings, says *Procopius*, were such only by name; for they scarce had any authority, and were almost upon a level with every private man[z]. Hence some think they were called *Heruli*, from the ancient *Gothic* word *herrn.* signifying *free.* But others, and, among the rest, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes*, will have them to have been called *Heruli*, from the *Greek* word *hele*, signifying *marshy grounds.* such as those were in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, where they dwelt[a]. The *Heruli* had some laws peculiar to themselves, and differing from those of all other nations; for, among them, when men were grown old or infirm, they were not to live, but intreat their relations to dispatch them; which they did accordingly, by placing them on a pile of wood, where they were put to death by one, who was a stranger to them in blood, and their bodies reduced to ashes, it being the duty of the nearest relation to set fire to the pile. When the husband died, the wife was to strangle herself on her husband's tomb, on pain of being deemed infamous, and looked upon as one, who had no value for her husband. They were given to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and not ashamed of the most unnatural practices. They adored the same gods as the other *Gothic* nations, and used, on some extraordinary occasions, to appease them with human sacrifices[b]. They were a warlike people, and are chiefly commended by the ancients for their swiftness and agility, all other nations chusing their light-armed soldiers out of them. The *Heruli* began first to invade the empire about the year 526. the fourth of the emperor *Valerian*'s reign; but

Their government, manners, customs, religion.

[r] Zos. l. i. p. 652. [s] SYNCEL. p. 382. [t] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 3. p. 613. [u] PROCOP. de bell. Goth. l. ii. [w] Idem ibid. c. 14. p. 42. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem, c. 14.
[a] JORN. ubi sup. [b] PROCOP. ibid.

but were soon driven back by *Gallienus*, the son of *Valerian*, and his collegue in the empire[c]. Eleven years after, the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Mœotis* into the *Euxine* sea with five hundred vessels, under the conduct of one of their chiefs named *Naulobat*, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chryopolis*, now *Scutari*. At the latter place they were met and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himself killed in the engagement. The *Heruli*, somewhat discouraged with the loss they had sustained, reimbarqued, and began to retire to the mouth of the *Euxine* sea; but the very next day, the wind proving favourable, they returned anew before *Byzantium*, and, having crossed the *Bosporus*, surprized and plundered the city of *Cyzicus*, with great part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos* and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Thence they steered their course towards *Greece*, and, landing there, besieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, without meeting with the least opposition, till the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the historian, waiting for them in the straights, and, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. However, in their retreat they committed great devastations in *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace*. In the mean time, *Gallienus*, returning from *Gaul*, hastened into *Illyricum*, hoping to meet the *Heruli* there on their return home. He met them accordingly, and, coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, pursued them with great slaughter as far as the *Nessus* in *Mœsia*, and there cut three thousand of them in pieces, as they were attempting to cross that river. *Naulobat* himself was taken prisoner, but treated with great humanity by *Gallienus*, who, to gain the affections of the barbarians, honoured him either with the consulate or the consular ornaments[d]. The *Heruli*, however, two years after, that is, in 269. joined the *Goths* and other northern nations, against the emperor *Claudius*; but were defeated by that prince with great slaughter, as we have related at length elsewhere[e]. In the year 287, the fourth of *Diocletian*'s reign, the *Heruli*, joining the *Chaibons* and *Cavions*, entered *Gaul*, and laid waste the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*. But *Maximian*, marching against them, gave them a total overthrow, and pursued them with such slaughter, that, if his panegyrist may be credited, out of so great a multitude not one was left alive to carry home the news of their defeat[f]. All we know of the *Chaibons* and *Cavions* is, that their country lay at a great distance from *Gaul*, as well as that of the *Heruli*[g]. In the year 366. the third of *Valentinian*'s reign, we find a body of *Heruli* serving in the *Roman* army on the *Rhine*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus*[h] and *Zosimus*[i] tell us, that the *Alemans*, crossing that river on the ice, defeated the *Romans* and took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*. About the year 370. *Ermenric*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Ermanaric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, after having subdued the neighbouring nations, fell upon the *Heruli* and obliged them to submit, to pay him a yearly tribute, and to supply his army with their youth, when required[k]. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and served in his army, when in 451. he invaded *Gaul*. Upon the death of *Attila*, they recovered their ancient liberty, and, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, served in their armies, under commanders of their own nation, but named by the emperors[l]. In the year 456. they made a descent on the coast of *Galicia*; but finding the inhabitants on their guard, they reimbarqued, and, landing in *Biscay*, committed great ravages there[m]. *Idatius*, who speaks of this descent, does not tell us whence those *Heruli* came, who, according to him, were but four hundred in number. When *Odoacer* made himself master of *Italy* in 476. such of the *Heruli*, as served at that time in the *Roman* armies, obtained of him lands in *Italy*, the third of that country being by him divided among the barbarians, who were in the *Roman* service, under the name of *fœderati*, or allies, and had joined him against *Orestes* and his son *Augustulus*, as we have related elsewhere[n]. In the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, which began in 491. they made war on several barbarous nations, says *Procopius*[o]; and subdued them; but having obliged their king *Rodulphus* to make war upon the *Lombards*, without the least provocation, they were overthrown by them with great slaughter, and obliged to live either in subjection to the conquerors or abandon their country. Most of them chose the latter, some settling in the country of the *Rugians*, as we have hinted above; others

Great ravages committed by them in Asia *and* Greece. *Year after Christ* 267.

They are defeated by Gallienus.

And by Maximian *Year after Christ* 287.

Subdued by the Ostrogoths *and* Hunns.

Serve in the Roman *armies.*

Overthrown with great slaughter by the Lombards.

[c] Zonar. vit. Gallien. p. 253. [d] Gallien. vit. p. 181—184. Zos. l. i. p. 651. Syncel. p. 382. [e] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 186. 187. [f] Panegyr. x p. 125. [g] Idem ibid. p. 124. [h] Amm. Marcel. l. xxvii. p. 334. [i] Zos. l. iv. p. 749. [k] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 645. Procop. de bell. Goth. l. i. sub. init [l] Agath. l. i. p. 22. [m] Idat. p. 32. [n] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 513. [o] Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14.

others returning into *Scandinavia*, and ſome, with the permiſſion of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, taking up their abode in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*[p], where they had not been long ere they began to oppreſs and abuſe, in a moſt barbarous manner, the *Romans*, among whom they lived. Hereupon *Anaſtaſius* ordered the troops quartered in the neighbouring provinces to march to the aſſiſtance of the oppreſſed *Romans*, who, taking arms upon their arrival, fell, in conjunction with them, on the *Heruli*, and cut moſt of them in pieces. Such of them, as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, had recourſe to the clemency of the emperor, who, upon their promiſing to ſerve the empire like faithful ſubjects, not only ordered them to be ſpared, but ſuffered them to continue in the countries, which he had formerly granted them[q]. In the reign of emperor *Juſtinian*, which began in 526. the *Heruli*, having murdered their king, and no other remaining among them of the blood royal, they diſpatched embaſſadors into *Thule* or *Scandinavia*, with orders to bring a prince from thence of the family, if it was not extinct likewiſe there. The embaſſadors, purſuant to their directions, pitched upon one (for there were many of the royal race there); but he dying on the way, they went back, and choſe another named *Todaſius*, who immediately ſet out on his journey to *Thrace*, attended by the embaſſadors, by his brother *Aordas*, and by a guard of two hundred men. But in the mean time the *Heruli*, having long waited the return of their embaſſadors, and ſuſpecting they had met with ſome misfortune, had recourſe to *Juſtinian*, begging he would give them a king. The emperor readily complied with their requeſt, and appointed one *Suartuas* to reign over them, who was of the ſame nation, but had lived long at *Conſtantinople*. The *Heruli* received their new king with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; but, a few days after his arrival, news being brought, that the embaſſadors, on their return from *Thule*, had already reached the confines, with a prince of the blood royal, they immediately revolted from *Suartuas*, who was thereupon obliged to ſave himſelf by flight and return to *Conſtantinople*. *Juſtinian*, highly provoked at their conduct, reſolved to force them to acknowledge the prince he had given them; but the *Gepidæ* eſpouſing the cauſe of the new king, the emperor, whoſe troops were then employed againſt the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*, did not think it adviſeable to engage in a new war. But the war in *Italy* was no ſooner ended, than, turning his arms againſt the *Heruli* and their allies the *Gepidæ*, he drove both nations quite out of the empire[r]. He was afterwards reconciled to the *Heruli*, who aſſiſted him in his other wars, ſupplying his armies with numerous bodies of troops, of which one ſerved with great reputation in *Italy*, and the other in *Colchis*[s]. In the reign of *Juſtinian*, great numbers of them embraced the chriſtian religion; but the change of religion wrought no change in their manners, being of all nations, ſays *Procopius*, the moſt wicked, the moſt treacherous, avaricious, and the moſt addicted to drunkenneſs, and all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery. They were, ſoon after the death of *Juſtinian*, ſubdued by the *Lombards*, and lived partly ſubject to them, partly to the neighbouring nations.

They murder their king, and ſend for another from Thule.

They are driven out of the empire by Juſtinian.

[p] Idem ibid. p. 420. [q] Idem ibid. & Paul. Diac. Lang. c. 20. p. 759. [r] Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14, 15. [s] Agath. l. i. c. 22. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p. 144.

The Marcomans.

The Macromans. *Their origin, country*, &c.

THE *Marcomans* are, by all the ancient writers, reckoned among the *German* nations. They dwelt originally near the ſprings of the *Danube*; but removed from thence under the conduct of their king *Maroboduus*, into the country which was then held by the *Boians*, and is ſtill called from them *Bohemia*, as it was by the ancients *Boiohemia* and *Boioheimia*, that is, the country of the *Boians*. The *Boians* were, according to *Cæſar*, a *Gauliſh* nation, but from *Gaul* paſſed into *Germany*, and, ſettling in the preſent *Bohemia*, continued there till they were driven out by the *Marcomans*[u]. The migration of the *Marcomans*, from their original country into that of the *Boians*, is mentioned by *Velleius Paterculus*[w]. *Ptolemy*, in deſcribing the country of the *Marcomans*, mentions a city there called *Marobudum*, which name it took, without all doubt, from its founder *Maroboduus*. This our modern geographers take to be the preſent city of *Prague*. *Strabo* calls the city, where *Maroboduus* uſually reſided,

[u] Cæsar, l. vi. c. 24. [w] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 108.

resided, *Boviasmum*[f]; but *Cluverius* thinks we ought to read *Boiæum*. The *Marcomans* agreed in customs, manners, religion, &c. with the other *German* nations, were a very numerous and warlike people, and ever ready to prefer death to slavery. Of all the *German* nations they alone made use of the *Runic* letters in their charms and incantations; whence *Lazius* and *Rhabanus Maurus* conclude them to have come originally from *Scandinavia*[g]; but, in every thing else, they agreed with the *German* nations, and are reckoned among them, as we have hinted above, by the ancient writers. As for their history, in the reign of *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, having crossed the *Rhine* at the head of a very numerous and powerful army, gained great advantages over them and the other *German* nations; which obliged them to send deputies to *Augustus* and sue for peace. The emperor received the embassadors of the *Marcomans* with particular marks of distinction, and granted them their request; but obliged the other *German* nations to retire beyond the *Elbe*, and the *Sicambrians*, with such of the *Sueves* as were not subject to *Meroboduus*, to abandon their native country, and people some places in *Gaul*, that were destitute of inhabitants[h]. In the year 17. the fourth of *Tiberius*, a war broke out between the *Marcomans* and the *Cheruscans* dwelling between the *Elbe* and the *Weser*. The former were commanded by *Meroboduus*, and the latter by the celebrated *Arminius*, who, a few years before, had cut off the legions of *Varus*. But all we know of this war is, that the *Cheruscans* gained considerable advantages over the *Marcomans*[i]. Two years after, *Tiberius* having, by his emissaries, stirred up the subjects of *Meroboduus* against him, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna*. *Meroboduus* was succeeded by *Catualdus*, who was likewise driven out soon after, and obliged to take refuge in *Gaul*[k]. In the year 86. the emperor *Domitian*, provoked against the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, because they did not assist him in the war, which he was then waging with the *Dacians*, entered their country in an hostile manner. Both nations earnestly sued for peace; which *Domitian* was so far from granting, that he caused their embassadors to be put to death. Hereupon the *Marcomans* flew to arms, and, having drawn together a considerable body of troops, they engaged the emperor, and put his army to the rout[l]. However, the emperor, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed both over them and the *Dacians*, of whom; after his defeat by the *Marcomans*, he had purchased a peace with large sums, which he had refused before upon most advantagious terms[m]. But the triumphs of this emperor were looked upon as certain tokens of his having been defeated[n]. In the year 93. *Domitian* marched in person against the *Sarmatians*, who, according to some, had cut in pieces one, according to others, several *Roman* legions[o], and at the same time made war upon the *Marcomans*[p]. But all we know of this war is, that *Domitian* pretended to have gained great advantages over both nations, and, on that account, took the title of *imperator*[q]. We have spoken elsewhere at length of the memorable war, which, in conjunction with several other *German* nations, the *Marcomans* made on the empire[r]; and therefore shall only observe here, that, in one of the battles that were fought in this war, the *Romans* were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men; and that, on another occasion, the emperor *Aurelius* was in great danger of being cut off with his whole army. Though the whole strength of the empire was employed against them, yet they held out for the space of fifteen years, and in the end obtained a peace upon very reasonable terms, one of which was, that they should not, for the future, settle within six miles of the *Danube*. Some of the *Marcomans*, who submitted to the emperor, were transplanted into *Italy*; but these, having attempted to make themselves masters of *Ravenna*, were by him sent back to their own country. This war lasted from the year 165. to the year 180. In the year 214. a war was kindled between them and the *Vandals*, by means of the emperor *Caracalla*, who used to brag, that he had set at variance those two nations, which, till this time, had lived in friendship and amity[s]; but what was the issue of that war, we are no-where told. In the year 256. the emperor *Gallienus* entered into an alliance with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomans*; and, upon the captivity of his father *Valerian*, taken

The Marcomans *obtains a peace of* Augustus.

They wage war with the Cheruscans.

They defeat and put to flight the emperor Domitian. *Year after Christ* 86.

Their war with M. Aurelius. *Year after Christ* 165.

[f] Strabo, l. vii. p. 201. [g] Goldast, Alam. antiq. tom. ii. part. i. [h] Suet. l. ii. c. 21. p. 178. Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 26. p. 47. Strab. l. vii. p. 209. [i] Tacit. annal. c. 42. p. 53. & c. 44, 46. p. 54, 55. [k] Idem, ann. ii. c. 62, 63. p. 61. 62. [l] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 764. [m] Suet. in Domit. c. 6. p. 788, 789. Euseb. chron. [n] Suet. ibid. [o] Stat. silv. iii. ver. 398. Suet. in Domit. c. 6. p 788. [p] Stat. ibid. [q] Suet. ibid. p. 789. [r] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 66, & seq. [s] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 807. [t] Dio, val. p. 754, 757.

taken priſoner by the *Perſians*, he yielded to him part of *Upper Pannonia* for his daughter *Pipa* or *Pipara*, whom he pretended to marry; but as he was already married to *Salonina*, ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions *Cornelia Salonina Auguſta* [u], *Pipa* is called by the writers of thoſe times his concubine [w]. The *Marcomans* joined the *Alemans* and the *Juthongians* in the war, which thoſe nations made on the emperor *Aurelian* about the year 270. But were in the end cut off almoſt to a man [x]. Both *Idatius* and *Victor* [y] mention a victory gained over the *Marcomans* in the year 299. the ſixteenth of *Dioclefian*'s reign. About the year 396. *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, having embraced the chriſtian religion, wrote to St. *Ambroſe*, intreating him to ſend her ſome inſtructions relating to the conduct of her life. The holy prelate readily complied with her requeſt, and beſides exhorted her to perſuade her huſband to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*. This ſhe not only did, but prevailed upon the king to ſubject himſelf, and his kingdom, to the empire [z]. And hence it is, that, among the many barbarous nations that broke into *Gaul* a few years after, that is, in 406. and 407. no mention is made of the *Marcomans*. They ſeem to have continued faithful to the *Romans* till the time of *Attila*, when, being ſubdued by that prince, they were obliged to ſerve in his army againſt their old friends and allies; for they are mentioned among the many different nations, of which his army was compoſed, when in the year 451. he invaded *Gaul* [a]. Upon the death of *Attila*, they ſhook off the yoke, and, having recovered their ancient liberty, ſubmitted either to *Marcian*, or his ſucceſſor *Leo* [b], and ſerved the empire to the laſt with unſhaken fidelity. From them, and, without all doubt, from ſeveral other nations ſettled among them, are deſcended the preſent inhabitants of *Bohemia*.

The king of the Marcomans *ſubjects himſelf, and his kingdom, to the empire. Year after Chriſt* 396.

[u] Goltz. Birag. p. 380. [w] Gallien. vit. p. 184. Valer. vit. p. 174. Vict. epit. p. 541.
[x] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 188. rer. Goth. c. 38. p. 666, 667. [y] Aur. Vict. p. 525. [z] Ambroſ. vit. c. 36. p. 10. [a] Jorn. [b] Idem ibid. c. 50. p. 688.

The Quadians.

The Quadians *Their country.*

NEXT to the *Marcomans* dwelt the *Quadians*, a *German* nation often mentioned by the ancients, eſpecially by *Eutropius* and *Capitolinus*. Their country is at preſent known by the name of *Moravia*; for it extended from the mountains of *Bohemia* to the river *Marus*, now the *March*, and conſequently compriſed that province. *Ptolemy* mentions the following cities in the country of the *Quadians*, viz. *Eburodunum*, or, as others read it, *Robodunum*, *Eburum*, *Medoſlanium*, and *Celemantia*, now, according to *Cluverius*, *Brin*, *Olmutz*, *Znaim*, and *Kalminz*. The *Quadians* were a warlike people, had kings of their own, and agreed in cuſtoms, manners, and religion, with the other *German* nations. The *Quadians* joined, without all doubt, their countrymen againſt *Lollius*, *Germanicus*, *Caius*, and *Galba*, attempting to reduce *Germany*, and bring under ſubjection the ſeveral nations inhabiting that extenſive country. The emperor *Domitian*, while engaged in a war with the *Dacians*, turned unexpectedly his arms againſt them; but, before the *Quadians* could draw their troops together, the emperor was defeated and put to flight by the *Marcomans*, as we have related above. They ſubmitted, it ſeems, to the emperor *Titus Antoninus*; for they received and acknowledged a king named by that prince, as appears from ſome of *Antoninus*'s coins, ſuppoſed to have been ſtruck about the year 139 [c]. They joined the *Marcomans* in the memorable war, which that nation made on the empire in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, as we have hinted above, and related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [d]. The *Quadians* being, by that war, which had laſted fifteen years, reduced to great ſtraits, ſent in the end embaſſadors to ſue for peace. and with them all the *Roman* deſerters, and thirteen thouſand priſoners, whom they had taken during the war. By that means they obtained a peace, upon condition that they ſhould not traffick for the future within the *Roman* dominions, nor ſettle within ſix miles of the *Danube*. But, diſliking theſe conditions, they renewed the war, in conjunction with the *Marcomans*; and, having driven out *Furtius*, whom the emperor had appointed to reign over them, they appointed one *Ariogeſes* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* reſented to ſuch a degree, that though the *Quadians* promiſed to ſet at liberty fifty thouſand *Roman* captives, upon condition that he confirmed to *Ariogeſes* the title of king, the

Their wars with the empire.

They join the Marcomans *againſt* M. Aurelius.

[c] Birag. p. 194. Spanh. l. ix. p. 831. 832. [d] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 66—79.

a the emperor would not hearken to the propoſal; but, on the contrary, proſcribed the new prince and ſet a price upon his head. Hereupon the *Quadians*, being joined by the *Marcomans* and ſeveral other nations, attacked the *Romans*; but, after a long and bloody diſpute, were put to the rout and utterly defeated. *Ariogeſes* himſelf was taken priſoner; but the emperor generouſly ſpared his life, and contented himſelf with confining him to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt*. After this victory, the other nations ſubmitted and obtained a peace; but the *Quadians* ſeem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*, who granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. They ſhould keep at the diſtance of five miles from the *Danube*. 2. That they ſhould deliver up their arms, and ſupply the *Romans* with a b certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they ſhould aſſemble but once a month in one place only, and in the preſence of a *Roman* centurion. And laſtly, That they ſhould not make war upon the neighbouring nations, without the conſent of the people of *Rome* [d]. This peace was concluded in the year 180. the firſt of the emperor *Commodus*'s reign. In the year 214. the *Quadians* had one *Gaiobomar* for their king, who was murdered by the orders of *Caracalla*; but upon what provocation, we are not told. Of this aſſaſſination the emperor uſed to brag, as of a glorious action [e]. In 257. the fourth of the emperor *Valerian*'s reign, the *Quadians*, joining the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum*, and ravaged part of that province; but they were defeated by *Probus*, afterwards emperor, but at that time only tribune of a c legion. On this occaſion *Probus* reſcued out of the hands of the *Quadians Valerius Flaccus*, a youth deſcended from an illuſtrious family, and nearly related to the emperor *Valerian*, who publicly commended *Probus* for ſo glorious an action, and preſented him with a civic crown, which, in the times of the republic, was beſtowed on thoſe, who had ſaved the life of a citizen [f]. In 260. the ſeventh of the emperor *Gallienus*, they made a ſudden irruption into *Pannonia*; but were obliged by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, to quit their booty and return home. That commander is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over them in one day [g]. Some years after, that is, about the year 283. *Probus*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, being dead, the *Quadians*, in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, d and, after having ravaged thoſe provinces, were advancing towards *Italy*; but *Carus*, who had ſucceeded *Probus*, meeting them on the borders of *Illyricum*, gave them a total overthrow, killed ſixteen thouſand of them on the ſpot, and took twenty thouſand priſoners [h]. In the year 355. the nineteenth of the emperor *Conſtantius*, the *Quadians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*, and, having pillaged both provinces, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, they returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty [i]. Of this irruption, no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waſte *Valeria*, while the *Sueves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rhætia*, and the *Sarmatians* over-ran *Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mœſia*. Hereupon *Conſtantius*, leaving *Milan*, where he then was, advanced e to the confines of the *Quadians*, and there conferred with the chiefs, who excuſed, in the beſt manner they could, the paſt ravages, and promiſed, for the future, to live in peace and amity with the empire [k]. But, notwithſtanding the promiſes they had made, the following year 358. in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, they laid waſte great part of *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*; but, at the approach of *Conſtantius*, who marched againſt them in perſon, they repaſſed the *Danube* and returned home. But the emperor reſolved to puniſh them for their treachery, and, having paſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, began to lay waſte their country. The *Quadians*, not finding themſelves in a condition to make head againſt the numerous forces *Conſtantius* had with him, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which the emperor readily granted them, f upon their delivering up hoſtages, and ſetting at liberty all the priſoners they had taken [l]. In the year 374. their king *Gabinius* being treacherouſly murdered by *Marcellianus* duke of *Valeria*, in the manner we have related in our *Roman* hiſtory [m], they paſſed the *Danube* in the utmoſt rage, and falling upon the reapers, it being then harveſt-time, cut moſt of them in pieces, laid waſte the country to a great diſtance, and took an incredible number of captives. *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, not finding himſelf in a condition to ſtem this furious torrent, retired into *Valeria*; but the *Quadians*, looking upon him as the chief author of the murder of their king,

They obtain a peace of Commodus.

And by Carus, *with great ſlaughter. Year after Chriſt* 283.

Defeated by Probus.

Their king Gabinius *murdered by the* Romans.

[d] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 806, 817. [e] Dio, Val. p. 754, 757. [f] Prob. vit. p. 234, 235. [g] Trig. tyran. vit. p. 188. [h] Carin. vit. p. 250. Zonar. p. 242. [i] Zos. p. 702. [k] Ammian. p. 72. Jul. ad Ath. p. 513. [l] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 105. [m] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 361.

king, followed him thither, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through which they paſſed. In their way they met two legions, the *Pannonian* and *Mœſian*, who had been ſent to oppoſe them; but the legions falling into an unſeaſonable contention about precedency, the barbarians, taking advantage of their diſagreement, cut them both in pieces. Thus all the open country was abandoned to them, the *Romans* remaining maſters only of the fortified places[n]. The *Sarmatians*, who had joined the *Quadians* in this irruption, having entered *Upper Mœſia*, were defeated there with great ſlaughter by *Theodoſius*, afterwards emperor, but then very young, and only duke of *Mœſia*. Againſt the *Quadians* *Valentinian* I. then emperor, marched in perſon, and, arriving at *Carnutum* in *Illyricum*, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent city of *Hainburg* on the *Danube* in *Auſtria*, about thirty miles eaſt of *Vienna*, continued there three months, making vaſt preparations for his intended expedition into the country of the *Quadians*. At length he took the field, and, having paſſed the *Danube* at *Acincum*, now *Gran*, or, as others will have it, *Buda* in *Lower Hungary*, he entered the enemy's country and laid it waſte, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Having thus paſſed the ſummer and great part of the autumn, he took up his winter-quarters at *Bregetio*, which ſome take to be a village on the *Danube*, now called *Bregnitz*, and others the preſent city of *Komare* in the iſle of *Schut*. There he gave audience to the embaſſadors of the *Quadians*, come to ſue for peace; but, while he was ſpeaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he fell all on a ſudden to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. Being immediately conveyed into his chamber, he was there ſeized with convulſion-fits, and violent contorſions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he ſoon expired[o]. *Socrates* writes, that being offended at the mean and beggarly appearance of the embaſſadors of the *Quadians*, he aſked them, If their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him? They anſwered, That the firſt men in the nation were in his preſence. Hereupon he fell into a violent paſſion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for daring to inſult the majeſty of the *Roman* people. He delivered himſelf with ſo much heat and violence, that, his veins burſting, he was inſtantly ſuffocated in his own blood[p]. Upon his death, the officers of the army proclaimed *Valentinian*, his ſecond ſon, emperor, tho' he was then a child but four or five years old. At the ſame time, they concluded a truce with the *Quadians*, and recalled the troops, which, under the conduct of *Merobaudes* and count *Sebaſtian*, were laying waſte their country. In the year 379. they broke anew into *Illyricum*; but were driven out with ſome loſs by the emperor *Gratian*. In the year 407. the *Quadians* entered *Gaul* with the other barbarians, and over-ran thoſe provinces, committing every-where dreadful ravages, of which we have ſpoken at length elſewhere[q]. From this time no further mention is made in hiſtory of the *Quadians*; whence *Lazius* concludes them to have been either ſubdued, or utterly extirpated, by the *Goths*, who had ſettled in *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*.

They cut off two Roman *legions, and commit great ravages in the empire. Year after Chriſt* 374.

They enter Gaul. *Year after Chriſt* 407.

[n] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 408, 409. Zos. l. iv p. 745. [o] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 68. [p] Socrat. p. 284. [q] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi p. 388.

The Sarmatians.

The Sarmatians.

Their country.

They conſiſted of ſeveral different nations.

THE *Sarmatians* were a very numerous and warlike nation, divided into many tribes, each of them having their own king, and maſters of a large and extenſive country. *Sarmatia Europæa*, or *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, of which alone we deſign to ſpeak here, extended from the *Viſtula*, now the *Weiſſel*, parting it from *Germany*, to the *Euxine* ſea, the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, the *Palus Mœotis*, and the *Tanais* dividing it from *Aſia* and the *Aſiatic Sarmatia*. In this vaſt tract of land, comprehending the preſent *Poland*, *Ruſſia*, and great part of *Tartary*, dwelt the following nations, *viz.* the *Burgiones*, *Cariones*, *Sudeni*, *Geloni*, *Hamaxobii*, *Agathyrſi*, *Boruſæ*, *Melanchænæ*, *Alauni* or *Alani*, *Iazyges*, *Roxolani*, *Baſtarnæ*, *Carpi* or *Carpates*, *Sidones*, *Borani*, and *Venedi*, by *Jornandes* called *Winidæ* and *Vinidi*. The five laſt-named nations are thought to have come originally from *Germany*, eſpecially the *Baſtarnæ*; for even in the time of *Tacitus*, who is at a loſs whether he ought to place them among the *German* or the *Sarmatian* nations, they agreed with the former in dreſs and language[r]. The

[r] Tacit. de mor. German. c. 46.

The *Gelonians* were, according to *Herodotus*[s], of *Greek* extraction; but had, even in his time, adopted, in a great measure, the customs and manners of the *Budini*, among whom they had settled, especially the custom of painting their bodies; as we read in *Virgil*[t] and *Claudian*[u]. The *Budini* dwelt near mount *Budinus*, from which springs the *Borysthenes*, called by more modern writers the *Danapris*, and thence the *Dnieper* or *Nieper*. The other nations, which we have mentioned above, were all *Gothic*; and of the origin of the *Gothic* nations we have spoken at length in the history of the *Goths*. These various nations were blended by the *Romans* under the common name of *Sarmatæ*; by the *Greeks* under that of *Sauromatæ*, and sometimes by both; under the denomination of *Scythæ* or *Scythians*, and *Getæ*. Each of them had, it
b seems, their own king; for mention is made in history of the kings of the *Roxolani*, of the *Basternæ*, of the *Iazyges*, &c. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the *Sarmatians* in general, tells us, that they were a savage people, and infamous for their lewdness[w]. The *Melanchlænæ* are said, both by *Ammianus*[x] and *Herodotus*[y], to have fed on human flesh, and are thence called by them, as well as by *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Anthropophagi* and *Androphagi*.

Their origin.

The *Sarmatians* began first to threaten the empire in the reign of *Nero*, about the year of the christian æra 63. that is, about seventeen years after *Thrace* had been by *Claudius* reduced to a *Roman* province; for, till its reduction, it had been governed by its own princes, and served as a barrier on that side between the *Sarmatians* and *Romans*. A few years after the latter became possessed of it, the *Sarmatians* began to
c appear in great numbers on the confines, as if they intended to make themselves masters of that province, which was then guarded by a small number of troops, under the command of *Plautius Silvanus Ælianus*, who had sent the rest to the assistance of *Corbulo*, then making war in *Armenia*. But the *Roman* general having gained over the kings of the *Bastarnians* and *Roxolanians*, the rest soon dispersed[z]. However, six years after, that is, in 69. *Otho* being then emperor, the *Roxolanians*, who dwelt on the west side of the *Palus Mæotis*, entering *Mæsia*, defeated there two *Roman* cohorts, and, having pillaged that part of the province, which bordered on the *Danube*, they repassed the river and returned home unmolested. Animated with this success, they
d appeared anew the same year with nine thousand horse. But *Marcus Aponius Saturninus*, governor of *Mæsia*, falling upon them with a legion and some auxiliaries, cut them off almost to a man[a]. The same year, *Vespasian* being proclaimed emperor by the legions quartered in the east, the *Iazygians*, a *Sarmatic* nation dwelling next to the *Roxolanians*, declared for the new emperor against *Vitellius*. But *Vespasian*, returning them thanks for the troops they offered him, took with him only their chiefs, not with a design to employ them, but prevent them from making inroads into the *Roman* territories during the war[b]. *Tacitus* calls the *Iazygians* the allies of the *Romans*. But the very first year of the reign of *Vespasian*, whom they had offered to join a few months before, they broke into *Mæsia*, and having killed *Fonteius Agrippa*, gover-
e nor of that province, who attempted to oppose them, they laid waste the country far and near. Hereupon *Rubrius Gallus*, marching against them with the utmost expedition, pursuant to the orders he had received from the emperor, cut great numbers of them in pieces in several encounters, obliged the rest to repass the *Danube*, and, with great care, fortified the banks of that river, to cover the province from their incursions[c]. In the year 85. the fourth of *Domitian*'s reign, the *Iazygians*, joining
f the *Sueves*, armed with a design, says *Dion*[d], to pass the *Danube*, and lay waste the *Roman* dominions; but whether or no they put their design in execution, that writer has not thought fit to tell us. *Tacitus* indeed writes in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* armed against the empire[e]; and elsewhere, that this very year, soon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia*[f], in all likelihood by the *Iazygians* and *Suevians*. In the year 93. the thirteenth of *Domitian*'s reign, the *Sarmatians* having cut in pieces a *Roman* legion with their tribune, the emperor, who was then in *Dacia*, marched against them in person[g]; but with what success, we are not told. *Domitian* indeed took the title of *imperator*, as if he had gained some great advantage over the enemy; but that prince often claimed the

The Roxolanians defeat two Roman cohorts, and ravage Mœsia. Year after Christ 69.

They kill the governor of that province; but in the end are most of them cut in pieces.

[s] Herodot. l. iv. c. 108. [t] Virg. georg. ii. ver. 115. [u] Claud. l. i. in Rufin. ver. 315. [w] Ammian. Marcel. l xxxi. p. 443. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Herodot. l. iv. c. 102, 106. [z] Tacit. annal. xv. c. 25. p. 248 & 459. [a] Idem hist. l. i. c. 79. & l. ii. c. 85. [b] Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 7. p. 63. [c] Idem, l. iv. c. 54. p. 102. Joseph. bell. vii. c. 22. p. 976. [d] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 761. [e] Tacit l. i. c. 2. p 4. [f] Vit. Agr. c. 41. p. 151. [g] Suet. in Domit. c. 6. p. 788.

the victory when he had been driven out of the field, and shamefully put to flight, as we have hinted above. The *Sarmatians* are by *Dion* reckoned among the nations that submitted to *Adrian*[h] while he was in *Armenia*, in the year 107. but that writer speaks, without all doubt, of the *Asiatic Sarmatians*. As for the *Sarmatians* in *Europe*, they broke into *Illyricum* with great fury in the year 119. the second of *Adrian*'s reign; which obliged that prince to quit *Rome*, and march against them in person. Upon his arrival in *Mœsia*, they repassed the *Danube* with great precipitation, and encamped on the opposite bank; but the *Roman* cavalry swimming, armed as they were, cross the river, in order to attack them, the *Sarmatians* were struck with such terror, that they immediately submitted[i]. The horse, to whose intrepidity and boldness was owing the submission of the enemy, were the *Batavians* in the *Roman* service, as appears from the epitaph of one of them named *Soranus*[k]. *Suidas* writes, that *Adrian* himself passed the *Danube* on horseback[l]; but he seems to have misunderstood the passage in *Dion*. The princes of the *Sarmatians* quarrelled afterwards among themselves, and chose *Adrian* for their umpire, who composed their differences to the general satisfaction of the contending parties. On this occasion, the king of the *Roxolanians* complaining to the emperor, that his pension had been lessened, *Adrian* ordered the sum, which had been formerly allowed him, to be paid without the least deduction[m]. In the year 135. the *Iazyges* sent embassadors to *Rome*, to renew their alliance with *Adrian*, who received them in a very obliging manner, introduced them to the senate, and, having granted them their request, sent them back loaded with rich presents[n]. All the nations inhabiting *Sarmatia* conspired, with the *Marcomans* against *M. Aurelius*; but were in the end most of them cut in pieces. Over the *Iazygians* in particular the emperor gained two complete victories, the one before they reached the *Danube* on their way home, and the other, described at length by *Dion*[o], as they were crossing that river on the ice. But, notwithstanding the great losses they sustained in this war, they were so far from suing for peace, that they deposed, and threw into prison, their king named *Bandaspes*, for no other reason, but because he had sent embassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire. However, being in the end abandoned by the *Marcomans* and their other allies, and reduced to great straights, their new king, named *Zantichus*, came in person, attended by all the chief men of the nation, to throw himself at the emperor's feet and sue for peace; which was granted them upon the following terms, *viz.* That they should not settle within ten miles of the *Danube*; that they should set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and supply the emperor's army with a body of eight thousand horse. With these conditions they readily complied, and we are told, that the prisoners, whom they dismissed on this occasion, were in number, at least, one hundred thousand, though they had sold to other nations many of those they had taken during the war. The eight thousand *Iazygian* horse were, by the emperor, sent into *Britain*. To the other *Sarmatic* nations lands were allotted in *Pannonia*, *Mœsia*, *Germany*, and even in *Italy*[p]. The *Iazyges* lived, it seems, some time in peace and amity with the *Romans*; for in 180. one of the articles of the peace concluded between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alemans* was, that they should not make war upon the *Iazygians*, *Burians*, or *Vandals*[q]. Besides, no mention is made by historians, either of them, or the other *Sarmatic* nations, till the year 215. when the emperor *Caracalla* is said to have gained some advantages over the *Sarmatians*, and to have taken, on that account, the surname of *Sarmaticus*[r]. In the year 228. the *Carpi*, a people of *Sarmatia* dwelling near the *Carpatian* mountains, which part *Hungary* and *Transylvania* from *Poland*, being informed, that the *Roman* emperors paid a yearly pension to the *Goths*, sent deputies to *Menophilus*, governor of *Mœsia*, demanding, that the same sum which the *Goths* received should be paid to them, since their friendship deserved to be no less courted than that of the *Goths*. The deputies found *Menophilus* exercising his troops, according to his daily custom; and, as he well knew on what errand they were come, to humble their pride, he made them wait several days before he gave them audience, allowing them in the mean time to assist at the military exercises performed by his troops. At length he received them seated on a high tribunal, and attended by all the officers of the army, to whom he pretended to give his orders while the embassadors were speaking, as if nothing

They submit to Adrian. *Year after Christ* 119.

They join the Marcomans *against* M. Aurelius. *Year after Christ* 165.

They obtain a peace.

The Carpi *demand an annual pension.*

[h] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 779. [i] Idem, l. lxix. p. 792. [k] Ger. nov. p. 12. [l] Suid. p. 87.
[m] Adrian. vit. p. 4. [n] Dio, p. 794. [o] Idem, l. lxxi. p. 804, 805. [p] Idem ibid. p. 808, 809.
[q] Idem, l. lxxii. 817. [r] Get. vit. p. 92.

a nothing they ſaid deſerved his attention. The embaſſadors, mortified and amazed at this conduct, only aſked, Why money was given to the *Goths*, and not to them? Becauſe the emperor, anſwered *Menophilus*, beſtows his favours on whom he pleaſes. We hope then, replied the embaſſadors, that he will be pleaſed to ſhew himſelf as generous to us, as to the *Goths*; we are a more brave and deſerving nation. The *Roman* general anſwered with a ſmile, That the emperor would do what he thought fit; and that if they met him in four months time, at a place which he appointed, he would acquaint them with the emperor's will and pleaſure. The embaſſadors met him accordingly, and found him, as they had done before, wholly intent upon exerciſing his troops. *Menophilus*, having made them wait ſome days, as if he had affairs
b of greater importance on his hands than to give audience to them, received them in the ſame manner as he had done the firſt time, and ordered them to return in three months, appointing the place where they ſhould find him. The anſwer he then gave them was, That the emperor would enter into no engagements with them; but, if they ſtood in need of preſent relief, the emperor would, in all likelihood, out of his good-nature, allow them ſome, provided they went and threw themſelves at his feet. They were highly provoked at this anſwer, and departed in a great rage; but nevertheleſs, awed by *Menophilus*, they continued quiet ſo long as he commanded in that province[s]. The emperor *Maximinus* made, it ſeems, war upon the *Sarmatians*, and gained conſiderable advantages over them; for it appears from ſeveral
c inſcriptions found in *France* and *Spain*, that both he and his ſon took the ſurname of *Sarmaticus*[t]. However, *Capitolinus* only writes, that *Maximinus*, having quelled the *Germans*, reſolved to make war upon the *Sarmatians*, and, with that deſign, paſſed the winter in 236. at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*[u]. *Maximinus*, ſpeaking of himſelf in *Herodian*, only ſays, that he overcame, on ſeveral occaſions, the *Germans*; inſomuch, that they were afraid to ſtir, as were likewiſe the *Sarmatians*, who, by their deputies, were conſtantly ſuing for peace[w]. In the year 238. *Menophilus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, being recalled, the *Carpi*, who had been awed by his preſence, broke into *Mœſia*, and having ravaged that province, and utterly deſtroyed the city of *Iſtria* or *Iſtropolis*, on the moſt ſouthern mouth of the *Danube* in *Lower*
d *Mœſia*, or rather *Little Scythia*, they returned home unmoleſted, the *Romans* being then engaged in a civil war between *Maximinus*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus*[x]. In 242. the fourth of the emperor *Gordian*'s reign, that prince, in paſſing through *Thrace* on his march into the eaſt to make war there on the *Perſians*, overcame the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, and obliged them to abandon that province, and retire beyond the *Danube*[y]. In the year 260. the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* ſeized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; but were driven out by *Regillianus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over them in one day[z]. He ſoon after cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; but he was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when the *Roxolanians*, who ſerved under him, revolted; and their example being fol-
e lowed by the reſt of the army, he was murdered by ſome of his own men[a]. *Aurelian*, who was afterwards emperor, is ſaid to have gained a ſignal victory over the *Sarmatians* and *Sueves* in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 268[b]. But of this victory no mention is made by any other writer. In the year 277. the emperor *Probus* marched againſt them in perſon; but, at his approach, they retired from *Thrace*, where they had committed great ravages, abandoning the booty they had taken, and, awed by the fame of his name, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which the emperor granted them, upon their promiſing to keep beyond the *Danube*, and ſupply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops, when required[c]. They continued quiet during the remaining part of *Probus*'s reign, but no ſooner heard of his death, than they broke into *Illyricum*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. But *Carus*, then emperor, marched againſt them, cut ſixteen thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the *Danube* and ſue for peace[d]. About ſeven years after, they returned with a very numerous army, and committed great ravages in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; but *Diocleſian*, haſtening to the relief of the oppreſſed provinces, defeated the barbarians with great ſlaughter. *Eumenes* writes, that, on this occaſion, almoſt the whole nation was cut off[e]: but he ſpeaks more like a panegyriſt than an hiſtorian; for

Their demand rejected.

They make ſeveral irruptions in the empire.

And defeated with great ſlaughter by Carus.

[s] Legat. excerpt. p. 24. [t] Grut. p. 151, 156. Spon. p. 186, 187. [u] Maximin. vit p. 143. [w] Herod. l. vii. p. 592, 600. [x] Maxim. & Balb. vit. p. 171. [y] Gord. vit. p. 165. [z] Trig. Tyran. vit. c. 9. p. 188. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Aur. vit. p. 213. [c] Prob. vit. p. 239. [d] Car. vit. p. 250. [e] Panegyr. xi. p. 133. & viii. p. 105, 107.

for some years after, the *Sarmatians* dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*, under the conduct of *Criſco* king of *Boſporus*, broke into the country of the *Lazians* in *Colchis*, and, having pillaged great part of *Pontus*, advanced as far as the *Halys*, a river of *Paphlagonia*. *Conſtantius*, then only tribune, but ſoon after declared *Cæſar*, was ſent by *Dioclesian* to put a ſtop to their ravages; but his army being far inferior in number to that of the barbarians, he contented himſelf with encamping on the oppoſite bank of the *Halys*, and by that means preventing them from paſſing that river. But in the mean time, *Chreſtus*, king of the *Cherſoneſus*, and vaſſal of the empire, having, at the inſtigation of *Dioclesian*, broken into *Sarmatia*, and even taken by ſtratagem the city of *Boſporus*, *Criſco* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Conſtantius*, ſuing for peace; which was granted him, upon his reſtoring the booty, and ſetting at liberty all the priſoners he had taken. *Chreſtus* at the ſame time reſtored to him the booty he had taken, and the priſoners, among whom were his wife and his concubines. For this eminent piece of ſervice, *Dioclesian* ſent rich preſents to the inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſus*, declared them free, and exempted them from all tribute, cuſtoms, and taxes. This account we have copied from a piece, intituled, *Of the government of the empire*, publiſhed by *Meurſius* in 1611. and aſcribed to *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, who reigned in the eaſt in 950. The emperor *Galerius* made war, it ſeems, on the *Sarmatians*; for both *Zonaras* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* tell us, that ſeeking the deſtruction of *Conſtantine*, whoſe extraordinary qualities gave him great umbrage, he ordered him, in the *Sarmatian* war, to engage a barbarian, who ſurpaſſed all the others in ſtature and the fierceneſs of his looks; which *Conſtantine* did accordingly, and, having overcome him and thrown him on the ground, he dragged him by the hair to the emperor's preſence, and laid him at his feet. *In the* ſame war, having ordered him to croſs a marſh at the head of ſome troops, he entered it the firſt on horſeback, and, being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the ſword and gained a complete victory[f]. This is ſuppoſed to have happened about the year 305. About the ſame time, the whole nation of the *Carpi* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, being ſeveral times overcome, and reduced to great ſtreights, by *Galerius*. *Dioclesian* tranſplanted the whole nation into the *Roman* territories, eſpecially into *Pannonia*, where great numbers of them had been allowed to ſettle in the reign of *Aurelian*[g]. *Conſtantine the Great*, in the year 322. the ſeventeenth of his reign, gained a great victory over the other *Sarmatic* nations[h]. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in ſeveral battles in the neighbourhood of *Campana*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube*[i]. *Rauſimodes*, one of the *Sarmatian* kings, had, as we read in *Zoſimus*, beſieged a city, which that writer does not name; but *Conſtantine*, haſtening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and, having obliged thoſe, who had made their eſcape, to repaſs the *Danube*, he purſued them croſs that river, defeated them a ſecond time, killed their king *Rauſimodes*, laid waſte their country, and returned with an incredible number of captives[k]. The *Sarmatian* ſports, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, as appears from an ancient calendar of the year 534. probably took their riſe from this victory.

The Carpi *tranſplanted into the empire.*

The Sarmatians *defeated in ſeveral battles by* Conſtantine.

Year after Chriſt 322.

CONSTANTINE *eſpouſes their cauſe againſt the* Goths.

IN the year 332. a war being kindled between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, the latter had recourſe to *Conſtantine*, who immediately ſent a conſiderable body of troops to their aſſiſtance. Theſe, engaging the *Goths* on the twentieth of *April* of this year, gained a complete victory over them. We are told, that, in this war, near an hundred thouſand *Goths* periſhed either by the ſword or by famine. At length they concluded a peace, both with the *Romans* and the *Sarmatians*, *Ariaric* or *Araric* their king delivering up his ſon as an hoſtage[l], and ſupplying the *Roman* armies with a body of forty thouſand *Goths*; which corps was, for ſome ages, kept intire and complete, and ſerved under the name of *fœderati*, or allies[m]. The *Sarmatians*, finding they had nothing now to fear from the *Goths*, with the utmoſt ingratitude, turned their arms againſt their friends and benefactors, making frequent inroads into the territories of the *Romans*, to whom they owed their deliverance. *Conſtantine*, highly provoked at their conduct, marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army, and, having put them to flight, entered their country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. However, upon their ſubmitting, and promiſing to ſerve the empire with fidelity,

Puniſhed by him for their ingratitude.

[f] ZONAR. vit. Dioc. p. 246. AMMIAN. p. 471. [g] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 357. AUR. VICT. p. 525. [h] Zos. l ii. p. 680. [i] OPTAT. c. 23. [k] Idem ibid. [l] AMMIAN. p. 472. [m] JORN. de Goth. c. 21. p. 640.

a fidelity, the emperor put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, and, quitting their country, repaſſed the *Danube*[n]. Two years after, the *Sarmatians* were attacked anew by the *Goths*, under the conduct of their king *Geberic*, the ſucceſſor of *Araric*. The war laſted ſome years; but in the end the *Sarmatians* were utterly defeated on the banks of the *Mariſus* in *Dacia*. In this battle the *Sarmatians* loſt their king *Wiſimar*, and with him the flower of their nobility, and ſuch numbers of men, that they were obliged to arm their ſlaves, who defeated indeed the *Goths*; but then, turning their arms againſt their maſters, drove them quite out of their native country, and ſeized on their lands and poſſeſſions[o]. Theſe ſlaves are by *Ammianus*[p] and St. *Jerom*[q] ſtyled *Limigantes*: the former tells us, that the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were diſtinguiſhed by b the name of *Acaragantes*[r]. The *Sarmatians*, thus driven out by their ſlaves, had recourſe to *Conſtantine*, who received three hundred thouſand of them within the empire, incorporated ſome among his troops, and to the others allowed lands in the provinces bordering on the *Danube* and in *Italy* itſelf[s]. Some of them took refuge amongſt other barbarians, by *Ammianus* called *Victohales*[t], and by moſt writers thought to be the ſame people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*, or the *Quadians* beyond the mountains *Sudeti* or *Suditi* parting the country of the *Quadi* from that of the *Marcomans*, at preſent the mountains of *Bohemia*. The *Sarmatians*, who took refuge among the *Quadians*, in the year 355. made an irruption into *Pannonia*, in conjunction with the *Quadians*, and, having pillaged both that province and *Upper Mœſia*, returned home unmoleſted, with an immenſe booty[u]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But of this c irruption no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waſte the ſame provinces, while the *Sueves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rhætia*, and the *Quadians* in *Valeria*, a province of *Illyricum*. *Conſtantius*, who was then at *Rome*, and, as *Ammianus* tells us[w], mightily taken with the curioſities and diverſions of that city, ſet out in great haſte to ſtop the progreſs of the barbarians, who threatened *Italy* itſelf; but they were no ſooner informed of his arrival at *Milan*, than they retired of their own accord[x]. However, the emperor advanced as far as *Sirmium*, and there had ſeveral conferences with the chiefs of the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*, who all promiſed to live in peace and amity with d the empire[y]. But the following winter, while the *Danube* was frozen, unmindful of their promiſes, they laid hold of that opportunity, and, entering *Mœſia* and *Pannonia*, pillaged thoſe provinces, while the *Alemans*, notwithſtanding the peace they had lately concluded with the empire, laid waſte *Rhætia*. Againſt the *Alemans Conſtantius* diſpatched *Barbatio*; but againſt the *Sarmatians*, who had been joined by the *Quadians*, he marched in perſon, leaving *Sirmium*, where he had paſſed the winter, after the ſpring equinox[z]. The barbarians retired at his approach; but the emperor, having paſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered their country, and laid it waſte far and near. The *Sarmatians* came in great numbers to *Conſtantius*, pretending to ſue for peace; but their real deſign was to attack the *Romans* unawares. Of this e the emperor had timely notice, and therefore ordered his troops to fall upon them as they drew near; which they did accordingly, and cut them in pieces to a man. The reſt, diſheartened with this loſs, ſubmitted to *Conſtantius*, who concluded a peace with them, upon their ſetting at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and delivering up hoſtages as a ſurety for their future conduct[a]. The *Sarmatians* reaped in the end great advantages from this war. They had been driven out of their own country by their ſlaves in 334. as we have hinted above, and obliged to take refuge among the *Quadians*, who treated them as their ſubjects. From this ſubjection they were delivered by *Conſtantius*, who declared them free, appointed one *Zizais*, a prince of their own nation, to reign over them, and re-eſtabliſhed them in their ancient coun- f try; for the ſlaves, by whom they had been driven out, having ravaged the neighbouring provinces, *Conſtantius* made war upon them and reduced them to great ſtraights. Hereupon the *Limigantes* (for ſo thoſe ſlaves were called) came in great numbers to the emperor, ſuing for peace; but reſolved at the ſame time to fall unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, if they could not obtain it upon honourable terms. This *Conſtantius* ſuſpected, and therefore ordered his troops to ſurround them inſenſibly while they were yet ſpeaking. When they had done, *Conſtantius* told them upon what

They are driven out of their country by their ſlaves. Year after Chriſt 334.

[n] Ammian. anonym. p. 476. Socrat. p. 48. [o] Ammian. anonym. ibid & Ammian. l. xvii p. 107. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Hier. chron. [r] Ammian. ibid. [s] Euseb. p. 529. Ammian. anonym. p. 476. [t] Ammian. l. xvii. p 106. [u] Zos. p. 702. [w] Ammian. p. 72. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. & Jul. ad Athen. p. 513. [z] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 104. [a] Idem, p. 105.

what terms he was willing to grant them a peace; which they no-ways relishing, began to handle their arms. This the *Romans*, who watched them narrowly, no sooner observed, than they fell upon them sword in hand, and cut most of them in pieces, not one, out of so great a multitude, calling for quarter, or offering to submit [b]. After this, the *Romans* entering their country on one side, and the *Sarmatians*, their ancient masters, on the other, a dreadful havock was made of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. Thus the *Limigantes* were obliged at length to submit, and accept the terms, however hard, that were offered them. These were, that they should quit the country, which they had seized on, and held with the utmost injustice, and retire to another at a great distance from the empire. The country, which they abandoned, was, by *Constantius*, restored to the ancient proprietors, who settled there anew twenty-four years after they had been driven out by their rebellious slaves [c]. For these atchievements *Constantius* took the surname of *Sarmaticus* [d]. The *Sarmatians*, notwithstanding the great obligations they owed the *Romans*, a few years after, that is, in 364. broke into *Pannonia*, and laid waste that province, while the *Roman* troops were employed against the *Alemans* in *Rhætia* [e]. In 374. they joined the *Quadians*, and, in conjunction with them, committed dreadful ravages in *Pannonia*, and from thence advanced into *Upper Mœsia*; but were there defeated with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, as we have related above. In the year 376. *Athanaric*, one of the chiefs of the *Goths*, being forced by the *Huns* to abandon his own country, retired, with his people, to a place called *Caucalanda*, driving from thence the *Sarmatians*, to whom it belonged [f]. In 378. the *Sarmatians*, informed that the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, had taken up arms against the *Romans*, resolved to pass the *Danube* and join them. But *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, meeting them in *Thrace*, gave them a total overthrow. Incredible numbers of the barbarians were cut in pieces, and the victory *Theodosius* gained over them is said to have been so complete, that *Gratian*, then emperor, could not believe the account, which *Theodosius* himself gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle [g]. In the year 407. they entered *Gaul*, with the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and other barbarians, and committed dreadful ravages there. Those who remained in *Sarmatia*, were afterwards subdued by *Attila*, and served, with their princes, in his army, when he invaded *Gaul* in 451 [h]. Upon that prince's death, they shook off the yoke, and, having recovered their ancient liberty, submitted to *Marcian*, then emperor, who allowed them to settle in *Pannonia*, *Mœsia*, and the other provinces bordering on the *Danube*, where they continued quiet, till they were reduced by the *Goths*, the most powerful nation in those parts. Such of them as resided among the *Goths*, became, in process of time, one nation with them. From those, who remained in *Sarmatia*, the present *Poles* and *Tartars* are thought to have sprung.

But restored by Constantius. *Year after Christ* 358.

[b] Idem, p. 109. [c] Idem, p. 110, 111. [d] Idem, p. 112. [e] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315. [f] Idem, p. 453. [g] Theodoret. l. v. c. 5. p. 710. [h] Jorn. p. 685—688.

The Dacians.

The Dacians. *Their origin.*

THE *Dacians* were, according to *Jornandes* [i], a *Gothic* nation, came originally out of *Scandinavia*, and, settling in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mœotis*, made themselves masters of *Scythia*, *Mœsia*, *Thrace*, and *Dacia*, driving out the ancient inhabitants. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Herodotus*, *viz.* that the ancient *Scythians*, who, coming out of *Syria*, had crossed the *Araxes*, and settled in the country which was afterwards called *Scythia*, were, in process of time, driven from their seats by the *Cimmerians*, that is, by the *Goths*, who, according to *Jornandes*, settled first in *Cimmeria*. *Dion* observes, that the same people were called *Dacians* by the *Romans* and *Getes* by the *Greeks* [k]; and *Justin*, the compiler of *Trogus Pompeius*, tells us in express terms, that the *Dacians* were the offspring of the *Getes* [l]. Now, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same people, we have sufficiently proved above, in our history of the *Goths*. Some writers derive the *Dacians* from the *Daæ*, a people dwelling, according to *Strabo*, near *Hyrcania* in *Asiatic Scythia*. But this opinion is intirely founded on the similitude of the names *Daci* and *Daæ*. The *Dacians*, in more ancient

[i] Jorn. rer. Get. l. v. [k] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 761. [l] Justin. l. xxxii.

ancient times, were known by the name of *Davi*; for the termination *dava* was common to moſt of their towns and cities, as *Comidava*, *Sergidava*, *Decidava*, *Marcidava*, &c. and the names of *Geta* and *Davus* were, among the *Athenians*, peculiar to ſlaves, who uſually bore the name of the nations to which they belonged. As to the ancient country of the *Dacians*, it compriſed the preſent *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and part of *Tranſylvania*. The whole nation was afterwards tranſplanted into *Illyricum* by the emperor *Aurelian*, and the country they held there is the *Dacia*, of which the authors ſpeak, who wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, the *Goths* being then maſters of ancient *Dacia*. The *Dacians* were deemed the moſt warlike and formidable of all the barbarous nations, not only on account of their natural courage and great ſtrength, which enabled them to endure the toils of war, but becauſe they looked upon death, not as the end of the preſent, but as the beginning of a more happy, life; whence they were as ready, ſays the emperor *Julian*, to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers, as to undertake a journey[m]. This doctrine they learnt of one *Xamolxis*, a great philoſopher, whom *Jornandes* ſuppoſes to have been king of the *Getes* or *Goths* dwelling in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mœſia*; but other writers ſpeak of him only as a diſciple, and ſome as a ſlave, of the celebrated *Pythagoras*[n]. *Suidas* thinks he flouriſhed long before *Pythagoras*[o]. He was by birth a *Gete* or *Goth*, and is ſaid to have been held in great veneration among his countrymen during his life, and, after his death, to have been worſhipped by them with divine honours[p]. The *Dacians* were governed by their own kings, and agreed in cuſtoms, manners, laws, and religion, with the other *Gothic* nations, of whom we have ſpoken above. The firſt of their kings we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Oroles*, in whoſe reign they made war upon the *Baſternæ*; but not having behaved on a certain occaſion with their uſual courage, the king, by way of puniſhment, ordered them to lay their heads, when they ſlept, where their feet ſhould lie, and to perform the ſame offices about their wives, which it was cuſtomary for their wives to perform about them, till ſuch time as, by a more gallant behaviour, they had retrieved their loſt reputation[q]. In the reign of *Auguſtus* they broke firſt into the empire; but in what place, we are not told. All we know is, that, at the approach of *Druſus*, ſent againſt them by *Auguſtus* then in *Gaul*, they retired to their own country[r]. In the year of the chriſtian æra 69. the legions quartered in *Mœſia* being by *Otho* ordered into *Italy*, to make head againſt *Vitellius* there, the *Dacians*, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and never allowed the *Romans*, ſays *Tacitus*, any reſpite, but when they did not think it ſafe to attack them, laying hold of that opportunity, croſſed the *Danube*, and, entering *Mœſia*, made themſelves maſters of part of that province. But *Mucianus* paſſing ſoon after through *Mœſia* on his march from the eaſt into *Italy*, obliged them to abandon the country they had ſeized, leaving there *Fonteius Agrippa*, formerly proconſul of *Aſia*, with a body of troops to awe the barbarians[s]. But the following year, *Agrippa* being killed by the *Sarmatians*, the *Dacians* broke into *Pannonia*, and, having plundered that province, advanced into *Mœſia*, where they joined the *Sarmatians*; but were ſoon after driven out with great ſlaughter by *Rubrius Gallus*, whom *Veſpaſian*, then emperor, had diſpatched againſt them[t]. About the year 86. the *Dacians* having anew ravaged the neighbouring provinces, and committed every-where great cruelties, *Domitian*, then emperor, reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. *Duras* was at that time king of the *Dacians*; but he, by an inſtance of moderation ſeldom to be met with in hiſtory, of his own accord yielded the ſovereignty to *Decebalus*, becauſe he thought him better qualified for it than himſelf: and truly *Decebalus* was, according to *Dion*[u], one of the beſt commanders of his time, knew what was proper to be done, and how it ought to be put in execution; was very dexterous both in attacking and retiring, in laying ambuſcades, and engaging in the open field; was never at a loſs how to improve a victory, or how to ſupport himſelf when conquered[w]. Either *Duras* or *Decebalus*, but more likely the latter, is by *Oroſius*[x] and *Jornandes*[y] called *Diurpaneus*. As for the iſſue of this war in general, *Tacitus* tells us, that, ſoon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, ſeveral *Roman* armies were deſtroyed in *Mœſia* and *Dacia*, ſome through the cowardice, others by the raſhneſs, of their leaders; that the legions and troops of the allies were taken priſoners even in the fortified towns; inſomuch, that the *Romans* had

Their country.

Their cuſtoms, manners, &c.

Their irruptions into the empire.

reaſon

[m] Jul. Cæs. p. 39, 40. [n] Phot. c. 166. p. 360. Strab. l. vii. p. 297, 298. [o] Suid. p. 1121. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Justin. l xxxii. [r] Dio, l. liv. p. 546. [s] Tacit. l. iii. c. 46. p. 73, 74. [t] Joseph. bell. l. vii. c. 22. p 976. Tacit. l. iv. c. 54. p. 102. [u] Dio Val. p. 709. [w] Idem, p. 761. [x] Oros. l. vii. c. 10. p. 212. [y] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 13. p. 629.

reaſon to apprehend the loſs; not only of the country bordering on the *Danube*, but a
of intire provinces. News was daily brought of ſome new misfortune, and every
year diſtinguiſhed by ſome remarkable defeat[p]. Our hiſtorian did not think it ſafe
to give us a more particular account of theſe misfortunes, or to mention the number
of the ſlain on the ſide of the *Romans* in ſo many engagements, imitating therein the
reſerve of *Saluſt*, and ſome other hiſtorians, on like occaſions[q]. Every true *Roman*,
ſays *Tacitus*, wiſhed then to ſee the command of the armies veſted in *Agricola*. He
was even propoſed to the emperor by ſeveral of his freed-men, ſome of them hoping
by that means to haſten his ruin, while others had nothing in view but the reputation
of their maſter and the welfare of the ſtate; but that jealous prince dreaded nothing
ſo much as to truſt a man of courage with the command of his armies[r]. As for the b
particulars of this war, we have related them in the hiſtory of *Domitian*'s reign; and
therefore ſhall only obſerve here, that the *Dacians*, in the firſt battle they fought,
They cut off Appius Sabinus, *with his army.* *Year after Chriſt* 86. utterly defeated *Appius* or *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mæſia*, who was killed in the
engagement; that, upon his death and the defeat of his army, they laid waſte,
without controul, all *Mœſia*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral caſtles and
ſtrong-holds; that *Domitian*, to put a ſtop to their ravages, haſtened into *Illyricum*,
with almoſt all the forces of the empire; that thereupon *Decebalus* ſent deputies to
ſue for peace; but the emperor, rejecting his propoſals, diſpatched *Cornelius Fuſcus*,
then *præfectus prætorio*, againſt him with the flower of his army, who, having paſſed
the *Danube* and engaged the *Dacians*, was by them cut off, with almoſt his whole c
army. This overthrow obliged *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, to
haſten back into *Illyricum*, whence he detached one of his generals, named *Julian*,
againſt the enemy, not caring to expoſe his own perſon. *Julian* gained a complete
victory, and put ſuch numbers of the *Dacians* to the ſword, that *Decebalus*, no longer
able to keep the field, diſpatched embaſſadors anew to ſue for peace; which *Domi-*
tian upon no terms would grant him. But in the mean time, inſtead of improving
his late victory, and preſſing *Decebalus*, already reduced to great ſtraights, he turned
his arms againſt the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, and, being by the former defeated and
put to flight, he was glad to come to an agreement with *Decebalus*; and accordingly
Domitian *concludes a ſhameful peace with them.* *Year after Chriſt* 90. diſpatched embaſſadors to him, with more advantageous propoſals than he could d
have aſked or expected. *Decebalus*, reflecting on the bad ſituation of his affairs,
thought it adviſeable to accept the emperor's offers; but, inſtead of waiting upon
him in perſon, as *Domitian* deſired, he appointed his brother *Diegis* to ſupply his
room. *Diegis* delivered up to the emperor ſome arms and a ſmall number of pri-
ſoners, and received, at his hands, the diadem in his brother's name[s]. The empe-
ror beſides agreed to pay to *Decebalus* a yearly ſum, and ſent him, at his requeſt, a
great number of artificers of all profeſſions, ſuch artificers eſpecially as were well
verſed in the art of contriving and making military engines. This yearly penſion,
or, as we may call it, tribute, was punctually paid, ſo long as *Domitian* lived; and
nevertheleſs, after this ſhameful peace, he wrote to the ſenate boaſting letters, as if e
he had obliged *Decebalus* to ſubmit to what terms he had thought proper to pre-
ſcribe; nay, he diſpatched to the ſenate the embaſſadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter
of ſubmiſſion, which he pretended to have been written to him by that prince, but
others deemed ſuppoſititious[t]. The ſenate decreed him a triumph, and he tri-
umphed accordingly over the *Dacians*[u], and at the ſame time, according to *Euſebius*,
over the *Marcomans*, by whom he had been defeated. The ſycophants of thoſe
days, eſpecially the poets, extolled theſe pretended victories, comparing, nay, and
preferring them to the victories of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*. But they were, or hoped
to be, paid for their lying encomiums and flatteries. The war with the *Dacians*
laſted, according to *Euſebius*, from the year 86. to 90. and *Domitian* is ſuppoſed to
have triumphed in 91. After the concluſion of the peace, he cauſed a magnificent
monument to be erected in the countty of the *Dacians* in honour of *Fuſcus*, who was
killed there[w].

The yearly ſum, which *Domitian* had agreed to pay to *Decebalus*, was punctually
tranſmitted to him during the reign of that prince, and likewiſe the reign of his ſuc-
ceſſor *Nerva*; but *Trajan*, who ſucceeded *Nerva*, would by no means ſubmit to
that

[p] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 41. p. 151. [q] Oros. ibid. [r] Tacit. ibid. [s] Idem ibid. Suet. in Dom. c. 6. p. 788. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 13. p. 629. Petr. legat. p. 23, 24. Juv. ſat iv. ver. 111. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 773. & l. lxvii. p. 764. Mart. l. v. epig. 3. p. 392. [t] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 761. [u] Idem ibid. p. 762. & Suet. c. 6. p. 788, 789. [w] Mart. l. vi. epig. 76. p. 83.

a that shameful tribute, as he called it, alledging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Hereupon the *Dacians* began to prepare for war, soliciting the neighbouring nations to join them, especially the *Iazygians*, at that time a powerful and warlike people; but they declining, under various pretences, to break with the empire, *Decebalus* made war first upon them, and seized a considerable part of their country, which *Trajan*, after he had conquered the *Dacians*, refused to restore to them, tho' they had lost it for their fidelity to the *Romans*[x]. *Dion*, who relates this, does not tell us, that *Trajan* alledged, or had, any reason for not complying with the just demand of the *Iazygians*. *Decebalus* soon after turned his arms against the *Romans*, and, passing the *Danube*, began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. With this

b *Trajan* was no-ways displeased; for he wanted only a pretence to make war on the *Dacians*, whose growing power gave him no small umbrage. Besides, he was informed, that *Decebalus* maintained a friendly correspondence with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, whom he had presented with one *Callidromus* taken in *Mœsia* by one of his lieutenants during the war with *Domitian*. The good understanding between these two powers gave *Trajan* no small jealousy. He therefore no sooner heard, that *Decebalus* had crossed the *Danube* and committed some hostilities in the *Roman* territories, than, drawing together a mighty army, he marched, with incredible expedition, to the banks of the *Danube*, passed that river without opposition, *Decebalus* not being apprised of his arrival, and, entering *Dacia*, laid waste the country far and near.

c *Decebalus*, however, not in the least dismayed, having armed the youth of the country, marched boldly to meet *Trajan*; whereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides; but the *Romans* in the end gained the victory. It was on this occasion, that, linen being wanted to bind the wounds of the *Romans*, *Trajan* tore his own robes to supply that want. The emperor, pursuing the advantages of this victory, followed the enemy close, and, not allowing them time to levy new forces, he harassed them without intermission to such a degree, that *Decebalus* was in the end obliged to send deputies with proposals for an accommodation. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura* and *Claudius Libianus* to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* pursued his ravages, advancing from hill to hill, not without

d great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zermizegethusa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other hand, *Maximus*, one of the emperor's generals, reduced several places, in one of which he took the sister of *Decebalus* prisoner, and recovered a *Roman* standard, which had been lost when *Fuscus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*. Thus *Decebalus* was obliged at last to submit, and comply with the hard terms, which *Trajan* thought fit to prescribe, and we have related elsewhere[y]. However, three years after, he renewed the war; but, being overcome by *Trajan* in several encounters and stripped of his dominions, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent to *Rome*. Upon the death of *Decebalus*, *Dacia* was intirely

e subdued and reduced to a *Roman* province. The emperor caused several castles to be built in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome* and of the other cities of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia*. The *Hungarian* writers mention several cities in their country and likewise in *Transylvania*, which on this occasion were, as they endeavour to prove, built or peopled by the *Romans*. But of *Trajan*'s war with the *Dacians*, and the intire reduction of their country, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history[z]; and therefore have only hinted here at some of the chief events. *Dacia*, thus reduced to a province, was governed by a *Roman* magistrate, with the title of *proprætor*, as appears from

f some ancient inscriptions[a]. The emperor *Adrian*, who succeeded *Trajan* in 117. was for abandoning *Dacia*; but the regard he had for the *Roman* citizens, who had settled there in great numbers, made him alter the resolution he had taken. However, to prevent the barbarians dwelling on the other side of the *Danube* from invading the *Roman* territories, he caused the famous bridge to be broken down, which his predecessor had built over that river, and we have described in our *Roman* history[b]. In the year 138. the first of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the *Dacians* attempted to shake off the yoke; but the rebellion was soon quelled by the generals, whom the emperor

They seize on part of the country of the Iazygians.

Their war with Trajan. *Year after Christ* 101.

Dacia *reduced by* Trajan *to a* Roman *province. Year after Christ* 105.

They attempt in vain to shake off the yoke.

[x] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 774. [y] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 12. [z] Idem ibid. & p. 13, 14, 15.
[a] Gruter. p. 354. [b] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 14.

emperor dispatched against them[c]. In 168. they joined the *Alemans*, *Marcomans*, *Quadians*, and *Sarmatians*, against the empire; but the two emperors *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* marching against them, they submitted anew. However, a battle, it seems, was fought, and the victory gained by the *Romans*; for in this very year the two emperors took the title of *imperator* the fifth time[d]; which they never did but on occasion of some victory. In 180. twelve thousand *Dacians* being driven out of their country by other barbarians, *Sabinianus*, governor of that province, prevailed upon them to settle in another part of *Dacia*, while they were in full march to join the *Alemans*, then at war with the *Romans*[e]. In the reign of *Caracalla*, the *Dacians* seem to have revolted anew; for we are told, that some skirmishes were fought between them and that prince, and that they gave hostages, as a pledge of their future fidelity[f]. Upon the reduction of *Dacia* in 205. great numbers of the natives, abandoning their ancient country, settled among the neighbouring barbarians. These made frequent inroads into the empire, with the *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alemans*, &c. and their descendants, in the reign of *Maximinus*, joining the *Sarmatians*, committed dreadful ravages in the *Roman* provinces bordering on the *Danube*; but were, in all likelihood, repulsed with great loss by the emperor, since the year after they broke into the empire *Macrinus* took the titles of *Sarmaticus* and *Dacicus*, as appears from several inscriptions found in *France* and *Spain*[g]. In the year 265. the thirteenth of *Gallienus*'s reign, the *Goths* and other barbarous nations made themselves masters of *Dacia*; for the loss of that province is reckoned among the many misfortunes of that prince's unhappy reign[h]. About nine years after, it was in great part recovered by *Aurelian*; but he, finding he could not maintain it in the midst of so many barbarous nations without an immense charge, withdrew the troops appointed to defend it, and with them the inhabitants and their families, allotting them lands in *Mœsia* and *Dardania*, which he made a new province, called likewise *Dacia*, and by *Lactantius New Dacia*. This province lay on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and is placed by *Vopiscus* between the two *Mœsias*. It comprised, according to *Sanson*, part of the present *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and had *Sardica* for its metropolis. The *Goths* seem to have seized on the ancient *Dacia* abandoned by *Aurelian*. Thus were the ancient *Dacians* either transplanted into the *Roman* territories, or dispersed among the neighbouring barbarians beyond the *Danube*, with whom they became one nation.

Dacia *beyond the* Danube *abandoned by* Aurelian. *Year after Christ* 274.

[c] Tit. Anton. vit. p. 19. [d] Occo. p. 285., 306. GOLTZ. p. 77. BIRAG. p. 220, 237. [e] DIO, l. lxxii. p. 818. [f] Get vit. p. 92 [g] GRUT. p. 151. & 158. SPON. p. 186. [h] AUR. VICT. EUTROP. OROS. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214. FEST. p. 670.

The Lombards.

The Lombards.

THE *Longobards*, *Langobards*, or *Lombards*, who, in process of time, made themselves masters of *Italy*, and from whom part of that country, formerly known by the name of *Cisalpine Gaul*, is still called *Lombardy*, are first mentioned in history by *Prosper Aquitanus*, bishop of *Rhegium*, in the year 379. That writer, beginning a chronicle of his own in the said year, after having copied till then the chronicle of St. *Jerom*, tells us, that the *Lombards*, abandoning the most distant coasts of the ocean and their native country *Scandinavia*, and seeking new settlements, as they were overstocked with people at home, attacked first, and overcame, about this time, the *Vandals*, then in *Germany*. They were headed by two chiefs, named *Iboreus* and *Aionus*, upon whose death, which happened about ten years after, they created *Agilmund*, son to the latter, their first king, who reigned thirty-three years[i]. It is to be observed, that, long before *Prosper*'s time, mention is made of a people named *Longobards*; for that name occurs in *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Strabo*; nay, *Maroboduus*, who was contemporary with *Augustus*, is by *Tacitus* styled king of the *Sueves*, *Marcomans*. and *Longobards*[k]. In the time of *Tiberius* they entered into an alliance with the *Cheruscans*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Arminius*, and made war upon *Maroboduus*, from whom they had revolted[l]. In the year 170. the ninth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign, six thousand of them, who had passed the *Danube*, and, in conjunction with the *Marcomans*, invaded the *Roman* dominions, were defeated by *Vindex* and *Candidus*, and obliged to sue for peace[m]. But these *Longobards*, by most geographers

[i] PROSP. chron. GROT. proleg. in hist. Goth. p. 53. [k] TACIT. hist. c. 44. 46. p. 54. 55. [l] Idem, annal. xi. c. 16. 18. p. 159, 160. [m] PET. legat. p. 24.

phers placed between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, were, according to *Grotius*, a *German* nation, and a quite different people from the *Longobards*, who are mentioned by *Procopius*, and afterwards ſettled in *Italy*[n]. The latter were, according to *Paul Warnefrid* deacon of *Aquileia*, commonly known by the name of *Paulus Diaconus*, and the moſt credible writers, originally a *Gothic* nation, and the ſame with the *Gepidæ*, of whom we have ſpoken above. The *Gepidæ*, coming, with the other *Goths*, out of *Scandinavia* in three ſhips, as we have related above, ſtopped at the mouth of the *Viſtula* or the *Wieſſer*. From thence they advanced to the banks of the *Danube*, and, ſettling there, infeſted, as we read in *Vopiſcus*, the *Roman* territories with frequent incurſions. In proceſs of time, the *Gepidæ* fell out among themſelves; and from this diviſion ſprung the *Longobards*, who are therefore, as *Salmaſius*[o] and *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*[p] obſerve, called ſometimes *Gepidæ* and ſometimes *Longobards*. They wandered from place to place, often ſhifting their ſeats, and were thence called *Winili*, that is, *wanderers*; which denomination has induced ſome writers to think, that the *Lombards* and *Vandals*, named alſo *Winili*, were one and the ſame people. As theſe two nations were conſtantly changing their habitations, they were thence called *Winili* or *wanderers*; but, though agreeing in name, they continued to be two diſtinct nations. The learned *Sherringham* is of opinion, that the *Longobards* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Ptolemy*, were of *Gothic* extraction; and that they were left in *Germany* by the celebrated *Woden* on his march through that country from *Scythia* into *Scandinavia*; but at the ſame time that writer allows the *Lombards*, who afterwards made themſelves maſters of *Italy*, to have been a different nation, come ſeveral ages after out of *Scandinavia*, their common country[q]. As for the name of *Longobards*, ſome derive it from the word *lack* or *lache*, ſignifying in the *German* language *water*, becauſe the *Lombards*, while in *Scandinavia*, live.. in marſhes, or near the ſea[r]. Others think it comes from the two *German* words *langen barden*, or *hellebarden*, that is, from the long halberds, which they ſuppoſe to have been uſed by them. But *Paulus Diaconus*, who was himſelf a *Lombard*, though born in *Italy*, tells us, that they were called *Longobards* from the length of their beards; and with him agree *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*[s], *Otho Friſingenſis*[t], *Gunterus*[u], and *Grotius*[w]. After they had wandered through ſeveral countries, ſhifting their ſeats, they ſettled at length in *Pannonia*, which they held for the ſpace of forty-two years, and then marching into *Italy*, under the conduct of their king *Alboinus*, made themſelves maſters of the greater part of that country. We have obſerved above, that, upon the death of their leaders, *Iboreus* and *Aion*, they appointed *Agilmund* their firſt king. He was ſucceeded by the following princes, *Lamiſcus*, *Leta*, *Ildeock*, *Gudeoc*, *Claſſus*, *Tatus*, *Wachus*, *Walteriu:*, *Audoinus*, and *Alboinus*, the firſt of that nation who reigned in *Italy*. As for the manners of the *Lombards*, *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that no violence or oppreſſion, no treachery or compulſion, was practiſed among them; and that every man enjoyed his property undiſturbed, and followed his profeſſion, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger. But that writer was perhaps ſomewhat prejudiced in favour of his countrymen; for *Procopius* writes, that thoſe *Lombards*, who had ſerved under *Narſes* againſt the *Goths* in *Italy*, were ſent back to their own country, on account of the diſorders they committed; and pope *Gregory*, ſurnamed *the Great*, who was but too well acquainted with the *Lombards*, calls them, in ſeveral parts of his works, a moſt wicked nation. Perhaps they neither deſerved the encomiums of *Paulus* nor the reproaches of *Gregory*; at leaſt it does not appear from their conduct, while maſters of *Italy*, that they did. *Paulus Diaconus*, ſpeaking of their dreſs, tells us, that their cloaths were looſe, and for the moſt part of linen, ſuch as the *Anglo-Saxons* wore, being interwoven with various colours; that their ſhoes were open to the end of their foot, and that they uſed to button or lace them[x]. From ſome ancient paintings it appears, that they ſhaved the back part of their heads; but that their hair was long before, their locks being parted and laid on each ſide of their foreheads. As for their hiſtory, we ſhall here relate what we find in *Paulus Diaconus*, but will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what that author writes.

The Lombards *in* Italy *and the* Lombards *in* Germany *two diſtinct nations.*

The origin of their name.

Their kings.

Their dreſs.

The *Goths* in *Scandinavia*, overſtocked with people at home, ſent out frequent colonies in queſt of new ſettlements. One, among the reſt, leaving their native country,

[n] Grot. ibid. p. 27. [o] Salmas. apud Grot. ibid. [p] Constant. Porphyr. de admin. imper. x. c. 25. [q] Sherringh. de Angl. gent. orig. c. 15. p. 352. [r] Rudbeck. Atlant part. i. c. 24. [s] Cons. Porphyr. de Them. [t] Otho. Frising. l. ii. c. 13. de geſt. Frid. imper. [u] Gunter. l. ii. [w] Grot. ibid. [x] Paul. Diac. l. iv. c. 23.

Their several migrations.

country, put to sea in three ships: one of these sailed slower than the other two, and a stopped in the end at the *Vistula*. The *Goths* on board this ship were called, as we have observed above, *Gepidæ*, from a word in their language signifying *slow*. These *Gepidæ*, unwilling to proceed farther, settled in an island formed by the *Vistula*, and continued there, till their numbers were so increased, that the island could no longer support them. They then began to roam about the neighbouring countries in quest of new seats; and thence were called *Winili*, or *wanderers*. They quarrelled at length among themselves, and agreed to part. *Paulus Diaconus* writes, that the country, where they had settled, being no longer able to maintain them, they divided themselves into three parts, one whereof, on whom the lot should fall, was to go in quest of new habitations. But most other writers suppose the *Longobards* to have sprung b from the division of the *Gepidæ* quarrelling among themselves. Be that as it will, those who went out chose for their leaders *Iboreus* and *Aion*, the sons of one *Gambara*, a woman universally respected on account of her wisdom. Under their conduct they first settled in a country, by *Paulus Diaconus* called *Scoringa*, bordering on that which was then held by the *Vandals*, who, soon after their arrival, gave them to understand, that they must either pay tribute or prepare for war. The two leaders, by advice of their mother, returned answer, That, though they were few in number, they preferred war to servitude and subjection. Hereupon a bloody engagement

They defeat the Vandals.

ensued, in which the *Vandals* were utterly defeated. But the *Gepidæ*, whom we shall henceforth call *Lombards*, though that name was perhaps given them afterwards, c being sorely distressed with famine, resolved to abandon *Scoringa* and settle in a more fruitful country. They set out accordingly for *Mauringa*; but the *Assipitti* denying them a passage through their territories, they resolved to attempt it by force. In order to strike terror into the enemy, who were far superior to them in number, they gave out, that they had among them *Cynocephali*, or men with dogs heads; which report so terrified the *Assipitti*, that, not caring to engage so dreadful an enemy, and having one among them of extraordinary strength and courage, they resolved to put the whole to the issue of a single combat; which they no sooner proposed to the *Lombards*, than the proposal was accepted, the two nations agreeing, that, if the champion of the *Assipitti* should overcome, the passage should be denied; but, if the d *Lombard* proved victorious, the rest should be allowed to pass unmolested. The two champions engaged in the sight of both armies; and the *Lombard* having gained the victory, a passage was granted to the whole nation, pursuant to the agreement. Upon their arrival in *Mauringa*, to increase the number of their warriors, they set all their slaves at liberty, who, though of different countries, became one nation with them. From *Mauringa*, where they staid but a short time, they proceeded to *Gothland*, and there made themselves masters of *Anthabet*, *Bathaib*, and *Urgundiab*, which our historian conjectures to be names of towns. In *Gothland* died their two leaders, *Iboreus* and *Aion*, upon whose death the *Lombards* resolved to chuse a king, e

Agilmund *their first king.*

after the manner of other nations; and accordingly conferred that dignity on *Agilmund* the son of *Aion*, who is said to have been killed by the *Bulgarians*, after he had reigned thirty-three years. He was succeeded by *Lamiscus* or *Lamissio*, so called from the word *lama*, signifying in their language a *fish-pond*; for his mother, by profession a harlot, is said to have thrown him, with six other males, of whom she was delivered at the same time, into a fish-pond. *Lamissio* was luckily saved by *Agilmund*, who, passing that way, and observing the children, stopped his horse, and stretching out his spear to them, one of them took hold of it, and was by that means saved. The king, not doubting but he would one day prove a great man, ordered him to be brought up with great care, calling him *Lamis-shon*, that is, the *son of a fish-pond*. He is said to have gained a victory over the *Amazons*, and to have behaved, on several other occasions, with such resolution and intrepidity, that, upon the death of *Agilmund*, the *Lombards*, with one voice, proclaimed him king. He no sooner found himself invested with this dignity, than, bent upon revenging the death of his predecessor, he marched against the *Bulgarians*; and though his men gave way at first, yet in the end, being animated by the words and example of their new king, they gained a complete victory. *Lamissio* was succeeded by *Leta* or *Lechu*, and he, after a reign of near forty years, by *Ildeock* or *Hildehoc*, as was *Ildeock* by *Gudeock*. In the reign of the latter, *Odoacer* king of *Italy* having killed *Feletheus*, king af the *Rugians* dwelling beyond the *Danube*, and either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, the whole nation, the *Lombards* came and settled in their country, then destitute of

Lamissio *succeeds him, and defeats the* Bulgarians.

of inhabitants. During their ſtay in *Rugiland* (for ſo the country of the *Rugians* is called by our hiſtorian) their king *Gudeock* died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Claffus*, after whom reigned *Tatus*, in whoſe time the *Lombards*, leaving *Rugiland*, ſettled in the champaign country bordering on the *Danube*, where a war breaking out between them and the *Heruli*, the latter were defeated with great ſlaughter, their king *Rodulphus* being ſlain, with the flower of their nation. The victorious *Lombards* divided the rich plunder; but *Tatus* their king took for his ſhare only the ſtandard of *Rodulphus*, called *bandum*, with the helmet he uſed to wear in battle. Not long after, *Tatus* was ſlain by *Wacho*, ſon to his brother *Zuchilo*. *Aildichus*, the ſon of *Tatus*, endeavoured to revenge his father's death, and make good the juſt claim he had to the crown; but was in ſeveral encounters defeated by *Wacho*, and in the end obliged to take refuge among the neighbouring *Gepidæ*. *Wacho* is ſaid to have ſubdued the *Sueves*. He had three wives, *viz.* *Ranicunda*, daughter to the king of the *Thuringians*; *Auſtrigoſa*, daughter of the king of the *Gepidæ*; and *Salinga*, daughter of the king of the *Heruli*. By the latter he had *Walterius*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about ſeven years. After *Walterius* came *Audoinus*, in whoſe reign a war being kindled between the *Lombards* and the *Gepidæ*, a bloody battle was fought, in which the latter were utterly defeated. The ſignal victory gained on this occaſion by the *Lombards*, was chiefly owing to *Alboinus*, the king's ſon; for the young prince having engaged and killed with his own hand *Thoriſmund*, the ſon of *Turiſind* king of the *Gepidæ*, the enemy, who had fought till then with great reſolution and intrepidity, hearing the king's ſon was killed, betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The victorious *Lombards*, upon their return home, begged their king to indulge his ſon, by way of reward for his gallant behaviour, the honour of dining with him, which was deemed no leſs honourable among the *Lombards*, than a triumph was among the *Romans*. The king anſwered, That, by an ancient and immemorial cuſtom among the *Lombards*, that honour and mark of diſtinction was not to be granted, even to the princes of the blood royal, till they had publicly appeared in the armour of ſome foreign prince killed in battle with their own hand. Hereupon *Alboinus*, attended only by forty reſolute young men, repaired to the court of *Turiſind*, to demand the armour of that prince's ſon, whom he had killed in the above-mentioned battle, being reſolved, if any violence was offered him, to ſell his life dear. The king received him in a moſt obliging manner, entertained him at his table, and, admiring his courage and intrepidity, complied with his demand, and diſmiſſed him not only unmoleſted, but loaded with rich preſents. Upon his return home, after he had publicly appeared in the armour of *Thoriſmund*, he was, at a grand entertainment, allowed to ſit at a table with the king his father. In the reign of *Audoinus*, the *Lombards* were, by the emperor *Juſtinian*, allowed to ſettle in *Pannonia*[y]. Thus far *Paulus Diaconus* of the various migrations, wars, and conqueſts, of the *Lombards*, from their firſt leaving *Scandinavia*, to their ſettling in *Pannonia*. His account is, as the reader muſt have obſerved, interwoven with ſome fables; but, in the main, he agrees with *Proſper Aquitanus*, who wrote before his time; with *Erchempetus*, who flouriſhed after; and likewiſe with *Procopius*, who lived in the reign of the emperor *Juſtinian*, whoſe ſecretary he was, and conſequently well acquainted with the *Lombards*. The latter writer, in ſpeaking of the above-mentioned war between the *Lombards* and the *Heruli*, tells us, that the *Lombards* had been formerly obliged to pay tribute to the *Heruli*[z], of which no notice is taken by our hiſtorian. The names of the various countries, in which the *Lombards* are ſaid by *Paulus Diaconus* to have ſettled, have occaſioned great debates among the later hiſtorians and geographers, and ſeveral conjectures have been offered; but all we know with any foundation is, that the countries mentioned by that writer lay between the mouth of the *Viſtula*, where the *Lombards* coming from *Scandinavia* are ſuppoſed to have ſtopped, and *Pannonia*, where they ſettled in *Juſtinian*'s time.

Their king Tatus *gains a great victory over the* Heruli.

Audoinus *defeats the* Gepidæ.

The Lombards, *under the conduct of* Audoinus, *ſettle in* Pannonia. *Year after Chriſt* 526.

Audoinus dying, the brave *Alboinus* was by the *Lombards* proclaimed king. Upon his acceſſion to the crown, he married *Clodiſvinta*, daughter of *Clotharius* king of the *Franks*, by whom he had but one daughter, named by ſome *Alpiſunda*, and by others *Albiſvinela*. About the ſame time, died *Turiſind* king of the *Gepidæ*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Cunimund*, who, to revenge the death of his brother *Thoriſmund*, made war upon the *Lombards*. Hereupon *Alboinus*, entering into an alliance with the *Huns*, then

[y] Paul. Diac. de geſt. Longob. l. i. & ii. [z] Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14.

then known by the name of *Avares*, took the field; and, in the first battle that was fought, killed the king of the *Gepidæ* with his own hand, put their army to the rout, and, pursuing his victory, cut such numbers of them in pieces, that they ceased to be a nation, as we have related above. *Alboinus*, having caused the deceased king's head to be struck off, made a cup of his skull, called, in the language of the *Lombards*, *schala*, which he made use of in all public entertainments. However, having taken, among many other captives of great distinction, the late king's daughter, by name *Rosimunda*, he married her upon the death of his former wife *Clodisvinta*[a]. By this victory *Alboinus* gained great fame and reputation, not only among the *Gothic* nations, whose bards celebrated his prowess and valour in their poems, but likewise among the *Romans*; insomuch, that *Narses*, who had been sent by *Justinian* to drive the *Goths* out of *Italy*, courted his friendship, and, entering into an alliance with him, solicited his assistance to put in execution the commission he had received. *Alboinus* sent him a choice body of men, who, crossing the *Adriatic* gulf, landed in *Italy*, and, joining the *Romans*, distinguished themselves in that battle, in which *Totila* was killed. The war being ended, they were sent home loaded with rich presents, continuing faithful allies to the *Romans*, whom they assisted on all occasions, so long as they inhabited *Pannonia*[b]. Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Procopius* writes, that the *Lombards*, who came to the assistance of *Narses*, committed every-where unheard-of disorders, pillaging the open country, burning the villages, and not sparing even the holy virgins; insomuch, that the *Roman* general was obliged to send them home before the war was ended, charging the two generals *Valerianus* and *Damianus* to accompany them, with a body of troops, to the confines of the empire, in order to restrain them from plundering the countries through which they passed[c]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Narses*, whom we may justly style the deliverer of *Italy*, maintained, so long as he governed that country, a strict friendship and correspondence with *Alboinus* king of the *Lombards*; so that it was no difficult matter for him to persuade that warlike and ambitious prince to attempt the conquest of *Italy*. Of this memorable event *Paulus Diaconus*, the author who deserves most credit in what concerns the *Lombards*, gives us the following account: *Narses* having, with the assistance of the *Lombards*, delivered *Italy* from the yoke of the *Goths*, sent back into *Pannonia* his victorious auxiliaries, loaded with rich presents. There they continued faithful to their engagements with the *Romans*. whom they were ready to assist on all occasions. In the mean time, *Justinian* dying, *Narses*, who governed *Italy* with an absolute sway, and had acquired immense wealth, was by the *Italians* accused to the emperor *Justin* II. the succcessor of *Justinian*, and to the empress *Sophia*, as if he aspired at the sovereignty of the country. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Longinus* was sent to succeed him; nay, as he was an eunuch, the empress is reported to have said, that his employment at *Constantinople* should be to distribute, in the apartment of her women, the portion of wool, which each of them was to spin. *Narses*, enraged at this severe and insolent reflection, *I will begin*, said he, *such a web, as she shall never be able to finish*; and immediately dispatched messengers to the *Lombards*, inviting them into *Italy*. With the messengers he sent several presents to *Alboinus*, with whom he was well acquainted, and some of the best fruits *Italy* afforded, as baits to allure him and his subjects to attempt the conquest of so fertile a country[d]. Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Baronius*[e] and some other writers reject this account as fabulous, alledging, that *Narses* had been recalled the year before by *Justin*, at whose inauguration he assisted, and continued in great credit at *Constantinople*. This they assert upon the authority of *Chorippus*, a poet and grammarian of *Africa*, who flourished at that time, and was then at *Constantinople*, where he saw *Narses* present at the emperor *Justin*'s coronation, and attending him soon after, when he gave audience to the embassadors of the *Avares*. But this objection the learned *Petavius* has intirely removed, shewing, that *Chorippus* speaks of another *Narses*, much younger than the celebrated commander; and that there were three of that name living at the same time, *viz.* the renowned deliverer of *Italy*, who died at *Rome* some time after he had called in the *Lombards*; the brother of *Aratius*; and the *Narses* whom *Chorippus* mentions in his poem, commending him on account of his tall stature, comely countenance, graceful person, and beautiful hair.

Alboinus kills the king of the Gepidæ *with his own hand.*

Sends a body of Lombards *to the the assistance of* Narses *against the* Goths. *Year after Christ* 553.

The Lombards *invited into* Italy.

Whether Narses *betrayed* Italy *to the* Lombards.

[a] Paul. Diac ibid. c. 27. [b] Idem ibid. c. 2. [c] Procop. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 33. [d] Paul. Diac. de gest. Longob. l. ii. c. 1, 5, 6, & seq. [e] Baron. ad ann 568.

hair (K). It is ſurpriſing *Baronius* ſhould think, that ſuch a deſcription ſuited an old eunuch. The *Narſes*, of whom *Chorippus* ſpeaks, was burnt alive in the year 605. by the command of *Phocas*. *Baronius* adds, that, according to our hiſtorian, *Narſes* dying at *Rome*, his body was put into a leaden coffin, and conveyed from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, where it was honourably interred [f]. Now, it is not by any means probable, ſays *Baronius*, that the emperor would have ſuffered any honours to be paid him after his death, had he treacherouſly delivered up *Italy* to the *Lombards*. To this *Petavius* anſwers, that his treachery was not known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*, till ſome time after his death, when it was diſcovered by the *Lombards* themſelves, owning, that they had been invited into *Italy* by *Narſes*. That brave commander was, according to *Paulus Diaconus*, a man of great piety, and had, as we are told by *Evagrius* [g] and *Nicephorus* [h], a particular veneration for the virgin *Mary*, imploring her aſſiſtance before he entered upon any enterprize, and aſcribing the ſucceſs, that attended his arms, to her protection; and this is what induced *Baronius* to write in his favour, and endeavour to clear him from the treachery, with which he is charged by our hiſtorian.

But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: *Alboinus*, highly pleaſed with the opportunity that offered of invading *Italy*, a country with which the *Lombards* were already well acquainted, began, without loſs of time, to make the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition. In the firſt place, he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the *Saxons*, his old friends and allies, promiſing to ſhare with him his future conqueſts. The *Saxons* readily cloſed with his propoſals, and ſent him twenty thouſand men, with their wives and children [i]. He likewiſe received powerful ſuccours from other nations, namely from the *Gepidæ*, then his ſubjects, from the *Bulgarians*, *Sarmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Sueves*, *Noricans*, &c [k]. Having thus drawn together a numerous and powerful army, before he ſet out, he entered into a ſtrict alliance with the *Hunns*, the moſt powerful of his neighbours, leaving *Pannonia* to them, upon this condition, that, if the expedition he was going ſhould not ſucceed, the *Lombards* ſhould be allowed to re-enter upon their former poſſeſſions. Having concerted ſuch other meaſures as he thought neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking, he ſet out with his whole nation, their wives and children, carrying with them all their moveables and whatever they had of value, and, leaving *Pannonia* after a ſtay of forty-two years there, took their route towards *Italy*. They began their march in the month of *April*, juſt after *Eaſter*, which fell that year on the firſt day of the month, in the firſt indiction, in the third year of *Juſtin* II. the ninth of *John* III. biſhop of *Rome*, and in the year of the chriſtian æra 568. *Alboinus*, with his army, and the promiſcuous multitude that followed it, arrived, by the way of *Iſtria*, on the borders of *Italy*, which he entered without the leaſt oppoſition, and, advancing through the province of *Venetia* to the city of *Aquileia*, found the whole country abandoned, the inhabitants being fled to the neighbouring iſlands in the *Adriatic*. He no ſooner appeared before *Aquileia*, than the gates were opened to him by the few inhabitants who had the courage to ſtay, the reſt having, upon the news of his approach, fled with their moſt valuable effects, following therein the example of their patriarch *Paulinus*, who, carrying with him all the utenſils of his church, had taken refuge in an iſland. From *Aquileia Alboinus* advanced to *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, which likewiſe ſurrendered. In this city he paſſed the winter, diſperſing his troops among the neighbouring villages, where they were plentifully ſupplied by the natives with all ſorts of proviſions. During the winter, *Alboinus* reduced the city of *Friuli* and its territory to a dukedom, conferring the title of duke on his nephew *Giſulphus*, whom he appointed to guard and govern thoſe territories, which were, in a manner, the gates of *Italy*, through which every invader muſt firſt force his paſſage. Thus *Friuli* was erected into a duchy, and ſuch

The Lombards *ſet out for* Italy. *Year after Chriſt* 568.

Enter Italy, *and poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt conſiderable of ſeveral cities.*

[f] Paul. Diac. ibid. [g] Evagr. l. iv. c. 23. [h] Niceph. l. xvii. c. 13. [i] Paul. Diac. ibid. [k] Anonym. apud Camil. Pel. l. ii. c. 12.

(K) The words of the poet are:

Armiger interea, domini veſtigia luſtrans,
Eminet excelſus ſuper omnia vertice Narſes
Agmina, & auguſtam cultu præfulſerat aulam;
Comptus cæſarie, formaque inſignis & ore (1).

It is ſurpriſing, that *Baronius* ſhould think the celebrated *Narſes* to be deſcribed by theſe verſes, who was an eunuch, and at this time, that is, at the beginning of *Juſtin*'s reign, ſtricken in years.

(1) *Chorip. l.* iii. *ver.* 230.

such it has continued ever since. The following year 569. *Alboinus*, as soon as the a
season allowed him to take the field, moved forward with his army, and, without
the least opposition, made himself master of *Trivigi* and *Oderzo*. From thence he
marched to *Monte Selce*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Trent*, which surrendered to him upon
the first summons. In each of these cities he left a strong garison of *Lombards*, under
the command of an officer, whom he distinguished with the title of duke; but these
dukes were only officers and governors of cities, and bore that title no longer than
the prince thought fit to continue them in their command or government. Such
likewise were the first dukes in *Gaul*, as *Paulus Æmilius* well observes[l]. *Alboinus* left
Padua and several other cities behind him, either because they lay too much out of
his way, or because they were well garisoned, and it would take up too much of his b
time to besiege them. Thus ended the second campaign of the *Lombards* in *Italy*.
The third proved no less successful; for entering *Liguria* upon the return of the spring,
the inhabitants were so terrified at his approach, that, leaving their habitations, they
fled, with such of their effects as they could carry off, to the most remote and inac-
cessible parts of the mountains; so that the cities of *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Como*, and
the other towns of *Liguria*, quite to the *Alps*, being almost destitute of inhabitants,
received him, without attempting to make the least resistance, He then advanced
to *Milan*, the capital of *Liguria*, which, after a short siege, surrendered, most of
the inhabitants, seeing there were not forces in the place sufficient for its defence,
being retired, with *Honoratus* their bishop, to *Genoa*. Upon the reduction of *Milan*, c
Alboinus *proclaimed king of* Italy. *Year after Christ* 579. the *Lombards*, with joyful acclamations, proclaimed and saluted *Alboinus* king of *Italy*,
lifting him up upon a shield in the midst of the army, according to the custom of their
nation, and presenting him with a lance, which, among them, was the ensign of
royalty. From this time historians date the beginning of the kingdom of the *Lom-
bards* in *Italy*, which lasted for the space of two hundred years and upwards.

Alboinus, now vested with royal authority, marched from *Milan* to *Pavia*: but
meeting there with a vigorous resistance, as the place was well garisoned and fur-
nished with great plenty of provisions, he left part of his army to push on the siege,
and with the rest reduced *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and the other inland cities both
in *Æmilia* and *Tuscany*. He then marched into *Umbria*, and there made himself d
master of *Spoleto*, which he made the metropolis of *Umbria*; and, erecting the city
and its territory into a dukedom, appointed *Feroaldus*, whom he dignified with the
title of duke, governor of that district. The governors of the other cities of note
were honoured with the same title, as were the cities with that of duchies, which title
most of them retain to this day[m]. From *Umbria Alboinus* returned to the siege of
Pavia *surren-
ders*. *Pavia*, which at length surrendered, after it had held out with great resolution for
three years and some months. The king, highly incensed against the inhabitants, had
vowed to put them all to the sword: but we are told, that, as he was entering the
city on horseback, his horse fell under him in the middle of the gate, and could not
by any means be raised, till, at the persuasion of one of his followers, he revoked
the cruel vow he had made; when his horse starting up of himself, he proceeded to
the palace built by *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, whither the people, to whom he
had promised indemnity, crouded to see him, and to swear allegiance to their new
And becomes the metropolis of the kingdom of the Lombards. prince[n]. As *Pavia* was a city of great strength and conveniently situated, *Alboinus*
and his successors chose it for the place of their residence; whence it became the me-
tropolis of the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and was raised above all the other cities
subject to them. *Alboinus*, now master of great part of *Italy*, that is, of all *Venetia*,
Liguria, *Æmilia*, *Hetruria*, and *Umbria*, resolved to establish peace and good order
throughout the countries he had already reduced, before he made any further con-
quests. But he was in the mean time slain by the treachery of his wife, in the fourth
year of his reign, This princess, called *Rossimund*, was the daughter of *Cunimund*,
king of the *Gepidæ*, whom *Alboinus* had killed with his own hand in battle and made
a cup of his skull, as we have related above. Our historian assures us, that he him-
self had seen this cup[o]. Though *Alboinus* thus insulted the memory of his conquered
enemy, yet, upon the death of his first wife, he married his daughter, and was, by
her contrivance, murdered on the following occasion: As the king was one day
feasting at *Verona* with his chief favourites and principal officers, in the height of his
mirth he sent for the queen, and, filling the detested cup, commanded her to drink
merrily

[l] Paul. Æmil. de reb. Franc. c. 6. [m] Paul. Diac. l. iii. c. 7. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem, l. ii. c. 1

merrily with her father. *Rosimund*, struck with horror, hurried out of the room, and, highly incensed against her husband for thus barbarously triumphing over the misfortunes of her family, resolved, at all events, to make him pay dear for such an inhuman and affronting conduct. Accordingly she immediately discovered her intention to *Helmichild*, the king's *schilpor*, as the *Lombards* called him, that is, *shield-bearer*, a youth of great boldness and intrepidity. *Helmichild* peremptorily refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of his sovereign, or to be any-ways accessory to his death; and in this resolution he persisted, till he was, by a shameful stratagem, forced by the queen to a compliance; for she, knowing that he carried on an intrigue with one of her ladies, placed herself one night in her bed, and, receiving the youth, indulged him, as if she had been his own mistress, in his amorous desires; which she had no sooner done, than, discovering herself to the deceived lover, she told him, that he must now either put the king to death, or be put to death by him. *Helmichild*, well apprised that, after what he had done, his safety depended upon the death of the king, engaged in the treason, which he otherwise abhorred. One day therefore, while *Alboinus* was reposing in his chamber after dinner, *Helmichild*, with some others, whom he had made privy to his design, breaking in unexpectedly, fell upon the king with their daggers. *Alboinus*, starting up at their first coming in, laid hold of his sword, which he had always by him; but having attempted in vain to draw it, the queen having before-hand fastened it in the scabbard, he defended himself for some time with a footstool; but was in the end overpowered and dispatched with many wounds. Such was the end of *Alboinus*, the first king of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and one of the greatest princes of the age in which he lived. He was both a warlike and prudent prince, being, according to the character the ancients give him, no less skilled in the arts of government, than in those of war. His friendship was courted by all the princes of those times, especially by the emperor *Justinian*, who was glad to enter into an alliance with him while he was still in *Pannonia*. Accordingly he assisted *Narses*, as we have hinted above, in his wars with the *Goths*, and, so long as that great man continued in favour at court, was ready to serve the *Romans* on all occasions. The little opposition he met with in the reduction of *Italy*, was, in a great measure, owing to the new form of government, of which hereafter, introduced by the exarch *Longinus*, sent by *Justinian* the younger to succeed *Narses*, who had driven the *Goths* quite out of *Italy*, and had governed those provinces with great reputation, as the emperor's lieutenant, for the space of thirteen years. *Baronius* supposes *Alboinus* to have led the *Lombards* out of *Scandinavia*, to have brought them into *Pannonia*, and from thence, after they had continued forty-two years in that country, into *Italy*. But what that annalist writes on this head is scarce worthy of notice, since he can only alledge a few groundless conjectures to support his opinion; and, on the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, the only author who has given us a tolerable account of the affairs of the *Lombards*, writes, that *Alboinus* was the tenth king of the *Lombards*; that, under the conduct not of *Alboinus*, but of *Iboreus* and *Aion*, they left *Scandinavia*, or at least the countries at the mouth of the *Vistula*; that, upon the death of these two leaders, they chose *Agilmund* for their first king; and lastly, that, after having often changed their seats, they settled at last in *Pannonia*, under the conduct of *Audoinus*, the father of *Alboinus*.

Alboinus *murdered Year after Christ* 575.

But to return to *Rosimund*: she had promised to marry *Helmichild* as soon as he had dispatched the king her husband, and to bestow upon him, with her person, the kingdom of the *Lombards*. She married him accordingly; but was so far from being able to bestow upon him the crown, that they were both obliged to save themselves by flight, the *Lombards* being highly provoked against them for the death of a prince, whom, in a manner, they adored, and unalterably determined to bring to condign punishment the authors of so barbarous a murder. *Rosimund* therefore, with her new husband, and her daughter *Albisvinda*, withdrew in the night-time, and fled to *Longinus* the exarch, residing at *Ravenna*, taking with her all the jewels and treasure of her late husband. *Longinus* received her with the greatest marks of friendship and kindness, and assured her of his protection. She had not been long in *Ravenna*, when the exarch, judging a favourable opportunity now offered to make himself king of *Italy* by means of *Rosimund* and her treasure, imparted his design to her, and declared his intention to marry her, provided, by some means or other, she dispatched *Helmichild*. *Rosimund*, highly pleased with the proposal, to satisfy her ambition, resolved to get rid of the person, whom she had married for the sake of her revenge. Accordingly,

Rosimund *flies to the exarch with the treasure of the* Lombards.

ingly, having prepared a ſtrong poiſon, ſhe mixed it with wine and gave it to her hu band, as he came thirſty out of the bath, and called for drink, according to his cuſtom. *Helmichild* had not half emptied the cup, when, by the ſudden and ſtrange operation he felt in his bowels, he concluded what it was, and, with his ſword pointed at the queen's breaſt, compelled her to drink the reſt. The poiſon had the ſame effect on her as on her huſband; for, in a few hours, they both died. *Longinus*, laying aſide, upon her death, all thoughts of making himſelf king of *Italy*, ſent the treaſure of the *Lombards* to *Conſtantinople*, together with *Albiſvinda*, the queen's daughter by *Alboinus*. In the mean time, the *Lombards*, having paid the laſt duties to their deceaſed king, aſſembled in *Pavia*, the metropolis of their kingdom, and there proceeded to the election of a new prince, which fell on *Clephis*, a man of great diſtinction among them. He rebuilt *Imola*, which had been ruined by *Narſes*, made himſelf maſter of *Rimini*, and extended his conqueſts to the very gates of *Rome*. But as he treated not only the *Romans*, but his own ſubjects, with great cruelty, he was murdered, with his wife *Meſſana*, by one of his people, after a ſhort reign of eighteen months. His cruelty gave the *Lombards* ſuch an averſion to royal power, that, upon his death, they reſolved to change their form of government; and accordingly, for the ſpace of ten years, they choſe no king, but lived ſubject to their dukes, that is, to the governors of the cities; for each city of note, as we have hinted above, was governed by ſome perſon of diſtinction, dignified with the title of duke. Theſe dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority, and were by the kings appointed and removed at pleaſure; but, upon the aboliſhing of kingly power, each of them became ſovereign in his own city and its diſtrict. This diviſion of the countries they had conquered in *Italy* into ſo many petty kingdoms, as we may call them, put a ſtop for the preſent to their conqueſts, prevented them from ever making themſelves maſters of all *Italy*, and in the end occaſioned their total ruin; for though the royal authority was afterwards reſtored among them, yet, as they had been free for ſome time, they proved leſs obedient, and more liable to quarrel among themſelves[a].

Her deſerved end.

Clephis *choſen in his room, and ſoon after murdered.*

The Lombards *governed by dukes.*

We cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, without taking notice of a miſtake, which moſt modern writers have been led into by *Sigonius*. That writer ſuppoſes the *Lombards*, upon the death of *Clephis*, to have created thirty dukes, and to have divided their conqueſts in *Italy* among them. But from the words of *Paulus Diaconus*, where he ſpeaks of that change[b], it plainly appears, that the *Lombards*, dreading the authority, or rather tyranny, of a king, choſe to live under their dukes, who were not then firſt appointed, but had been choſen before by *Alboinus* and *Clephis*. The only innovation that happened among the *Lombards*, upon their aboliſhing the royal authority, was this, that the dukes, who had been hitherto ſubordinate to the kings, as their miniſters and officers, now governed each his dukedom with abſolute power, acknowledging no ſuperior authority. Beſides, the number of the dukes amounted not to thirty only, as is commonly believed, but to thirty-ſix; for *Paulus Diaconus*, after having told us, that *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Trent*, and *Friuli*, were governed by the following dukes, *Zaban*, *Alboinus*, *Walaris*, *Alachis*, *Evin*, and *Giſulphus*, adds, that the other cities were governed by thirty dukes[c]. Though the *Lombards*, during the inter-regnum, were attended with ſucceſs in their wars with the *Romans*, for they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities, namely, of *Sutri*, *Bomarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luccoli*, &c. yet they ſoon perceived, that their kingdom, thus divided, could not long ſubſiſt; and therefore aſſembling in *Pavia*, they reſolved to ſubmit anew to the authority of one man, and accordingly choſe *Autharis* the ſon of *Clephis* for their king in the year 585. This prince, with his valour and prudence, (for he is ſaid to have excelled in both *Alboinus* himſelf) ſo eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the *Lombards*, that, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Roman* emperors, it laſted for the ſpace of near two hundred years. But of the exploits of the dukes during the inter-regnum, and the wars of *Autharis* and his ſucceſſors, till the utter deſtruction of their kingdom by *Charlemagne* in 774. we ſhall ſpeak at length in a more proper place.

The royal authority reſtored among them. Year after Chriſt 585.

The

[a] Paul. Diac. l. i. c. 14. in diſſ. de duc. Benevent. diſ. i.

[b] Idem, l. ii. c. ult.

[c] Idem ibid. Vide Camill. Pellegrin

The Bulgarians.

The Bulgarians.

a THE name of the *Bulgarians* began to be firſt heard and dreaded by the *Romans* in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, about the year 485. *Ennodius*, the moſt ancient writer who mentions them, tells us in the panegyric, which he wrote on *Theodoric* king of the *Oſtrogoths*, that they were a warlike and numerous nation, inured to the toils of war, ever ready to prefer death to ſlavery, and never known to have been put to flight, till they engaged this hero[d]. They dwelt, in ancient times, near the *Volga*, on the north ſide of the *Caſpian* ſea; whence their country was called *Volgaria*, and they *Volgari*, which names, in proceſs of time, were changed into *Bulgaria* and *Bulgari*[e]. *Paulus Diaconus* calls thoſe countries *Bulgaria Magna*, which are known at preſent by the names of *Aſtracan* and *Caſan*[f]. Some writers will have them to be b of *Gothic*, and ſome of *German*, extraction; but as their language differs widely from the languages of both theſe nations, others, with far greater appearance of truth, conclude them deſcended from neither. They ſpoke anciently, ſays *Diocleates* in his hiſtory of the kingdom of the *Slavi*, the *Slavonian* language, as they ſtill do, with ſome variation in the dialect[g]. As therefore the *Goths*, *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Gepidæ*, &c. are thought to have been originally one and the ſame people, becauſe the ſame language was common to all, theſe nations muſt, on the contrary, be allowed to be different, whoſe languages differ. Now, no two languages, ſays *Rudbeckius*, can be conceived more unlike than the *Slavonian* ſpoken by the *Bulgarians*, and the *German* and *Gothic*. The *Bulgarians* therefore were not ſprung either from the *Goths* or the *Germans*, but ought to be reckoned among the nations inhabiting *Aſiatic Scythia*; for c they came firſt from thence; and to trace them farther back would be a vain and fruitleſs attempt. From *Aſiatic Scythia* and the countries lying north of the *Caſpian* ſea, they advanced, in queſt of a more fertile country, to the *Tanais*, and from thence, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, to the banks of the *Danube*, having at that time one *Bladinus* for their king. They were not ſtopped by that river, but paſſing it, broke into *Thrace*, with a deſign to ſettle there. But *Theodoric* the *Oſtrogoth*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and at this time general of the *Roman* troops quartered in that province, marching againſt them, put them to flight, and obliged them to repaſs the *Danube*[h]. Thoſe who broke into *Thrace* had one *Libertem* for their leader, who d was wounded in the engagement[i]. *Ennodius*, to enhance the glory of his hero, pretends, as we have hinted above, that the *Bulgarians* had never been overcome before[k]. Some years after, that is, in 499. the eighth of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*'s reign, they broke anew into *Thrace*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched *Ariſtus*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, attended by five hundred and twenty waggons, loaded with arms and proviſions. *Ariſtus*, confiding in his own ſtrength, engaged the barbarians on the banks of the *Zarta* or *Zurta*; but was by them utterly defeated, with the loſs of all his baggage, and four thouſand men, among whom fell the counts *Nicoſtratus*, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, with ſome of the moſt experienced officers of the e army[l]. Of this victory *Zonaras*, without all doubt, ſpeaks, where he tells, that the *Bulgarians*, in the ſecond irruption they made into the empire, gained, by magical incantations, a complete victory. He adds, that, about the time of this invaſion, a comet appeared, and ſeveral prodigies happened[m]. We are not told what the barbarians did after this victory; but, in all likelihood, they returned home with the rich booty they had acquired. Three years after, they invaded *Thrace* anew, and, having plundered that province and great part of *Illyricum*, they carried off an immenſe booty, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, the *Roman* troops being employed againſt the *Saracens*, who, under the conduct of one *Badicarim*, committed unheard-of cruelties in *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, and *Phœnice*[n]. They ſeem to have contif nued quiet, perhaps by ſome agreement with the empire, from this time to the year 539. the twelfth of the emperor *Juſtinian the Great*, when, under the conduct of two kings, *Vulger* and *Droggo*, they paſſed the *Danube* and laid waſte all *Mœſia*. The com-

Their ancient ſeats, language, origin, &c.

They break into Thrace. *Year after Chriſt* 485.

They defeat the Romans *with great ſlaughter. Year after Chriſt* 499.

[d] Ennod. in panegyr. Theodor. p. 296, 297. [e] Vide Diocleat. de regn. Slavor. p. 288. [f] Paul. Diac. miſcel. l. xix. p. 616, 617. [g] Dioc. ibid p. 288. [h] Ennod. Theodor. paneg. p. 296. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem, p. 297. [l] Marc. chron. Jorn. reg. c. 48. Paul. Diac. hiſt. miſcel. l. xv. p. 449. [m] Zonar. p. 47. [n] Marc. chron. Theoph p. 153.

commanders of the *Roman* troops quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, a having drawn together their forces, marched againſt them; but were defeated with great ſlaughter, and put to flight. Hereupon the barbarians, roving about uncontrouled, took an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives, deſtroying with fire and ſword what they could not carry off. But in the mean time, one *Acum*, by nation a *Hunn*, an officer of great experience, whom *Juſtinian* had ſent againſt them, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to venture a battle in a very diſadvantagious ſituation. The *Bulgarians* fought with great reſolution and intrepidity; but great numbers of their men being cut in pieces, and both their kings killed, they were in the end forced to quit their booty, and betake themſelves to a precipitous flight. *Acum*, having thus delivered the *Roman* provinces from the barbarians, by b whom they had been ſtrangely haraſſed, ſet out on his return to *Conſtantinople* with *Conſtantine*, who had commanded under him; but, in paſſing through *Thrace*, both generals were unexpectedly ſurrounded by a party of *Bulgarians*, and taken priſoners; ſo that *Juſtinian* was obliged to ranſom them with an immenſe ſum [o]. The following year 540. The *Bulgarians*, not in the leaſt diſcouraged by the loſſes they had ſuſtained, returned anew, and, entering *Thrace*, plundered and laid waſte the open country far and near. But *Mundus*, by nation a *Gepid*, whom *Juſtinian* had appointed governor of *Illyricum*, coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, cut moſt of them in pieces, and, having taken a great number of priſoners, ſent them to the emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who incorporated ſome of them among his troops, c and ordered the reſt to be tranſplanted into *Armenia* and *Lazica* [p]. For this and the above-mentioned victory, the emperor took the ſurname of *Bulgaricus*, which, among his other titles, is ſtill to be ſeen on his coins.

They are defeated by them, and their two kings killed. Year after Chriſt 539.

No further mention is made in hiſtory of the *Bulgarians*, till the reign of *Conſtantine* III. ſurnamed *Pogonatus*, which began in 668. In his time they paſſed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Roman* territories, committed great ravages in the provinces bordering on that river. *Conſtantine*, having raiſed a powerful army, diſpatched it againſt them; but as the *Romans*, confiding too much in their own ſtrength, and deſpiſing the barbarians as an undiſciplined multitude, were marching careleſly, the *Bulgarians* fell upon them with ſuch vigor, that, after a faint reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to flight, and, retiring into the fortified places, left the enemy at full liberty to ravage at pleaſure the open country. Hereupon the emperor, preferring a ſhameful peace to an expenſive and doubtful war, agreed to pay them a yearly penſion, upon condition that they ſhould not, for the future, infeſt the *Roman* territories, but join, when required, the emperor's forces againſt all other barbarians, who ſhould attempt to diſturb the peace of the empire [q]. About this time *Alczecus*, one of the princes or chiefs of the *Bulgarians*, abandoning his own country, for what reaſon we are not told, entered *Italy* with a body of his countrymen, and arriving at *Pavia*, without offering the leaſt violence to the people in the countries through which he paſſed, offered his ſervice to *Grimoaldus* king of the *Lombards*, declaring at the ſame time, that he was willing to live, with his people, in what part ſoever of his dominions he ſhould be pleaſed to allot him. *Grimoaldus* received him in a moſt obliging manner; and thinking he might prove very ſerviceable to his ſon *Romualdus* duke of *Benevento*, threatened at that time by the *Greeks*, who were maſters of *Naples*, he ſent *Alczecus* and his *Bulgarians* to him, requiring him to allow them ſettlements in the dukedom of *Benevento*. *Romualdus*, in compliance with his father's requeſt, allotted them ſeveral cities, and, among the reſt, *Sepinum*, *Bajanum*, and *Iſernia*; but at the ſame time obliged *Alczecus* to relinquiſh the title of duke, which, it ſeems, he had before, and content himſelf with that of *gaſtaldus*, either to ſhew, that he had not given him thoſe places in ſeignory and property, or becauſe he did not think it fit, that one of his ſubjects ſhould be diſtinguiſhed with the title of duke, ſince he had no other himſelf. The dukedom of *Benevento* being thus divided into ſeveral counties, all ſubject to the duke of *Benevento*, thoſe who were appointed to govern them, had no other title but that of *gaſtaldi*, which is the ſame with the title of *comes* or count [r]. Thus the *Bulgarians* came to ſettle in the dukedom of *Benevento*, where, for ſeveral ages, they inhabited the country now known by the name of *Contado di Moliſe*. *Paulus Diaconus*, who wrote above an hundred and fifty years after they had ſettled there, tells

They defeat the Romans.

Conſtantine III. *agrees to pay them an annual penſion. Year after Chriſt* 678.

Some Bulgarians *ſettle in the dukedom of* Benevento.

[o] Theoph. p. 184. Paul. Diac. miſcel. l. xvi. p. 480.
[p] Theoph. ad ann. Juſtinian. 13.
[q] Cedren. ad ann. Conſt. 10. Niceph. c. 3.
[r] Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 11. Cujac. l. i. de feud tit. 1. paragraph. 3.

a tells us, that though, in his time, they had learnt the *Italian* language, nevertheleſs they had not yet loſt the uſe of their own (L). To return to the *Bulgarians* who remained on the banks of the *Danube*: *Conſtantine*, as we have hinted above, had concluded a peace with them and agreed to pay them an annual penſion; nay, moſt authors are of opinion, that he allowed them to ſettle in *Lower Mœſia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*, which name that country ſtill retains. Other writers indeed ſuppoſe them to have ſettled there ſeveral years before *Conſtantine*'s reign, tho' they will not take upon them to fix the preciſe time. However that be, *Juſtinian* II. not only refuſed to ſtand to the articles of the treaty, which his father had concluded with the *Bulgarians*, but, entering their country in an hoſtile manner, laid it waſte far and near, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral forts, and obliged the inhabitants either b to ſubmit to him and pay unreaſonable contributions, or to abandon their dwellings and take refuge in the woods and marſhes. The *Bulgarians*, finding themſelves reduced to great ſtreights, diſpatched embaſſadors to the emperor, ſuing for peace; but he refuſing to hearken to any terms but thoſe of an intire ſubmiſſion, animated with deſpair, they reſolved to make a laſt effort in defence of their liberties. Accordingly, having drawn together all their forces, they fell unexpectedly upon the emperor, put his army to flight, and, having ſeized on all the paſſes, obliged him to reſtore the priſoners and booty he had taken, and confirm the treaty, his father had made with them, to purchaſe a retreat[s]. In the year 713. *Philippicus* being then c emperor, the *Bulgarians*, upon what provocation we know not, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, and, having laid waſte the country, taken an incredible number of captives, and put more to the ſword, returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty. Six years after, that is, in 719. *Anaſtaſius* II. who had been depoſed and confined to *Theſſalonica* by *Theodoſius* III. having made his eſcape from thence, fled to *Tribelin* king of the *Bulgarians*; and, having prevailed upon that prince to eſpouſe his cauſe, he obtained of him a conſiderable army, with which he marched into *Thrace*, and approached the imperial city. *Anaſtaſius* believed himſelf, and had aſſured the *Bulgarians*, that the inhabitants, at his approach, would open the gates and receive him; but the citizens d making a vigorous reſiſtance, and the emperor *Leo* raiſing at the ſame time a numerous army, the *Bulgarians*, highly provoked againſt *Anaſtaſius*, ſeized him, and delivered him up to *Leo*, by whom he was put to death[u].

Juſtinian II. *invades their country; but is defeated by them. Year after Chriſt* 687.

FROM

[r] THEOPH. CEDREN. ibid [s] THEOPH. ad ann. Phil. 2. [u] THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 5.

(L) What *Paulus Diaconus* writes on this head is worthy of obſervation: The *Bulgarians*, ſays he, retained their own language, tho' at the ſame time they ſpoke the *Latin*, *quamvis etiam Latine loquerentur* (2). By the *Latin* tongue our hiſtorian did not mean, as ſome have imagined (3), the language of the ancient *Romans*, but another then current in *Italy*, and commonly called *Italian*; for the ancient *Latin*, about the end of the ninth century, when *Paulus Diaconus* flouriſhed, was only made uſe of in writings, another, called *Italian*, being then commonly ſpoken, to which the mixture, variety, and confuſion of ſeveral languages with the *Latin* had given riſe. The *Latin* tongue, even in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian*, who died in 566. began to be ſtrangely corrupted, and to bear a great reſemblance to the *Italian*; for *Fornerius* tells us, that he had peruſed a public inſtrument, which had been drawn up in *Ravenna* in the reign of *Juſtinian*, and was written in a kind of *Latin*, which bore a great affinity to the *Italian* (4). In the tenth century, the *Italian* alone was ſpoken in *Italy*; but that *Italian* came much nearer the *Latin*, than the language which is uſed now by the *Italians*, both in common ſpeech, and in writing; but though the current language was then very different from the *Latin*, yet it was called *Latin* by the writers of that and the two following centuries, becauſe it was ſpoken by the ancient inhabitants, who were ſtyled *Latins* or *Romans*, and by that name diſtinguiſhed from the *Greeks*, the *Lombards*, and the other nations ſettled in *Italy*. Hence not only *Paulus Diaconus*, but authors who flouriſhed long after his time, by the *Latin* meant the *Italian*, as the learned *Camillo Pellegrino* rightly obſerves (5). Thus, where *Otho Friſingenſis* commends the *Lombards* of his time, who were then become *Italians*, for the elegancy with which they ſpoke the *Latin* tongue, that writer muſt be underſtood, not of the ancient *Latin*, but the *Italian*; and in the ſame ſenſe we muſt underſtand all the authors who flouriſhed after the ninth century, and call the language uſed in their time *Latin*. There is in no country ſo great a variety of dialects as in *Italy*, which, as *Camillo Pellegrino* obſerves, is owing to the many different nations that ſettled there, *viz.* the *Goths*, the *Lombards*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Greeks*, the *Saracens*, the *Normans*, the *Sueves*, &c. for though theſe foreign nations forgot, in proceſs of time, their native language, and ſpoke that of the country in which they dwelt, yet they kept many of their own words, and, with their words, a foreign accent; and hence the many different accents and dialects chiefly in the preſent kingdom of *Naples*, where all the above-mentioned nations continued ſome time.

(2) *Paul. Diac. l.* v. *c.* 11. (3) *Vide Ciarlant. in Samnio.* (4) *Forn. in not. ad Caſſ. l. x. c.* 7.
(5) *Camill. Pell. in diſſ. de duc. de Benevent.*

From this time the *Bulgarians* continued quiet till the year 750. the ninth of the reign of *Constantine* surnamed *Copronymus*, who caused some forts to be built on the borders of the provinces, which joined the country of the *Bulgarians*. Of this they sent embassadors to complain to the emperor, and to demand a confirmation of the former treaties. The emperor received the embassadors in a manner altogether unsuitable to their character, and dismissed them with a disdainful answer; which so incensed the *Bulgarians*, that they made a sudden irruption into the *Roman* territories, and, penetrating without opposition as far as the long wall, laid waste the country, and returned home loaded with booty. Hereupon the emperor, upon the arrival of his troops out of the east, marched against them in person, and, entering their country, began to lay it waste, destroying all with fire and sword. But the *Bulgarians*, who carefully watched all his motions, falling upon him as he was marching through a narrow pass named *Beregaba*, put him to flight, and pursued him with great slaughter to the very gates of *Constantinople*[w]. In the year 763. a new war was kindled between the same emperor and the *Bulgarians*, the occasion of which is variously related by authors; but the most probable opinion is, that *Constantine*, wanting a pretence to quarrel with them and to retrieve the reputation he had lost in his late war with them, pretended to be highly provoked against them for putting to death in a sedition all the princes of the blood royal among them, and raising to the throne one *Telesis*, a person of a mean descent. What gave rise to this rebellion, we are not told; but *Constantine*, pretending to revenge it, raised a powerful army, and, marching into the country of the *Bulgarians*, gave them battle on the borders of *Thrace*. The engagement lasted eight hours; but in the end the *Romans* gained a complete victory: after which the emperor, instead of improving it, returned to *Constantinople*, with the booty and prisoners he had taken, and entered the city in triumph. The *Bulgarians*, upon the retreat of the emperor, put their new king to death, either mistrusting him, as if he entertained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, or because his behaviour in the battle was such, as shewed him unworthy of the dignity to which he had been raised[x]. The *Bulgarians*, discouraged with the loss of the battle, in which the flower of their youth was cut off, sent embassadors to *Constantinople* to sue for peace, which was granted them; but upon such disadvantagious terms, that they resolved to observe them no longer than a favourable opportunity offered of renewing the war. Accordingly two years after, great part of the emperor's forces being employed in the east against the *Saracens*, they broke into the *Roman* dominions with a body of twelve thousand men; but *Constantine* marching in person against them, and, coming upon them when least expected, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. This the emperor styled his noble war, because not one christian was killed in it; but the victory was obtained, it seems, by treachery, the emperor being privately informed by some *Bulgarians* of the designs and all the motions of their countrymen. These *Elerich*, king of the country, discovered by the following device: He wrote to *Constantine*, pretending a desire to resign the crown and lead a private life at *Constantinople*; for which purpose he begged the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to let him know what friends the *Romans* had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Constantinople*, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Hereupon *Constantine*, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of the names of those, who maintained a private correspondence with him; which *Elerich* no sooner received, than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus deluded, tore his garment and his hair, in the height of his passion, and, vowing revenge at all events, spent the winter in warlike preparations, and early in the spring took the field, with a design to cut off the whole nation of the *Bulgarians* root and branch; but being seized on his march with a violent fever, he was obliged to return to *Achadiopolis*, whence he was conveyed to *Strongylum*, where he died[y]. He was succeeded by his son *Leo* III. who, upon his accession to the throne, concluded a peace with the king of the *Bulgarians*, whose daughter *Irene* he had married. In the third year of his reign, *Elerich* being driven from the throne by his own subjects, fled to *Constantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem. During his stay in that metropolis, he was, at his own request, instructed in the principles of the christian religion; which he no sooner embraced, than

Constantine Copronymus put to flight by them. Year after Christ 750.

He gains a great victory over them. Year after Christ 763.

Cuts 12,000 of them in pieces. Year after Christ 775.

Elerich *king of the* Bulgarians, *being driven from the throne, embraces the christian religion.*

[w] Theoph. ad ann. Const. 19. [x] Idem ad ann. Const. 22. [y] Idem ad ann. Const. 34.

than he was by *Leo* created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empreſs: *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Leo*, in the year 791. the eleventh of his reign, made war upon the *Bulgarians*, who, according to their cuſtom, had broken into the *Roman* provinces; but with what ſucceſs the emperor was attended in this war, is uncertain; for *Cedrenus* writes, that he gained a ſignal victory; *Zonaras*, that it was a drawn battle; and ſome, that the *Romans* were worſted and loſt the flower of their army. Be that as it will, the following year 792. he marched anew againſt the *Bulgarians*, encouraged thereunto by ſome mathematicians, who promiſed him certain victory; but while, depending upon their promiſes, he omitted the proper means to obtain it, he was utterly defeated. In the battle, beſides a great number of common ſoldiers, fell ſome of the beſt officers of the army, and the moſt conſiderable men in the empire, with *Pancratius* the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occaſion to the overthrow[a]. Two years after, *Cardanes* king of the *Bulgarians* ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, demanding a tribute, and threatening, if it was refuſed him, to come as far as the *Goldengate* of *Conſtantinople*, and take it by force: to ſuch a low ebb was the empire then reduced! *Conſtantine*, however, exerting himſelf on this occaſion, returned anſwer, That, as the king of the *Bulgarians* was ſtricken in years, he would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a journey, by coming in perſon to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched againſt him at the head of a conſiderable army, at the ſight of which the barbarians, ſtruck with a panic, fled in the utmoſt confuſion; but *Conſtantine*, inſtead of purſuing them and taking advantage of the conſternation they were in, returned to *Conſtantinople*[b]. In the year 806. the ſeventh of the emperor *Nicephorus*, the *Bulgarians*, falling upon a party of *Romans*, put them all to the ſword, and ſeized eleven hundred pounds weight of gold, which they were eſcorting to *Strogmon* for the payment of the army. Soon after, they made an irruption into the *Roman* provinces, under the conduct of *Crumus* their king, and, having ſurpriſed *Sardica*, put the whole gariſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to the ſword. *Nicephorus* marched againſt them in perſon; but the barbarians retiring at his approach, he returned to *Conſtantinople*. However, the following year, having drawn together all the forces of the eaſt and weſt, he marched at the head of them into *Bulgaria*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Crumus*, alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable an army, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, rejecting them with ſcorn and indignation, purſued his ravages, burning the towns and villages, and putting ſuch of the inhabitants to the ſword as fell into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. He not only raged againſt the living, but likewiſe againſt the dead, not ſuffering thoſe who were ſlain to be buried, but ordering their bodies to be expoſed to the dogs and wild beaſts. But in the mean time *Byzantius*, his chief favourite, forſaking him, fled, with the imperial robe and an hundred pounds weight of gold, to the enemy; which was looked upon by the ſuperſtitious multitude as an unlucky omen. *Crumus*, ſenſibly affected with the calamities of his ſubjects, ſent anew embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would put an end to the ravages and quit the country. But *Nicephorus*, deaf to all propoſals, received the embaſſadors with great haughtineſs and diſmiſſed them with ſcorn. Hereupon *Crumus*, puſhed on by deſpair and the thirſt of revenge, in the firſt place, ſecured and fortified all the paſſes thro' which the emperor was to retire; and then, animating his men to revenge the blood of their wives and children, inhumanly maſſacred by the emperor's orders, he attacked unexpectedly the *Roman* camp, and, having forced it in ſpite of all oppoſition, cut off almoſt the whole army, with the emperor himſelf, a great number of patricians, and almoſt all the chief officers of the army. *Saturatius*, the emperor's ſon, was dangerouſly wounded; but eſcaped in a litter to *Adrianople*. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of *Nicephorus* being found among the ſlain, *Crumus* ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and, after having kept it for ſome time expoſed to public view, incloſed the ſkull in ſilver, and uſed it ever after in all grand entertainments, inſtead of a cup[c]. In the beginning of the reign of *Michael*, who ſucceeded *Nicephorus*, a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*, nay, ſome of the latter were allowed to ſettle in the *Roman* provinces. But the good harmony that paſſed between the two nations was ſhort-liv'd; for, in the ſecond year of

The Bulgarians *gain a great victory over* Conſtantine IV. *Year after Chriſt* 792.

The Bulgarians *ſurprize the city of* Sardica.

The emperor Nicephorus *killed by them; and his whole army cut off. Year after Chriſt* 811.

[a] Idem ad ann. Leon. 2. [a] CEDREN. in Conſt. ann. 2. [b] THEOPH. & CEDREN. ad ann. Conſt 5. [c] CEDREN. ZONAR. in Niceph. p. 182.

of *Michael*'s reign, they came to an open rupture on the following occasion: Some *Romans*, who had been taken prisoners by the *Bulgarians* in the late war, having found means to make their escape, returned home. These *Crumus* demanded, threatening the empire with war, if his just demand was not immediately complied with. The emperor, who was naturally averse to war, and several persons of distinction at court, were for granting the king of the *Bulgarians* his request, the empire not being at that time in a condition to carry on a war with success. But *Nicephorus* the patriarch, and *Theoctistus*, a person in great esteem at court for his virtue and wisdom, urging, that they ought to trust to the assistance of heaven, and not gratify the pride and insolence of the barbarians, the emperor, following their advice, received the *Bulgarian* embassadors in the most obliging manner; but at the same time told them, that he could not, by any means, comply with their request, and deliver up into captivity such of his subjects, as, having once escaped that deplorable condition, had fled to him for protection. Hereupon *Crumus*, having drawn together a considerable army, entered the *Roman* territories, and not only ravaged the open country, but laid siege to, and made himself master of, several fortified places, being assisted therein by an *Arabian*, well skilled in the art of framing military engines, who had been formerly employed by the emperor *Nicephorus*, but, being ill used by him, had fled to the *Bulgarians*, and taught them the use of all sorts of battering engines. Besides several other cities, he made himself master of *Mesembria*, a place of great importance in the neighbourhood of mount *Hæmus*, and put the garison to the sword. In the mean time, the emperor, having assembled a very numerous army, leaving *Constantinople*, put himself at the head of it, and marching into *Thrace*, came up with the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*. After several skirmishes, in which the *Romans* had the advantage, the emperor was, in a manner, forced by the soldiery to venture a battle. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly defeated. *Michael* was so sensibly affected with this misfortune, that, resigning the purple to *Leo*, he retired to the monastery of *Pharus*, and there took the monastic habit. Thus *Theophanes*[d], who lived at this time, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote. But *Cedrenus* writes, that the *Romans* had the advantage in the engagement; that great numbers of the *Bulgarians* were cut in pieces; and that *Crumus* with much-ado kept his men from betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, till *Leo*, who aspired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which so disheartened the *Romans*, that they fled in the utmost confusion[e]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Bulgarians* gained a complete victory, and that the emperor, with great difficulty, escaped to *Adrianople*, and from thence, with a small attendance, to *Constantinople*, where he abdicated soon after. The *Bulgarians*, elated with the great victory they had gained, pursued their ravages without controul, advancing almost to the gates of *Constantinople*, and destroying all with fire and sword. *Leo*, who had succeeded *Michael*, endeavoured at first to restrain them by fair means, and for that purpose sent embassadors to *Crumus*, with proposals for an accommodation; but *Crumus*, deaf to all overtures, sent them back without so much as granting them an audience. *Leo*, who was an active and warlike prince, highly provoked at the arrogance of the barbarian, drew together all the forces of the empire, and, marching into *Thrace*, offered the enemy battle; which *Crumus* not declining, a bloody engagement ensued. Great numbers fell on both sides; but in the end the *Romans*, after a most obstinate resistance, were put to the rout. The *Bulgarians*, instead of pursuing the enemy, fell upon the baggage and began to plunder the camp in great disorder; which being observed by *Leo* from a neighbouring eminence, where he had kept during the battle with a body of reserve, he came down unexpectedly upon the enemy, renewed the fight, and, having rallied his other troops, obtained in the end an intire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and more taken prisoners. Among the former some reckon the king himself; and add, that the emperor slew him with his own hand; but others say, that he was only wounded, and that, falling from his horse, he had been either killed or taken prisoner by the *Romans*, who had already surrounded him, had not his guards, with unparallelled valour, rescued him out of their hands[f]. The *Bulgarians* were so disheartened with this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after. *Crumus* was succeeded by *Mortagon*,

They take Mesembria.

And gain a complete victory over the emperor Michael. *Year after Christ* 813.

Leo gains a great victory over them. Year after Christ 814.

[d] Theoph. ad ann. Mic. 2. [e] Cedren. in Leon. p. 173. [f] Zonar. p. 632. Cedren. ibid.

[a] *Mortagon*, in whose time *Thomas*, of whom we have spoken in our *Roman* history [g], revolting from *Michael* II. who had succeeded *Leo*, and keeping him closely blocked up in *Constantinople*, the king of the *Bulgarians*, pitying his condition, resolved to march to his assistance, and, lest he should in the mean time come to any agreement with the rebels, he privately acquainted him with his design. The emperor, either to prevent the ravages and disorders, which he was well apprised the barbarians would commit, or suspecting the sincerity of the king, or, what the writers of those times think most probable, apprehending that a reward, answerable to such a friendly and seasonable assistance, would too much exhaust his treasury, in the improving of which he at least equalled the most covetous of his predecessors, returned [b] the king of the *Bulgarians* thanks for his generous offer; but declined accepting it. *Mortagon*, however, accustomed to war and depredations, undertook the expedition, and, entering *Thrace*, encamped at a place called *Cedoctus*, at a small distance from *Constantinople*. *Thomas*, hearing of the approach of the *Bulgarians*, broke up the siege, and marched with all his forces to meet the enemy. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which the rebels were put to flight with great slaughter. But *Mortagon*, instead of pursuing the fugitives, returned home, with the booty he found in the enemy's camp [h].

The Bulgarians assist the emperor Michael II.

The *Bulgarians* continued quiet, no doubt in virtue of some treaty between them and the *Romans*, from this time to the year 893. the eighth of *Leo* V. when a war [c] broke out between them and the *Romans* on the following occasion: A great trade had been carried on for some time between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at *Constantinople*, whence, by the interest of *Zantzas*, father to *Zoe* the emperor's concubine, it was removed to *Thessalonica*. This removal was procured by *Zantzas*, at the request of the *Constantinopolitan* merchants, and those very merchants were, by the great sway he bore at court, appointed officers and receivers of the customs; which put it in their power to give great trouble to the *Bulgarian* merchants, whom they oppressed with new and unlawful impositions. Of this *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, complained by his embassadors to the emperor; but he, who was in all things governed by *Zantzas*, refusing to redress the grievances complained [d] of, *Simeon*, who wanted only a pretence for a rupture, without any further declaration of war, entered the *Roman* territories at the head of a powerful army, and advanced as far as *Macedon*, destroying all with fire and sword. On the borders of that province he was met by the army, which *Leo* had sent against him, under the conduct of *Procopius Crenites* and one *Curticius* an *Armenian*. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, than they engaged. The *Romans* stood their ground some time; but both their generals being slain, they were in the end utterly defeated. In the pursuit great numbers of them were taken prisoners, and treated in a most barbarous manner by the insolent conqueror, who first led them in triumph round his camp, and then, having caused their noses to be cut off, sent them, thus de- [e] formed, to *Constantinople*. *Leo*, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the *Ungri* or *Hungarians* to break into the country of the *Bulgarians* on one side, while he invaded it on the other. *Simeon* marched first against the *Hungarians*, who committed every-where dreadful ravages; but, in the battle that ensued, the flower of his army was cut off, he himself having, with great difficulty, made his escape, and taken refuge in a strong-hold named *Drista*; so that the *Hungarians* pursued their ravages without controul, laid waste the country far and near, and took an incredible number of prisoners, whom they sold to the emperor. *Leo*, before the *Hungarians* began hostilities, or his own troops took the field, had sent to *Simeon* one *Constantinacius*, with proposals for an accommodation; but the king of the *Bulgarians*, [f] imagining that the emperor had therein no other view but to deceive and amuse him, had thrown the embassadors into prison; but finding his army cut off by the *Hungarians*, and being informed at the same time, that the *Roman* army, under the conduct of *Nicephorus Phocas*, was in full march to enter his country, he not only set *Constantinacius* at liberty, but dispatched embassadors to *Leo* suing for peace in a most submissive manner. The emperor, not thinking it advisable to reduce so warlike a nation to despair, readily granted him his request, ordering *Phocas*, who was then upon the point of entering *Bulgaria*, to return home, with the forces under his command [i]. But *Simeon* no sooner found the danger removed, than he threw *Leo*'s embassadors

Under the conduct of their king Simeon, *they cut off a* Roman *army. Year after Christ* 893.

Simeon *defeated by the* Hungarians.

[g] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 565. [h] Cedren. p. 189. [i] Idem ibid.

He gains a victory over them, and ravages their country.

embaſſadors into priſon, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*, gave them a total overthrow. He then entered their country, and committed there unheard-of cruelties, putting all to the ſword who fell into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. *Leo*, not able to march to the aſſiſtance of his allies at ſo ſhort a warning, diſpatched embaſſadors to the king of the *Bulgarians*, complaining of the breach of the treaty juſt concluded, and requiring him to withdraw his troops forthwith out of the country of the *Hungarians*. *Simeon*, elated with his ſucceſs, returned anſwer, That he would hearken to no terms, till all the *Bulgarians*, who had been taken in the late war, were returned. To this the emperor conſented, unwilling to engage in a new war. But the priſoners were no ſooner returned him, than *Simeon* made new demands, ſtill more unreaſonable than the former; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to fall upon the *Bulgarians* with the whole ſtrength of the empire, and utterly extirpate, if poſſible, that perfidious nation. A powerful army was accordingly raiſed, and ſent into *Bulgaria*, under the command of *Catacalon* and *Theodoſius* a patrician. But *Simeon*, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut moſt of them in pieces, with *Theodoſius*, and a great number of officers of diſtinction. This obliged the emperor to conſent to a peace upon the beſt terms he could obtain[i]; which the *Bulgarians* ſeem to have obſerved during the remaining part of *Leo*'s reign.

He puts the Romans *to flight with great ſlaughter.*

Year after Chriſt 897.

Upon that prince's death, they diſpatched embaſſadors to *Alexander*, his brother and ſucceſſor, to renew the treaty concluded in the late reign. But *Alexander*, inſtead of cultivating the friendſhip of that warlike nation, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors in an ignominious manner; at which *Simeon* juſtly provoked, invaded the *Roman* dominions with a mighty army, and, meeting with no oppoſition, after having ravaged *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, which he hoped to ſurpriſe; but the inhabitants making a vigorous reſiſtance, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, *Simeon* was obliged to drop the enterprize and retire to *Hebdomon*, at a ſmall diſtance from the imperial city. From thence he ſent embaſſadors to *Conſtantine*, who had ſucceeded *Alexander*, with propoſals for an accommodation; which were received with great joy by the governors of the young prince, who was then under age. While the negotiations were carrying on, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of *Blachernæ*, and, when the entertainment was over, diſmiſſed with rich preſents. *Cedrenus* ſuppoſes a peace to have been concluded; but *Zonaras* writes, that *Simeon* would not agree to the terms that were offered him. Be that as it will, the following year 914. the king of the *Bulgarians* broke anew into *Thrace*, and, advancing as far as *Adrianople*, laid ſiege to that city. In the mean time the empreſs *Zoe*, mother to the young prince, having got the whole power into her own hands, and, by the advice of the ſenate, concluded a peace with the *Saracens*, who had invaded the eaſtern provinces, reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the *Bulgarians*, and utterly extirpate, if poſſible, that nation. With this view ſhe aſſembled a mighty army, and, having firſt diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiers, ſhe ordered them to march againſt the enemy, under the command of *Leo Phocas*, captain of the imperial guards. Under *Leo* commanded the following generals, *Grapſon*, *Merula*, *Romanus*, *Melius*, and *Conſtantius Africanus*, who had all diſtinguiſhed themſelves in former wars. The army was muſtered in a ſpacious plain called *Diabeſis*, where the chief chaplain of the palace, called the *Protopapa*, made them all kneel down, and ſwear they would fight to the laſt. After this, he gave them his bleſſing with the uſual ceremonies; which were no ſooner over, than *Leo* led them againſt the *Bulgarians*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Adrianople*, betrayed to them by one *Pancratucus* an *Armenian*. *Simeon* met the *Romans* at a caſtle called *Archelous*, whereupon a bloody battle enſued on the ſixth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 917. in which the *Bulgarians*, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, were in the end put to flight. The victory however was ſnatched out of the hands of the *Romans* by the following unlucky accident: *Leo*, the *Roman* general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the purſuit, his horſe broke looſe while he ſtooped down to drink. The ſoldiers, who knew him, ſeeing him without a rider, concluded that their general was killed, and thereupon turned the purſuit into a flight. *Simeon* quickly perceived the diſorder the *Romans* were in, though not acquainted with the cauſe of it, and, rallying his men, returned to the charge, put ſuch of the enemy

A mighty army ſent againſt the Bulgarians.

Who are at firſt put to flight.

[i] Curopalat. in Leon. p. 168.

a enemy to flight as offered to oppoſe him, and purſued them, till the day was far ſpent, with great ſlaughter. Vaſt numbers of common ſoldiers were killed on this occaſion, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction, among whom were *Conſtantius Africanus* and *Grapſon*. As for *Leo*, who commanded in chief, having narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, he got ſafe in the end to *Meſembria* [k]. To this miſtake ſome aſcribe the dreadful overthrow, which the *Romans* received on this occaſion; but others tell us, that, while *Leo* was buſy in the purſuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that *Romanus Lacapenus*, who commanded the fleet, was returned to *Conſtantinople*, with a deſign to uſurp the ſovereignty, while moſt of the nobility and officers were abſent; that, upon this intelligence, *Leo*, who had the ſame ambitious b view, returned in great haſte to the camp, the better to be informed of the truth; and that the ſoldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, betook themſelves to flight [l]. Be that as it will, the flower of the *Roman* army was cut off; and *Simeon*, elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, reſolved to return before *Conſtantinople*; but two ſtrong detachments from his army being met and defeated at a place called *Cataſyrtes* by the imperial troops, he thought it adviſeable to drop the enterprize and return home, with the immenſe booty, which he had already got. Even in this encounter or ſkirmiſh the *Romans* loſt a conſiderable number of men, and ſome officers of great reputation, among whom was *Nicolas*, the ſon of *Conſtantine Ducas*, who, on this occaſion, commanded in chief, and to whoſe valour the ſucceſs of the day was chiefly c owing. Five years after, *Simeon*, taking advantage of the inteſtine broils and factions into which the empire was rent by the uſurpations of *Romanus*, began to make new inroads into the *Roman* territories. One of his parties advanced as far as *Cataſyrtes*, in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, where they were met by *Leo*, ſon-in-law to *Romanus*, and put to flight. In this encounter *Michael*, a *Roman* officer, who had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, received a wound, of which he died. A few months after, *Simeon* ſent into *Thrace* a very numerous army, commanded by *Chaganus* and *Minicius*, with orders to march ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*. *Romanus*, receiving timely notice of their deſign, diſpatched *Leo*, his brother *Pothus Argyrus*, and one *John*, againſt them, with all the troops he could aſſemble. The two armies met in d the plains of *Pegæ*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Conſtantinople*, and thereupon a bloody battle enſued, in which the *Romans*, frightened with the ſudden flight of *John*, one of their generals, gave way and were purſued with great ſlaughter by the *Bulgarians*. *Leo* and *Pothus* took refuge in a neighbouring caſtle; *John* ſaved himſelf on board a ſmall veſſel; but moſt of the other officers and ſoldiers were either cut in pieces, taken priſoners, or drowned in ſtriving to get on board the fleet, which was riding at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle. Among the latter was *Alexius* the admiral and ſeveral other officers of the navy. The *Bulgarians*, now maſters of the field, laid waſte the country without controul, burnt the imperial palace of *Pegæ*, and cloſely beſieged *Adrianople*. *Leo*, ſurnamed *Moroleon*, from his raſh and inconſiderate boldneſs, defended the place with great gallantry, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful e ſallies; but the inhabitants being in the end obliged by famine to ſurrender, *Simeon* baſely cauſed *Leo* to be tortured to death [m].

But in the end gain a compleat victory. Year after Chriſt 917.

They gain another victory, and take Adrianople. *Year after Chriſt* 922.

THE king of the *Bulgarians*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, made vaſt preparations during the following winter, and early in the ſpring took the field, with a deſign to beſiege *Conſtantinople* itſelf. In his march he laid waſte *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and made himſelf maſter of moſt of the ſtrong-holds in thoſe provinces, leaving gariſons in ſome, and levelling others with the ground. At length he approached the imperial city and encamped at *Blachernæ*, whence he diſpatched a meſſenger to the emperor, requiring, that the patriarch and ſome other perſons of diſtinction might f be ſent to treat with him of an accommodation, ſince he was willing, he ſaid, to put an end to ſuch a deſtructive and expenſive war. The emperor readily complied with his requeſt, and, upon the delivery of hoſtages, the conferences were opened. But ſome time after, *Simeon* deſired an interview with the emperor himſelf, that is, with *Romanus*, who had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged the collegue of *Conſtantine*. *Romanus*, well pleaſed with this propoſal, went firſt to the place appointed, attended by his guards and the chief nobility. *Simeon* came ſoon after, and the two princes met on the ninth of *December* of the preſent year 923. *Romanus*, in a pathetic ſpeech, put the king of the *Bulgarians* in mind of the account he was one day to give to

They beſiege Conſtantinople.

An interview between the emperor and the king of the Bulgarians.

[k] CEDREN. ZONAR. LEO GRAMMAT. in Conſtan. Porphyr.
[l] GLYCAS. in Conſt. p. 87.
[m] GLYCAS. in Conſtant. p. 142. ZONAR. CEDREN. ubi ſupra.

to the Eternal Judge for the christian blood he had already shed; expostulated with him, that, being a christian, he should delight in the slaughter of those, who professed the same religion; exhorted him to join those, with whom he was already united by the same faith, and, putting an end to such unnatural wars, turn his arms against their common enemy the *Saracens*. He told him in the end, that, if he was prompted by the desire of riches to commit every-where such devastations, the treasures of the empire should be opened to him, and leave granted him to take from thence what wealth he pleased, provided he sheathed his sword, and put an end to the shedding of christian blood. *Simeon* was so affected with this speech, that he accepted the terms offered him by the emperor, signed the treaty, and, having received many rich presents from *Romanus*, he returned home, not suffering his men to commit the least disorder in the provinces through which they passed[n]. *Simeon*, having thus concluded a peace with the *Romans*, turned his arms against the *Chrobati*, a neighbouring nation; but he was by them overthrown, with the loss of his whole army. He did not long outlive this misfortune, but died of grief a few days after. He left three sons behind him, *viz.* *Michael*, whom he had by his first wife, *Peter*, and *John*, his children by his second wife. He had obliged his eldest son, whom he disliked, to take the monastic habit some years before his death. He was therefore succeeded by *Peter*, to whom, as he was yet under age, *George Susurbulus*, his mother's brother, was appointed guardian. The neighbouring nations no sooner heard of the death of *Simeon*, than they resolved to fall jointly upon the *Bulgarians*, by whom they had been incessantly harassed during the late king's reign. At the same time, a dreadful famine raged in *Bulgaria*, the corn having been consumed by incredible multitudes of locusts. *Susurbulus* therefore, fearing the *Romans*, encouraged by their present calamities, might join the neighbouring nations against them, advised the young prince to invade their dominions first with the whole strength of his kingdom, which, he said, would make way for an advantagious treaty, and prevent them from joining their other enemies. Pursuant to this advice, *Peter* broke into *Macedon* at the head of a powerful army, destroying all with fire and sword; but when he heard that *Romanus* was marching against him, he dispatched a monk to the emperor, with propositions for a peace, which he desired might be strengthened and confirmed by a more strict alliance, if the emperor thought fit to give him his grand-daughter in marriage. This overture was very acceptable to *Romanus*; so that, after several negotiations and conferences between the ministers of the two princes in the city of *Mesembria*, not only a peace, but a marriage, was concluded between the young king of the *Bulgarians* and *Mary* the daughter of *Christopher*, the emperor's son. The articles being agreed on, *Peter* repaired to *Constantinople* where he was splendidly entertained by *Romanus*, and, with great solemnity, married to his grand-daughter by *Stephen* the patriarch. The king of the *Bulgarians* was scarce returned home, when a conspiracy was discovered, carried on against him by *John* his brother and several other persons of distinction. All who were privy to it were put to death; but the king contented himself with confining his brother to a castle, whence, with the assistance of the emperor's embassadors, he made his escape to *Constantinople*. Soon after, *Michael* his brother, quitting the monastic habit, laid claim to the crown, and was joined by great numbers of *Bulgarians*; but he dying, his followers, abandoning their native country, broke into the *Roman* dominions, and, ravaging *Macedon* and *Greece*, advanced as far as *Nicopolis*; which city they took and settled there[o]. Upon the death of *Romanus*, the king of the *Bulgarians* sent embassadors to *Constantinople*, to renew with his successor *Nicephorus Phocas* his alliance with the emperor, delivering up his two sons *Borises* and *Romanus* as hostages; but the king dying soon after, they were sent home, where, with much difficulty, they got the better of a powerful faction, headed by the four sons of one of the chief lords of that country. In the year 970. the *Russi* or *Rossi*, who inhabited the present *Podolia*, broke into *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of their king *Spendosthlabus*, and, having ravaged the country and burnt several towns, they returned home loaded with booty. The ensuing year they pursued their ravages, and, having put the *Bulgarians* to flight who attempted to oppose them, and, in the pursuit, taken *Borises* and *Romanus*, the two sons of *Peter*, prisoners, they resolved to settle in *Bulgaria*, finding it a country far more pleasant and fertile than their own. In this resolution they were confirmed by one *Calocyrus*, a *Roman*

A peace concluded.

Simeon *is overthrown by the* Chrobati, *and dies. Year after Christ* 928.

Peter, *his son and successor, marries the grand daughter of the emperor* Romanus.

Bulgaria *subdued by the* Rossi. *Year after Christ* 971.

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Cedren. p. 183.

a *Roman* fugitive, who engaged to resign *Bulgaria* to them, to enter into a strict alliance with their nation, and to pay them annually a considerable sum, provided they raised him to the imperial throne. The *Russi*, well acquainted with the late revolutions of the empire, and the low ebb to which the *Roman* power was reduced, thought it would be no difficult matter to effectuate what *Calocyrus* proposed. Accordingly, having drawn to their assistance the *Patzinacæ*, a *Sarmatic* nation, with the *Huns* or *Hungarians*, and armed such of the conquered *Bulgarians*, as they thought they might safely trust, they entered *Thrace* with an army of three hundred and eight thousand men, and, having ravaged that province, sat down before *Adrianople*, where they were soon after defeated, and most of them cut in pieces, by *Bardas Sclerus* with a b body of twelve thousand *Romans*, as we have related elsewhere [p]. Such of the *Rossi* as escaped the general slaughter, returned into *Bulgaria*; whence they were afterwards driven back to their ancient seats by *John Zimisces*, then emperor. But of the war which that prince made on the *Rossi*, till they consented to abandon *Bulgaria*, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader [q].

Who are driven out by John Zimisces *emperor, to whom the* Bulgarians *submit. They revolt, and are governed by four brothers.*

The *Bulgarians*, being thus delivered from the yoke under which they had groaned some years, readily submitted to *Zimisces* their deliverer. But their submission lasted no longer than his life; for no sooner did they receive the news of the emperor's death, than, revolting from the *Romans*, they invested with supreme power four brothers, *David*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Samuel*, called *Cometopoli*, because they were the c children of an eminent count among them. Of the family of *Peter* none was left, whom they could prefer. His two sons *Borises* and *Romanus* had been taken prisoners by *Zimisces* in his war with the *Rossi*, and brought by him to *Constantinople*, whence they both made their escape upon that prince's death. But *Borises*, in passing through a wood in a *Roman* dress, was killed by a *Bulgarian*, who mistook him for a *Roman*. *Romanus* indeed was alive, but an eunuch, and consequently incapable of ascending the throne. Of the four brothers, whom we have just mentioned, *David* died soon after he was invested with the sovereign power; *Moses* was killed in the siege of a place called *Serræ*; and *Aaron*, being suspected of favouring the *Romans*, and keeping a private correspondence with them, was murdered by *Samuel*, with all his children, d *Blackhosthlabus* excepted, who was saved by *Kadomer* the son of *Samuel*. *Samuel*, who was a warlike prince and a man of a restless temper, having thus got the whole power into his own hands, made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories, returning home with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives; nay, while *Basilius*, the successor of *Zimisces*, was engaged in a civil war with *Bardas Sclerus*, who had assumed the purple, *Samuel*, laying hold of that opportunity, over-ran not only *Thrace* and *Macedon*, but likewise *Thessaly*, *Greece* and *Peloponnesus*, in which provinces he committed unheard-of ravages, burnt several cities, took others, and among the rest *Larissa*, the inhabitants whereof he transplanted, with their whole families, into *Bulgaria*, incorporated such of them as were able to bear arms among e his troops, and employed them against the *Romans*. *Basilius* therefore, highly provoked against the *Bulgarians*, had no sooner put an end to the civil war, than he resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them. Pursuant to this resolution, having drawn together all his forces, he left *Constantinople*, without acquainting even his own generals with his design; and, putting himself at the head of his army, he entered *Bulgaria* through the country lying near *Rhodoptes* and the river *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Melissenus* behind him to secure the streights, while he, by a short cut through woods and marshes, advanced to *Sardica*, by the *Bulgarians* called *Triaditza*, with a design to lay siege to that important place; but as he was making the necessary preparations for the attack, *Stephen*, the commander of the western forces, f and an irreconcileable enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, coming to him in the dead of the night, assured him, that *Leo* intended to usurp the sovereign power, and with that design was marching with all the troops under his command, to the imperial city. The emperor, alarmed at this account, and at the same time apprehending the enemy might seize on the passes abandoned by *Leo*, and cut off his retreat, immediately ordered the army to march. They no sooner began to move, than *Samuel*, rushing down from the neighbouring mountains, where he had kept the whole time, fell with great fury upon them in their retreat, and turned it into a precipitous and disorderly flight. All their baggage was taken, with the imperial robes and diadem; great numbers

They commit great ravages in the Roman *provinces.*

The emperor Basilius *invades their country.*

But is obliged to return with great loss. Year after Christ 987.

[p] Univers. hist. vol. vi. p. 585. [q] Ibid. p. 586.

numbers of the ſoldiers, and ſome officers of diſtinction, were cut in pieces; but the emperor with much-ado eſcaped to *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty, and guarding the poſt, which had been committed to his care. The emperor, though highly provoked, and indeed with a great deal of reaſon, againſt *Stephen*, the author of ſo much miſchief, contented himſelf with reviling him only in words, till he began to defend what he had done; and then *Baſilius*, no longer able to command his temper, leaped from his ſeat, and, taking hold of him by his locks and beard, pulled him down to the ground [r].

The Bulgarians *make new inroads into the empire*

The two following years. the emperor was diverted, by inteſtine broils, from purſuing the war againſt the *Bulgarians*; and *Samuel* their king, taking advantage of theſe diſturbances, haraſſed, with daily incurſions, the neighbouring provinces. But tranquillity was no ſooner reſtored to the empire, than *Baſilius* began to make vaſt preparations both by ſea and land, with a deſign intirely to ſubdue, or utterly extirpate, that reſtleſs and turbulent nation. In the firſt place he took a progreſs into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and, having viſited the frontiers on that ſide, and left a ſtrong gariſon in *Theſſalonica*, under the command of *Gregorius Taronitas*, to reſtrain the *Bulgarians*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, to haſten the military preparations. In the mean time, *Samuel*, approaching *Theſſalonica* at the head of a numerous army, made himſelf maſter of the place, after having, by a ſtratagem, killed the governor, and taken his ſon priſoner. Elated with his ſucceſs, he croſſed the *Peneus*, and, having over-run all *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, and *Attica*, he penetrated into the very heart of *Peloponneſus*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword in the provinces through which he paſſed. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched *Nicephorus Uranius* againſt him, with the flower of the army, who, leaving his heavy baggage at *Lariſſa*, paſſed with incredible expedition the *Pharſalian* plains and the river *Apidanus*, arrived at the *Spercheius*, and encamped on the banks of that river oppoſite to *Samuel*. The river was then ſo ſwelled, that *Samuel*, believing the *Romans* could not paſs it, lay with great ſecurity on the other ſide. However, *Uranius*, having ſought with indefatigable pains, and at length found out, a ford, paſſed the river in the dead of the night, and, falling upon the *Bulgarians* while they lay aſleep, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, made a dreadful havock of them before they had time to repair to their arms. *Samuel* and his ſon *Romanus* were dangerouſly wounded, and muſt unavoidably have fallen into the conqueror's hands, had they not kept themſelves concealed the whole day among the dead bodies, and in the night ſtolen away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and, keeping the tops of thoſe mountains, to mount *Pindus*, and thence into *Bulgaria*. Upon his return home he found his daughter enamoured to ſuch a degree of *Aſotes* the ſon of *Gregory*, late governor of *Theſſalonica*, who had been taken priſoner, as we have related above, that ſhe declared ſhe was determined to deſtroy herſelf, unleſs ſhe was allowed to marry him. *Samuel* complied with her deſire, and, as ſoon as the nuptial ſolemnity was over, ſent his new ſon-in-law, with his wife, to reſide at *Dyrrhachium*, appointing him governor of that important place; but he had not been long there, when, hearing that the emperor's galleys were cruizing on the coaſt, he laid hold of that opportunity to return to *Conſtantinople*, where both he and his wife, whom he had eaſily perſuaded to accompany him, were kindly received and preferred by the emperor, he to the dignity of *magiſter*, and ſhe to that of *zoſta*, whoſe province it was to take care of the imperial wardrobe. *Aſotes* brought letters with him to the emperor from *Chryſelius*, one of the chief officers in *Dyrrhachium*, wherein he promiſed to deliver the city into the hands of the *Romans*, on condition the emperor conferred the dignity of patrician on him and his two ſons; but, ſo far as we can conjecture from *Cedrenus*, whoſe text is ſtrangely maimed in this place, the delivering up of the city was prevented by the death of *Chryſelius*. However, the emperor became maſter of the place not long after; but in what manner we are not told [s].

They are utterly defeated by Uranius.

Baſilius *invades their country, and takes ſeveral ſtrong-holds.*

The following year, the emperor entered *Bulgaria* in perſon by the way of *Philippopolis*, and, having taken there ſeveral caſtles and ſtrong-holds, he diſpatched from *Moſypolis* part of his army, under the command of *Theodorocranus* a patrician, and *Nicephorus Xiphias* protoſpatharian, againſt the *Bulgarian* cities beyond mount *Hæmus*. By theſe were reduced the *Great* and the *Little Perſthlaba*, with *Pliſcoba*, and ſeveral other fortified places. The enſuing year, *Baſilius* in perſon made a ſecond inroad into *Bulgaria*, by the way of *Theſſalonica*, took ſome cities, burnt a great number of villages,

[r] Cedren. p. 192. [s] Idem, p 198.

villages, and laid the country waſte far and near. The city of *Beræa* was delivered up to him by *Dobromerus*, governor of that place, whom the emperor honoured with the title and rank of procouſul. The city of *Servia*, which was defended by a numerous gariſon, under the command of *Nicolas*, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance; but was taken in the end by ſtorm. From *Servia* the emperor returned to *Conſtantinople*, carrying with him a great number of captives, and among the reſt *Nicolas*, governor of that place, whom, for his gallant behaviour, he generouſly raiſed to the rank of a patrician. But *Nicolas*, preferring the ſervice of his maſter to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him, made his eſcape ſoon after to *Samuel*, and with him laid ſiege to *Servia*; which the emperor no ſooner underſtood, than he haſtened
b thither in perſon, obliged the *Bulgarians* to retire, and, falling upon them in their retreat, took *Nicolas* a ſecond time priſoner, and ſent him to *Conſtantinople*, where he was, by the emperor's orders, kept under cloſe confinement. From *Servia Baſilius* led his army into *Theſſaly*, and there repaired ſuch caſtles, as had been diſmantled by the *Bulgarians*, recovered thoſe that were ſtill held by them, and reunited that province, after it had been ſome time in their hands, to the empire. The year after; *Baſilius*, early in the ſpring, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and laid ſiege to *Bodyna*, which held out for the ſpace of eight months; but was in the end taken by ſtorm. As the autumn was already far ſpent, the emperor, having left a ſtrong gariſon in *Bodyna*, marched back with the reſt of his troops to *Conſtantinople*. When he came, on his
c return home, to the river *Axius*, he found *Samuel*, with all the forces he had been able to aſſemble, encamped on the oppoſite bank. But *Baſilius*, having diſcovered a ford, and paſſed the river in the dead of the night, fell early next morning on the enemy, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and gave them a total overthrow. *Simeon*'s army being thus defeated and diſperſed, *Romanus*, the ſon of the late king *Peter* and brother to *Boriſes*, delivered up to the emperor the city of *Scopiæ*, of which he was governor, and was on that account rewarded with the dignity of patrician. *Samuel*, no longer able to keep the field, placed ſtrong guards in all the paſſes, to prevent the emperor from penetrating farther into *Bulgaria*. How-
d ever, *Baſilius*, bent upon the intire reduction of the country, forced, not without great loſs of men, ſeveral paſſes; but, in the ſtreights of *Cimba Longus*, he had been cut off with his whole army, had not *Nicephorus Xiphias*, governor of *Philippopolis*, marching with a ſtrong detachment through by-ways and over a ſteep mountain, fallen unexpectedly upon the enemy's rear, and by that means obliged them to abandon their poſt. Hereupon *Baſilius*, entering the ſtreights without oppoſition, purſued them with great ſlaughter, though they retired in good order, and, often facing about, ſkirmiſhed with the *Romans*. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes the king narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the *Romans* by the valour and conduct of his ſon, who reſcued him when he was already ſurrounded on all ſides, and conveyed him ſafe to the caſtle of *Prilapus*, though cloſely purſued by a body of *Roman* horſe. On this
e occaſion the emperor is ſaid to have taken fifteen thouſand priſoners, whom, contrary to his cuſtom, he treated with great inhumanity; for he cauſed their eyes to be put out, and, to every hundred aſſigning a guide, who had one eye left, ſent them in that condition to *Samuel*. The king of the *Bulgarians*, already broken with age and worn out with miſfortunes, was ſo ſhocked at this diſmal ſpectacle, that he fell into a ſwoon; and though he returned to himſelf again, yet, not able to bear up againſt ſo great a calamity, he died two days after[u].

Their army utterly defeated.

They are defeated anew.

Samuel, *king of the* Bulgarians, *dies of grief.*

Samuel was ſucceeded by his ſon *Gabriel*, whom he had by a captive of *Lariſſa*. In the beginning of his reign, the emperor, purſuing the conqueſt of *Bulgaria*, made himſelf maſter of a ſtrong caſtle named *Matzucius*, and then ſat down before *Strum-*
f *pitza*, a place of great ſtrength. During the ſiege, he detached *Theophylact*, one of his generals, with a body of choſen men, to reduce the ſtrong-holds among the mountains, and open a way through the woods. *Theophylact* made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places; but being in the end ſurpriſed by the *Bulgarians* in a narrow paſs, where he could not draw up his men, he was cut off, with the whole body under his command. The emperor, to whom *Strumpitza* had ſubmitted after a vigorous reſiſtance, hearing of this misfortune, thought it adviſeable to retreat; and accordingly marched back to *Moſynopolis* and thence to *Theſſalonica*. On his route, he took the caſtles of *Prilapus*, *Stypeius*, *Melencius*, and *Budena*, and burnt *Buteliana*, the royal palace

The Bulgarians, *under the conduct of* Gabriel *their new king, cut off part of the* Roman *army.*

[u] Idem, p. 203, & ſeq. ZONAR. p. 341.

Gabriel *murdered by* Bladisthlabus *who succeeds him.*

palace of the *Bulgarian* kings. During the winter, *Gabriel* was killed, while he was hunting, by *Bladisthlabus*, the son of *Aaron*, whose life he had formerly preserved, as we have related above. *Bladisthlabus*, being acknowledged king by the *Bulgarians*, immediately acquainted the emperor with the death of *Gabriel* and his own promotion, acknowledging himself at the same time a subject and vassal of the empire. But *Basilius*, suspecting his sincerity, returned early in the spring into *Bulgaria*, and there made himself master of several strong castles and fortified towns, in one of which he took some of the principal men among the *Bulgarians*. In the mean time, *Bladisthlabus* sent a new deputation to the emperor, offering to submit upon what terms he should think proper to prescribe. At the same time, the emperor received letters from the *Bulgarians*, owning themselves his subjects and vassals. But *Basilius*, being informed, that neither the king nor his subjects were sincere in their declarations, and that they had made an attempt upon *Dyrrhachium*, hoping to surprise that important place, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and, having laid waste the countries of *Ostrobus*, *Gosens*, and *Pelagonia*, advanced to *Achris*, the place where the *Bulgarian* kings usually resided, which he reduced; and then, leaving part of his army in *Pelagonia*, to awe the *Bulgarians*, he marched out with the rest to reduce the neighbouring provinces. But he was scarce gone, when *Ibatzes*, a man of great distinction among the *Bulgarians*, and remarkable for his valour and experience in war, having drawn the *Romans* left by the emperor into an ambuscade, cut them off, with their commanders, all to a man. Hereupon *Basilius*, marching back in great rage, laid several cities in ashes, ravaged the open country with fire and sword, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, ordered their eyes to be put out, and, in that condition, sent them to *Bladisthlabus*. On the other hand, the *Bulgarians*, making frequent sallies from the woods, cut great numbers of his men in pieces; insomuch, that, his army being greatly diminished, he thought it advisable to return earlier than usual to *Constantinople*. On his march, he laid siege to the castle of *Pernicus*; but the garison making a vigorous resistance, he lay before it eighty days, assaulting it almost every day with his whole army; but, being constantly repulsed with great loss of men, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterprize and retire. However, thinking he could not, without forfeiting his reputation, drop the war, till he had intirely subdued *Bulgaria*, after having so often invaded it in person, he allowed his army but a short respite; and then, taking the field again, he laid siege to *Castoria*, a fortified town in *Pelagonia*. But in the mean time, the king of the *Bulgarians*, having drawn together all the forces he could muster, began to march towards the frontiers of the empire, in order to oblige the emperor to abandon *Bulgaria*, and hasten back to the defence of his own dominions. *Basilius* accordingly, breaking up the siege of *Castoria*, marched against *Bladisthlabus*, who, not caring to put the whole to the issue of an engagement, retired at his approach. *Basilius* detached *Constantine Diogenes* in pursuit of the enemy, who put many of them to the sword, took the horses and baggage of the king, with one of his kinsmen, and returned loaded with booty. After this, the emperor took by storm the castle of *Satzna*, where he found a great quantity of corn, which he caused to be removed, and then set fire to the place. Having ended the campaign, he returned, according to his custom, to *Constantinople*. He was no sooner gone, than the king of the *Bulgarians* laid siege to *Dyrrhachium*; but the garison making a vigorous resistance, he was slain in an assault. The *Bulgarians*, who had hitherto defended their country with an unparallelled valour, and maintained their liberties against the whole strength of the empire, in a war which had lasted twenty years and upwards, being now quite disheartened by the loss of their king, sent deputies to the emperor, with offers of a total and unfeigned submission. *Basilius* received them in the most obliging manner, and, hastening into *Bulgaria*, was met on the confines by the governors of thirty-six castles, which they delivered up to him. Their example was followed by most of the chief men of *Bulgaria*, and even by the wife of the deceased king, who, coming to the emperor, with three of her sons and her six daughters, renounced all claim to the kingdom of *Bulgaria*. She had three other sons by the king; but they had taken refuge on the tops of the *Ceraunic* mountains, whence they were soon after obliged by famine, the emperor having ordered all the passes to be carefully guarded, to come down and surrender themselves. *Basilius* received them in the most obliging manner imaginable, raised *Prosianus*, who seems to have been the eldest, to the dignity of *magister*, and the other five to that of patrician. To the mother, and the

Basilius *reduces several strong-holds.*

And puts their king to flight, who is killed soon after.

The chief men among the Bulgarians *submit.*

a the daughters he allowed a maintenance ſuitable to their rank, and ever treated them with the utmoſt reſpect. At *Achris*, where the *Bulgarian* kings uſually reſided, he was received by his new ſubjects with loud acclamations. There he ſeized on the immenſe treaſure of the *Bulgarian* princes, and found, among other things of great value, ſeveral crowns enriched with pearl, and a great quantity of gold, which he beſtowed as a donative upon his ſoldiers[w]. There remained now but one man in the whole country capable of raiſing diſturbances, who had not ſubmitted to the emperor. This was *Ibatzes*, a perſon nearly allied to the royal family, and one who, during the courſe of the war, had given ſeveral inſtances of his courage and implacable hatred to the *Romans* He, refuſing to comply with the preſent poſture of affairs, ſeized
b on a caſtle ſtanding on the top of a mountain moſt difficult of acceſs, and, having fortified himſelf there, declared, that he was determined to hold out to the laſt extremity. But in what manner he was ſeized in his caſtle and brought to the emperor, we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory[x], to which we refer the reader. And now *Baſilius*, abſolute maſter of all *Bulgaria*, took a progreſs through the country, receiving every-where the ſubmiſſions of his new ſubjects, and cauſing ſeveral caſtles to be demoliſhed, leſt the *Bulgarians*, ſeizing on them, ſhould attempt to ſhake off the yoke. Then, leaving *Bulgaria*, he repaired to *Athens*, and, aſcribing the ſucceſs that had attended his arms to the protection of the virgin *Mary*, he enriched her church in that city with many preſents of great value. From *Athens* he returned to
c *Conſtantinople*, which he entered in triumph through the *golden gate*, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, the widow of the late king of the *Bulgarians*, with all the princes and princeſſes of the blood royal, walking before him. This conqueſt and final reduction of *Bulgaria*, which had been often attempted in vain by other emperors, was effected by *Baſilius* in the forty-fourth year of his reign and of the chriſtian æra 1019.

Bulgaria intirely ſubdued: Year after Chriſt 1019.

THE *Bulgarians* bore the yoke patiently for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, that is, till the year 1036. the ſecond of *Michael* IV. when they revolted on the following occaſion: One *Deleanus*, as we read in *Cedrenus*, or *Dolianus*, as *Zonaras* calls him, by birth a *Bulgarian*, but ſlave or ſervant to a citizen of *Conſtantinople*, eſcaping from
d his maſter, fled into *Bulgaria*, and there gave out, that he was the ſon of *Gabriel* and grandſon of *Samuel*, kings of that country. This he affirmed with ſuch confidence, that the *Bulgarians*, giving intire credit to all he ſaid, and being already weary of the yoke, to which they had lately ſubmitted, received him every-where with joyful acclamations, and proclaimed him king of *Bulgaria*, ſacrificing to this new idol all the *Romans*, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Baſilius Synademus*, governor of *Dyrrhachium*, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he marched out againſt the rebels, with all the troops under his command; but an unſeaſonable quarrel ariſing between him and a tribune in the army, named *Michael Democaitas*, the contention was carried to ſuch a height, that the tribune accuſed *Synademus* at
e court of high treaſon; who was thereupon, by the emperor's orders, ſeized, and ſent to *Theſſalonica*, to be confined there to cloſe priſon. The accuſer was preferred to the government of *Dyrrhachium* in his room; but in that command he behaved with ſuch inſolence, that the people, no longer able to bear his tyrannical temper and cruel exactions, roſe againſt him, and drove him out of the town. This they were well appriſed the emperor would highly reſent, and therefore, deſpairing of pardon, they openly revolted, and choſe for their king one *Teichomer*, a ſoldier of great reputation among them. This unexpected election very much ſurpriſed *Deleanus* and his adherents; for there were now two powerful factions in *Bulgaria*, the city and territory of *Dyrrhachium* acknowledging *Teichomer*, and the reſt of the country
f *Deleanus*. This, *Deleanus* was well appriſed, would occaſion the ruin of both, and therefore reſolved, by ſome means or other, to get rid of his new rival; but, as that could not be well effected by force, he had recourſe to artifice; and, pretending to be highly pleaſed with the election of *Teichomer*, he wrote obliging letters to him, congratulating him upon his new dignity, expreſſed great joy in having him for his collegue, and earneſtly intreated him to come and ſhare the ſovereignty with him. *Teichomer*, believing him ſincere in his profeſſions, went and joined him with all his forces. *Deleanus*, having thus got him, as he thought, into his power, watched his opportunity; and, having called the ſoldiers together, he told them, that *Bulgaria*

The Bulgarians *revolt, and chuſe* Deleanus *for their king.*

The inhabitants of Dyrrhachium *ſhake off the yoke, and chuſe* Teichomer *for their king.*

[w] CEDREN. p. 207, &c. ZONAR. p. 350. [x] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 532.

garia could not, in his opinion, admit of two kings; and that therefore they ought either to confirm his election, who was descended from *Samuel*, and remove *Teichomer*, or, if they thought fit, to depose him, and vest *Teichomer* with the whole power. This speech occasioned, at first, a great contest in the army, which ended in the choice of *Deleanus* and the death of *Teichomer*, who was stoned by the soldiery.

Who is stoned to death by the followers of Deleanus.

Deleanus, having thus got the whole power into his hands, led his army, without loss of time, towards *Thessalonica*, where *Michael* then was; but, upon the first news of his approach, the emperor fled to *Constantinople*, leaving all his baggage and treasure behind him, under the care of *Manuel Ibatza*, who was ordered to convey it to the imperial city. But *Ibatza*, betraying his trust, carried it over to *Deleanus*, whose party being strengthened by some new accession almost every day, he sent a strong body of troops, under the conduct of one *Caucanus*, against *Dyrrhachium*, which was soon reduced; and dispatched another, commanded by one *Anthemius*, into *Greece*, at whose approach the province of *Nicopolis*, revolting from the emperor, cut in pieces his officers, by whom they had been most grievously oppressed, and submitted to the rebels. In the mean time *Alusianus*, the second son of *Aaron* and brother to *Bladisthlabus* the last king of *Bulgaria*, who, submitting with the rest of his countrymen to *Basilius*, had been raised by him to the rank of patrician, retiring privately from *Constantinople*, returned into his native country. He had been accused of some illegal proceedings by the inhabitants of *Theodosiopolis*, of which city he had been appointed governor by *Basilius*. Hereupon *John*, the emperor's brother, who ruled with an absolute sway, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to *Alusianus*, not only prevailed upon *Michael* to forbid him the court, but obliged him, before his cause was heard, to pay a great sum of gold, and, what provoked him most, forced a beautiful woman from him, for whom he had a great passion. *Alusianus*, not knowing how far the emperor, at the instigation of his brother, might carry his resentment, retired privately from *Constantinople*, and, in the disguise of an *Armenian*, got safe to *Ostrobus*, where *Deleanus* lay encamped with his army. Both the soldiery and people received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy; which did not a little alarm *Deleanus*. However, dissembling his fears, and pretending to be no less pleased with his arrival than the rest, he offered to share with him the sovereignty. *Alusianus* readily accepted the offer, and, being by all acknowledged as his collegue, in order to gain the affections of the people and soldiery, he immediately marched, at the head of forty thousand men, to besiege *Thessalonica*. But *Constantine* the patrician, a person nearly related to the emperor, making a very gallant and vigorous resistance, *Alusianus*, after having, for six days together, battered the walls with all sorts of engines, and attempted, with repeated assaults, to make himself master of the place, was in the end obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, hoping the garison would be soon forced by famine to submit. But the besieged, making a general and unexpected sally, cut fifteen thousand of the *Bulgarians* in pieces, and obliged the rest to break up the siege and save themselves by a precipitous flight. This defeat increased the jealousies which the two competitors had already conceived of each other, *Deleanus* ascribing the overthrow to treachery, and *Alusianus*, upon the sense of his late misfortune, apprehending that his rival would lay hold of the first opportunity to stir up the people and soldiery against him: thus each in private began to meditate the ruin and destruction of the other. But *Alusianus* was in the end beforehand with his collegue; for, having invited him to an entertainment, he encouraged him to drink till he was quite intoxicated, and then caused his eyes to be put out. After this, distrustful of his own interest, and well acquainted with the fickle temper of the *Bulgarians*, he wrote to the emperor, offering to submit and return to his duty, provided *Michael* would grant him his pardon, and such a reward as his service might be thought to deserve. The emperor readily complied with his request, conferred on him the dignity of *magister*, and sent him to *Constantinople*. *Michael* had already resolved to march in person into *Bulgaria*, and employ the whole strength of the empire against the rebels, saying, it was a shame for him, who had added nothing to the empire, to suffer any part of it to be lost. Upon the submission therefore of *Alusianus*, he led his army, without loss of time, into *Bulgaria*, though he was then so ill of a dropsy, that all about him thought every day would prove his last. However, being resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking the *Bulgarians*, while destitute of a leader, he could by no means be prevailed upon to drop the enterprize. Upon his first entering *Bulgaria*, *Deleanus* fell into his hands,

Dyrrhachium *and the province of* Nicopolis, *submit to* Deleanus.

He takes Alusianus *for his collegue.*

Who is put to flight with great slaughter by the Romans.

Deleanus *deposed by* Alusianus, *who submits to the emperor.*

hands, whom he immediately sent to *Thessalonica*; then, penetrating farther into the country, he dispersed some *Bulgarians*, who began to assemble, received the allegiance of the chief men of the country, and, having taken *Manuel Ibatza*, of whom we have spoken above, he returned with him and *Deleanus* in triumph to *Constantinople*[y]. From this time the *Bulgarians* continued subject to the emperors of *Constantinople*, whom they powerfully assisted both against the *Latins* and the *Turks*, and were on that account allowed to chuse a king of their own nation, who nevertheless owned himself a vassal of the empire. In 1206. *John*, king of *Bulgaria*, marching against *Baldwin*, the first emperor of the *Latins* in *Constantinople*, while he was besieging *Adrianople*, defeated his army with great slaughter, relieved the city, and, having
b taken the emperor himself prisoner, carried him to *Ternova*, at that time the capital of *Bulgaria*. There he caused his hands and feet to be cut off, and then ordered him, thus maimed, to be thrown into a neighbouring valley, where he lay in the utmost agony for three days, and then expiring, was devoured by the wild beasts and birds of prey. In 1275. *Stephen*, the fourth king of *Hungary*, overcame in a great battle *Cea* prince of *Bulgaria*, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the *Bulgarians* to acknowledge him for their king. Hence *Stephen* and his successors were styled kings of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, which title passed, with the kingdom of *Hungary*, to the princes of the house of *Austria*, as we shall hereafter relate more at length. With the assistance of the *Greek* emperors they shook off the *Hungarian* yoke, and
c in 1369. under the conduct of *Sasmenos* their king, they attempted the recovery of *Adrianople*, taken by the *Turks*; but were utterly defeated by *Amurath* I. who had no sooner settled his affairs in *Asia*, than, provoked against the *Bulgarians* for their late attempt, he turned his arms against them, and, entering *Bulgaria* with a numerous army, made himself master of several strong-holds, and obliged *Sasmenos* to purchase a peace, by yielding to him the far greater part of his kingdom, and promising to hold the rest as his vassal and tributary. But *Bajazet*, who succeeded *Amurath*, invading *Bulgaria* without the least provocation, made an absolute conquest of the whole country in 1396. and reduced it to a province of the *Turkish* empire, in which state it has continued ever since. We shall now, in compliance with our plan, pro-
d ceed to the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, from *Theodoric* to their expulsion by *Narses*; of the exarchs of *Ravenna*, till driven out by the *Lombards*; and of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, to *Desiderius* their last king, taken prisoner by *Charlemagne*. These three different histories will afford us matter for the following chapter, and with them we shall close the ancient history, or the history of the ancient nations.

Bulgaria *reduced anew*. *Year after Christ* 1041.

Bulgaria *reduced to a province of the* Turkish *empire*. *Year after Christ* 1396.

[y] Cedren. p. 210—214. Zonar. p 353—360.

CHAP. XV.

The history of the Ostrogoths *in* Italy, *the exarchs of* Ravenna, *and the* Lombards *in* Italy.

SECT. I.

The history of the Ostrogoths *in* Italy, *to their expulsion by* Narses.

e IN the foregoing chapter, we brought *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* into *Italy*, and there placed him on the throne of *Odoacer*. We shall now give the reader a succinct account of this excellent prince's reign, whom we must not look upon as an intruder or usurper, but as the lawful sovereign of the countries he held, especially of the kingdom of *Italy*; for when he first imparted to *Zeno* his design of invading that country, the emperor not only approved of the undertaking, but encouraged him to it, and, recommending to his protection the senate and people of *Rome*, dismissed him loaded with rich presents. During the course of the war, *Theodoric* sent distinct accounts of all that passed to the emperor, who was highly pleased with the success that

Theodoric *lawful king of* Italy, *and acknowledged as such by the emperors* Leo *and* Anastasius.

that attended his arms; nay, when he was informed, that *Theodoric* only wanted *Ravenna* to be intire master of *Italy*, he advised him to lay aside the *Gothic* dress, and assume the royal diadem, mantle, and other ensigns of majesty; which was acknowledging him king of *Italy*[a]. Upon the reduction of *Ravenna*, which happened in the second year of the reign of *Anastasius*, the successor of *Zeno*, he was by the new emperor acknowledged for a just and lawful prince; for though the *Goths*, as we read in the anonymous of *Valesius*[b], upon the death of *Odoacer*, proclaimed him anew king of all *Italy*, without the consent and approbation of the emperor, yet *Anastasius* approved of what they had done, as is manifest from the letters he wrote to him, and from *Theodoric*'s answer to them, which have been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*. Besides, when *Theodoric* undertook the conquest of *Italy*, the western empire was at an end; *Spain* was held by the *Vandals*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Sueves*; *Gaul* by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*; *Britain* by the *Saxons*; and *Italy* left a prey to the *Heruli*, the *Rugians*, and other barbarous nations. While the last-mentioned country, which, for so many ages, had given law to the world, was thus groaning under the yoke of the barbarians, the emperors of the east being no-ways in a condition to afford it the least relief, *Theodoric*, with their consent and approbation, undertook the great work, and having, at his own charges, and with troops of his own nation, driven out the tyrant, he was, with loud acclamations, received by the people as their king and deliverer. The only person, who had then any claim to *Italy*, was the emperor of the east, and both *Zeno* and his successor *Anastasius* acknowledged *Theodoric* king of that country, not only allowing him to wear the royal ensigns, but transferring to him all their claims and rights, as we read in *Procopius*, a writer no-ways favourable to the *Goths*, not to mention *Jornandes*, or *Ennodius* the holy bishop of *Pavia*, who affirm the same thing, but may perhaps be thought biassed in favour of *Theodoric*, the former being a *Goth* by nation, and the latter a great admirer of *Theodoric*, on account of his eminent virtues, which he celebrated in a panegyric, that has reached our times. Hence, when the *Goths*, upon their being attacked by the emperor *Justinian*, had recourse to the *Franks*, they told them, among other things, that they might expect the same treatment from the emperors, which the *Goths* now met with, since they made war upon them, alledging, that *Theodoric* had invaded *Italy*, which belonged to the *Romans*; whereas he had not taken that country from them, but from *Odoacer*, and had been, even by them, owned lawful king of *Italy*, till, the power of the *Goths* being at a low ebb, the emperor thought himself in a condition to strip them of what had been yielded to them by his predecessors[c]. But to return to *Theodoric*: Tho' he was master of all *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewise of *Rhætia*, *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, *Istria*, and great part of *Suevia*, *Pannonia*, and *Gaul*, and governed *Spain*, as guardian to his young nephew *Amalaric*, yet he did not assume the title of emperor, but contented himself with that of king, either out of respect to the emperors of the east; or because he reckoned the title of king, denoting an independent authority, more honourable than that of emperor; or perhaps because *Odoacer*, whom he succeeded, had taken no other. Be that as it will, *Theodoric*, having no enemy to contend with after the death of *Odoacer*, sheathed his sword, and applied himself wholly to the establishing of good order throughout his new dominions.

He retains the same laws and magistrates.

He retained the same laws, the same magistrates, the same polity, and the same distribution of provinces. Military honours, for the most part, he conferred on the *Goths*, but preferred the *Romans* alone to civil employments. Hence the *Romans*, that is, the ancient inhabitants of *Italy*, were highly pleased with his government; and *Gelasius*, bishop of *Rome*, wrote a letter to him, congratulating him upon his happy administration. He distributed the *Goths* among the fortified places, with their captains, who in time of war commanded them, and governed them in time of peace. As for the *Romans*, they were governed by the same magistrates, as they had been under the emperors; but with this difference, that by the emperors was sent a *consularis*, a *præses*, a *corrector*, into each province, to whom, in all suits, recourse was to be had from the most remote parts; whereas the *Goths* sent, besides the above-mentioned magistrates, others of an inferior rank to every small village, who, by administring justice there, delivered the people from the great trouble and vast expences they had been at, in the *Roman* times, when the power of deciding controversies was vested in the supreme magistrate alone. The *Goths* were, as appears from

[a] Jorn. de reb. Get. p. 698. [b] Pagi in dissert. hypat. de consulib. p. 300. [c] Agath. l. i. p. 48.

from *Cassiodore*, no less scrupulous in the choice of these inferior magistrates, than of the greater officers, employing only persons of known integrity, and acceptable to the people, and allowing no appeals to other tribunals, but in cases of manifest injustice. Of these inferior magistrates some were called *cancellarii*, others *canonicarii*, *comites referendarii*, &c. *Petrus Pontinus* wrote a book of the dignities of the *Gothic* court[d]; but, as *Grotius* well observes[e], he might have saved himself that trouble, since they are minutely described in the sixth and seventh books of *Cassiodore*.

As *Theodoric* made no alteration in the laws, magistrates, or form of government, except that which we have just mentioned, so he contented himself with the same tributes and taxes, which had been levied by the emperors; but was far more ready than they had ever been to remit them on occasion of any public calamity. Thus, he remitted to the inhabitants of *Campania* the tribute they usually paid, upon their representing to him, that they had suffered much by an eruption of mount *Vesuvius*. The letter or order which he sent on this occasion to *Faustus*, *consularis* or governor of *Campania*, has been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*. In that letter he tells *Faustus*, that the inhabitants of *Campania*, having suffered greatly, had petitioned him for relief: that he was ready to grant them their request, provided he were rightly informed of the misfortune, and knew how to judge of the damage they had sustained. He commands him to send some person of known integrity into the territories of *Nola* and *Naples*, to view the lands, and take an estimate of the loss, that he might know how to make a proportionable allowance out of the tribute[f]. It was probably on this occasion that the *Neapolitans* erected, in their great forum or market-place, a statue to *Theodoric*, which is said to have afterwards presaged the end of the government of the *Goths* in *Italy* (M). In like manner *Theodoric* exempted the inhabitants of *Sipontum* in *Puglia* from all taxes for the space of two years, upon their representing to him, that their lands had been laid waste by the *Vandals* of *Africa*, who were constantly making descents on the coasts of *Italy*[g].

He contents himself with the taxes paid to the emperors.

He not only forgave, but preferred to the first employments, several *Italians*, or, as they were still called in his time, *Romans*, who had stood by *Odoacer* to the last[h]; but such as had once declared for him, and afterwards revolted to the enemy, he punished according to the *Roman* law, taking from them the power of making testaments. But, in the third year of his reign, he was prevailed upon by *Laurentius* and *Epiphanius*, the one bishop of *Milan*, the other of *Pavia*, to forgive them, and publish a general pardon. Upon his becoming master of *Italy*, he did not treat the natives as those of the other *Roman* provinces were treated by the barbarians, who conquered them. These stripped the antient proprietors of their lands, estates, and possessions, dividing them among their chiefs, and giving to one, as it happened in *Gaul*, conquered by the *Franks*, a province, with the title of duke; to another a frontier country, with the title of marquis; to some a city, and the title of count; to others a castle or village, with the title of baron[i]. But *Theodoric*, who picqued himself upon governing after the *Roman* manner, and observing the *Roman* laws and institutions, left every one in the full enjoyment of his ancient property; for the feodal tenures, dukedoms, counties, *&c.* were not introduced into *Italy* by the *Goths*, but by the *Lombards*, as we shall relate hereafter. As to religion, *Theodoric* held, as all the *Goths* did, the tenets of *Arius*, but allowed his subjects to profess, without molestation, the faith of the council of *Nice*; nay, he gave free liberty to the *Goths* themselves

He allows the natives to enjoy their estates and possessions.

His religion and piety.

[d] Petr. Pontin. de dignit. Goth. aulæ. [e] Grot. in Proleg. ad hist. Goth. p. 46. [f] Cassiod. var. l. iv. ep. 50. [g] Idem, l. ii. ep. 37. [h] Idem ibid. ep. 16. [i] Loyseau de sign. c. 3. Cod. de agric. & cens. l. ii. Connan. in com. jur. civ. l. ii. tit. c. Leo Ostiens. in chron. Cossin. glossat. in notis, c. 6. num. 532.

(M) This statue was made of small pebbles of various colours, and so artfully joined together, that they represented *Theodoric* to the life. While he was still alive, the head of the statue fell, and broke to pieces; and soon after *Theodoric* died. He was succeeded by *Athalaric* his grandson, in the eighth year of whose reign, the belly of the statue, all on a sudden, fell of itself; and a few days after news was brought to *Naples* of the death of *Athalaric*. Not long after, the genitals dropped off; and an account was brought of the unhappy and undeserved end of *Amalasuntha*, the daughter of *Theodoric*, and mother of the late king. But when *Justinian* declared war against the *Goths*, the thighs and feet of the statue fell to the ground; from which event the *Romans* concluded, that the empire of the *Goths* in *Italy* was at an end, and that they would be soon driven out, as it happened. This presage, says *Procopius*, from whom we have borrowed the whole account, greatly encouraged the emperor's troops, and gave them certain hopes of victory (1).

(1) *Procop. bell. Goth. l.* i.

selves to renounce, if they pleased, the doctrine of *Arius*, and embrace the catholic faith. He suffered none to be chosen for the government of the church but persons of known probity [k]. A great schism arising in his time, he used his utmost endeavours to restore the church to its former tranquillity, which in the end he effected, by causing a council to be assembled. Several edicts, both of *Theodoric* and his successor *Athalaric*, have been transmitted to us by *Cassiodore*, prohibiting and annulling all simoniacal elections and ordinations of bishops [l]. Thus the ecclesiastick polity was never better observed, nor more deserving men preferred to the government of the church, than in the time of *Theodoric*, and the *Gothic* kings his successors, though they all held the tenets of *Arius*, their nation having been first instructed in the christian religion by *Arian* teachers, sent them by the emperor *Valens*. *Theodoric*, though an *Arian*, is highly commended for his piety by *Ennodius* bishop of *Pavia*, a most zealous stickler for the faith of *Nice*, as are the *Goths* in general by *Salvianus*, the catholic bishop of *Marseilles*, who ascribes their errors, not to them, but to those who first instructed them [m]. *Theodoric* is no less commended by all the writers of those times for his equity, moderation, and the tender regard he had for the welfare of his subjects, than for his piety and religion. He made good what he promised to the natives of *Italy* when he first took upon him the title of king, *viz.* that his conduct and behaviour should be such, that they should all wish they had come sooner under the government of the *Goths*. He not only appointed persons of great learning, known integrity, and unblemished characters, to administer justice, but often heard causes himself, pronouncing sentence according to the strictest rules of justice and equity. He took upon himself the trouble of settling the prices of all necessary commodities, and assizing weights and measures: in imposing tributes, he had a particular regard to the condition and circumstances of those, who were to pay them, and was ever ready to remit them upon any remonstrance, that to him seemed reasonable. If his soldiers at any time wronged the country-people on their march, he never failed to send money to the bishops to make good the losses they had sustained. He paid ready money, not only for the necessary provisions of the army, but for the materials which he employed in building ships, fortifying his camps, *&c.* To the poor he was most liberal and generous, and, in a manner, made it his chief study, as *Cassiodore* assures us, to relieve the widows and orphans [n]. His moderation, temperance, chastity, called by *Ennodius* sacerdotal modesty, and other eminent virtues, are celebrated both by that writer and by *Cassiodore*, with such encomiums, that, if they were not greatly prejudiced in his favour, we must conclude him to have been one of the best and greatest princes, that ever swayed a sceptre. *Procopius* himself, tho' by nation a *Greek*, and secretary to the emperor *Justinian*, who made war upon the *Goths*, and in the end drove them out of *Italy*, could not forbear admiring and extolling the royal virtues of *Theodoric* [o].

His equity and justice.

His moderation, temperance, &c.

As to the history of his reign, his first care, after he became sole master of *Italy*, was to repeople *Liguria*, in some places quite destitute of inhabitants, who had been carried into captivity by the *Burgundians*, as we have related in the history of that people [p]. As the other provinces of *Italy*, exhausted by long wars, and frequent irruptions of the barbarous nations, could not spare any of their inhabitants, *Theodoric* resolved to ransom, at his own expence, all the *Ligurians*, who were kept captives among the *Burgundians*. Accordingly he dispatched *Epiphanius* to *Gundebald* their king, by whom, he well knew, that prelate was held in the greatest veneration, with a sufficient sum for the redemption of the captives. But *Epiphanius*, with his christian eloquence, and pious exhortations, persuaded *Gundebald* to set at liberty, without ransom, such of the *Ligurians*, as, through fear or famine, had delivered themselves up to the *Burgundians*; but for those who had been taken in battle, the king insisted upon a small sum, by way of ransom, lest he should disoblige his soldiers, by remitting what was their due, and taking from them the price of their lives and fortunes. This *Epiphanius* readily paid, *Avitus* bishop of *Vienne*, and *Syagria*, a lady of great piety, generously contributing towards it. The holy prelate, on his way home, passed with his captives through *Geneva*, where he prevailed upon king *Godigiscles* to follow the example of his brother *Gundebald*, and set at liberty, without ransom, all the captives belonging to him, and to the royal family. With this numerous multitude *Epiphanius* returned in a kind of triumph to *Theodoric*, who gene-

His generosity in ransoming his captive subjects.

[k] Cassiod. l. viii. ep. 14. [l] Idem, l. ix. ep. 15. [m] Salvian. de gubern. Dei, l. v. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Procop. bell. Goth. p. 67. [p] Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 484.

a generously relieved the most indigent, and sent them all back to their respective homes [q]. Thus *Ennodius*, who attended *Epiphanius* on this occasion.

WHILE *Theodoric* was thus wholly intent upon the establishing of good order throughout his dominions, and promoting the welfare of his new subjects, a war broke out between him and the emperor *Anastasius* on the following occasion: One *Mundo*, by nation a *Goth*, flying from the *Gepidæ*, says *Jornandes*, withdrew to the deserts beyond the *Danube*, and, having assembled there a considerable number of robbers and others, who, for their crimes, had been obliged to abandon their native soil, he made himself master of a tower, named *Herta*, on the *Danube*. From thence he made frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries, and the rich booty he b carried off drawing great numbers of abandoned people to him, he assumed the title of king, and caused himself to be acknowledged as such by his followers. His arrogant conduct highly provoked the emperor, who thereupon ordered *Sabinianus*, son to the great commander of that name, and general of the troops in *Illyricum*, to march against him. *Mundo* had either submitted to, or entered into an alliance with, *Theodoric*, then master of *Pannonia*, and great part of *Illyricum*. Hearing therefore, that *Sabinianus* was marching against him with ten thousand men, and a great number of waggons, loaded with arms and provisions, he had recourse to *Pitzia*, one of *Theodoric*'s generals, then residing at *Sirmium*. *Pitzia*, without loss of time, marched in person to his assistance, at the head of two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, c and, joining *Mundo*'s forces, engaged the *Romans* in the neighbourhood of *Margus*, now *Galombecz*, in *Servia*, according to *Sanson*, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge, with their general, in the castle of *Nato* [r]. *Mundo*, owning himself indebted to *Theodoric* for his preservation, submitted to him, says *Jornandes*, and became his subject [s]. *Anastasius*, to be revenged on *Theodoric*, sent the following year a fleet, with eight thousand men on board, under the command of *Ramanus*, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*. These, landing in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, were soon driven on board their ships by the *Goths*; but nevertheless they carried off a considerable booty, and returned with it to *Anastasius*, who, in this war, d acted, says *Jornandes*, more like a pirate than a prince [t]. But *Theodoric*, who had formed a design of conquering *Gaul*, held by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, and reuniting it to the empire of *Italy*, being well apprised, that he could not put this project in execution so long as he was at variance with the emperor, wrote letters to *Anastasius*, wherein he expresses, without betraying the least fear or meanness, his desire of renewing the peace, and living in friendship with the empire [u]. He soon after dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople*, by whose means a peace was, in the end, concluded between the two princes. However, *Theodoric* was, for some time, diverted from pursuing his favourite scheme by the troubles and divisions that arose in *Rome* about the election of a bishop to that see; for, upon the death of pope *Anastasius*, two persons were chosen by two different factions to succeed him, *viz. Sym*e *machus*, supported by *Faustus*, and *Laurentius* by *Festus*. As the patrons of the two competitors were persons of great authority in the senate, and interest among the people, their division and obstinacy occasioned a kind of civil war in *Rome*, and several on both sides lost their lives in the quarrel. At length both parties had recourse to *Theodoric*, who, following the example of the late emperors, had fixed his residence at *Ravenna*. That prince, after having heard with great patience and attention the contending parties, prudently ordained, that he should be acknowledged as lawful bishop, who had been first elected, and had had the greatest number of voices. Hereupon *Symmachus*, who had been first chosen, and by a great majority, was confirmed in his see. But some of the partizans of *Laurentius* not acquiescing to f such an equitable decision, *Theodoric*, to heal the divisions of the church, was in the end obliged to summon a council, and, to appease the troubles in *Rome*, to take a journey thither in person; which he readily did, having a great desire to see that once celebrated metropolis of the world. He made his entry with such pomp and magnificence, as had not been seen for many ages, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He was welcomed in the senate by the celebrated *Boetius*, who, on that occasion, made an eloquent speech, setting forth the eminent virtues of *Theodoric*. To which the king answered in a most obliging manner, declaring, that he should ever have the greatest respect for

War between him and Anastasius.

Year after Christ 493.

The Romans *defeated.*

A peace concluded between Anastasius *and* Theodoric.

Theodoric *goes to* Rome.

[q] ENNOD. in vit. Epiph. p. 366—369. de Theod. p. 309. [r] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 58. p. 599. MARC. chron. ENNOD. [s] JORN. ibid. [t] Idem de reg. c. 48. p. 655. [u] CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 1.

for that auguſt body, and omit nothing that could contribute to their grandeur. a
From the ſenate he proceeded to the circus, and there made a ſpeech to the people, wherein he expreſſed his ſincere deſire of their welfare and proſperity, confirmed to them all the privileges they had enjoyed under the emperors his predeceſſors, and aſſured them of his protection. He ſpent ſeveral days in viewing the antiquities of the city, which he could not ſufficiently admire. He declared, that, tho' he expected to ſee wonderful things, the ſtateline ſs and magnificence of the public buildings had far ſurpaſſed his expectation. He was grieved to ſee the walls in ſome places quite ruined, and contributed large ſums for the repairing of them, and of ſome other decayed buildings. On the day of his entry, he made a grand entertainment for the ſenate, and gave a largeneſs of corn to the people. Before he left *Rome*, he com- b
poſed the affairs both of the church and ſtate in the beſt manner he could, and declared, upon his departure, that he was ſorry he could not fix his reſidence in ſuch an auguſt city, the ſafety of the ſtate obliging him to reſide, as his predeceſſors had done, at *Ravenna*, where he was near at hand, and ready to put a ſtop to the irruptions of the barbarians, who, on that ſide, broke into *Italy*. He was ſcarce returned, when news was brought him, that the *Bulgarians* had made an irruption into *Pannonia*, and, advancing as far as *Sirmium*, had ſurpriſed that city. Hereupon he diſpatched *Petza* with a conſiderable army againſt them, who, in one campaign, recovered *Sirmium*, and drove them quite out of *Pannonia*. To the government of that province *Theodoric* raiſed one *Coloſſeus*, a *comes* or count. From the copy of his com- c
miſſion, which had been tranſmitted to us by *Caſſiodore*, it appears, that the power of thoſe governors extended both to civil and military affairs, and that the prince conferred that power on them, by girding them with a ſword [w]. In the ſame writer is a letter written by *Theodoric*, and directed to all the barbarians and *Romans* inhabiting *Pannonia*, wherein he acquaints them, that he had appointed *Coloſſeus* to be their governor, and requires them to obey him as ſuch.

His war with the Burgundians.

Theodoric, having thus ſettled his affairs at home, reſolved to attempt the execution of the project, which he had formed from the very beginning of his reign, which was, as we have hinted above, to drive the *Burgundians* and *Franks* out of *Gaul*, and reunite that country to *Italy*. His deſign was to begin with the *Burgundians*, and, d
after having reduced them, to fall upon the *Franks*. But as the *Burgundians* were then a powerful nation, and maſters of all the paſſes in the *Alps*, *Theodoric*, entering into an alliance with *Clovis* king of the *Franks*, prevailed upon him to attack the *Burgundians* on one ſide, while he attempted to enter their country on the other. Of the conduct of *Theodoric* in this war, we have ſpoken above [x] and therefore ſhall only add here, that he acquired on this occaſion the city of *Marſeilles*, and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhône*. Some years after, a war breaking out between *Clovis* and *Alaric* king

And Clovis *king of the* Franks.

of the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, *Theodoric*, putting himſelf at the head of his army, marched to the aſſiſtance of the latter; but *Clovis* having in the mean time killed *Alaric* in e
battle, and defeated his army, the king of the *Oſtrogoths*, jealous of the growing power of the *Franks*, ordered his troops to join him from all parts, and, entering *Gaul*, obliged the *Franks*, who had laid ſiege to *Carcaſſone*, to abandon the enterprize, and retire. The following year, the *Franks* beſieged the city of *Arles*; but the ſiege was raiſed, and the *Franks* defeated with great ſlaughter, by the army which *Theodoric* had ſent to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, under the conduct of one *Hibba*, diſtinguiſhed with the title of count. A peace was ſoon after concluded between *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, whereof one of the articles was, that the *Franks* ſhould keep the countries which they had taken from the *Viſigoths*, *Theodoric* having attempted in vain, as we read in *Procopius*, to recover them [y]. *Amalaric*, the grandſon of *Theodoric*, was, at this time, king of the *Viſigoths*; but as he was yet under age, *Theodo-*

He is guardian to Amalaric *king of the* Viſigoths.

ric, who was his guardian, exerciſed the ſame authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. In virtue of this peace, the *Oſtrogoths* continued maſters of the province they held before, lying between the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Rhône*, and the *Durance*, and appropriated to themſelves the city of *Arles* for the charges they had been at in this war. Theſe countries *Theodoric* tranſmitted to his poſterity; but could make no farther conqueſts in *Gaul*, being oppoſed by the *Franks*, who were become very powerful in that country.

Amalaric,

[w] Idem, l. iii. ep. 23. [x] P. 572. [y] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

Amalaric, the grandson of *Theodoric* by his daughter *Theodegotha*, had succeeded
a his father *Alaric* in the kingdom of the *Visigoths*; but as he was only five years old when his father was killed by *Clovis*, as we have hinted above, his subjects, scorning to be governed by an infant, revolted from him, and raised to the throne *Gaselic*, the son of *Alaric* by a concubine. Hereupon *Theodoric*, who was guardian to the young prince, dispatched *Hibba*, or, as some call him, *Ilba*, into *Gaul* with a numerous army, to drive out the usurper, and restore *Amalaric* to the throne. Upon his approach, *Gaselic* fled into *Spain*, and from thence, hearing that *Hibba* was marching after him, he crossed the *Streights*, and took refuge in the court of *Thrasimund*, king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, who, either pitying his condition, or thinking it high time to give a check to the overgrown power of the *Ostrogoths*, received him in a friendly
b manner, though he had married the sister of *Theodoric*. After he had continued some time in *Africa*, he passed from thence privately into *Gaul*, and, having gained over some of the leading men among the *Visigoths*, he in the end discovered himself, and, being supplied with money by *Thrasimund*, he levied an army, and re-entered *Spain*; but, being met and overcome in battle by *Hibba* about twelve miles from *Barcelona*, he fled back into *Gaul*, and there died of grief, four years after he had been declared king. Some authors write, that upon his death *Theodoric* caused himself to be acknowledged king of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and that he went into that country. It is true, that to all the synods, which were held at this time in *Spain*, the name of *Theodoric* is prefixed, and the years of his reign. But nevertheless the best and most credible
c authors suppose *Amalaric* to have been king, and that *Theodoric* governed only as his guardian. As for *Theodoric*'s expedition into *Spain*, we cannot persuade ourselves, that such a remarkable event would have been passed over in silence by *Cassiodore* and the other writers, who have so minutely described that prince's actions. Some *Spanish* writers add, that, at *Toledo*, *Theodoric* married a woman of the race of the antient *Spaniards*; that he was prevailed upon by her to restore to the natives their liberty; and that of this marriage was born *Severianus*, the father of *Leander* and *Isidore* [z]; a story no less repugnant to truth than chronology. *Theodoric*, according to the best writers, did not go himself into *Spain*, as we have observed above, but
d appointed one *Theudas* to govern that country during the minority of his grandson *Amalaric*.

Whom he restores to the throne.

The king of the *Ostrogoths*, having settled the affairs of his grandson in *Spain*, turned his arms against the *Alemans*; but all we know of this war is, that he in the end obliged them to submit to an annual tribute [a], and subdued the inhabitants of *Suevia*; for, in one of his letters directed to them, he acquaints them, that he had appointed one *Fridelad* to be their governor, and strictly injoined him to restrain thefts and robberies, which were very frequent among them. Hitherto *Theodoric* had governed with such prudence, equity, and moderation, that he deserved to be proposed as a pattern to all princes; but some think, that these, and his other emi-
e nent virtues, were sullied by his putting to death the celebrated *Boetius*, and his father-in-law *Symmachus*. *Boetius* was by rank a patrician, had been at least twice consul, and was descended from one of the most antient and illustrious families of *Rome*; for some derive his pedigree from the celebrated *Manlius Torquatus*. His family had been ennobled in latter times by his great-grandfather *Anicius*, and by several other persons, who had discharged, with great applause, the first employments both civil and military. We are told, that strangers came to *Rome* from distant countries, on purpose to behold the splendor and magnificence of the *Anician* family, which had engrossed, if *Zosimus* is to be credited, the whole wealth of *Rome* [b]. But *Boetius* was still more remarkable for his morals and learning, than for the splendor
f and antiquity of his family. In his younger years he studied at *Athens*, where the study of philosophy had been restored, and spent in that university near eighteen years. He examined there, with application, the grounds of the different sects and opinions, and, to all the rest, preferred the sect of the *Peripatetics*, to which he intirely addicted himself. Till his time, the name of *Aristotle*, the founder of that sect, was scarce known to the *Latins*; but the works of that great philosopher being translated by him, and illustrated with learned comments in the *Latin* tongue, the *Peripatetic* philosophy began to be, and has been ever since, in great vogue. Besides *Aristotle*, *Boetius* translated into the *Latin* tongue several other *Greek* writers, *viz.* *Pytha-*

He forces the Alemans to pay tribute.

[z] Lucas Tudens. p. 68. [a] Agath. p. 302. [b] Zos. p. 245.

Pythagoras, *Ptolemy* the aſtronomer, *Nicomachus*, *Euclid*, *Plato*, *Archimedes*, &c. He not only excelled all his contemporaries in profane learning, but likewiſe in the knowledge of the holy ſcriptures, and was, as we read in *Caſſiodore* [c], the greateſt divine, as well as the greateſt philoſopher, of his time. The book he wrote of the Trinity againſt *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches* ſufficiently ſhews how well he was verſed in the ſcriptures. As for his morals, he is highly commended on that ſcore by all the writers of thoſe times. He was impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and employed the great power he had at court in protecting the innocent, relieving the needy, and procuring the redreſs of ſuch grievances, as gave juſt occaſion of complaint. His eſpouſing, againſt the great men at court, the cauſe of thoſe who were unjuſtly accuſed or oppreſſed, gained him many enemies, who, in the end, compaſſed his ruin, by ſuborning three infamous men to accuſe him of high treaſon. Theſe were *Baſilius*, *Opilio*, and *Gudentius*, of whom the former has been, for his miſdemeanour, diſmiſſed the king's ſervice, and the other two, for their crimes, condemned to baniſhment. They accuſed *Boetius* of attempting to raiſe the power of the ſenate above that of the king, and preventing an informer from bringing an impeachment of treaſon againſt the ſenators. *Theodoric*, though well acquainted with the infamous characters of the accuſers, yet upon their depoſition, which is very ſurpriſing, ordered, without further inquiry, the perſon, of whom he had hitherto entertained the higheſt opinion, to be put under arreſt, and ſoon after confiſcated his eſtate, and baniſhed him to *Pavia*, where he wrote his wonderful book *de conſolatione*. *Symmachus*, father-in-law to *Boetius*, a man of extraordinary parts and learning, and who had, with an unblemiſhed character, diſcharged the firſt employments, was likewiſe baniſhed to *Pavia*, as privy to the ſuppoſed treaſon of *Boetius*. They had not been long there, when, to the great ſurpriſe of all, an order came from *Ravenna* for their execution, their enemies at court having perſuaded the king, who was ſtricken in years and grown jealous of his power, that he would never be ſafe ſo long as they were alive. They were accordingly both beheaded in *Pavia*; and of the head of *Boetius* no leſs wonderful things are related by *Martianus*, who wrote his life, than thoſe which every one muſt have read or heard of the famous St. *Dennis*. The cruel and unjuſt ſentence was ſcarce put in execution, when *Theodoric*, returning, in a manner, to himſelf, and reflecting on his raſh conduct in an affair, that required the utmoſt circumſpection, was affected with ſuch ſorrow, that his grief may be ſaid to have equalled, if not exceeded, the injuſtice of the ſentence. Not long after, the head of a large fiſh being ſerved up while he was one night at ſupper, the injuſtice of the ſentence he had lately pronounced occurring to his mind, he fancied the head of the fiſh to be the head of *Symmachus*, threatening him in a ghaſtly manner. Hereupon, ſeized with horror and amazement, he was carried from the table to his bedchamber, where, reflecting anew on his cruelty and injuſtice to two ſuch eminent and deſerving men, he died a few days after with grief, this being the firſt and laſt wrong any of his ſubjects had ever received at his hands [d]. Thus *Procopius*, condemning *Theodoric* for the injuſtice of the ſentence pronounced againſt thoſe two great men, and at the ſame time commending him for the equity by which he had been governed on every other occaſion, during the whole courſe of his long reign. His putting them to death, without making the neceſſary inquiries in a matter, that required the greateſt circumſpection, favours, without doubt, both of raſhneſs and cruelty; but his ſincere ſorrow and unfeigned repentance are undeniable teſtimonies of his mercy and good-nature. However that be, it is certain, that *Italy* never enjoyed more happy days than under his government, not even in the height of its greatneſs. He is perhaps the only prince, who, having obtained a kingdom by force and violence, preſerved it with mildneſs and moderation; which two virtues eminently appeared in all his actions and councils, and rendered him no leſs dear to his new ſubjects, than if he had been of their own race, and born among them. Tho' he was himſelf an *Arian*, and had the power in his hands, yet he was ſo far from proſecuting the orthodox, that, on the contrary, he favoured them no leſs than thoſe of his own perſuaſion, extending his protection to both parties, and allowing to all full liberty to profeſs which of the two religions they pleaſed. Thoſe therefore are greatly miſtaken, who imagine, that *Boetius* was put to death on account of the book he wrote on the Trinity, and inſcribed to his father-in-law *Symmachus*. *Jornandes* takes no

Symmachus *and* Boetius *beheaded at* Pavia.

Theodoric re*pents:*

[c] Cassiod. l. ii. ep. 4.

[d] Procop. hiſt. Goth. p. 232.

a no notice of what we have related above of the head of the fish, upon the authority of *Procopius*; but supposes *Theodoric*, stricken in years, to have died quietly. His death happened on the second of *September* in the year 526. the thirty-fourth of his reign, and seventy-second of his age. He had three daughters by *Audefleda* the sister of *Clovis*, viz. *Ostrogotha*, *Theodogotha*, and *Amalasuntha*. *Ostrogotha* was married to *Sigismund* king of the *Burgundians*, by whom she had *Segeric*, who, after his mother's decease, was put to death by his father *Sigismund* in the year 522. as we have related in the history of the *Burgundians* [g]. *Theodogotha* was married to *Alaric* II. king of the *Visigoths*, who in 507. was killed in the battle of *Vouglé*, as we have related elsewhere [h]; but he left a son behind him by *Theodogotha*, viz. *Amalaric*, whose dominions *Theodoric* governed to the day of his death, as guardian to the young prince his grandson. *Amalasuntha*, the youngest of the three princesses, was married in 515. to *Eutharic Cillica* [i]. *Eutharic* was the son of *Viteric*, and grandson of *Beremund*, descended from the family of the *Amali*, who, leaving *Scythia*, as we read in *Jornandes*, came into *Gaul*; and being honourably entertained by *Villa* king of the *Visigoths*, he settled there. His grandson *Eutharic*, from *Gaul*, removed into *Spain*, where he became well known to the officers of *Theodoric*, who governed that kingdom during the minority of *Amalaric*. *Theodoric*, hearing him much commended, expressed a great desire to see him; which satisfaction he no sooner had, than, being taken with his engaging behaviour and extraordinary qualifications, he resolved to give him in marriage his daughter *Amalasuntha*, the more as he was of *Theodoric*'s own family, *viz.* that of the *Amali*, and consequently by his birth not unworthy of such a match. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and two years after he was raised to the consulship by his father-in-law; on which occasion the emperor *Anastasius* presented him with the *tunica palmata*, and adopted him for his son; an honour which the late emperors used to confer on persons of distinguished merit. *Eutharic* went to *Rome*, to enter there upon his office, and was received by the senate and the people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, every rank and degree of people in that great metropolis striving to outdo each other in honouring one, whom they expected to see in a short time on the throne.

d On the other hand, *Eutharic* made it his chief study to oblige both the senate and people, discharging his office with great care, and diverting the city with most magnificent shews, having, for that effect, procured out of *Africa* such wild beasts, as had never before been seen at *Rome*. From *Rome Eutharic* returned to his father-in-law at *Ravenna*, where, by his generosity, condescension, and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections both of the *Romans* and *Goths*. Every one expected to find in *Eutharic* a second *Theodoric*; but, to the great grief of all, *Eutharic* died before his father-in-law, leaving behind him a son, named *Athalaric*, ten years old; so that *Theodoric* had at his death two grandsons, the children of two of his daughters, *viz.* *Amalaric* king of the *Visigoths*, and *Athalaric* the son of *Amalasuntha*. To the former *Theodoric*, at his death, delivered up all the countries in *Gaul* and *Spain* belong-

e ing to the *Visigoths*, which he had governed, with a no less absolute sway than his own, ever since the death of *Alaric* II. The latter, though the son of the younger daughter, he appointed to succeed him in the kingdom of *Italy*, and in all his other dominions. *Theodoric*, says *Jornandes*, being stricken in years, and near his end, assembled the chief men among the *Goths*, and, in their presence, declared *Athalaric*, the son of *Eutharic* by his daughter *Amalasuntha*, his successor, charging them to obey him as such, to respect the senate and people of *Rome*, and, above all, to cultivate the friendship of the emperor of the east [k]. *Theodoric* died soon after; but as *Athalaric* was then only eight years old, as we read in *Procopius* [l], or ten, as *Jornandes* will

f have it [m], his mother *Amalasuntha* took upon her the administration, a princess highly commended by all the writers of those times, for her piety, religion, wisdom, and learning. *Theodotus*, who succeeded *Athalaric*, and by whom she was afterwards put to death, in a letter which he wrote in her behalf to the *Roman* state, styles her *the glory of princes, the flower and ornament of his family, the* Solomon *of women, a princess endued with every good quality becoming her sex, well versed in the* Latin, *in the* Greek, *and in many other languages, and thoroughly acquainted with every branch of learning* [n]. However, she was not free from ambition; but strove by all means to main-

He dies. Year after Christ 526. *His issue.*

He declares Athalaric *his heir.*

Amalasuntha *takes upon her the administration.*

[g] Vide p. 585. [h] Vide p. 575. [i] Fast. Cassiod. ad ann. 515. [k] Jorn. de reb. Get. p. 143. [l] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. [m] Jorn. ibid. [n] Cassiod. l. x. ep. 4.

maintain, even after her ſon's death, that power, which ſhe had exerciſed during his life, as we ſhall ſee anon.

She writes in her ſon's name to the emperor, and to the ſenate and people of Rome.

Theodoric was no ſooner dead, than *Amalaſuntha*, mindful of his laſt advice, wrote in the young prince's name, both to *Juſtin*, then emperor, and to the *Roman* ſenate, acquainting them with his acceſſion to the throne. In the letter to the emperor, the young prince, after telling him, that his grandfather had, before his death, appointed him his heir and ſucceſſor, goes on thus: "You formerly honoured in your "auguſt city my grandfather with the dignity of conſul; you ſent into *Italy* to my "father the *tunica palmata*, and, to attach him the more to you, you adopted him "for your ſon, tho' he was almoſt of the ſame age with yourſelf. The name of ſon "will ſuit me better than it did him. I ſhall acknowledge ſo great a favour, by "cauſing your name to be no leſs reſpected, and your authority to be no leſs obeyed, "in my dominions, than they are in your own. With this view I have diſpatched "embaſſadors to you, hoping you will honour me with your friendſhip, upon the "ſame conditions, upon which your glorious anceſtors granted theirs to my grand-"father [o]". From this letter it is manifeſt, that the kings of the *Oſtrogoths* acknowleged in the emperors of the eaſt a ſuperiority of rank, but not of juriſdiction; and conſequently that *Zeno*, when he ſent *Theodoric* to drive *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, renounced in his behalf whatever claim the empire of the eaſt had to that country. At the ſame time, *Amalaſuntha* diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* with letters from the young prince, both to the ſenate and people, acquainting them, that his grandfather was dead; that on his death-bed, he had declared him his heir and ſucceſſor, and that, as ſuch, he had been acknowledged both by the *Goths* and *Romans*, that is, the *Italians*, who had ſworn obedience to him. He deſires them to follow the example of his other ſubjects, telling them, that he had ſent count *Sigiſmer*, and others, to receive their oath of allegiance, and at the ſame time to bind himſelf by the like tie to maintain ſacred and inviolable all the rights, privileges, and immunities, which had been granted them by his grandfather. He cloſes his letter to the ſenate, by encouraging them to aſk boldly whatever they thought might any-ways contribute to the ſafety and ſplendour of their illuſtrious and venerable body. In his letter to the people, he promiſes to cheriſh the *Goths* and *Romans* alike, and to maintain them equally in the poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges, making no other diſtinction, than that the *Goths* ſhould undergo the toils and dangers of war, while the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace within the walls of their own city. In the end of his letter he tells them, that, by the mutual oaths of the prince and people, the memory of *Trajan*'s excellent government was renewed, who, at his entering upon the conſulſhip, ſwore himſelf, and received the oaths of the ſenate and people [p]. He wrote two other letters, the one to *Tiberius præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, wherein he exhorts him, and his other ſubjects in that country, to pay the ſame reſpect and obedience to him, which they had paid to *Theodoric*, promiſing on his ſide, upon oath, to protect them in the full enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges (N). The other letter he wrote to *Victorinus* their biſhop, intreating him to maintain, with his example and precepts, peace and tranquillity among thoſe, whom providence had committed to his care. He ends the letter with begging his prayers, that the Heavenly King would be pleaſed to confirm

[o] Idem, l. viii. ep. 1.

[p] Idem, ibid. ep. 2, 3.

(N) The provinces in *Gaul*, belonging to the *Gothic* nation, were thus divided by *Theodoric* between *Athalaric* and *Amalaric*: the former had that part, which lay beyond the *Rhône* next to *Italy*; and the latter the countries lying on the oppoſite ſide of that river, and extending to the confines of the *Franks*, which we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of that people. *Athalaric* kept the city of *Arles*, which had belonged to the kingdom of *Alaric* II. and conſequently ought to have been yielded to *Amalaric*. The other places, which he retained, had been taken by his grandfather *Theodoric*, at different times, from the *Burgundians*. Whether he gave the *Viſigoths* an equiqvalent for that important place, formerly the ſeat of the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, we are not told. The *Rhône* being fixed as the boundary between the two nations, it was agreed, that ſuch of the *Oſtrogoths* as had ſettled in the countries that were to be held by the *Viſigoths*, and ſuch of the *Viſigoths* as had ſettled in the provinces that were to be kept by the *Oſtrogoths*, ſhould have full liberty, either to continue where they were, or to retire into the countries ſubject to their reſpective princes (1). Hence it appears, that the *Viſigoths* and *Oſtrogoths*, who were originally but two tribes of one and the ſame nation, were not yet blended together, though they had, for the ſpace of twenty years and upwards, promiſcuouſly inhabited the ſame country. It was in virtue of a particular convention, that they were to be deemed citizens of the tribe to which they did not originally belong, though they dwelt with their wives and families in the ſame country.

(1) *Procop. bell. Goth. l.* i. *c.* 13.

a firm to him his earthly kingdoms, to humble his enemies, to forgive his sins, and to preserve and maintain what he had so bountifully and liberally bestowed upon his ancestors [q]. Such was the beginning of the reign of *Athalaric* or rather of *Amalasuntha*. She retained the same form of government, the same laws, the same magistrates, and the same disposition of provinces, not suffering the least alteration to be made during the minority of her son, and governing with such prudence, that *Theodoric* was scarce missed, either by the *Goths* or *Romans*. Her chief care was to bring up her son after the *Roman* manner, and to have him, from his tender years, instructed by the ablest men of those times in religion, virtue, and learning. She was herself, as we have hinted above, well versed in all the branches of literature, and conse-

b quently a great encourager of learned men; as appears from the letters she wrote to the senate in the king's name, expostulating with them for neglecting to pay the public professors their salaries in due time, and commanding them to be paid punctually for the future. *Arts*, says she in her letter, *are nourished and maintained by rewards, and it is a heinous crime to defraud the teachers of youth of any thing due to them, who ought rather to be further encouraged by an augmentation of their stipend.* She orders them to be paid every half year, adding, that men of learning must not depend upon the humours of others; that they must not be diverted from their studies by solicitous thought; and that it is a shame, that players, whose business is only to please and amuse, should be so amply rewarded, and those neglected, who form the manners

c of youth, instruct them in the liberal sciences, and render them capable of serving their country [r]. *Amalasuntha* was so far from invading the rights and properties of her subjects, that, on the contrary, she restored to the children of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* the estates, which had been confiscated in the preceding reign. She took great care to secure the *Romans* against the avarice and rapaciousness of the great men among the *Goths*, who, looking upon *Italy* as a conquered country, were for enriching themselves at the expence of the natives. To her nephew *Amalaric* she gave up that part of *Gaul*, which, with respect to *Italy*, lay beyond the *Rhône*; but retained what lay on the other side of that river. To the *Visigoths* she remitted the impositions, which had been laid on them by *Theodoric*, and restored the treasure of the kings of the

d *Visigoths*, which, by her father's order, had been conveyed from *Carcassonne* to *Ravenna* [s]. In the mean time, *Justin* having taken his nephew *Justinian* for his partner in the empire, *Amalasuntha* no sooner heard of his promotion, than she dispatched embassadors to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his accession to the imperial dignity, and begging a continuance of that friendship and alliance, which had long subsisted between the two nations [t]. What she desired was readily granted, as is manifest from the good understanding that passed between the two princes so long as *Athalaric* lived, and from the coins stamped at this time by the king of the *Ostrogoths*, on one side of which is to be seen the image of *Justinian*, and on the other the name of *Athalaric* [u].

e WHILE *Amalasuntha* was thus governing with the greatest justice, equity, and prudence, and taking all the necessary precautions for the safety of her son and the welfare of his dominions, the great men among the *Goths*, not able to bear, that their young prince should be brought up after the *Roman* manner, began to exclaim against learning, as an enemy to valour; only fit for soft and effeminate princes, and no-ways becoming the king and leader of such an active and warlike nation as theirs. The princess took no notice of these groundless complaints; but having one day chastised her son, and he happening to go, with the tears yet in his eyes, into a room, where some *Gothic* lords were assembled, they took from thence occasion to complain more loudly of the queen, (so she is called by most writers) as if she designed to remove her

f son, and reign in her own right; they exclaimed, with more boldness than ever, against the learned education of the young prince; alledged the example of his grandfather, who, tho' utterly ignorant of letters (O), was a warlike and victorious prince; and

She governs with great prudence.

Her care for the education of her son.

She encourages learning.

Her justice and equity.

The Goths *dissatisfied with* Amalasuntha.

[q] Idem ibid. ep. 4, 5, &c. [r] Idem, l. ix. ep. 1. [s] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 13.
[t] CASSIOD. l. viii. ep. 1. [u] Vide BARON. ad ann. 527.

(O) We are told by some writers, that *Theodoric* was quite illiterate, nay, and incapable of learning either to read or write; that, notwithstanding the great pains he took, he could never learn to write the four first letters of his name, which he therefore caused to be cut on a thin plate of gold. This plate he placed on the paper, and his hand being directed by the letters, which were cut quite thro', signed his

and concluded, that his grandson must be brought up in the same manner, if he would be attended with the same fortune. They therefore desired *Amalasuntha* to dismiss the pedants her son had about him, and give him such companions of his own age, as might, by their conversation, make the customs of his nation familiar to him, and incline him to govern according to their own laws. This they demanded with so much warmth and importunity, that, apprehending greater evils, she thought it advisable to comply with their request. And now the youth, free from all restraint, and seduced by wicked companions, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, adding to his other vices that of undutifulness to the best of mothers, and unnaturally abandoning her in a faction, which had the arrogance to command her to retire from court; but the queen, exerting her authority, picked out three of the ringleaders of the party, and confined them to the most remote parts of *Italy*. These, maintaining a private correspondence with their friends and relations, never ceased, by their means, to stir up the people against her; insomuch, that *Amalasuntha*, apprehending the faction might in the end prevail, wrote to the emperor *Justinian*, begging leave to take refuge in his dominions. The emperor readily complied with her request, offering her a noble palace at *Epidamnus*, now *Durazzo*, for her habitation; but the princess having in the mean time caused the three ringleaders of the faction, whom she had banished, to be put to death, and no new disturbances arising thereupon, she did not accept of the emperor's offer, but remained at *Ravenna*, governing the dominions of her son with her usual prudence and equity.

She causes some of them to be put to death.

In the mean time, *Athalaric* having, by his debaucheries and riotous life, contracted a lingering distemper, *Amalasuntha*, apprehending that, upon his death, she would be in great danger, most of the chief men among the *Goths* being highly incensed against her, resolved to save herself, by delivering *Italy* into the hands of the emperor; and accordingly began to treat with his embassadors about the manner of putting her design in execution. But her measures were all defeated by the untimely death of her son, which happened in the eighth year of his reign, and threw her into new difficulties. Her design for delivering up *Italy* to *Justinian* was not yet ripe for execution; on the other hand, she was well apprised, that the *Goths* would not suffer her to reign after the death of her son, but would chuse a new king in his room. Having therefore long deliberated with herself how she should act at so critical a conjuncture, she resolved in the end to raise one to the throne herself, hoping that the person, so advanced by her favour, would be contented with the title, and, out of gratitude, suffer her to enjoy the supreme power without controul. With this view, she cast her eyes on *Theodatus* her cousin, the son of *Amalafrida*, sister to king *Theodoric*, and consequently descended from the illustrious family of the *Amali*. He was a man of great learning, as appears from the letter, which *Amalasuntha* wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his accession to the throne, well skilled in the doctrine of *Plato*, thoroughly versed in ecclesiastic learning, and a perfect master of the *Latin* tongue[w]; but utterly unacquainted both with civil and military matters, timorous, indolent, covetous to the greatest degree, destitute of all honour and probity, and capable of committing the vilest actions, when pushed on by his own passions, or by those of others. He had lived hitherto in *Tuscany*, where he had large possessions; but, not satisfied with them, he had not only encroached upon his neighbours, but seized on some lands belonging to the crown. These *Amalasuntha* had obliged him to restore, and likewise restrained him, by her authority, from injuring his neighbours, which had rendered him her implacable enemy; insomuch, that he privately agreed with the embassadors, who had been sent from *Constantinople* to the bishop of *Rome*, to betray *Tuscany* to the emperor, upon his paying him a certain

She designs to deliver up Italy *to* Justinian.

Athalaric *dies. Year after Christ* 533.

Amalasuntha *takes* Theodatus *for her colleague.*

[w] Cassiodor. l. x. ep. 3.

his name (2). But this is no-ways consistent with what we read in *Ennodius*, *viz.* that *Theodoric* was brought up, not among the barbarians, but in the heart of *Greece*, which, in return for the pains she had taken to instruct him, promised herself his protection; that she was overjoyed to see the progress he made when yet a child; that his predecessors had preferred ignorance to learning; but that he, agreeable to his polite education, had shewed himself the patron and encourager of letters; that, under him, ingenuity flourished in all its branches; and that he not only admired and rewarded it in others, but thought it an ornament worthy of himself. Thus *Ennodius*, in the panegyric he pronounced before *Theodoric* (3), which would have been deemed a satire, rather than a panegyric, had *Theodoric* been that illiterate prince he is described in the abstracts of *Valesius*.

(2) *Vales. excerpt. p.* 669. (3) *Ennod. in panegyr. Theod. p.* 190.

a tain sum, and raising him to the dignity of a senator. However, *Amalasuntha*, imagining that so signal a favour, as her advancing him to the throne, would reconcile him to her, offered to take him for her collegue, on condition he suffered her to enjoy and exercise her former power. This *Theodatus* promised upon oath to do, and was thereupon declared by the queen her collegue [x]. The letters, that were written on this occasion to the *Roman* senate by the queen, in commendation of *Theodatus*, and by *Theodatus*, in commendation of the queen, are still to be seen in *Cassiodore* [y]. He acknowledges himself entirely indebted to her for his new dignity, and, extolling her kindness to him, adds, that he is at loss how to make a suitable return for such a high and undeserved favour. But the unhappy princess
b was soon sensible of her mistake in assuming for her collegue a person, who had been formerly her declared enemy, and was destitute, as she must have known, of all honour and probity. For he had scarce mounted the throne, when, unmindful of the honours she had done him, and the promises he had made, and solemnly confirmed with an oath, he suffered himself to be wholly governed by the friends and relations of those, who, by the princess, had been put to death for their crimes; and, because she took the liberty to remind him of what he had promised, he caused her to be conveyed from *Ravenna* into *Tuscany*, and there confined her to an island in the middle of the lake of *Bolsena*. As he had reason to believe, that the emperor, who had a great value and regard for *Amalasuntha*, would resent this treatment, he
c obliged her to write to him, that no injury or injustice had been done her. This letter he sent to *Constantinople*, with one which he wrote himself, filled with heavy complaints against *Amalasuntha*. The emperor was so far from giving credit to what *Theodatus* urged against her, that he openly espoused her cause, and wrote a most affectionate letter to her, comforting her in her distress, and assuring her of his protection. But, before the letter reached her, the unhappy princess was, with the consent, if not by the order, of *Theodatus*, barbarously strangled in the bath by the friends of those, whom, in the reign of her son, she had deservedly put to death for raising disturbances in the state. Some writers tell us, that the unhappy queen was dispatched by *Theodatus* at the instigation of the empress *Theodora*, who, jealous of
d the love the emperor shewed her, began to apprehend he might one day forsake her for the queen of the *Goths* [z]. Be that as it will, *Justinian*, highly provoked against *Theodatus* for the murther of a person for whom he had the greatest esteem and veneration, and being at the same time desirous of reuniting *Italy* to the empire, resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, his troops being just then returned from *Africa*, which they had reduced by driving from thence the *Vandals*.

She is confined by him to an island in the lake of Bolsena;

And there put to death. Year after Christ 534.

Justinian *resolves to make war on the* Goths.

Justinian, to facilitate the enterprize, used his utmost endeavours to induce the *Franks* to join him, acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to undertake that war. The *Goths*, says he in the letter which he wrote to their princes, have not only seized on *Italy*, which belongs to us, but, without the least provoca-
e tion, offered us such insults as we cannot in honour dissemble. This is what induces us to take arms against them; and it is but just, that you should lend us what assistance you can against a nation that bears as great enmity to you as to us, the more as we are both of the same persuasion, and equally abhor the doctrine of *Arius*, which they profess [a]. To the letter the emperor added, says *Procopius*, a large sum, promising to the princes of the *Franks*, especially to *Theodebert*, a considerable subsidy, to be paid them as soon as they should begin hostilities [b]. The *Franks* received the money, and, entering into an alliance with the emperor, promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but, instead of performing their promise, while *Justinian*'s arms were employed against the *Goths*, *Theodebert*, who was deemed the head of the royal
f family of the *Franks*, being the son of *Theodoric*, or, as some call him, *Thierri*, the eldest son of *Clovis*, seized on several cities in *Liguria*, on the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and great part of the province of *Venice*, for himself. Of this treachery *Justinian* afterwards complained by his embassadors *Leontius* to *Theodebald*, the son and successor of *Theodebert* [c] (P). But to leave the treacherous nation, and return to *Justinian*: Having resolved

The treachery of the Franks.

[x] Jorn. rer. Get. p. 143. Procop. l. i. c. 4. anecdot. p. 71. [y] Cassiodor. l. x. ep. 3. & 4. [z] Procop
[a] Idem ibid. l. i. c. 5 [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem, l. iv. c. 24.

(P) *Justinian*, says *Procopius*, no sooner received news of the death of *Theodebald*, who, without any regard to his alliance with the *Romans*, had seized on several towns in *Tuscany*, on the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and on part of *Liguria*, then he dispatched the senator *Leontius*, to *Theodebert*, the son and successor of the deceased

resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, and drive them, if possible, out of *Italy*, he a named *Mundus* and *Belisarius* for his generals. *Mundus*, then commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, was ordered to march into *Dalmatia*, which was subject to the *Goths*, and attempt the reduction of *Salonæ*, the better to open a passage into *Italy*. *Belisarius* was to make a descent upon *Sicily*; for which purpose a fleet was equipped, on board of which were four thousand legionaries, three thousand *Isaurians*, three hundred *Mauritanians*, and two hundred *Hunns*. *Belisarius* was vested with the supreme command, and an absolute authority. His instructions were to pretend a voyage to *Carthage*, but to make an attempt upon *Sicily*, and if he thought he could succeed in the attempt, to land there, otherwise to sail directly for *Africa*, without discovering his intentions. *Mundus*, without much-ado, made himself master of b *Salonæ*; and *Belisarius*, landing without opposition in *Sicily*, reduced that island with more expedition than he himself expected. *Palermo* held out for some time, the *Goths*, who depended on the strength of the place, which was deemed impregnable by land, defending it with great resolution; but *Belisarius* attacking it by sea, the garison was forced to surrender upon articles; so that *Belisarius* entered the city on the last of *December* of the present year 535. *Belisarius*, now master of *Sicily*, from *Messina*, without loss of time, passed over to *Reggio*, which opened its gates to him. From *Reggio* he pursued his march to *Rome*, the provinces of *Abrutium*, *Lucania*, *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Samnium*, readily submitting to him. The city of *Naples* endured a siege; but *Belisarius*'s men having entered it through an aqueduct, it was c in the end taken and plundered [d] (Q).

Sicily *reduced by* Belisarius. *Year after Christ*, 535.

Theodatus,

[d] Idem ibid.

deceased king, to persuade him to join the *Romans* against the *Ostrogoths*, and to evacuate the places in *Italy*, which the *Franks* had taken, and still held, in defiance of the treaty concluded between them and the emperor. *Leontius*, in the audience he had of that prince, addressed him thus: There is no prince, to whom unforeseen misfortunes have not happened, and disappointments, which he did not expect; but the conduct of the *Franks* towards the *Romans* is perhaps surprising beyond any thing that ever happened before. It is well known, that the emperor no sooner resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, than he imparted his resolution to your nation. He did not take the field till he had entered into an alliance with your predecessor, and engaged him by a large sum, which was paid before-hand, to act, in concert with him, against the *Goths*, as a common enemy. But he, instead of fulfilling his engagements, acted, to the great surprize of the emperor, more like an enemy than an ally, seizing on several countries belonging to the empire, to which he had not the least claim. I do not mention this, added the embassador, to reproach your nation with what is past, but to the end that, by a quite contrary conduct, you may, for the future, deserve to be ranked amongst our true friends and allies (1). *Justinian* had but too much reason to complain of the *Franks*, but perhaps not more than other princes, who, since his time, have relied on their friendship.

(Q) The city of *Naples* held out, as we read in *Procopius*, twenty days. The castle in the suburbs submitted upon terms, as soon as *Belisarius* appeared with his army before it. But *Theodatus* having taken care to put a strong garison into the city, and they appearing resolved to defend it to the utmost, *Belisarius*, apprehending the difficulty of the enterprize, attempted first to gain them by the offer of most advantagious and honourable terms. They sent out one *Stephanus* to treat with the *Roman* general, who, returning into the city, acquainted the citizens with the conditions offered them by *Belisarius*, and, with many arguments endeavoured to persuade them not to reject such offers. But *Pastor* and *Asclepiodorus*, two orators greatly attached to, and perhaps well paid by, the *Goths*, in order to cross and defeat the treaty, advised the inhabitants to demand such terms, as they imagined *Belisarius* would never grant. But the general, contrary to their expectation, complying with their request, and the citizens being thereupon ready to open their gates to the *Romans*, the two orators, with their deluding eloquence, persuaded them to change their resolution, since it was uncertain, said they, which side might in the end prevail; and *Belisarius* could not blame them for their fidelity, but, on the contrary, if they thus tamely submitted, would despise them as traitors and cowards, for abandoning and betraying their old friends: *Belisarius*, finding he could by no offers prevail upon them to submit, began to batter the city, and made several assaults; but was constantly repulsed with great loss. In order to oblige them by other means to surrender, he cut the great aqueduct, which supplied the city with water; but this inconvenience was easily remedied by the wells within, which sufficiently furnished them with water. Hereupon *Belisarius*, finding the siege would continue longer than he expected, and oblige him to attack *Rome* in the winter, resolved to abandon the enterprize, and had already ordered his army to begin their march; when an *Isaurian*, curiously viewing the structure of the aqueduct, observed, that if a passage, which was cut through a rock, were but a little inlarged, some soldiers might easily get through it, and surprise the city. He acquainted the general with his observation, who, being highly pleased with it, ordered some *Isaurians* to widen the passage; which they did by filing the rock, to avoid by that means all noise. When every thing was ready, *Belisarius* sent for *Stephanus*, whom we have mentioned above, told him, that he was sure he should, in a very short time, be master of the city, and therefore advised him to persuade his fellow-citizens to prevent, by a timely submission, the impending evils. But the inhabitants giving no ear to what *Stephanus* said, and defying the *Romans* from the walls, *Belisarius* ordered *Magnus*, general of the horse, and *Ennes*, commander of the *Isaurians*, to enter the aqueduct in the dead of the night with about six hundred men, some lights, and two trumpets, to strike terror into the city, and give the general

(1) *Procop. bell. Goth. l.* iv. *c.* 24.

a *Theodatus*, who was an utter stranger to military affairs, and had a great aversion to war, alarmed at the unexpected success of the emperor's arms, began under-hand to treat of a peace with an embassador sent by the emperor for that purpose. In a private conference with him, the king agreed to renounce all pretensions to the island of *Sicily*, to send the emperor yearly a crown of gold weighing three hundred pounds, to supply him with three thousand men when required, to put no senator or ecclesiastic to death, or confiscate their estates, without the emperor's consent, or to advance any to the dignity of senator or patrician, but to petition him to confer such honours on those who deserved them. In all acclamations, *Justinian*'s name was to be first mentioned. Whenever a statue was erected to *Theodatus*, a statue was to be b likewise erected to the emperor, and placed on the right-hand. No coin was to be stamped with the image of *Theodatus* alone, but that also of *Justinian*, which was always to hold the most honourable place. These proposals, which plainly betrayed the meanness of his spirit, were sent by *Theodatus* to *Constantinople*. But apprehending the emperor, not satisfied with them, might pursue the war, he dispatched an express to the embassador, now as far on his journey as *Albania*, recalling him for farther orders and instructions. These were to resign the kingdom to *Justinian*, and content himself with a pension suitable to his quality; but he obliged both the emperor's embassador, and *Agapetus* bishop of *Rome*, whom he sent on his own behalf, to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to mention this proposal, till they found c the emperor would not accept of the former. The emperor rejected, as was expected, the first proposals with scorn; whereupon the embassadors shewed him the second signed by the king, who, in his letter to the emperor, told him, among other things that, being unacquainted with war, and addicted to the study of philosophy, he preferred his quiet to a kingdom. *Justinian*, transported with joy, and imagining the war already ended, answered the king in a most obliging manner, extolling his wisdom, and adding to what he demanded the greatest honours of the empire. The agreement being confirmed by mutual oaths, lands were assigned to *Theodatus* out of the emperor's domain, and orders dispatched to *Belisarius* to take possession of *Italy* in his name. In the mean time, a body of *Goths* entering *Dalmatia*, with a design to d recover *Salonæ*, *Mundus* sent out his son, with a small party, to observe their motions; but the youth, unadvisedly engaging a detachment from their army far superior in number to his own, was slain, and most of his men cut in pieces. To revenge the death of his son, *Mundus* marched against the enemy with all the forces under his command, engaged them, and put them to flight; but his men falling into confusion in the pursuit, the *Goths*, facing unexpectedly about, renewed the fight, killed *Mundus* himself, and in their return put the *Romans* to flight, disheartened with the death of their leader. Upon this defeat, the *Romans*, abandoning *Salonæ* and all *Dalmatia*, returned home; which *Theodatus* no sooner understood, than, elated with so small an advantage, he refused with great haughtiness to comply with the articles of e the treaty, which he had lately signed; nay, because the emperor's embassador, by name *Peter*, a man of great address and experience, expostulated with him for his breach of faith, he told him, that it was not an unusual thing to put even embassadors to death, when they did not shew that respect, which is due to crowned heads. The embassador answered, That it was his duty to execute his master's orders, and that he would utter what he had been injoyned to say, whether pleasing or displeasing. Hereupon *Theodatus* put a strict guard upon the embassador; at which *Justinian* being highly

Theodatus proposes terms for an accommodation.

He offers to resign the kingdom to Justinian.

The Romans *defeated, and* Dalmatia *recovered by the* Goths.

general notice of their success. These, having got into the city, in spite of the many difficulties they met with, advanced silently to the walls; and having killed the guards on the north side, where *Belisarius* stood with his men ready for the attack, they gave the signal with their trumpets; which *Belisarius* hearing, ordered part of his men to scale the walls, and the rest to approach the gates, which being opened to them by those who got over the walls, the whole army entered, and made themselves masters of the city. Great slaughter was made at first of the unhappy inhabitants by the *Massegetes*, who, without regard to sex, age, or condition, put all to the sword they met with, not sparing even those, who had taken sanctuary in the churches; but *Belisarius*, riding about, restrained their rage, giving them leave to seize on the effects, but commanding them to spare the lives, of the inhabitants. He caused all those, who had been taken prisoners, to be set at liberty; and taking the *Gothic* garison, consisting of eight hundred men, into the emperor's pay, he incorporated them among his own troops(2). *Belisarius* is highly commended by *Procopius* for his clemency towards the citizens, though others, but writers of no great authority, tell us, that he put most of the citizens to the sword; that he neither spared churches, priests, nor holy virgins; and that he was severely reprimanded for his cruelty by *Sylverius* bishop of *Rome* (3).

(2) *Idem*, *l.* i. *c.* 10.

(3) *Vide Baron. ad ann.* 534, & 536.

highly provoked, he dispatched *Constantianus*, an officer of great valour and experience, into *Illyricum*, with orders to raise forces there, and enter *Dalmatia*. At the same time he wrote to *Belisarius*, commanding him to pursue the war with the utmost vigour. *Constantianus*, having, pursuant to his orders, raised an army with great expedition in *Illyricum*, entered *Dalmatia*, made himself master of *Salonæ*, and obliged the *Goths*, with their general, by name *Grypus*, to abandon that province. As for *Belisarius*, he now drew near to *Rome*, having reduced all the provinces that compose the present kingdom of *Naples*. Hereupon the chief men among the *Goths*, finding their king took no one step to avert the impending ruin of their nation, assembled without his consent; and, not despairing of being able to conclude a peace with *Belisarius*, they dispatched embassadors to him, representing the justice of the war, the just claim they had to *Italy*, and the moderation and equity with which they had hitherto governed that country. As the embassadors laid great stress on *Theodoric*'s taking *Italy*, not from the *Romans*, but from the barbarians, to whom it was become a prey, and on their king's being prompted and encouraged to that enterprize by the emperor himself, *Belisarius*, disliking the conditions they offered, answered surlily, That *Theodoric* had been sent indeed by *Zeno* to rescue *Italy* out of the hands of the barbarians, but not to keep it for himself, since it was the same thing to the emperor, so long as it was not restored to the empire, whether it was held by the *Goths* or the *Heruli*: that whoever detains the goods, that is not his own, against the will of the owner, is no less guilty, than he who takes them by force. He concluded, that he would hearken to no terms, nor sheath his sword, till *Italy* was reunited to the empire, to which it belonged [e].

The Goths *anew driven out of* Dalmatia.

The Goths, finding *Belisarius* unalterably bent upon driving them out of *Italy*, and, on the other hand, amazed at the cowardice and stupidity of their prince, who made no warlike preparations, as if he either intended to betray *Italy* to the emperor, or, despairing of success, had laid aside all thoughts of defending it, assembled at *Regeta*, a place about thirty-five miles from *Rome*, and having there, with one consent, deposed *Theodatus*, chose and proclaimed *Vitiges* king in his room. *Vitiges* was not descended from an illustrious family among the *Goths*; but had distinguished himself by his valour in several wars, especially in that, which *Theodoric* had waged with the *Gepidæ*. *Jornandes* writes, that he had been formerly armour-bearer to *Theodoric* [f]. Upon his accession to the throne, he married *Matesuenta*, the daughter of *Amalasuntha*, and grand-daughter of *Theodoric*, who, despising him on account of his birth, though in every other respect worthy of the crown, is said to have maintained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, and was even suspected of attempting to betray him into their hands [g]; for she had been averse to the match from the very beginning, and was, in a manner, forced by the king to give her consent. *Theodatus*, who was then at *Rome*, hearing the *Goths* had chosen a new king, fled from thence towards *Ravenna*. But *Vitiges* dispatched one *Optaris* after him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. *Optaris* had been highly disobliged by him, and therefore, pursuing him with great expedition, he soon overtook him, and, putting him to death, brought back his head to the new king [h]. Such was the end of this cowardly, ungrateful, and covetous prince, after he had reigned about three years. Several of his coins have reached our times, on which he is called *Theodatus*, *Theudatus*, and *Theodahathus* [i]. He left a son, by name *Theudegiscl*us, whom *Vitiges* caused to be first imprisoned, and afterwards to be put to death. And now the new king, having no competitor, applied himself wholly to the re-establishing of the affairs of the *Goths*. He began with writing a circular letter, wherein he exhorted his countrymen to exert their antient courage, and defend with their usual bravery, against all unjust invaders, the countries which belonged to them by right of conquest. From the place where he was chosen, he marched to *Rome*; but not thinking himself strong enough to defend that city against *Belisarius*, who was marching towards it, he resolved to remove to *Ravenna*, where he might, with more ease, reinforce his army, and make the necessary preparations for taking the field. Upon his departure, he obliged the pope, the senate, and the people, to take an oath of fidelity; and then, leaving four thousand *Goths* for the defence of the city, he set out for *Ravenna* with several senators, whom he took with him as hostages for the rest. Being arrived at *Ravenna*, he assembled the *Goths* from all parts, and, having raised a considerable army, he encamped

Theodatus *deposed, and* Vitiges *chosen in his room.*

Theodatus *murdered. Year after Christ* 537.

[e] Procop. l. i. c. 7, 8, 9. [f] Jorn. p. 144. [g] Procop. l. ii. c. 10. [h] Idem, l. i. c. 11.
[i] Vide Baron. ad ann. 534, 537. Bandur. p. 404.

a encamped under the walls of that city. In the mean time, *Belisarius*, having gari-
soned *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and the other strong places in *Campania*, approached *Rome*.
As he drew near, the inhabitants, dreading the treatment which the *Neapolitans* were
said to have met with, and awed by the reputation of so renowned a general, resolved,
notwithstanding the oath they had so lately taken, to open their gates to the empe-
ror's army. Accordingly, they dispatched one *Fidelius* to invite *Belisarius* to come
to take possession of their city, assuring him, that he should meet with no opposi-
tion. *Belisarius* no sooner received this invitation, than he advanced to the gates of
the city; which being opened to him, he entered *Rome* on the ninth or tenth of
December of the year 537. and taking possession of it in the emperor's name, reunited
it to the empire, sixty years after it had been taken by *Odoacer*, and thirty-four
b after it had submitted to *Theodoric*. The *Gothic* garison, finding they could not
made head at the same time against the emperor's army and the citizens, retired by
the *Porta Flaminia*, while *Belisarius* entered by the *Porta Asinaria*. *Leudaris*, governor
of the city, who staid behind, was sent, together with the keys, to the emperor.
Belisarius, now master of the city, applied himself to the repairing of the walls and
other fortifications, filled the granaries with corn, which he caused to be brought
from *Sicily*, and stored the place with all manner of provisions, as if he were prepare-
ing against a siege; which gave no small uneasiness to the inhabitants, who chose
rather, that the city should lie open to every invader, than be liable to the many
miseries and calamities attending a siege. While *Belisarius* was thus employed at
c *Romi*, *Pitzas*, governor of *Samnium*, submitting to him, delivered up great part of
that country, with the city of *Benevento*. Other cities, *viz. Narnia*, *Spoleto*, and
Perusia, revolting from the *Goths*, received *Roman* garisons, as did most cities in
Tuscany [k].

Belisarius *enters* Rome.

Several other cities submit to him.

In the mean time, *Vitiges* lay not idle at *Ravenna*, but, having raised an army of
one hundred and fifty thousand men, resolved to march directly to *Rome*, and engage
Belisarius, or, if he declined engaging, to lay siege to the city. But apprehending
that the *Franks*, who were in confederacy with the emperor, might fall upon him at
the same time, with the consent and approbation of the great men among the *Goths*,
d he dispatched embassadors to their three kings, *Theodebert*, *Childebert*, and *Clotarius*,
offering to yield to them whatever the *Ostrogoths* held in *Gaul*, and besides to pay
them a considerable sum, provided they joined him against the emperor. The *Franks*,
notwithstanding their alliance with *Justinian*, hearkened with their usual treachery
to the proposal, and signed the treaty, the articles whereof were immediately exe-
cuted by *Vitiges*, who paid them the sum agreed on, and ordered *Martias*, who com-
manded a chosen body of *Ostrogoths* in *Gaul*, to deliver up to the *Franks* the cities he
held there, and return with the forces under his command into *Italy*. The three
princes divided equally among them both the money and the cities yielded to them
by the *Ostrogoths*. But when they were to execute on their side the articles of the
e agreement, they declared, that the engagement they had lately entered into with
Justinian not allowing them to make open war upon the *Romans*, they could not,
by any means, send an army of *Franks* to the assistance of the *Ostrogoths*; but they
would cause a body of troops, raised in the countries which they had subdued, to
join them. Accordingly they sent, not immediately, but the following year, ten
thousand *Burgundians*, subdued by them a few years before, who, upon their enter-
ing *Italy*, declared, pursuant to their private instructions, that they came of their
own accord, without so much as asking leave of the kings of the *Franks*, to whom
they paid no respect [l]. Thus early the *Franks* began to sport with the most solemn
treaties, and to elude them with quibbles and equivocations, as their descendants are
f well known to do to this day. *Vitiges* was no sooner joined by *Martias* and the troops
returned from *Gaul*, than he began his march to *Rome*, and pursued it with great
expedition, not attempting to reduce any of the towns on the road, which, he knew,
were well provided and fortified. *Belisarius*, being informed of his march, dispatched
messengers to *Constantianus* in *Tuscany*, and to *Bessas*, by nation a *Goth*, but of the
emperor's party, in *Umbria*, ordering him to join him with all possible expedition,
with the troops under their command; for his army consisted only of five thousand
men, the rest being employed in garisoning the many towns that had submitted.
At the same time he wrote to the emperor, acquainting him with the danger he was
in

Vitiges *raises a powerful army.*

He gains over the Franks.

Vitiges *marches to* Rome.

[k] Procop. l. i. c 15.

[l] Idem, l. iii. c. 13. & l. ii. c. 12.

in, and pressing him to send into *Italy*, without loss of time, the necessary supplies (R). a *Constantianus* joined him, pursuant to his orders, and soon after *Bessas*, who, falling in with part of the enemy's vanguard, killed a considerable number of them, and put the rest to flight. *Belisarius* had built a fort upon a bridge about a mile from *Rome*, and placed a strong garison in it, to dispute the passage with the enemy; but the garison, seized with a panic at the approach of so numerous an army, abandoned their post in the night, and fled into *Campania*; so that *Vitiges* early next morning passed over great part of his army, and marched on, without opposition, till he was met by *Belisarius*, who, knowing nothing of what had happened, came very early, attended by a thousand horse, to view the ground near the bridge. He was greatly surprized, when he beheld the enemy marching up against him. However, b lest he should heighten their courage by his flight or retreat, he stood his ground, and received the enemy at the head of a small body, exposing himself, without his usual prudence and discretion, to the greatest dangers. Had he been killed, *Rome* must have fallen; and therefore he is deservedly blamed for thus exposing his own person, since on him the safety of all depended; but this perhaps is the only occasion, on which his conduct savoured of rashness and temerity. Being known by some fugitives, and discovered to the enemy, they all aimed at him alone, and directed their whole force against him; which made his own men the more solicitous to defend him; so that the whole contest was, for some time, about his person. In the end the *Goths* were driven back to their camp, which the *Romans* attempted to force; but c they met there with such a vigorous resistance, that they soon abandoned the enterprize, and retired with precipitation to a neighbouring eminence, whence they were forced down by the enemy, put to flight, and pursued to the very gates of the city. Here they were in greater danger than ever; for those within, fearing the enemy should in that confusion, enter with them, refused to admit them. The general himself cried out earnestly to them, telling them who he was, and commanding them to open the gates; but as they had been informed by those who first fled, that he was slain, and they could not distinguish him, his face being covered with blood and dust, they gave no ear to what he said. In this extremity, having encouraged his men, who were now driven into a narrow compass, to make a last effort, he put himself d at their head, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that the *Goths*, imagining fresh troops were sallying out upon them, began to give ground, and, being vigorously pushed by *Belisarius*, retired in the end to their camp. Upon their retreat, *Belisarius*, not thinking it advisable to pursue them, entered the city, where he was received with loud acclamations of joy. A few days after, *Vitiges*, approaching the city, invested it on all sides, and, in order to distress the garison and inhabitants for want of water, ordered the aqueducts, which had been built by the *Roman* emperors at an immense charge, to be broken down. On the other hand, *Belisarius* omitted nothing for the defence of the city: the useless multitude he sent out, took care e to have those, who remained, supplied with all necessaries; to prevent tumults, listed a great number of artificers, who, together with his soldiers, were to watch night and day on the ramparts; placed *Moors* in the night, with dogs, round the ditch, to give the alarm when the enemy approached; fortified the aqueducts where they opened into the city, *&c.* The citizens of *Rome*, concluding from thence, that *Belisarius*

A bloody encounter between him and Belisarius.

Rome *besieged by* Vitiges.

(R) His letter to the emperor was couched in the following terms: "I have left *Sicily*, and, landing in "*Italy*, pursuant to your orders, with an army un- "der my command, have reduced great part of that "country, and reunited *Rome* itself to your empire. "But as I have been obliged to leave numerous "garisons in the many strong places that have sub- "mitted to your arms, the army is reduced to five "thousand; whereas the enemy is advancing full "march against us with an army an hundred and "fifty thousand strong. I therefore earnestly intreat "you to cause, with all convenient speed, such "supplies of men and arms to be sent to us, as "may enable us to face so powerful an enemy. If "they prevail, we must abandon *Italy* to them, and "the city of *Rome*, which, above all others, has ex- "erted its zeal for your majesty's service. At the "approach of your army, the citizens, with great "joy, returned to their duty, at the risque of their "lives and fortunes. To abandon them therefore to "the mercy of a provoked enemy, would be highly "ungrateful, and, on the other hand, it is a difficult "task, if not altogether impossible, to defend so large "a city against such a powerful army without a nu- "merous garison. As for myself, I am indebted to "your majesty for my life, and therefore shall not "suffer myself to be driven from hence while alive; "but the death of *Belisarius* will no-ways redound "to your glory." Upon the receipt of this letter, the emperor ordered *Valerianus* and *Martinus* to assemble, with all possible expedition, a body of troops to be transported into *Italy*; and, in his answer to *Belisarius*, assured him, that he should, in a short time, receive the necessary supplies (4).

(4) *Procop. l.* i. *c.* 24.

a *farius* was resolved to hold out to the last extremity, began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and rail at the general as one, who, without the least regard to the public calamities, was obstinately bent upon the defending a place no-ways tenable. *Vitiges*, being accquainted with the discontent and complaints of the citizens, to heighten them, and drive the inhabitants, if possible, to an open rebellion, dispatched embassadors to the senate, assuring them of his favour and protection, and at the same time offering a safe retreat to *Belisarius*, whom the embassadors, in the presence of the senate, upbraided with temerity and presumption. The senate and people would have willingly hearkened to the king's proposals; but, being awed by the presence of *Belisarius*, they dared not express their real sentiments; so that the embassadors
b were dismissed without an answer. Hereupon *Vitiges* resolved to pursue the siege with the utmost vigour; which he did accordingly, shewing himself an able commander both in the contriving of his military engines, and his disposing of the attacks. *Belisarius* made a no less vigorous defence, repulsing the enemy in their repeated attacks, and sallying frequently out upon them with such success, that, in seven months time, *Vitiges* is said to have lost above forty thousand men; which provoked and incensed him to such a degree, that he caused the *Roman* senators to be put to death, whom, in the beginning of the war, he had carried with him to *Ravenna*. In the mean time, a small, but seasonable, supply of sixteen hundred horse arrived from the emperor, consisting of *Huns*, *Slavonians*, and *Antæ* dwelling beyond the *Danube*.
c As these were all archers on horseback, they did great execution; for we are told, that, in three sallies, under the conduct of *Belisarius* and their two leaders *Martinus* and *Valerianus*, they killed about four thousand *Goths*. The *Romans*, elated with this success, were for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement. This *Belisarius* opposed with all the arguments his reason and long experience could suggest; but he was in the end obliged, by the importunities both of the soldiers and citizens, to gratify them, and venture a battle. Having therefore exhorted them to render successful, by their valour, that scheme, which he had been put upon by their forwardness he marched out with his small army, and fell upon the *Goths* with such resolution, that the *Romans* at first promised themselves certain victory; but being
d in the end overpowered with numbers, they were obliged to betake themselves to a precipitous flight. The *Romans* lost on this occasion several brave officers, and among the rest *Principius* and *Tarmutus*, of whom the former was killed in the field of battle; and the latter, being rescued out of the enemy's hands by his brother *Ennes*, and carried by his men into the city on a target, died two days after of his wounds. The *Romans*, now satisfied by their own experience, that it was not safe to engage the enemy's whole army, contented themselves with sallying out upon them in small parties, in which sallies they were generally attended with success, cutting in pieces great numbers of the aggressors. In the mean time, *Belisarius* received advice, that a supply of money to pay the army was already landed in *Italy*. In order therefore to
e get it conveyed safe into the city, he marched out at the head of his army, as if he designed to try the fortune of a second battle. Hereupon the *Goths*, uniting into one body, abandoned the place, through which he had appointed the treasure and its convoy to pass; by which means it got safe into the city. By this stratagem one evil was successfully removed; but the besieged laboured under others more fatal and pernicious, a famine and plague, which made dreadful havock in the city; insomuch, that the citizens, no longer able to bear their calamities and misfortunes, would have forced the *Roman* general to venture a second battle, had he not, with great confidence, assured them, that he daily expected great supplies from the emperor; that a vast army was on full march to join him; that a mighty fleet was already
f arrived, such a fleet as no *Roman* eye had ever beheld; for it covered the shores of *Campania* and the *Ionian* gulf. To give weight and authority to what he said, he dispatched *Procopius* the historian to *Naples*, with orders to head the troops, which he pretended to be already arrived in that city: and truly a considerable supply did at length arrive at *Naples*, at *Otranto*, and other ports, *viz.* three thousand *Isaurians*, eight hundred *Thracian* horse, and thirteen hundred horse of other nations. These, in their march through *Campania*, were joined by five hundred men newly raised in that country, and, marching close to the shore, arrived at *Ostia*, whence they marched to *Rome*, which they entered at the *Ostian* gate, while the enemy's forces were employed against *Belisarius*, who had sallied out with the greatest part of the garrison at
g the *Flaminian* gate on the opposite side of the city, to give his supplies an opportu-

The Romans *having obliged* Belisarius *to give the enemy battle, are defeated.*

Rome *afflicted with a famine and plague.*

Belisarius *receives supplies from the emperor.*

nity of entering without loss or opposition. The *Goths*, hearing of the arrival of a these troops, and their numbers being said to be far greater than they really were, as is usual on such occasions, began to despair of ever been able to master the city, the more as they laboured under as great hardships as the besieged themselves, the famine and plague making a dreadful havock in their army, which was now greatly reduced. They therefore began now to think of abandoning the enterprize, and retreating upon the best terms the could obtain. Accordingly, they sent three deputies into the city to treat with *Belisarius*; but the only thing they could obtain, was a cessation of arms for three months, during which time they might send embassadors to the emperor, who should be allowed to return home unmolested, even after the expiration of the truce. No further mention is made of the embassadors; but, as the siege was continued after the expiration of the truce, it is plain from thence, that they did not succeed in their negotiations at *Constantinople*. During the truce, *Belisarius* sent out of *Rome* as many of his forces as he could spare, under the command of one *John*, an officer of great experience, with orders to intercept the enemy's convoys as soon as the truce was expired, and attempt such places as they thought they could reduce without great loss. These, entering *Picenum*, which supplied the army before *Rome* with provisions, laid waste that province far and near, and, approaching *Rimini*, killed *Ulitheus*, uncle to *Vitiges*, attempting to oppose them, and made themselves masters of that city. *Vitiges* had, in the mean time, made several attempts upon *Rome*; but tho' all his efforts, and the many stratagems he made use of to get into the city, were defeated by *Belisarius*, he still pursued the siege with great obstinacy, till news was brought him of the taking of *Rimini*; which alarmed him to such a degree, as that city was but a day's journey from *Ravenna*, that he immediately broke up the siege, after it had lasted a year and nine days, and by day-break retired in good order. *Belisarius* did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of annoying the enemy, but, falling upon their rear as they were passing the bridge on the *Tiber*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, while others, struck with a panic, threw themselves into the river, and were drowned [m].

The deplorable condition of the Goths.

Rinimi *taken by the* Romans.

The Goths *raise the siege of* Rome. *Year after Christ* 538.

From *Rome Vitiges* marched strait to *Rimini*, being resolved at all events, to force that important place out of the enemy's hands. *Belisarius*, not doubting but that was his design, took care to have such supplies put into the city as could be spared, dispatched *Ildeger* and *Martinus* with a thousand horse, and ordering them to draw the foot out of *Ancona*, and march with them to *Rimini*. His orders were executed with such expedition, that *Vitiges*, on his arrival before the town, found it in a condition to hold out for a long time. However, he invested it on all sides, and began to batter it with a great number of engines; but, being repulsed with great loss in several attacks, he resolved to reduce it by famine. *Belisarius*, to make a powerful diversion, and oblige the king to raise the siege, sent a strong detachment, under the conduct of *Mundilas*, to surprise *Milan*; which he took without opposition, and, in a short time, made himself master of all *Liguria*, the enemy's forces being all employed before *Rimini*. *Vitiges*, hearing that *Milan* was fallen into the enemy's hands, dispatched *Uraia*, his sisters son, at the head of a strong detachment, to recover that important place and the rest of *Liguria*. *Uraia*, being joined by the ten thousand *Burgundians*, of whom we have spoken above, sent by *Theodebert* king of the *Franks*, laid close siege to *Milan*, and, in a short time, reduced it to the last extremity. While *Vitiges* was thus busied in the siege of *Rimini*, and *Uraia*, in that of *Milan*, *Belisarius*, leaving a small garrison in *Rome*, marched towards the former place, with a design to cut off the communication between the *Goths* before *Rimini* and those of *Auximum*, now *Osimo*, a strong town held by them. On his march, he made himself master of *Tudera* and *Clusium*, and, at the latter place, received intelligence, that the celebrated *Narses* was arrived from *Constantinople* in *Picenum* with fresh supplies, *viz.* with five thousand *Romans* and two thousand *Heruli*. They were all commanded in chief by *Narses*, and, under him, the *Romans* by *Justin*, the general of *Illyricum*, and by *Narses* the *Armenian*. The *Heruli* were headed by three of their countrymen, *Visigandus*, *Aloethes*, and *Phanetheus*. Upon this intelligence, *Belisarius* marched into *Picenum*, and the two armies joined at *Firmum*, now *Firmo*, where a council of war was held, wherein they deliberated, whether it was most expedient for the emperor's service to besiege *Auximum*, or relieve *Rimini*. If they marched

Vitiges *besieges* Rimini.

The Romans *take* Milan.

Narses *arrives in* Italy *with fresh supplies.*

to

[m] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 17—29. & l. ii. c. 1—10. Jorn. p. 144.

a to *Rimini*, *Belisarius* apprehended, that the enemy from *Auximum* would harass and lay waste the neighbouring country, which had submitted to the *Romans*. On the other hand, it was thought unreasonable to suffer the besieged to perish for want of assistance. As *Narses* had a great kindness for *John*, who was shut up in the place, he earnestly pressed *Belisarius* to deliver him from the imminent danger both he and the garison were in. *Belisarius* at firstrefused to comply with his requeſt; but a messenger seasonably arriving with letters from *John*, wherein he declared, that, unless he was relieved in seven days, he must deliver up the town, *Belisarius* agreed to march to his relief. Having therefore left a thousand men at *Firmum*, under the command of *Aratius*, to awe the garison of *Auximum*, he divided his army into
b three bodies, whereof one was embarqued on a great number of vessels, another marched along the shore under the conduct of *Martinus*, and the third was led by *Belisarius* himself, and by *Narses*, over the mountains. This division of the forces had the desired effect; for *Vitiges*, seeing a great fleet appear, and at the same time two armies, which, from the many fires they had made in the night, he concluded to be very numerous, broke up the siege, and fled in such haste, that the greatest part of the baggage was left behind. The confusion of the *Goths* was so great, that, had not the garison been extremely feeble for want of sustenance, they might have easily cut them off in their disorderly retreat, and at once put an end to the war [n]. After this success, jealousies began to arise between *Belisarius* and *Narses*, which were car-
c ried to such a height, that the latter, refusing to obey the former, required, that the army might be divided, that each of them might command a separate body, and act independently of one another, it being reasonable, that they should both have their share in the glory of conquering *Italy*, and reuniting it to the empire. This gave great uneasiness to *Belisarius*, who, apprehending that the dividing of the army might prove highly prejudicial to the emperor's service, alledged many reasons against it; but, finding *Narses* obstinate, he produced the emperor's letter to him, wherein *Justinian* declared, that he had not sent *Narses* into *Italy* to command the army, but to serve under *Belisarius*, and, with the rest of the officers, to obey and execute his orders in all things relating to his service and the welfare of the state. *Narses*,
d laying hold of the last words of the letter, endeavoured to prove, that what *Belisarius* proposed was repugnant to the good of the state, and consequently that he was not obliged to obey him. This animosity and misunderstanding between the two generals bred such a division in the army, that *Belisarius* having undertaken the siege of *Urbinum*, *John*, with several of the chief officers and great part of the forces, encamped at a distance from him, and, before he began to batter the place, withdrew with *Narses* in the night, and returned to *Rimini*. However, *Belisarius*, thinking he could master the place without them, prepared for an assault; but as he was marching up to the walls, the besieged, to the great surprize of the *Romans*, desired to capitulate, and, upon promise of indemnity, opened their gates, and submitted.
e This unexpected submission was owing to their want of water; for the only fountain the *Goths* had in the city failed all on a sudden, which unforeseen accident obliged them to submit to the best terms they could obtain. *Narses*, who lay idle at *Rimini*, greatly surprised at this sudden success, and looking upon the reduction of the place as a reflection upon himself, (for he had been persuaded by *John* that it was impregnable) to redeem his reputation, dispatched *John*, with part of the forces that had followed him, against the city of *Cesena*; but, the garison making a vigorous resistance, *John*, retiring from before it in the night, surprised *Forum Cornelii*, now *Imola*, and by degrees, reduced all *Æmilia*, the *Goths*, disheartened with so many losses, not daring to venture an engagement. As for *Belisarius*, from *Urbinum* he marched to
f *Urbiventum*, at a small distance from *Rome*. As the place was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of *Albilas*, an officer of great reputation among the *Goths*, *Belisarius*, after several unsuccessful attacks, sat down before it, with a design to reduce it by famine; which he did accordingly, after the besieged had for some time fed upon grass and skins soaked in water. And now, the season being far advanced, both *Belisarius* and *Narses* retired with their respective corps to winter-quarters [o].

Rimini *relieved.*

Misunderstanding between Belisarius *and* Narses.

Belisarius *takes* Urbinum;

And Narses *reduces* Imola.

Urbiventum *submits to* Belisarius.

All this while *Milan* was closely besieged by the *Goths* and *Burgundians*. *Mundilas*, who commanded in the town, acquainted *Belisarius* with the deplorable condition

[n] Procop. l. ii. c. 10—13. [o] Idem ibid. c. 13, 14.

tion to which the city was reduced, who thereupon ordered *Martinus* and *Uliaris* to a
march with a considerable body to their relief; but these two generals advancing as
far as the *Po*, encamped on the banks of that river, and, tho' earnestly solicited by
their distressed friends to hasten to their assistance, they continued there, excusing
themselves to *Belisarius*, and pretending in the letter they wrote to him, that the
Goths and *Burgundians* in *Liguria* being too strong for them, they did not think it
adviseable to proceed farther, till they were joined by more forces. Upon the receipt
of this letter, *Belisarius* ordered *John* and *Justin* to join them with all expedition;
which they refused to do, till they received the like orders from *Narses*, to whom
Belisarius immediately wrote on that subject, desiring that the public might not suffer
by their unseasonable emulation. *Narses*, convinced of the reasonableness of this b
remonstrance, wrote to *John*, commanding him to obey the general's orders; but,
during these delays, the *Romans* in *Milan* being reduced by famine to the last extre-
mity, *Mundilas* was forced by his own men to accept the terms offered him by the
Goths, who promised to let the garison retire unmolested. Thus was *Milan* surren-
Milan *taken by the* Goths, *and the citizens massacred.* dered to the enemy, who, in breach of the articles agreed on, made *Mundilas* and
the garison prisoners of war, demolished the city, put all those to the sword who
were able to bear arms, to the number of three hundred thousand, and, making the
women slaves, gave them as a reward to the *Burgundians*. *Reparatus*, a prefect
and officer of great distinction, was cut in pieces, and his mangled body thrown to
the dogs. *Bergantinus*, with a few more, escaped, and, passing through *Venetia* c
and *Dalmatia*, brought the melancholy news of this disaster to the emperor at *Con-
stantinople*. *Martinus* and *Uliaris* returned with shame and disgrace to *Rome*, while
the *Goths*, encouraged by this success, pursued their good fortune, and reduced all
Liguria. *Belisarius* acquainted the emperor with what had passed, who, ascribing
the loss of *Milan* to the disagreement between him and *Narses*, recalled the latter,
and confirmed the former in the supreme command, which he had conferred upon
him in the beginning of the war [p]. The recalling of *Narses* was a great disappoint-
ment to *Vitiges*, who had promised himself many advantages from the disagreement
of the generals; but finding his hopes defeated, and concluding, from the prepara-
tions *Belisarius* was making during the winter, that he intended to march against him d
early in the spring with all his forces, and besiege him in *Ravenna* itself, he was greatly
perplexed what measures he should take to avert the impending storm, or to whom
he should recur for assistance. He knew there was no depending upon the *Franks*, by
whom he had been lately deceived, and who, he was well apprised, would, under
some pretence or other, elude the most solemn treaties and engagements. He there-
fore had recourse to *Vacis* or *Varis* king of the *Lombards*, whom he endeavoured to
draw to his assistance with the offer of a large sum; but finding him unalterably
steady to the alliance he had lately concluded with the emperor, he was advised to
send embassadors to *Chosroes* king of *Persia*, to try whether he could persuade that
prince to invade the *Roman* territories; for such an enemy, said his counsellors, would e
make a powerful diversion, oblige the emperor to recal *Belisarius*, and make him
lay aside all thoughts of extending his dominions in the west, since the security and
defence of the eastern provinces were of far greater consequence both to his interest
Vitiges *engages* Chosroes *in his quarrel.* and reputation. *Vitiges*, highly pleased with this advice, found two *Ligurian* priests,
who undertook the journey to the *Persian* court, and, arriving safe there, persuaded
Chosroes to make war upon the empire, by remonstrating to him, that, if he conti-
nued unactive, and suffered the *Goths* to be destroyed, and *Italy* reunited to the
empire, the *Romans*, by that accession, would recover their antient power, which
they would not fail to employ against him, being still prompted by the same ambi-
tion, which had proved so fatal to his predecessors [q]. *Vitiges* was overjoyed, when, f
upon the return of the embassadors, he understood, that *Chosroes* was resolved upon
a rupture. However, he received no great advantage from it; for, though it put
a stop to the progress of the emperor's arms in *Italy*, and obliged him to recal *Beli-
sarius*, this did not happen till the unhappy *Vitiges* was taken prisoner, and almost all
Italy brought under subjection to the emperor; for *Belisarius*, pursuing the war with
great vigour while the embassadors of *Vitiges* was negotiating at the *Persian* court,
Auximum *besieged by* Belisarius, *and* Fesulæ *by* Cyprian. sat down with eleven thousand men before *Auximum*, the metropolis of *Picenum*, and
at the same time sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Cyprian*, one of
his

[p] Idem, l. ii. c. 25. [q] Idem ibid. c. 22.

his lieutenants, to reduce *Fesulæ*, which, together with *Auximum*, opened a passage
a to *Ravenna*, whither he intended to follow *Vitiges*, who, from *Rimini*, had retired to that city. As *Auximum* was strong by its situation on a high and steep hill, and defended by a numerous garrison, it made a vigorous defence; but *Belisarius* allowing the besieged no respite, they were, after some time, reduced to such streights, that they dispatched messengers to *Vitiges*, threatening to surrender, unless they were speedily relieved. Hereupon the king dispatched *Uraia*, with a strong body of *Goths*, to their assistance, assuring them, that, in a short time, he himself would follow with his whole army. *Uraia*, having passed the *Po*, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Auximum*; but finding all the avenues to the city well guarded, he
b encamped at the distance of seven miles from the *Romans*.

The Franks *invade* Italy. *Year after Christ* 539.

In the mean time the treacherous *Franks*, thinking both nations sufficiently weakened by their mutual hostilities, resolved to attack both, and decide the dispute, by seizing on the country for which they disputed. Accordingly *Theodebert*, unmindful of the oaths he had taken both to the *Romans* and *Goths*, passed the *Alps* at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand, as we read in *Procopius*, or, as *Jornandes* will have it, two hundred thousand men, and entered *Liguria*. As no hostilities were committed by them on their march through that country, the *Goths* concluded, that they were coming to their assistance, and therefore took care to supply them with what provisions they could spare. Thus they passed the *Po* without opposition, and, having secured the bridge, marched strait to the place where a body of *Goths* were
c encamped, who, looking upon them as friends, admitted them into the camp. But they were soon convinced of their mistake; for the *Franks*, falling unexpectedly upon them, drove them with great slaughter from their camp, and seized on their baggage and provisions. A body of *Romans*, that lay at a small distance from the *Goths*, under the command of *John* and *Martinus*, observing the sudden flight of the *Goths*, and concluding that they had been defeated by *Belisarius*, flew to join him, when the *Franks*, falling unawares upon them, treated them as they had done the *Goths*. As the *Romans* were not able, in that confusion, to recover their camp, they fled into *Tuscany*, and thence dispatched a messenger to *Belisarius*, with an account of their misfortune. The *Franks*, thus become masters of both camps, found in them good
d store of provisions, and a considerable booty; but the provisions being soon consumed by their numerous army, and the country round about quite exhausted, they were obliged, by the famine that began to rage among them, and the diseases that were occasioned by their unwholsome food, and are said to have swept off one third of their army, to give over all thoughts of advancing farther into the country, or making any conquests in *Italy*, which thus early became, as it is now styled, *the tomb of the* French. At the same time *Belisarius*, fearing the *Franks* might in the end be per-
suaded by the *Goths* to join them, wrote to *Theodebert*, expostulating with him in a friendly manner for his breach of faith, and telling him, that the emperor's affairs were not in such a desperate condition, as to render him incapable of resenting in due
e time, as he ought, affronts of this nature. *Theodebert*, moved with this letter, but more with the opprobrious language of his men, openly reviling him for suffering them to starve in a barren and impoverished country, decamped with such of them as were able to march, and, passing through *Liguria*, where he destroyed *Genoa*, and several other places, he returned home loaded with booty [r].

And fall both upon the Goths *and* Romans.

They return home loaded with booty.

All this time the two garisons of *Auximum* and *Fesulæ* held out with incredible resolution. The former, being reduced to the utmost extremity, resolved once more to solicit the king for relief; but, not being able to find any messenger out of the town, which was closely blocked up on all sides, they corrupted with a large sum a
f soldier in the *Roman* army, who was placed near the walls, to prevent the inhabitants from cutting the grass that grew there, the only food they now had, to carry a letter to the king, wherein they acquainted him with the condition to which they were reduced. The king returned answer, That, without fail, they should be relieved in a few days, and, with friendly words, encouraged them to bear but a little while longer their hardships, which he might call his own, since he felt them no less than they. The besieged were so encouraged with this answer, that they rejected all the offers made them by *Belisarius*. But, finding the king did not come to their relief, they dispatched the same soldier to him a second time, acquainting him, that, unless they

Auximum *holds out with great obstinacy.*

[r] Procop. l. ii. c. 25. Greg. Tur. hist. l. iii. c. 32. Mar. Avent. chron. ad ann. 539.

they were relieved in five days, they ſhould be obliged to ſurrender. The king replied as he had done before, giving them hopes of a ſpeedy relief. *Beliſarius* in the mean time, who was well acquainted with the ſtreights to which they were reduced, in order to diſcover what encouraged them to hold out with ſo much obſtinacy, appointed ſome of his men to watch thoſe, who came out of the town to gather graſs, and to take, if poſſible, ſome of them priſoners. They had the good luck to ſurprize one, who, being brought before the general, owned to him, that, by means of one of his men, they had correſponded with the king, who had aſſured them, that they ſhould be ſpeedily relieved. Hereupon the ſoldier, by name *Barcenſiris*, by nation a *Beſſian*, was ſeized, and, upon his confeſſing the fact, delivered up to be puniſhed by his countrymen, who condemned him to be burnt alive. *Beliſarius*, finding them ſtill obſtinate, marched in perſon, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, to demoliſh an aqueduct, which was near the walls, and ſupplied them with water. The beſieged, ſallying out to defend it, though quite ſpent with famine and hardſhips, made a great havock of his men; but were in the end, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, driven back into the city. On this occaſion *Beliſarius* was in imminent danger of his life; but one of his guards ſaved him with the loſs of his own hand. After all, the *Romans* found the aqueduct ſo ſtrongly built, that they could not by any means demoliſh it; but *Beliſarius* cauſed all the ſprings to be poiſoned, hoping thereby to oblige them to ſurrender [a]. The gariſon in *Feſulæ* held out againſt *Cyprian* with no leſs obſtinacy; but in the end, deſpairing of relief, they ſurrendered upon terms. Hereupon *Cyprian*, leaving part of his army in the town, with the reſt brought the inhabitants before *Auximum*, where *Beliſarius* ſhewed them to the beſieged, who, concluding from the ſurrender of that place, that the king was incapable of relieving them, deſired to capitulate, offering to deliver up the town, on condition that they might enjoy their lives and effects. This the general was inclined to grant; but the ſoldiers oppoſed it, declaring, that the wealth of the city was the due reward of their wounds, and the many toils and dangers they had undergone in the ſiege. At length it was agreed on both ſides, that the ſoldiers ſhould have one half, and that the other ſhould remain to the inhabitants, who were to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. Upon theſe terms the gates were opened to the *Romans*, who took poſſeſſion of the city in the emperor's name [b].

Feſulæ ſurrenders.

And at laſt Auximum.

Beliſarius did not continue long at *Auximum*, but marched from thence with his whole army to *Ravenna*, which he inveſted on all ſides, both by ſea and land, to prevent the importation of proviſions. The place was defended by a very numerous gariſon, commanded by the king in perſon, who exerted all his courage and bravery in the defence of the metropolis of his kingdom; but *Beliſarius* purſuing the ſiege with incredible vigour, and great ſucceſs, the kings of the *Franks*, eſpecially *Theodebert*, alarmed at the progreſs of the emperor's arms, and not doubting but, if *Italy* were united anew to the empire, he would fall next upon them, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Vitiges*, offering to aſſiſt him with an army of five hundred thouſand men, on condition he would ſhare the country with them. *Beliſarius*, informed of this negotiation, in order to defeat the ambitious views of the *Franks*, ſent embaſſadors to *Vitiges*, to put him in mind of the perfidy of the *Franks*, of which he had but a very freſh inſtance, and to aſſure him, that the emperor, on whom he might depend, was ready to grant him very honourable terms. The king, by the advice of the great men about him, rejected the propoſals of the *Franks*, and ſhewed himſelf inclined to come to an agreement with the emperor. In the mean time *Beliſarius*, to bring the king to his own terms, bribed with a large ſum a citizen of *Ravenna* to ſet fire to a magazine of corn, which was the chief dependence of the beſieged. This was done with ſuch ſecrecy, that they knew not whether they ought to impute it to chance, or to deſign. They began to diſtruſt each other, and ſome to conclude, that Heaven itſelf fought againſt them. At the ſame time *Beliſarius* detached one *Thomas* with a body of troops againſt the *Goths* inhabiting the *Alpes Cottiæ*, who, at his approach, ſubmitted, with *Siſigis* their leader. Of this *Uraia* receiving intelligence while on his march to the relief of *Ravenna* with four thouſand men, he changed his reſolution, and went to attack *Thomas*, hoping to ſurpriſe him; but *John* and *Martinus*, who lay encamped on the banks of the *Po*, ſuſpecting his deſign, marched againſt him, and obliged him to retire into *Liguria*, where he continued, expecting better fortune.

Ravenna *beſieged by* Beliſarius.

Vitiges,

[a] Procop. l. ii. c. 27. [b] Idem, ibid.

a *Vitiges*, upon his rejecting the offers of the *Franks*, had dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople*, to conclude a peace with the emperor upon the best terms they could obtain. These now returned, and with them two senators, *Dominicus* and *Maximinus*, sent by *Justinian* to conclude a peace uponthe following terms, *viz.* that the country beyond the *Po*, with respect to *Rome*, should remain to the *Goths*; but that the rest of *Italy* should be yielded to the emperor; and the royal treasure of the *Goths* should be equally divided between him and the king. These conditions *Vitiges* and the *Goths* embraced with great joy; for they were already reduced to great streights. *Terms proposed by the emperor.*

But *Belisarius*, not able to bear, that he should be thus bereft of the glory of ending the war, and carrying *Vitiges*, as he had lately done *Gelimer* king of the *Vandals*, b captive to *Constantinople*, peremptorily refused to sign the treaty, and pursued the siege with more vigour than ever, without hearkening to the complaints of his officers and soldiers, who were quite tired with the length of the siege: he only obliged such of the officers as were of opinion, that the town could not be taken, to express what they said in writing, that they might not deny it afterwards. The great men among the *Goths*, finding that *Belisarius* refused to obey the instructions he had received from *Constantinople*, and to sign the treaty, concluded from thence, that he designed to revolt from the emperor, and conquer *Italy* for himself. On the other hand, being weary of *Vitiges*, and unwilling to submit to *Justinian*, who they apprehended, would transplant them into *Thrace*, or some other barren country, they privately c agreed among themselves to declare *Belisarius* emperor of the west, and accordingly dispatched a messenger to him, assuring him, that they were ready to swear allegiance to him. *Belisarius* abhorred in his heart the name of usurper; but nevertheless, to forward the surrender of the city, and put an end to the war, he pretended to accept of the offer, after having acquainted the chief officers of the army with all that passed, least they should imagine, that he really designed to usurp the kingdom of *Italy*, and thereupon revolt from him. In the mean time *Vitiges*, having discovered the plot, and finding himself no-ways in a condition to defeat it, commended the resolution of the *Goths*, and even wrote to *Belisarius*, encouraging him to take upon him the title of king, and assuring him of his assistance. Hereupon *Belisarius* pressing the d *Goths* to perform their promise, embassadors were dispatched to him from the chief men of the *Gothic* nation, requiring him, before they acknowledged him for their king, to swear, that he would treat the *Goths* with humanity, and maintain them in the enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges. This oath *Belisarius* took, and was thereupon by the *Goths* proclaimed king of *Italy*, and admitted into *Ravenna*. He behaved with great moderation towards the *Goths* in the city, not suffering his soldiers to do them any injury; but seized on the royal treasure, and secured the person of the king. The *Roman* army, when it entered *Ravenna*, appeared so inconsiderable that the *Gothic* women, in beholding it, could not forbear spitting in their husbands faces, and reviling them as cowards. *Procopius*, from whom we have copied e this account, and who was an eye-witness of the triumphal ingress of *Belisarius* into *Ravenna*, tells us, that he was thence convinced, that, in human affairs, success does not depend on multitudes of men, or their valour or strength, but that some higher and greater power steers, governs and directs all things to the pre-ordained ends [u].

Belisarius *refuses to sign them.*

He is by the Goths *declared emperor of the west.*

He is admitted into Ravenna. *Year after Christ* 540.

In the mean time *Chosroes* invading with a mighty army the *Roman* dominions in the east, *Justinian*, looking upon the *Persian* war as of far greater consequence than the *Gothic*, recalled *Belisarius* to take upon him the management of it. It was believed by some, that the jealousy, which, at the instigation of the court sycophants, the emperor, say they, began to entertain of *Belisarius*, prompted him to recal this general. *Procopius* writes, that he was accused to the emperor by the other generals, as f if he aspired at the sovereignty of *Italy*; that the emperor gave no credit to such calumnies; but nevertheless recalled him, because he wanted a general of his abilities to conduct the *Persian* war [w]. Be that as it will, *Belisarius*, in compliance with the emperor's orders, began, as soon as he received them, to prepare for his departure, to the great surprize of the *Goths*, who could not persuade themselves, that, to obey the emperor, he would relinquish a crown. They did all that lay in their power to divert him from his resolution and intended journey, but to no purpose; for *Belisarius*, inviolably attached to the service of his master, having settled affairs in the best manner he could, set out for *Constantinople*, carrying with him *Vitiges*, and his wife

He is recalled by Justinian.

He returns to Constantinople, *with the king and the royal treasure*

[u] Idem, l. ii. c. 29.

[w] Idem ibid. c. 30.

wife *Mateſuenta*, ſeveral of the *Gothic* nobility, and the royal treaſure. He was a
received by the emperor without the leaſt tokens of diſtruſt, who nevertheleſs did not
ordain him a triumph, as he had done on his return from the conqueſt of *Africa*.
Vitiges the emperor treated with all the reſpect due to his rank, and conferred on him
the dignity of patrician. The king died two years after; and, upon his death, *Juſti-*
nian married *Mateſuenta* to *Germanus* his own nephew. The other great men among
the *Goths*, whom *Beliſarius* brought with him to *Conſtantinople*, attended that general
to the *Perſian* war. It is remarkable, that the emperor cauſed the royal treaſure of
the *Goths* to be expoſed to the view of the ſenate; but would not ſhew it, as he had
done that which *Beliſarius* had brought out of *Africa*, to the people, fearing per-
haps to heighten his reputation among the multitude, by whom he was already al- b
moſt adored [x]. Upon the departure of *Beliſarius*, the chief men among the *Goths*
dwelling beyond the *Po*, in a great aſſembly, reſolved to raiſe one of their own nation
to the throne, in the room of *Beliſarius*. Accordingly, they applied themſelves firſt
to *Uraia*, the nephew of *Vitiges*; but he, out of reſpect to his uncle, not caring to
take upon him the title of king during his life-time, declined the burden; but at the
ſame time adviſed them to make choice of *Ildebald*, at that time governor of *Verona*,
a man of great addreſs, and experience in affairs both civil and military, and nephew
to *Theudis* king of the *Viſigoths*, who, in all likelihood, would eſpouſe his cauſe.
Ildebald *choſen king.* The *Goths*, pleaſed with the advice of *Uraia*, ſent immediately for *Ildebald*, and pro-
claimed him king. The new prince undertook, and not without ſucceſs, the re-eſta- c
bliſhing of the *Gothic* affairs in *Italy*. He had at firſt no more than a thouſand men;
but the *Goths* flocking to him from all parts, and with them great numbers of diſcon-
tended *Romans*, his army in a ſhort time grew very conſiderable. The *Romans* were
highly diſpleaſed with the conduct of *Alexander*, who, from his clipping the coin,
was nicknamed *Forſicula*. He had been ſent into *Italy* by the emperor, to ſtate the
accounts of the army, in which office he diſobliged both the ſoldiers and officers to
ſuch a degree, that they became very ill affected to the emperor, and great numbers
of them, finding themſelves defrauded, not only of the rewards they expected, but
even of the pay that was due to them, abandoned the emperor's ſervice, and fled
over to the *Goths*. Beſides, *Beſſas*, *John*, and *Conſtantianus*, whom *Beliſarius* had d
appointed to command the troops in *Italy*, diſagreeing among themſelves, nothing
of any moment was undertaken by them. However, *Vitalis*, governor of *Venetia*,
having drawn together what troops he could, and taken into the emperor's pay a con-
ſiderable body of *Heruli*, took the field, and, marching againſt *Ildebald*, met him in
He gains a victory over the Romans. the neighbourhood of *Tarviſium*, where, in the battle that enſued, moſt of *Vitalis*'s
men were cut in pieces, and he, with the few that eſcaped, obliged to ſave himſelf
by a precipitous flight. After this victory, *Ildebald* made himſelf maſter of the whole
province of *Venetia*: but he did not live long enough to improve his victory farther;
for a conteſt ariſing between his queen and the wife of *Uraia*, the king, giving ear to
the complaints of his wife, firſt accuſed *Uraia* of maintaining a private correſpondence e
He cauſes Uraia *to be murdered.* with the emperor, and afterwards, with the utmoſt treachery and ingratitude, cauſed
him to be murdered. As, by the murder of ſo worthy a man, he incurred the diſ-
pleaſure of the whole nation, one of his guards, by name *Vilas*, a *Gepid* by nation,
whom he had diſobliged, by giving in marriage to another woman whom he paſ-
ſionately loved, reſolved to lay hold of this opportunity to revenge the injury. Ac-
cordingly, while the king was one day feaſting the nobility, attended by his guards,
And is murdered himſelf. Year after Chriſt 541. *Vilas* gave him ſuch a blow on the neck with his ſword, that his head dropped on the
table while he yet held the meat between his fingers [y].

Ildebald being thus diſpatched, the leading men among the *Goths*, without loſs of
time, choſe *Eraric*, by birth a *Rugian*, to ſucceed him. The *Rugians* were a *Gothic* f
Eraric *choſen king.* nation; but their tribe differed in manners and cuſtoms from that of the *Oſtrogoths*,
whence the people and ſoldiery were, with much-ado, brought to acknowledge him
for king, though they knew him to be a man of great valour, and experience in war.
In the beginning of his reign, with the conſent and approbation of the *Goths*, he
diſpatched embaſſadors to the emperor, to ſue, as he pretended, for a peace, upon
the ſame terms that had been formerly offered to *Vitiges*, *viz.* that the *Goths* ſhould
hold all the provinces beyond the *Po*, and the *Romans* the reſt of *Italy*. But the em-
baſſadors had private inſtructions to acquaint the emperor, that *Eraric* was ready to
deliver

[x] Procop. l. iii. c. 1. Jorn. de reb. Get. p. 95, Marcell. ad ann. 540. [y] Procop. l. ii. c. 30.

a deliver up *Italy* to him, upon condition he paid him a certain sum, and raised him to the dignity of a patrician [z]. This private negotiation was not known till after the king's death. However, the *Goths*, generally discontented with the government of their new king, began to think of deposing him, and raising another to the throne. They cast their eyes on *Totila*, nephew to *Ildebald*, a person of extraordinary merit, and one who had eminently distinguished himself in war. He commanded at that time the *Goths* in *Tervisium*, and upon the news of his uncle's death, had sent to *Constantianus*, who governed for the emperor at *Ravenna*, offering, upon assurance of indemnity, to deliver up to him both the place and the garison. *Constantianus* readily accepted the offer, and, having promised upon oath to perform the articles,
b a day was appointed for the surrender of the place. But in the mean time a messenger from the chief men among the *Goths*, arriving at *Tervisium*, acquainted *Totila* with the design they had formed of deposing *Eraric*, and raising him to the throne. *Totila* frankly discovered to them the agreement he had made with *Constantianus*; but told them at the same time, that he was willing to accept of their offer, provided they dispatched *Eraric* before the day appointed for the surrender of the place. Upon the return of the messenger, the *Goths* fell immediately upon *Eraric*, and, having murdered him after a short reign of five months, with one voice declared *Totila* king [a].

He is murdered, and Totila *proclaimed king. Year after Christ*, 542.

The emperor, informed of the death of *Eraric*, of the promotion of *Totila*, and of the distracted state of affairs in *Italy*, sharply reprimanded his officers, who com-
c manded there, ascribing the whole to their indolence and bad conduct. Hereupon they assembled in *Ravenna*, where it was agreed in a council of war, that siege should be laid forthwith to *Verona*, at that time the chief city of the *Goths*, and, upon the reduction of that place, the whole army should march against *Totila*, who was at the head of a small body in *Picenum*. Pursuant to this plan, the army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, marched, under the command of eleven generals, of whom *Constantianus* and *Alexander* were the chief, and, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Verona*, encamped within seven miles of that city. *Marcianus*, a man of great interest in the country and well affected to the emperor's service, had engaged a citizen of *Verona* to betray the place. A centinel, privy to the plot, was to open
d one of the gates in the night, and admit a party of *Romans*, who were to secure the gate, till the rest of the army came up. This was a dangerous undertaking, there being a strong garison in the town, and the safety of those, who were to be sent on the party, depending intirely on the fidelity of the centinel. The service was therefore, to the great disgrace of the *Roman* name, declined by all the *Romans*, but with great joy undertaken by one *Artabanes* an *Armenian*, who, advancing at the head of one hundred men, was admitted within the gate, which he secured with some of them, while others killed the centinels on the walls, and made themselves masters of the adjoining houses. *Artabanes* immediately acquainted the generals with his success, requiring them to hasten the march of the army; but the commanders, being ad-
e vanced within five miles of the place, ordered the army to halt, till they had settled among themselves in what manner the plunder of so wealthy a city was to be divided. This occasioned great disputes; so that the night was spent before they could agree. In the mean time, the *Goths*, who, hearing that the *Romans* were masters of one gate, had fled out at another, and retired to a high rock not far from the city, discovering from thence the small number of the *Romans* in the town, and the army yet at a distance, returned into the city by the same gate they had gone out, and, falling upon the *Romans*, obliged them to abandon the gate, and fly to the battlements, where they defended themselves with unparallelled valour. By this time the commanders, having agreed about the plunder of the city, approached the gates; but,
f finding them shut, they shamefully retired, though their companions, overpowered with numbers, earnestly called out for their assistance. *Artabanes*, therefore and such of his men as were still alive, seeing themselves thus basely abandoned, and despairing of succour, leaped down from the walls. Those who fell on the stones were killed by the fall, or rendered incapable of saving themselves by flight; but *Artabanes*, with a few more, having the good luck to pitch upon the ground, got safe to the camp, where he upbraided the commanders with their ill conduct and want of courage. The *Romans*, after this disappointment, having passed the *Po*, marched to *Faventia*, now *Faenza*, where they were met by *Totila* at the head of his small army, consisting only

The Romans *makes an attempt upon* Verona.

But are disappointed.

[z] Idem, l. iii. c. 2. [a] Idem ibid.

only of five thousand men. Hereupon the *Roman* generals having called a council of war, *Artabanes* advised them not to despise the enemy, though far inferior to them in number, but to fall upon them, before the whole body had passed the river *Lamone*, on which stands the town of *Faventia*. But the commanders disagreeing among themselves, as it generally happens when they are equal in power, *Totila* passed the river without opposition; so that the two armies approached each other in order of battle. While they stood thus drawn up, waiting the signal, one *Valiaris*, a *Goth* of a gigantic size and proportionable strength, advancing before the ranks, challenged any *Roman* to a single combat. *Artabanes* accepted the challenge, and, at the first encounter, ran him through the right-side with his lance; but imagining, as the *Goth* did not fall immediately, that the wound was not mortal, he gave him a second wound in the belly, when the head of *Valiaris*'s lance, which stood upright, falling upon *Artabanes*'s neck, unfortunately cut one of the arteries. The brave champion, however, not apprehending any danger, rode back to the army; but, as the blood could not be stopped, he died three days after, to the great grief of all the emperor's true friends, who, from his experience, courage, and prudence, promised themselves great things. He had served first with great reputation in the *Persian* army; but, being taken prisoner by *Belisarius* in the castle of *Sisaurium*, with all the *Persians* under his command, and sent to *Constantinople*, he offered his service to the emperor, who sent him, with the *Persians* he had formerly commanded, to his army in *Italy*, where he distinguished himself, as we have related, in an eminent manner. The single combat was succeeded by a general engagement, in which the *Romans*, confiding in their numbers, behaved at first with great bravery. But three hundred *Goths*, who had been ordered by *Totila* to pass the river at some distance, falling unexpectedly upon their rear, pursuant to their orders, they began to give ground, imagining that body to be far more numerous than it really was. Hereupon *Totila* charging them in front with new vigour, they first fell into great confusion, and then betook themselves to a precipitous flight. The *Goths* pursued them with great slaughter, took a great number of prisoners and all their ensigns, and obliged the few, who had the good luck to make their escape, to take refuge, with their commanders, in the neighbouring towns [b].

A single combat.

The death of Artabanes *a valiant officer.*

The Romans *defeated.*

Totila, to improve this victory, marched without loss of time to *Florence*, and invested that city; but a considerable army being sent from *Ravenna* to the relief of the place, *Totila* thought it advisable to raise the siege, and retire to *Micole*, a town about a days journey from *Florence*. The *Romans*, leaving a small garison in the town, pursued them with the rest of their forces; and it was agreed, that one of the commanders, marching with all possible expedition after them, should keep them in play till the others came up. The lot fell upon *John*; but unseasonable disputes arising among the commanders, and a report being spread, that *John* was killed by one of his own men, the army halted; and in the mean time *John* being forced to engage the enemy with his own troops only, he was utterly defeated. When news of this defeat was brought to the army, seized with a sudden panic, they all dispersed, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. *Totila* treated the prisoners he took in this and the former engagement with so much humanity, that most of them entering into his service, his army was by that means considerably increased [c].

The Romans *defeated anew.*

The following year, the eighth of the *Gothic* war, *Totila*, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of all the strong places in *Tuscany*, and, marching from thence into *Campania* and *Samnium*, reduced and dismantled the strong town of *Beneventum*, and laid siege to *Naples*: during which several detachments from his army took *Cumæ*, and recovered all *Brutia*, *Lucania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, where they found considerable sums, which had been gathered for the emperor. The *Goths* having thus seized on the tributes and the money that had been levied to pay the army, the emperor's troops were reduced to great streights, and thereupon began to mutiny, and refuse to take the field; so that *Constantianus* lay idle at *Ravenna*, *John* at *Rome*, *Bessas* at *Spoletum*, *Justin* at *Florence*, and *Cyprian* at *Perugia*, the places to which they had fled after the late defeat. The emperor, informed of the bad situation of his affairs in *Italy*, ordered a considerable fleet to be equipped, and a great number of forces to be raised, committing both to the conduct of *Maximinus*, whom he honoured with the title of *præfectus prætorio* of *Italy*; but, as he was a man quite unacquainted

Tuscany, and several other provinces, recovered by the Goths. *Year after Christ*, 543.

[b] Idem, l. iii. c. 9. [c] Idem ibid. c. 10.

unacquainted with military affairs, naturally timorous and indolent, *Justinian* appointed *Demetrius* to command under him, who had formerly served under *Belisarius* as general of the foot. *Demetrius*, to retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms in *Italy*, resolved to attempt the relief of *Naples*, already reduced to great streights. With this view, leaving *Maximinus* on the coasts of *Epirus*, he sailed with part of the fleet to *Sicily*; and there, as he had but a small number of forces with him, he assembled a great many vessels, with a design to terrify the enemy, who would conclude, that so considerable a fleet had a proportionable army on board; but, his heart failing him after he had put to sea, instead of sailing directly to *Naples*, he steered his course to *Rome*, in order to raise soldiers, and then return to *Naples*; but, the *Romans* refusing to serve against the victorious king of the *Goths*, he was obliged
b either to lie idle, or to attempt the relief of *Naples* with the few troops he had brought with him. The latter expedient he chose; but *Totila*, having timely notice of his design, manned with incredible expedition a great number of light vessels, which, unexpectedly falling upon him as he was riding at anchor on the coast of *Naples*, took or sunk every ship of his fleet, and made all on board prisoners, except a few, who betook themselves to their boats, among whom was *Demetrius* himself. The besieged being greatly disheartened by this loss, *Conon*, who commanded in *Naples*, dispatched a messenger to *Maximinus*, acquainting him with the deplorable condition to which the city was reduced, and earnestly pressing him to hasten to their relief. *Maximinus* was already advanced as far as *Syracuse*; but could not be per-
c suaded to stir from thence for some time. At length, being threatened with the emperor's displeasure, importuned by repeated messages from the besieged, and openly reviled for cowardice by the soldiers, he sent the fleet to *Naples* under the command of others; but, indulging his natural timidity, stayed himself behind. As the fleet put to sea in the depth of winter, it was, by a violent storm, driven ashore near the enemy's camp, who sunk the ships, and, without resistance, made what slaughter they pleased of the seamen and soldiers. Few of them escaped being either taken or killed. Among the prisoners was *Demetrius*, who, after the loss of his own fleet, had gone aboard that of *Maximinus*. *Totila* ordered him to be led, with a rope about his neck, to the town wall, and there obliged him to exhort the inhabitants
d to surrender, by assuring them, that they were to expect no further succours, and that all hopes of relief were lost with the navy. At the same time, *Totila* offered them honourable terms, upon condition they submitted immediately; which they did accordingly, and were treated by him with the utmost humanity. As they had been pinched with a long famine, *Totila*, apprehending they might endanger their lives by indulging at first their ravenous appetites, placed guards at the gates to prevent their going out, taking care at the same time to supply them sparingly with provisions, but increasing their allowance every day. Being thus, by degrees, restored to their former strength, he ordered the gates to be set open, and gave every one full liberty to stay, or retire to what place he thought fit. He treated *Conon* and the garison
e in a most friendly and obliging manner; for, upon their pretending to return to *Constantinople*, he supplied them with ships; and having discovered, that their real design was to sail to *Rome*, and reinforce the garison of that city, which he intended in the next place to besiege, he was so far from punishing them as they expected, or even upbraiding them for thus imposing upon him, that, on the contrary, the winds not proving favourable for a long time, he furnished them with horses, waggons, and provisions, and ordered a body of *Goths* to escorte them to *Rome*. He dismantled *Naples*, as he had done *Beneventum*, not caring to weaken his army by garisoning the many strong-holds that submitted to him[d].

The Romans *defeated by sea.*

Another Roman *fleet destroyed.*

Naples *surrenders.*

f *Totila*, now master of *Naples* and most of the fortresses in those parts, began to turn his thoughts upon *Rome*. In the first place, he wrote a letter to the senate, whom he earnestly desired to draw over to his party, taxing them in gentle terms with the ingratitude they had shewn to the family and nation of the great *Theodoric* and *Amalasuntha*. He advised and intreated them to return to their duty; put them in mind of the treatment they had met with from the emperor and his officers; and concluded by assuring both them and the people of his favour and protection, provided they returned to their allegiance. *John*, who commanded in *Rome*, would not suffer the senate to answer this, or receive more letters from *Totila*, who nevertheless

Totila *writes to the* Roman *senate.*

[d] Idem, l. iii. c. 9. Continuat. Marcell. ad ann. 543.

theleſs found means to convey other papers into the city, which were poſted up by a night in the moſt frequented places. The *Arian* prieſts were ſuſpected of holding a private correſpondence with the *Goths* and their king, who profeſſed the ſame doctrine, and on that account were baniſhed *Rome*. *Totila*, finding his letters and manifeſtoes had no effect on the ſenate and people of *Rome*, reſolved to purſue other methods; and accordingly, having ſent a detachment into *Calabria* to reduce *Otranto*, which had not yet ſubmitted, he marched, with the reſt of his forces, againſt the towns in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The city of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, about eighteen miles from *Rome*, was betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants; and, upon his entering it, he put all the citizens to the ſword, together with their biſhop. Several other ſtrong holds in that neighbourhood he took by ſtorm; ſo that *Rome* was, b in a manner, blocked up by land, all communication with the neighbouring country being cut off. The emperor, greatly perplexed at the bad news he received daily out of *Italy*, and unwilling to loſe *Rome*, which was now in imminent danger of falling anew into the enemy's hands, reſolved to call *Beliſarius* out of *Perſia*, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs that attended him there, and ſend him again into *Italy*. Accordingly he wrote to *Beliſarius*, ordering him to repair forthwith to *Italy*, and to take upon him the command of his armies in that country. *Beliſarius* no ſooner received this order, than, leaving *Comagene*, where he then was, he ſet out for the weſt. In his way through *Thrace*, he raiſed above four thouſand men at his own expence, and, arriving with them at *Salonæ*, he diſpatched from thence *Vitalius*, general of *Illyricum*, with a body of troops to the relief of *Otranto*, at whoſe approach the *Goths* c retired; ſo that the town was reinforced with freſh ſupplies both of men and proviſions. As for *Beliſarius* himſelf, he embarqued in *Dalmatia*, and came by ſea to *Ravenna*, whence he ſent ſeveral parties againſt the cities of *Æmilia*; but without ſucceſs, though they defeated a ſmall body of troops diſpatched by *Totila* to drive them out of that province. After this, they threw themſelves into *Auximum*, then beſieged by the *Goths*; but finding there were not ſufficient proviſions in the place to maintain ſo numerous a gariſon, they reſolved to ſally out, and march to *Piſaurus*, now *Peſaro*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance, and was ſtill held by the *Romans*. In their retreat, two hundred of them were ſlain by the beſiegers; but the reſt reached *Piſaurus*, d whither *Totila* purſued them, hoping to take the place by ſtorm; but, being vigorouſly repulſed by the gariſon, he returned to the ſiege of *Auximum*; and at the ſame time, finding that *Beliſarius* was not in a condition to take the field, he ſent out detachments to beſiege *Firmum* and *Aſculum*, two places of great importance in the province of *Picenum*. *Beliſarius*, chiefly concerned for *Rome*, appointed *Beſſas* governor of that city, and ſent *Artaſaris* a *Perſian* and *Barbation* a *Thracian*, men of valour and great experience in war, to command under *Beſſas*, ſtrictly injoining them to make no ſallies, in caſe the town was beſieged. Being himſelf utterly unable to relieve the beſieged towns, or put a ſtop to the progreſs of the *Goths*, he diſpatched *John* to *Conſtantinople*, with a letter to the emperor, wherein he acquainted him with e the ſituation of his affairs in *Italy*, telling him at the ſame time, that, being deſtitute of men, arms, and money, it was impoſſible for him to proſecute the war. *Juſtinian*, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered new levies to be made, the veterans being all employed againſt the *Perſians*. But in the mean time, *Totila*, purſuing his good fortune, took ſeveral ſtrong-holds and cities of great conſequence, *viz. Firmum*, *Aſculum*, *Auximum*, *Spoletum*, &c. and at length approached *Rome*, which he inveſted on all ſides. As he drew near the city, *Artaſiris* and *Barbation*, contrary to the expreſs command of *Beliſarius*, made a ſally, thinking they ſhould ſurprize the *Goths*; but they were themſelves taken in an ambuſcade, and, moſt of their men being cut in pieces, narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. The town had not f been long beſieged, when *Beliſarius* was informed, that a conſiderable number of troops, ſent by the emperor, were in full march to join him. Hereupon *Beliſarius*, committing the care of *Ravenna* to *Juſtin*, marched with a ſmall body of forces to *Epidamnus*, where he met them. Soon after, *Narſes* the eunuch arrived with ſome auxiliary troops raiſed among the *Heruli*, and commanded by *Philimuth* and other leaders of their own nation. With part of this reinforcement *Beliſarius* ſailed to the port of *Rome*, which he was mighty deſirous of relieving; and ſent the reſt, under the command of *John*, into *Calabria*, with orders to drive the *Goths* out of thoſe parts, and then join him in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. *John* took ſome places; but, being afraid to paſs by the city of *Capua*, or to make any attempt upon it, though g defended

Beliſarius *ſent again into* Italy.

Auximum, Firmum, *and* Aſculum, *beſieged by the* Goths.

Rome *beſieged by* Totila.

a defended only by three hundred *Goths*, he did not, pursuant to his orders, join *Belisarius* at the time appointed [e]. In the mean time, *Rome* being so closely blocked up, that no provisions could be imported either by land or water, a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The unhappy citizens, having consumed every thing that could give them any nourishment, and even the grass that grew near the walls, were in the end obliged to feed on their excrements. Several, to avoid the calamities they groaned under, laid violent hands on themselves. In this extremity they flocked in great multitudes to *Bessas* their governor, earnestly entreating him to supply them with food, and, if that was not in his power, either to give them leave to go out of the town, or to deliver them from their miseries by putting them to death. *Bessas* replied, That to supply them with food was impossible; to let them go, unsafe; and b to kill them, impious. To raise their drooping spirits, he assured them, that an army was hourly expected from *Constantinople*, which, under the command of *Belisarius*, would oblige the *Goths* to abandon the siege, and retire [f]. *Vigilius*, bishop of *Rome*, sent from *Sicily*, where he then was, several ships laden with corn, to relieve the city; but they were all intercepted by the enemy, who, after the reduction of *Naples*, kept a great number of vessels constantly cruizing between *Sicily* and *Rome*. In the end, *Bessas* suffered such of the citizens as were willing to retire, to go out of the city, upon their paying him a sum of money; but most of them either died on the road, or, falling into the enemy's hands, were by them cut in pieces. *Belisarius*, well apprised of the miserable condition to which the besieged were reduced, used all possible means c to relieve them; but fortune, or rather Providence, seemed to fight against him; for his attempts, however well concerted, proved all unsuccessful; which gave him so much uneasiness, that he fell into a fever, and was thought, for some time, to be in great danger. In the mean time, the besieged, no longer able to bear the miseries with which they were afflicted, and despairing of relief, began to mutiny, and press *Bessas* to come to an agreement with *Totila*; which he refusing to do, four of the *Isaurians*, who guarded the *Porta Asinaria*, letting themselves down from the wall by ropes fastened to the battlements in the dead of the night, while their companions were asleep, went to *Totila*, and undertook to receive his army into the city. The king with great joy embraced the overture, and, sending four *Goths* of great strength, d intrepidity, and resolution, into the city with the *Isaurians*, he silently approached the gates with his whole army; which being opened by the *Isaurians*, with the assistance of the four *Goths* within, he entered the city at the head of his troops. Upon the first alarm, *Bessas*, with the other commanders and most of the soldiers, fled out at another gate. Such as remained behind, took sanctuary in the churches, whither the inhabitants likewise fled. *Totila*, who had kept his men under arms all night, and united in a body, through fear of an ambuscade, finding he had nothing to apprehend, went early in the morning to St. *Peter*'s church, to return thanks for the success of the enterprize. His men, in their way, killed six-and-twenty soldiers, with about sixty of the inhabitants; and this is all the blood that was shed; for e *Pelagius* the deacon, throwing himself at his feet when he entered the church, with the book of the gospels in his hand, earnestly entreated him to spare the inhabitants. *Totila*, highly provoked against the inhabitants, refused at first to comply with his demand; but was in the end prevailed upon to forbid his *Goths*, under the severest penalties, to put any, either of the citizens or soldiers, to death. However, he gave them full liberty to plunder the city, which they did for several days together, stripping the inhabitants of all their wealth, and leaving nothing in their houses, but the naked walls. Thus many persons of great distinction, and among the rest *Rusticiana*, the widow of *Boetius* and daughter of *Symmachus*, a matron of exemplary piety, were reduced to beg their bread from door to door. In the house of *Bessas* they found f an immense treasure, which he had scandalously amassed during the siege, by selling to the people, at an exorbitant price, the corn that had been stored up for the use of the garison. The *Goths* were for putting *Rusticiana* to death, because she had persuaded, as they pretended, the *Romans* to pull down the images, and destroy the statues, of *Theodoric*, to revenge, by that means, the death of her father and husband. But *Totila*, taking her and all the women under his protection, secured them against the cruelty and insolence of the soldiery [g]. Thus was *Rome* recovered by the *Goths* in the year of the christian æra 547. the twentieth of *Justinian*'s reign, and the twelfth

A great famine in Rome.

Rome *betrayed to* Totila. *Year after Christ*, 547.

He spares the inhabitants; but plunders the city.

[e] Procop. l. iii. c. 9, 10. [f] Idem ibid. c. 17. [g] Idem ibid. c. 20.

twelfth of the war. *Totila*, according to the most probable opinion, entered *Rome* on the seventeenth of *January*. a

He upbraids the senate; but spares them.

Totila, now master of the capital of *Italy*, sent for the senate, and putting them in mind of the favours they had received from the *Goths*, and the severe treatment they had met with from the emperor and his officers, he bitterly reproached them for behaving so ungratefully to their benefactors, and, in the transport of his passion, threatened to make them all slaves; but his anger soon asswaging, he pardoned them at the intercession of *Pelagius*, and dismissed them untouched. Soon after, he dispatched *Pelagius*, and one *Theodorus* a *Roman* orator, as his embassadors to *Justinian*, with letters full of respect, in which he desired to live in peace and amity with him, as *Theodoric* had done with *Anastasius*, promising, in that case, to respect him as his b father, and to assist him, when wanted, with all his forces, against any other nation whatsoever. On the contrary, if the emperor rejected his offers, he threatened to level *Rome* with the ground, to put the whole senate to the sword, and carry the war into *Illyricum*. The emperor returned no other answer, than that he referred the whole to *Belisarius*, who had full power to manage all things of that nature as he pleased. *Totila*, provoked at this answer, and at the defeat of a body of troops, which he had sent to open a passage into *Lucania*, resolved to demolish *Rome*, so as not to leave one stone upon another. Accordingly he began with the wall, of which he threw down a third part, and was ready to set fire to the most stately and beautiful buildings of the city, when he received a letter from *Belisarius*, dissuading him from c the resolution he had taken. *Belisarius* laid great stress on the grandeur and majesty of that antient city, which being raised to such a height of fame and greatness by the industry and valour of so many celebrated and eminent men, posterity would look upon him, who destroyed it, as an enemy to mankind, since he deprived them of so many monuments of the worth and merit of their ancestors. He added, that if, in the end, the *Goths* should prove victorious, he would never forgive himself for destroying the most beautiful city in his dominions, nay, the most beautiful and magnificent in the whole world. On the other hand, if in the course of the war, fortune should happen to abandon him, he would, by preserving so favourite a city, highly d oblige the conqueror, who would not fail to make him a suitable return; whereas, by demolishing it, he would preclude himself from all favour. *Totila*, having seri-

He is diverted by Belisarius *from destroying the city; but carries with him all the inhabitants.*

ously considered the contents of this letter, and weighed, with attention, the arguments alledged by *Belisarius*, resolved to follow his advice, and, laying aside all thoughts of destroying *Rome*, he marched with his army into *Lucania*. The senate he carried with him, and the rest of the inhabitants, with their wives and children, he sent, under a strong guard, into *Lucania* before him, not leaving a single inhabitant in *Rome*. Being arrived in *Lucania*, he reduced all that country and then marched with his army towards *Ravenna*[a]. Upon his departure, *John* seized on *Tarentum*, which he fortified with a ditch cut through the isthmus. The city of *Spoletum* was likewise e recovered by the *Romans*, being betrayed to them by one *Martianus*, a *Roman* soldier, who pretended to be a deserter. *Belisarius* had continued all this time at *Portus*, about ten miles from *Rome*; but being informed that *Totila* had bent his march towards *Ravenna*, and being mighty desirous of recovering once more the capital of

Rome *regained and fortified by* Belisarius.

Italy, he led his small army thither; and, finding the city quite destitute of inhabitants, and a third part of the walls levelled with the ground, he undertook the repeopling of the place, and began to repair the walls. He cleared the ditch round the city, which had been filled up by *Totila*, and, for the present contented himself with heaping huge stones, one upon another, in the many breaches, which he had made in the wall. The whole work being finished in the space of twenty-five days, f and the city supplied with great store of provisions, which *Belisarius* took care to have imported by water, the antient inhabitants, who had been dispersed up and down *Italy*, returned in flocks, and were kindly received by *Belisarius*, who restored to every one his own house and possessions, and promised an immunity from taxes to such as were willing to settle there. Upon this news, *Totila* hastened back to *Rome*, not doubting but, at his approach, *Belisarius* would abandon the place, and return to *Portus*, which was strongly fortified; but finding, contrary to his expectation, that the *Roman* general was determined not to quit the city, but to defend it to the last, he encamped at a small distance from the walls, and early next morning advanced in

Totila *returns against it.*

[a] PROCOP. l. iii. c. 22.

a in battle-array, and began the attack with incredible fury. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their general, defended themselves with no less valour and intrepidity; so that the fight lasted from morning to night, when the *Goths*, who had lost a great number of men, returned to their camp. The assault was renewed the three following days; but *Totila*, being constantly repulsed with great loss, abandoned the enterprize, and retired to *Tibur*, where he continued for some time, leaveing *Belisarius* at full leisure to complete the fortifications of *Rome*; which he did accordingly, and once more sent the keys of that city to the emperor. But the *Goths*, who had hitherto extolled their king, and, equalling him to the greatest heroes of antiquity, had accounted themselves happy in the choice, began to complain loudly
b of his conduct, and, with great liberty, to blame him for not having either intirely demolished *Rome*, or left a strong garison in it, to prevent its falling anew into the enemy's hands. The whole army grew so discontented, that, when he prepared to march to the siege of *Perugia*, they betrayed a great reluctancy to follow him thither till, in a set speech, he made an apology for his late conduct, ascribing his bad success, not to any want of foresight or neglect on his side, but to an inconstancy of fortune, which in all human affairs, but more especially in matters of war, bears a chief sway. Having thus regained the esteem and affection of his soldiers, he left *Tibur*, and, marching with his whole army to *Perugia*, he sat down before that city. Upon his departure, *John*, who had continued in those parts, being master of *Otranto*,
c hastened into *Campania*, and there set at liberty the *Roman* senators and their wives, after having routed a strong party of *Goths*, that had been left by *Totila* to guard them. Hereupon *Totila*, to be revenged on *John*, rising from before *Perugia*, hastened, over mountains and through by-ways, into *Apulia*, where he then was; but, falling unadvisedly upon him in the night, the *Romans*, by favour of the darkness, made their escape, with the loss of no more than an hundred men, and got safe into *Tarento*. This was a great oversight in *Totila*; for, as his army was ten times their number, had he waited with patience till day-light, he might have surrounded them and cut them off to a man. In the mean time, *Belisarius*, having received from *Constantinople* a supply of twelve thousand men, sailed with them for *Sicily*, being informed
d that *Totila* designed to pass over into that island, which was then quite unguarded. But *Totila*, instead of making any attempt upon *Sicily*, invested with his whole army *Rusciana*, a city of great strength in *Calabria*. Hereupon *Belisarius*, leaving *Sicily*, sailed to *Otranto*, where he received a second supply from *Constantinople* of two thousand foot, under the command of *Valerianus*. He then ordered *John* to join him with the body he commanded; and, having assembled a great number of transports, he set sail for *Rusciana*, with a design to relieve that place; but, finding the *Goths* drawn up on the shore, and ready to receive him, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to *Rome*, sending *John* and *Valerian*, with part of the forces, to lay waste *Picenum*, and by that means oblige *Totila* to raise the siege of *Rusciana*. But the king
e of the *Goths*, pursuing the siege with more vigour than ever, detached two thousand horse into *Picenum*, who, being joined by the *Goths*, in that province, obliged the *Romans* sent by *Belisarius* to retire. In the mean while, the garison of *Rusciana*, being reduced to great streights and despairing of relief, submitted to *Totila*, who, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, treated them with great humanity, receiving such of them as were willing to serve under him into his army, and suffering the rest to retire unmolested whither they pleased. Only *Chalazar*, who had formerly broken his word to him, he put to death, after having caused his hands and privy parts to be cut off [i].

But is vigorously repulsed by Belisarius.

Who besieges and takes Rusciana.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the *Persians* having gained considerable ad-
f vantages over the *Romans*, *Justinian* was easily perswaded by *Antonia*, the wife of *Belisarius*, to recal her husband, and employ him anew against that nation. *Belisarius* therefore left *Italy*, having rather lost the reputation he had gained by his former expedition, than acquired a greater; for, during the five years he commanded against *Totila*, he scarce performed any thing worthy of notice, being, as it were, in a perpetual flight, and sailing from one sea-port to another [k]. *Procopius*, in his books of the *Gothic* war, which were published while *Justinian* and *Belisarius* were yet alive, lays the whole blame on fortune; but, in the *anecdot* or secret history, he, or some other writer, charges him with several mistakes, and besides, accuses him of levying vast

Belisarius *recalled.*

[i] Idem ibid. c. 23, 24.

[k] Idem ibid. c. 24, 25.

vast sums on the inhabitants of *Ravenna*, of *Sicily*, and of all the places that had submitted to the *Romans*, on pretence of punishing them for having once sided with the *Goths*. He adds, that *Herodian*, governor of *Spoletum*, not being able to supply him with the money he required, renounced his allegiance to the emperor, and delivered up the place to the *Goths*, having no other ways to redeem himself from the importunity of the avaricious and ever-craving commander. The same writer ascribes the misunderstanding between him and *John*, which greatly retarded the emperor's service, to *Antonia*, the general's wife, who, to ingratiate herself with the empress *Theodora*, the declared enemy of *John*, pressed her husband to dispatch him by some means or other; which *John* being apprised of, declined, as much as he could, joining or assisting him. But to return to *Totila*: Upon the departure of *Belisarius*, he returned before *Perugia*, which he took by storm; but, according to his custom, spared both the inhabitants and the garison. And now the *Franks*, who had long continued quiet, concluding the *Goths*, as well as the *Romans*, to be greatly weakened by such a long and destructive war, thought it high time to lay hold of the opportunity, and, breaking into *Italy*, to seize, without distinction, on the countries belonging to both. In the very beginning of the war, the *Ostrogoths*, as we have related above, not able to make head at the same time against the *Romans* and the *Franks*, attempted to gain over the latter to their party, by yielding to them the provinces they held in *Gaul*. This *Justinian* was so far from opposing, that, on the contrary, carefully avoiding to give the *Franks* the least pretence of making war upon him, he solemnly confirmed them in the possession of the countries the *Goths* had yielded them, renouncing in their behalf all claims to the said countries. Thus, adds our historian, the kings of the *Franks*, whom he commonly styles *Germans*, became masters of *Marseilles*, an ancient colony of the *Phocæans*, and of the other maritime towns, with the sea itself. And now, continues *Procopius*, they preside at the equestrian combats in the city of *Arles*, and coin the gold, which they draw from the mines of *Gaul*, not with the image of the emperor, as they have done hitherto, but with their own [1]. Thus the *Franks* became lawful sovereigns of the countries formerly held by the *Ostrogoths* in *Gaul*, and behaved as such, according to the observation of *Procopius*, by presiding at the equestrian sports in *Arles*, at that time the capital of *Gaul*, and coining gold with their own images. But no favours, no grant, could make the *Franks* forget their natural treachery, or stand to their engagements, when they had the least prospect of advantage from their acting contrary to them. The *Ostrogoths* had yielded to them the rich countries, which they held in *Gaul*; *Justinian* had transferred to them the claim and title he had to those countries. By their treaty with the *Goths*, they were to assist them against the *Roman*; by their treaty with the *Romans*, they were to stand neuter; and both treaties they equally observed; for, thinking both nations greatly weakened by so long a war, they laid hold of that opportunity to fall upon both; and accordingly, entering the province of *Venetia*, belonging partly to the *Romans*, and partly to the *Goths*, they seized it for themselves. In the mean time, *Totila*, having received a reinforcement of six thousand *Lombards*, commanded by *Ildiges*, one of their princes, resolved to march to *Rome*, and once more attempt the reduction of that city. *Belisarius* had left there three thousand chosen men, under the command of *Diogenes*, an officer of great experience and known valour, who held out, for a considerable time, against the repeated assaults of the enemy. *Totila* invested the city on all sides, and, from the very beginning of the siege, made himself master of *Portus*; so that, all communication being cut off both by sea and land, he hoped to reduce the garison in a short time by famine. But against this evil *Diogenes* wisely provided, by causing corn to be sowed within the walls; so that the town would, in all likelihood, have held out till the arrival of the promised succours from *Constantinople*, had it not been betrayed a second time by the *Isaurians*. One of the gates was guarded by a body of that nation, who, being discontented for want of their pay, which they had not received for some years, and hearing that their countrymen, who had formerly betrayed that city, had been preferred and enriched by the *Goths*, resolved to follow their example; and accordingly, some of them having first had a private conference with *Totila*, they opened, at the time agreed on, the gate which they guarded, and received him, with his whole army, into the city. As *Totila* had caused the trumpets to sound at the opposite gate,

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The Franks *make themselves masters of* Venetia.

Rome *besieged by* Totila.

And betrayed to him a second time by the Isaurians.

Year after Christ 550.

[1] Idem ibid. c. 33.

a gate, pretending to attack the city on that side, the garison hastened thither; so that he met with no opposition. When the inhabitants found the town was taken, they fled out at the opposite gate towards *Centumcellæ*, the only strong place held by the *Romans* in that neighbourhood; but great numbers of them, and likewise of the soldiers who took the same route, were cut off by the *Goths*, whom *Totila* had placed in ambushes on the road, not doubting but they would fly that way. *Diogenes* escaped with a slight wound; but *Paul* a *Cilician*, whom *Belisarius* had appointed to command under him, retired with a body of four hundred horse to *Adrian*'s tomb, and possessed himself of the bridge leading to St. *Peter*'s church, now *Ponte Sant' Angelo*. There they defended themselves with incredible valour against the enemy's whole
b army, till they had no provisions left; when they resolved to sally out, and either open themselves a way through the midst of the enemy, or die in the attempt. Having taken this resolution, they embraced and took leave of each other, as ready to die; which *Totila* hearing, and dreading the effects of such a desperate resolution, thought it adviseable to offer them terms. Accordingly he let them know by a messenger, that, upon their delivering up their horses and arms, and swearing never to serve more against the *Goths*, he was ready to grant them leave to return to *Constantinople*; but that, if they chose rather to stay in *Italy*, and serve under him, they should have all their effects restored to them, and be treated upon the same footing with the *Goths*. They chose at first to return to *Constantinople*; but afterwards, changing their mind, they listed themselves among the troops of *Totila*. Only *Paul*, and one *Mindus* an *Isaurian*, begged leave to return home; which *Totila* not only granted, but
c allowed them a safe conduct, and money to bear their charges. About three hundred more of the garison, who had taken sanctuary in the churches, abandoning their asylum, submitted to *Totila*, upon his promising to spare their lives. He was formerly bent upon destroying *Rome*, as we have hinted above, but diverted from it by *Belisarius*. Now he made it his chief study to embellish the city, repairing at a great expence, what he had formerly destroyed. He recalled the senate, and restored them to their antient rank and splendor, invited the citizens to take possession of their estates, supplied the city with plenty of provisions, and, peopling it with *Goths* and *Italians*, exhibited the *Circensian* games, after the manner of the *Roman* emperors, and presided at them in person. This, so different from his former conduct, was owing to the
d answer given him by the king of the *Franks*, when he asked his daughter in marriage, *viz.* that he would not dispose of his daughter, to any but a king; and that *Totila* ought not to be looked upon as such, since he was not able to preserve the capital city, but had been obliged to demolish part of it, and abandon the rest to the enemy [m]. And now *Totila*, once more master of *Rome*, dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople*, with proposals for a peace, offering, upon the emperor's relinquishing *Italy* to him, to assist him as a faithful ally against any other nation whatsoever. But *Justinian* was so far from hearkening to the overture, that he would not even admit the embassadors to his presence. Hereupon *Totila*, determined to pursue the war with more vigour than ever, having left a strong garison in *Rome*, marched with the rest of his army
c to *Circumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, which he invested; but *Diogenes* making a vigorous resistance, it was agreed between him and *Totila*, that he should acquaint the emperor with his situation, and that if, by a time prefixed, he received no relief, the place should be delivered up, and thirty hostages were given. After this, he passed with his army into *Sicily*, and, in his passage, made an attempt upon *Rhegium*; but finding the place strongly garisoned, he left part of the army to block it up, in order to reduce it by famine; and with the rest crossed over into *Sicily*, after having made himself master of *Tarentum*. As he was embarquing his forces, news was brought him, that *Ariminum* had been betrayed to the *Goths* he had left in *Picenum*. Having
f crossed the streights, he landed without opposition at *Messina*; but, not being able to reduce that city, he laid waste the neighbouring country, destroying all with fire and sword. In the mean time, the garison of *Rhegium*, being reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, submitted upon terms, and delivered up the city to the troops left by *Totila* before it [n].

He repairs what he had formerly destroyed.

He takes Tarentum, *and passes over into* Sicily.

Justinian, alarmed at the progress *Totila* made, forgave *Artabanes*, who had lately conspired against him, and sent him into *Sicily*, to defend that island against the *Goths*, and, if possible, to drive them from thence. At the same time he named his nephew

[m] Idem ibid. c. 36, 37. [n] Idem ibid.

Germanus *appointed general in* Italy.

nephew *Germanus* general against the *Goths* in *Italy*, allowing him a large sum to raise troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, whence he was to march into *Italy* with *Philimuth* commander of the *Heruli*, and *John* then general of *Illyricum*. As *Germanus* was a man of a generous temper, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he soon raised a very considerable army, not only the *Romans*, but the barbarians, flocking to him from all parts. With this army, the best the emperor had ever sent into *Italy*, he hoped to add to the reputation, which he had lately acquired against the *Vandals* in *Africa*, the glory of driving the *Goths* out of *Italy* and reuniting that country to the empire. This, he thought, he might the more easily accomplish, as he had married *Matasuntha*, the daughter of *Amalasuntha*, and grand-daughter of *Theodoric*, who, he hoped, would draw great numbers of the *Goths* over to his party; for he designed to take her with him into *Italy*. The *Goths* were greatly dispirited, when they heard, that a general of consummate experience, universally beloved by the soldiery, and so nearly allied to *Theodoric*, whose memory they adored, was to command against them. On the other hand, the *Romans* began to take courage anew, and such of them as had been dispersed by their frequent defeats, assembling in one body on the borders of *Istria*, waited his arrival there. And now *Germanus*, having drawn together all his forces in the neighbourhood of *Sardica*, ordered them to be ready within three days, to march into *Italy*. But Providence had otherwise disposed of affairs; for *Germanus* was suddenly seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life and all his great designs. The emperor, upon the news of his death, which gave him the utmost concern, ordered *Justin*, the son of *Germanus*, and *John*, who had married his daughter, to lead the army into *Italy*. But as the winter approached, and they wanted ships to convey the troops thither by sea, they marched into *Dalmatia*, and there put them into winter-quarters, taking up their own in *Salonæ* [o]. In the mean time, *Totila*, having laid waste great part of *Sicily*, sat down with his army before *Syracuse*; but *Liberius*, whom *Justinian* had sent with a squadron to protect that coast, having forced his way into the haven, relieved the garison with a considerable supply both of men and provisions. However, *Totila* pursued the siege with great vigour, though valiantly opposed by the *Romans* within, who, hearing that *Artabanes* was coming to their relief with a mighty fleet, would hearken to no terms. But the fleet being dispersed on the coast of *Calabria* by a violent storm, and *Artabanes* driven to the island of *Malta*, where, with much difficulty, he saved himself, *Liberius*, despairing of relief, abandoned *Syracuse* to the enemy, and conveyed the garison by sea to *Palermo*. And now *Totila*, having no enemy in *Sicily* to oppose him, intirely reduced that island, and, leaving four strong garisons in it to awe the inhabitants, he returned to *Italy* loaded with booty [p]. Early in the spring, *Justin* and *John*, who had passed the winter in *Salonæ*, having drawn together their forces, set out on their march to *Ravenna*. But in the mean time, the *Sclavi*, passing the *Danube*, either at the instigation of *Totila*, or prompted by a desire of booty, broke into the *Roman* provinces, committing every where unheard-of-cruelties. This greatly retarded the march of the army, the *Roman* generals being obliged to send strong detachments against them; which in the end obliged them to repass the *Danube*, and return home. But, before the two generals reached the confines of *Italy*, they received orders from the emperor to proceed no farther, but to wait the arrival of *Narses*, whom he had appointed commander in chief of all his forces in those parts, with an absolute and uncontrouled authority. But, while *Narses* was makeing the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, *Totila*, having equipped a fleet of three hundred galleys, sent them to pillage the coasts of *Greece*, where they got an immense booty. They made a descent upon the island of *Corfu*; and, haveing laid it waste, they sailed to *Epirus*, where they surprised and plundered the cities of *Nicopolis* and *Anchialus*, and took upon the coast many ships, and some among the rest laden with provisions for the army of *Narses*. At the same time, *Totila* blocked up the city of *Ancona* by sea and land, and by that means soon reduced it to great streights; which *Valerianus*, who was then in *Ravenna*, being well apprised of, he acquainted *John*, who, pursuant to the emperor's orders, was waiting the arrival of *Narses* in *Dalmatia*, with the condition the city was in, earnestly soliciting him to hasten to the relief of the only place the emperor had in those parts, and promising to join him with all the forces under his command. *John* had been ordered not to stir from

He dies.

Syracuse *taken, and all* Sicily *reduced by* Totila.

Narses *appointed to command in* Italy.

Ancona *besieged by the* Goths.

[o] Idem ibid. c. 39.

[p] Idem ibid. c. 43.

a from *Dalmatia* till the arrival of *Narses*; but, venturing on this occasion to disobey his orders, he put the flower of his army on board forty vessels, and sailed with them to *Ancona*, where *Valerianus* joined him with a squadron of twelve ships more. Upon their appearing before *Ancona*, the *Goths*, having manned forty-seven of their best ships, sailed out against them; whereupon an engagement ensued, in which the *Goths*, quite ignorant of sea affairs, were utterly defeated, thirty-six of their ships being taken or sunk, with all the men on board, and the rest driven ashore, where they were set on fire by the *Goths* themselves, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. The *Goths*, after this defeat, broke up the siege, and, retiring in great haste, left their camp, and part of their baggage, to the *Roman* generals, who, having reinforced the garison, returned, *Valerianus* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salonæ*. At the same time, *Artabanes*, having assembled his fleet, which, as we have related above, had been dispersed by a storm, landed in *Sicily*, and every-where driving out the *Goths*, recovered all the castles held by them in that island. These losses disheartened the *Goths*, and *Totila* himself to such a degree, that he once more dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople*, offering to yield *Sicily* and *Dalmatia* to the emperor, to pay an annual tribute for *Italy*, and to assist the *Romans* as a faithful ally in all their wars. But *Justinian*, bent upon driving the *Goths* out of *Italy*, ordered the embassadors to return home, without suffering them to appear in his presence [q].

Who are defeated by sea, and forced to raise the siege.

Totala, finding *Justinian* would hearken to no terms, began to levy new forces, and
c make vast preparations both by sea and land. Having equipped a considerable fleet, he sent it against *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, both which islands were soon reduced. On the other hand, the city of *Croton* in *Calabria*, which had been long besieged by the *Goths*, was relieved by the garison of *Thermopylæ* in *Greece*, conveyed by sea into *Italy*. But now *Narses* drew near at the head of a formidable army, bringing with him an immense treasure, to supply the wants of thetroops, and to pay the emperor's forces in *Italy* their arrears, which had been due ever since the beginning of the war. His army consisted not only of *Romans* levied by him in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, but of barbarians, who had flocked to him from all parts. Besides, *Auduin* king of the *Lombards*, sent him a body of five thousand chosen men; *Philimuth*, prince of the *Heruli*,
d joined him with three thousand of his countrymen; *Aruth*, another prince of the same nation, came to his assistance at the head of a chosen body of veterans. A great number of *Gepidæ*, *Hunns*, *Persians*, &c. chearfully followed his banner, some in acknowledgment of his former favours, (for he had been always kind to the barbarians) and others in expectation of spoil and booty; for they were all convinced, that the *Goths* could not make head against so numerous an army, commanded by a general of great valour and consummate experience. *Narses*, on his entering *Dalmatia*, was joined by *John* and the army under his command; but being advanced
e as far as the confines of *Venetia*, the *Franks*, who, as we have related above, had seized on that province, refused him a passage; so that, not caring at so critical a conjuncture, to provoke that nation, by the advice of *John*, who was well acquainted with those parts, he changed his route, and, marching along the sea-coast, he got safe, with his whole army, to *Ravenna*, where he was joined by the remainder of the *Roman* forces, under the command of *Valerianus* and *Justin*. Having staid nine days in *Ravenna* to refresh his army, and appointed *Justin* governor of that city, he began his march towards *Rome*. Being arrived at *Ariminum*, *Usdrilas*, governor of the place, sallied unexpectedly out upon him with part of the garison, as he was looking for a ford, attended by a small guard; but a party of *Heruli* coming seasonably up, put the *Goths* to flight, and killed *Usdrilas* in the pursuit. The *Romans* might have easily made themselves masters of the city, the garison being greatly disheartened by the
f death of their governor; but *Narses*, pursuing his main design, and avoiding every thing that could retard it, proceeded on his march, the *Goths* suffering him to pass the river undisturbed. He left the *Via Flaminia*, being informed, that a strong body of *Goths* guarded the narrow pass in the mountains called *Petra Pertusa*, now the *Furlo*, and, turning to the left, pursued his march towards *Rome*. In the mean time, *Totila*, having assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of that city, marched through *Tuscany* towards the *Appenine*, and, having reached that mountain, encamped at a village called *Tagiria*, with a design to give the *Romans* battle upon the first advantage that offered. He had scarce formed his camp, when *Narses* came to incamp

The Goths *make themselves masters of* Corsica *and* Sardinia.

Narses *arrives with a great army in* Italy.

[q] Idem, l. iv. c. 23.

incamp on the same mountain, at a small distance from the place, which was memorable for the defeat of the *Gauls* by *Camillus*, and was called *Busta Gallorum*, because the *Gauls* slain by him were buried there. *Narses*, upon his arrival, dispatched a messenger to *Totila*, advising him not to contend with the whole strength of the empire, commanding the messenger at the same time, if he found *Totila* bent upon war, to bid him appoint a day for a pitched battle. *Totila*, without betraying the least fear, told the messenger, that the dispute must be decided with the sword; and that, eight days after, he would not fail to meet the *Roman* general. *Narses*, suspecting some design in this delay, made the necessary preparations, as if he were to fight the day following: and acted therein very wisely; for the next day *Totila* advanced with his whole army in order of battle. *Narses* had in the night detached fifty men to seize on an eminence at a small distance; which they did accordingly. But *Totila*, equally desirous to gain it, sent several detachments of horse, one after the other, to dislodge them. The *Romans* stood their ground, and, being animated by the example of their leader, named *Paul*, who behaved with unparalleled bravery, they continually repulsed the enemy, and obliged them in the end to give over the attempt, though far superior to the *Romans* in number, and supported by fresh supplies. While both armies stood in battle-array, waiting the signal, a *Goth*, by name *Cocas*, who had formerly served in the emperor's army, advancing before the ranks, challenged any on the *Roman* side to a single combat. The challenge was readily accepted by one *Anzelas* an *Armenian*, who slew his insulting adversary at the first encounter; and, returning to his companions, was received with joyful shouts by the whole army, who looked upon his success as an omen of their future victory. *Totila*, being informed, that a body of two thousand horse, whom he had long expected, were near at hand, in order to gain time, desired an interview with *Narses*, but, before the place was agreed on where they were to meet, the two thousand horse joined the army; and then *Totila* drew off his troops, and ordered them to refresh themselves, as if he did not intend to engage that day, it being already noon; but soon after, he suddenly led them out against the enemy, hoping, by so unexpected an onset, to surprise them. But *Narses*, who suspected his design, and therefore had kept his men in battle-array, received him with great resolution. Both armies fought for some time with a fury hardly to be expressed; but in the end the *Gothic* horse being put to the rout, and retiring in great confusion among the foot, their infantry was by that means thrown into such disorder, that they could never afterwards rally. *Narses*, observing the enemy's army thus disordered, encouraged his men to make a last effort; which the *Goths* not being able to withstand, they betook themselves to flight, leaving six thousand of their men dead on the spot. *Totila*, finding the day irrecoverably lost, fled, attended only by five horsemen; but was pursued, and mortally wounded, by a commander of the *Gepidæ*, named *Asbades*. However, he continued his flight till he arrived at a place called *Capræ*, where he halted, and had his wound dressed; but he expired soon after, and was privately buried by those who attended him in his flight. As *Asbades*, who gave him the mortal wound, did not know him, the report of his death was not believed by the *Romans*, till a *Gothic* woman having discovered the place where he was buried, they opened the grave, and viewed the body [r]. Thus *Procopius*. But other writers tell us, that *Totila* was mortally wounded in the engagement; that he withdrew to have his wound dressed, but died under the cure; and that his men missing him, and concluding he was killed, betook themselves to a precipitous flight [s]. *Totila* is highly commended by all the writers of those times, not only for his valour, but for his humanity, temperance, moderation, and, above all, for his justice and equity. Upon his accession to the throne, he found the affairs of the *Goths* in a most deplorable condition; but brought them, in the eleven years he reigned, almost to the same state, in which *Theodoric* had left them. *Totila*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, though a *Goth*, lived with the *Romans* like a father with his children, without making the least alteration in their laws or form of government. *Procopius*, though a *Greek*, and consequently no friend to the *Goths*, could not help extolling, on several occasions, his mildness and clemency to the vanquished. The same writer often commends him as a great lover of justice and equity. In the many cities he reduced, he took particular care, that no affront should be offered to the women; and even put to death one of his officers

He is met by Totila.

The Goths *defeated.*

And Totila *killed.*

[r] Idem ibid. c. 28, 29. [s] Evagr. l. iv. c. 24. Niceph. l. xvii. c. 13.

officers for abusing the daughter of a *Roman* in *Calabria*, though he was a man of know valour, and the whole army interceded in his behalf: his estate, which was very considerable, he bestowed on the woman, to make some amends for the affront that had been offered her. In short, all the writers who speak of *Totila*, represent him as a person endued with every good quality becoming a prince.

Such of the *Goths* as had the good luck to escape the swords of the *Romans*, fled over the *Po*, and assembling at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, chose *Teia* for their king. He was deservedly esteemed one of the most valiant men in their nation, and had, on several occasions, distinguished himself in a most eminent manner. His first care was to assemble the *Goths*, who, after the late defeat, had taken refuge in the several strong-holds beyond the *Po*. Having secured the treasure, which his predecessor had left in *Pavia*, he endeavoured to draw the *Franks* to his assistance by the offer of a large sum, and by representing to *Theodebald* their king, that, if the *Romans* once recovered *Italy*, they would, in the next place, attempt, under some specious pretence, to drive them out of *Gaul*, to which they had no better claim, than the *Goths* had to *Italy*. The speech, which the embassadors of the *Goths* made on this occasion to *Theodebald*, has been transmitted to us by *Agathias* [t], and is well worth perusing. But the *Franks*, says *Procopius*, could not be prevailed upon to lend the *Goths* any assistance, chusing rather to seize on *Italy* for themselves, than to employ their arms in securing it either to the *Goths*, or the *Romans* [u].

Teia chosen king.

He endeavours in vain to draw the Franks *to his assistance.*

In the mean time, *Narses*, informed that the *Goths* had raised *Teia* to the throne, and that he was assembling his countrymen beyond the *Po*, detached *Valerius*, with part of the army, to watch their motions, and prevent, if possible, their uniting, while he himself marched with the rest towards *Rome*. On his march, he made himself master of *Narnia*, *Spoletum*, *Perugia*; and then, approaching *Rome*, invested it with his whole army. *Totila*, before the arrival of *Narses* in *Italy*, had burnt great part of the city; and, not having a sufficient number of men to guard the whole circuit of so large a place, he had surrounded with a new wall that part of it near *Adrian*'s tomb, which seemed to him the most strong and defensible. Into this, as we may call it, fortress or castle, the *Goths* retired with their best effects, at the approach of *Narses*, leaving but a small number of men to defend the walls where they seemed the weakest; so that the *Romans*, by the help of scaling ladders, got into the city without opposition. Then *Narses* marched against the castle, which held out for some time; but the garison, despairing of relief, surrendered in the end upon a promise from *Narses*, that their lives should be spared. Thus was *Rome* once more recovered by the *Romans*, and the keys sent again to the emperor. And now the *Goths*, despairing of being able to maintain themselves in *Italy*, vented their rage on the *Roman* senators, killing them where-ever they fell into their hands. Such of that body as had been confined by *Totila* to *Campania*, and were now returning to *Rome*, upon the report, that the city was in the emperor's hands, were all murdered by the *Goths* quartered in those parts. *Totila*, upon his leaving *Rome* to march against *Narses*, had taken with him, as hostages, the children of the principal *Romans* to the number of three hundred, and sent them beyond the *Po*; and now *Teia*, finding them there, ordered them all to be put to the sword. At the same time, *Ragnaris*, a *Goth*, who commanded in *Calabria*, cut in pieces fifty *Roman* soldiers, who had been delivered to him as hostages. *Teia*, during the siege of *Rome*, had conveyed the best part of the royal treasures to the castle of *Cumæ*, and secured it there with a strong garison. Hereupon *Narses* detached from *Rome*, where he continued to repair the ruins in the walls, a strong detachment to besiege *Cumæ*, and at the same time another to attempt the reduction of *Centumcellæ*. But *Teia*, fearing the royal treasure might fall into the enemy's hands, resolved at all events to relieve the city of *Cumæ*, where it was lodged. Pursuant to the resolution, he drew together all his forces, and passing the *Po*, bent his march through *Tuscany*. *Narses*, informed of the rout he had taken, detached the greater part of his army to keep him at bay, till *Cumæ* had submitted. But he, avoiding the neareſt way, and fetching a great compass by the sea-coast, got, without meeting the enemy, into *Campania*. Hereupon *Narses*, recalling his forces, marched with his whole army into *Campania*, with a design to oblige the *Goths*, if they attempted the relief of *Cumæ*, to come to a general engagement. Both armies encamped at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, being parted by

Narses *takes several towns.*

Narses *takes* Rome.

The cruelty of the Goths *towards the* Romans.

Teia *marches to the relief of* Cumæ *besieged by the* Romans

by

[t] Agath. l. i. p, 27.

[u] Procop. l. iv. c. 34.

the river *Draco*, now *Sarno*, and continued there two months, *Narſes* not daring either to paſs the river, the *Goths* being maſters of the bridge, or retire, leſt they ſhould relieve the city of *Cumæ*. But at length, *Narſes* having erected on his ſide of the river ſeveral wooden towers, whence the *Goths* were galled with continual ſhowers of arrows, and, by a fleet ſent him from *Sicily*, cut off their communication with the ſea, they were forced, through want of proviſions, to abandon their camp, and retire to a neighbouring mountain, by *Procopius* called *Mons Lactarius*. Thither *Narſes* followed them; but, not thinking it ſafe to attack them, he made himſelf maſter of all the avenues leading to the mountain, and by that means reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they reſolved in the end to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. Purſuant to this reſolution, they came down unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, and b

A bloody battle gave a beginning to one of the moſt bloody battles, if *Procopius* is to be credited, that ever was fought. The *Goths*, like men of deſpair, exerted their utmoſt efforts; and the *Romans* choſe rather to die on the ſpot, than ſhamefully yield to an enemy ſo much inferior to them in number. During the action, *Teia* gave moſt ſurpriſing proofs of his valour and conduct, ſuch as equalled him, in the opinion of *Procopius*, to the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. Being well appriſed, that the whole lay at ſtake, and that the fate of *Italy* depended upon the ſucceſs of that day, he placed himſelf in the firſt rank, to encourage his men by his example. The *Romans*, diſcovering him, and knowing that his death would put an end to the diſpute, and, in all likelihood, to the war, directed their whole force againſt him, ſome attacking him c with their ſpears, others diſcharging at him ſhowers of darts and arrows, which he received on his ſhield, killing in the mean time great numbers of the enemy, who, with all their efforts, were not able to make him retire, or yield one inch of ground. When his ſhield was ſo loaded with darts, that he could not eaſily wield it, he called for another, and, renewing the fight, made a great ſlaughter of the *Romans*. Thus he ſhifted his ſhield three times; but, in the third charge, having left his breaſt expoſed, he was, in that moment, wounded with a javelin, and inſtantly died of the

Teia ſlain. wound, falling in the place where he had ſtood from the beginning of the battle, and upon heaps of the enemy, whom he had killed with his own hand. The *Romans*, ſeeing him fall, cut off his head, and fixing it upon a long pole, carried it about, d expoſed to the view of the *Goths*, not doubting, but, diſheartened at the ſight, they would yield in the end, and retire. But notwithſtanding the death of their king, they continued the fight, till, night coming on, both armies were obliged to retire. Early next morning they engaged anew, and fought with unparallelled bravery, till night again parted them. The third day, the *Goths*, deſpairing of being able to overcome the *Romans*, ſo much ſuperior to them in numbers, reſolved to come to an agreement with them; and accordingly ſent deputies to *Narſes*, offering to lay down their arms, provided ſuch of them, as choſe to live in *Italy*, were allowed to enjoy their eſtates and poſſeſſions without moleſtation, as ſubjects of the empire; and thoſe who were willing to retire elſewhere, were ſuffered to carry with them all their goods e

The Goths *ſubmit to the emperor.* and effects. Theſe terms being readily agreed to by *Narſes* and the other commanders of the army, the *Goths*, laying down their arms, either repaired to their reſpective dwellings in *Italy*, or, abandoning that country, retired with their effects elſewhere, after having promiſed never to bear arms againſt the *Romans*[u]. Thus

The end of their dominion in Italy. ended the dominion of the *Goths* in *Italy*, in the twenty-ſixth year of *Juſtinian*'s reign, the eighteenth of the *Gothic* war, and of the chriſtian æra 553. after they had reigned

Year after Chriſt 553. ſixty-four years in that country from *Theodoric* to *Teia*.

Such of the *Goths*, however, as had been left by *Teia* in the ſtrong-holds, refuſing to ſtand to the agreement made by their countrymen, had recourſe to the *Franks*, f who, thinking this a favourable opportunity of ſeizing on *Italy* for themſelves, promiſed to aſſiſt them againſt the *Romans* to the utmoſt of their power. Accordingly,

The Franks *enter* Italy. they entered *Italy*, notwithſtanding their alliance with the emperor, to the number of ſixty thouſand men, moſt of them the ſubjects of *Theudebald* king of *Metz*, under the conduct of the two brothers *Lutharis* and *Bucilinus*, giving out, that they were come to aſſiſt the *Goths*, but with a view to make themſelves maſters of *Italy*, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom they pretended to protect. *Narſes*, informed of their march reſolved to reduce, if poſſible, before their arrival, ſuch towns as were ſtill held by the *Goths*. Having therefore left part of his army before *Cumæ*, which city

Teia

[u] Procop. l. iv. c. 34, 35.

a *Teia* had committed to the charge of his brother *Aligern*, who refused to deliver it up to the *Romans*, even after the agreement, he marched into *Tuscany*, where the cities of *Volaterræ*, *Pisæ*, *Fesulæ*, and several others, submitted to him; but *Lucca* held out with great obstinacy, the *Goths* there expecting to be relieved by the *Franks*. But the march of their pretended allies being retarded by the troops, which *Narses* had sent to dispute with them the passage of the *Po*, the city, after three months siege, was obliged to submit. By this time *Aligern*, being reduced to great streights in *Cumæ*, began to consider with himself, that if the *Franks*, who were coming to his assistance, should in the end drive the *Romans* out of *Italy*, the *Goths* would be no gainers by their victory, since it was not to be doubted, but the *Franks*, whose treachery was

b well known, instead of reinstating the *Goths*, would secure the country in dispute to themselves. He therefore judged it more reasonable to deliver it up to the antient owners, than to strangers; and accordingly, opening the gates to the *Romans*, he put them in possession of the town, and the royal treasure of the *Goths*. There were still remaining seven thousand *Goths*, who, being headed by one *Regnares*, had seized on a strong-hold near *Capua*, called *Casinum*. Against them *Narses* marched with his whole army; but, finding he could not storm the place without great loss of men, he resolved to reduce it by famine The *Goths*, who had laid up great store of provisions, held out all winter; but early in the spring, *Regnares* demanded a conference with *Narses*; which being granted him, he insisted upon such unreasonable

c terms, that the general dismissed him with indignation. This *Regnares* resented to such a degree, that having gained a hill near the walls, he let fly an arrow at *Narses*, with a design to kill him; but, having missed his aim, the general's guards sent a shower of arrows after him, with one of which being mortally wounded, he was carried by his own men into the castle, where he died two days after. The besieged, disheartened by the death of their leader, submitted, upon promise that their lives should be spared. *Narses*, being admitted into the place, spared their lives, agreeable to his promise; but, to prevent their raising any further disturbance in *Italy*, he sent them all to *Constantinople* [w]. As for the *Franks*, who had entered *Italy* under the

d conduct of *Leutharis* and *Bucilinus*, their numerous army was intirely destroyed, partly by the sword, and partly by sickness, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place; so that now all *Italy* was anew brought under subjection to the emperor, and united to the eastern empire, some of the *Goths* retiring elsewhere, but most of them remaining in *Italy*, where they continued to enjoy, pursuant to their agreement with *Narses*, the lands and possessions which they held there. *Narses*, who had delivered that country from the dominion of the *Goths*, was appointed by *Justinian* to govern it as a province of the eastern empire, which he did, to the great satisfaction of the

e inhabitants, till the year 568. when he was recalled by the emperor *Justin* II. the successor of *Justinian*, at the instigation of his wife *Sophia*, and *Longinus* was sent to govern *Italy* in his room. As *Longinus* introduced a new form of government, we shall, in a few words, acquaint the reader with the alterations he made, and then proceed to the history of the *Lombards*, with which that of the exarchs, the successors of *Longinus*, is inseparably interwoven. The provinces of *Italy* had, ever since the time of *Constantine the Great*, been governed by *consulares*, *correctores*, and *præsides*, no alteration in the government having been made, either by the emperors who succeeded *Constantine*, or by the kings of the *Goths*. But *Longinus*, being sent to succeed *Narses* with an absolute power and authority, suppressed those magistrates, and, in their room placed, in each city of note, a governor, whom he distinguished with the title of *duke*. The city of *Rome* was not more honoured than any other; for *Longinus*, having abolished the very name of senate and consuls, appointed one to

f govern that metropolis with the title of duke, common to the governors of the other cities. For himself, he took the title of *exarch*, which, by the *Greeks*, was given to those who presided over a diocese, and consequently over the many provinces, of which the diocese was composed. Thus likewise in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, which was formed upon the model of the civil government, the bishop, who was put over one single province, was styled metropolitan; but he, who governed a diocese, and consequently several provinces, was distinguished with the title of exarch. This title was adopted by the successors of *Longinus*, who, residing, as he had done, at *Ravenna*, were thence called the *exarchs of* Ravenna. They governed all *Italy*, naming and removing

Several cities held by the Goths *submit to* Narses.

Seven thousand Goths *besieged in* Casinum.

They deliver up the place to Narses.

Narses *recalled, and* Longinus *sent in his room.*
Year after Christ 568.

The beginning of the exarchate.

[w] Agath. l. i. p. 42. & l. p. 85.

removing the dukes at their pleaſure, and to them the people had recourſe in all matters of moment. *Longinus* was ſent by *Juſtin* to govern all *Italy*; but great part of that country, in the firſt year of his government, was ſeized on by the *Lombards*, called in by *Narſes*, as we have related at length elſewhere [x]. This magiſtrate maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the eaſt in *Italy* for the ſpace of an hundred and eighty-three years, that is, from the year 568. when *Longinus* was ſent into *Italy*, to the year 751. when *Eutychus*, the laſt exarch, was driven out, and *Ravenna* taken by *Aſtulphus* king of the *Lombards*. The exarchs, who governed *Italy*, during this time, were in all ſeventeen, *viz. Longinus*, *Zamaragdus*, *Romanus*, *Callinicus*, *Zamaragdus*, *Joannes Lernigius*, *Eleutherius*, *Iſaacius*, *Theodorus*, *Olympius*, *Theodorus*, *Joannes*, *Theophylactus*, *Joannes Tyzocopus*, *Scholaſticus*, *Paulus*, and *Eutychius* [y]. But as the *Lombards* were the only people that invaded *Italy* during their time, and with whom they waged war in defence of that country, we cannot, without repeating the ſame things, ſeparately deliver their reſpective hiſtories; and therefore ſhall now, purſuant to our plan, reſume the hiſtory of the *Lombards*, in which the reader will find whatever has been tranſmitted to us concerning the exarchs, till the taking of *Ravenna* by *Aſtulphus*, and the end of the exarchate.

The names of the exarchs.

[x] Vide p. 618. [y] Scalig. iſagog.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the Lombards, *from the death of* Clephis, *to* Deſiderius, *taken captive by* Charlemagne.

IN the foregoing chapter, we have delivered the hiſtory of the *Lombards*, from their firſt original to the death of *Clephis*, the ſucceſſor of *Alboin*, and ſecond king of *Italy* [a], and ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the other princes of that nation, to *Deſiderius* their laſt king, taken captive by *Charlemagne*. The *Lombards*, upon the death of *Clephis*, who had treated them with great cruelty, reſolved to be no more governed by kings; and accordingly choſe none for the ſpace of ten years, but, during that time, lived ſubject to their dukes, as we have related elſewhere [b]. The moſt powerful among theſe dukes, uniting their forces, entered *Gaul*, and committed there dreadful ravages. *Gontran*, king of *Orleans*, diſpatched a conſiderable army againſt them, under the conduct of *Amatus* a patrician, who engaged them, but was cut off with the greater part of the army. After this victory, the *Lombards* ravaged *Burgundy* without controul, made a dreadful ſlaughter of the *Burgundians*, who attempted to oppoſe them, and then returned home, enriched with an immenſe booty. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, they returned ſoon after, and, laying the country waſte, advanced as far as *Ebrodunum* or *Ambrun*, where they were met by *Ennius*, called alſo *Mummulus*, at the head of a ſtrong body of *Burgundians*, who cut them off almoſt to a man [c]. About this time, that is, about the year 578. the *Saxons*, who, as we have related elſewhere [d], had attended the *Lombards* into *Italy*, and were, by an agreement with *Alboinus*, to ſhare with him his future conqueſts, falling out with their old friends and allies, reſolved to quit *Italy*, and return to their own country. They pretended to live quite independent of the *Lombards* and in a diſtinct body; which the *Lombards* not conſenting to, they left *Italy* with their wives and families, and took their rout homewards through *Gaul*. But *Mummulus*, one of *Gontran*'s captains, meeting them on the confines, killed a great number of them, took many priſoners, and forced the reſt to repaſs the *Alps*. However, they returned anew, and having, with a conſiderable ſum, purchaſed a paſſage of *Mummulus*, who met them at the *Rhône*, they returned to their antient ſeats; but found them poſſeſſed by the *Suani*, who, unwilling to quarrel with them, offered them two thirds of the lands. This offer being rejected with indignation by the *Saxons*, a bloody battle was fought, in which twenty thouſand *Saxons* were killed, and on the ſide of the *Suani* only four hundred and eighty. The *Saxons*, who remained alive, being about ſix thouſand in number, renewed the battle; but were again defeated, and obliged to ſubmit to the terms, which the *Suani* were pleaſed to grant them [e]. But to return to

The Lombards *break into* Gaul.

Receive a great overthrow from the Franks.

The Saxons *and* Lombards *diſagree.*

The Saxons *return home, and are moſt of them cut off by the* Suani.

[a] Vide ſupra, p. 614—622. [b] Vide ſupra. p. 622. [c] Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 36. [d] Vide ſupra, p. 619. [e] Paul. Diac. de geſt. Long. l. iii.

a to the *Lombards:* Three of their dukes, *viz. Amo*, *Zaban*, and *Rhodanus*, notwithſtanding the overthrow their countrymen had lately received in *Gaul*, broke anew into that country, and, dividing themſelves into three bodies, laid it waſte far and near. But *Mummulus*, falling upon them before they could unite their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to quit their booty, and return through by-ways into *Italy*. Thither a party of *Franks* followed them, who made themſelves maſters of a ſtrong-hold in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, and, having killed *Ragilo*, who came to oppoſe them, pillaged the country to the very gates of *Trent*. But *Euin*, duke of that city, ſallying unexpectedly out againſt them, cut moſt of them off, with their leader *Charamnichis*, and purſued the reſt to the *Alps*, which

b they paſſed, leaving their booty behind them, and returned home [d]. At the ſame time the *Lombards* extended their conqueſts in *Italy*, and, having defeated the forces of the exarch *Longinus*, reduced the cities of *Sutri*, *Bomarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luceoli*, and ſeveral others of leſs importance. But in the mean time *Tiberius*, who had ſucceeded *Juſtin*, dying, *Mauritius*, who was choſen in his room, alarmed at the progreſs the *Lombards* made in *Italy*, reſolved to put a ſtop to their victories, and, if poſſible, to drive them quite out. With this view, he recalled *Longinus*, whom he judged no-ways equal to ſuch an undertaking, and ſent *Zamaragdus* in his room, a perſon of great prudence, and well ſkilled in military affairs. *Zamaragdus* landed at *Ravenna* with a conſiderable army in the beginning of the year

c 584. and, taking the field early in the ſpring, made himſelf maſter of *Broxillus*, now *Briſſello*, a place of great ſtrength on the *Po*. He likewiſe prevailed upon *Droctulf*, an officer of great experience, to revolt from the *Lombards*, who had raiſed him, though by nation a *Suevian*, to the rank of a duke, and to bring over with him a conſiderable number of men. At the ſame time *Mauritius*, concerting other meaſures to deliver *Italy* from the yoke of the *Lombards*, had recourſe to *Childebert* king of the *Franks*, and, with a large ſum, prevailed upon him to engage in the war againſt the *Lombards*. This confederacy, and the vaſt preparations made both by *Zamaragdus* and *Childebert*, alarmed the *Lombards* to ſuch a degree, that, apprehending they ſhould not be able to withſtand two ſuch powerful enemies, ſo long as they

d continued divided, as it were, into ſo many petty kingdoms, they reſolved to reſtore their antient form of government, to ſubmit anew to the authority of one ſingle perſon, and to commit to him the whole management of ſo dangerous a war. Purſuant to this reſolution, they aſſembled in 585. and, with one voice, raiſed *Autharis*, the ſon of *Clephis*, to the throne. *Autharis*, with his valour and prudence, ſo eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the *Lombards*, that, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Roman* emperors, it laſted for the ſpace of two hundred years. He had no ſooner mounted the throne, than he undertook the recovery of *Briſſello*, being reſolved, as it was a place of the utmoſt importance, to force it, by all means, out of the enemy's hands. But *Droctulf*, who was in the town, and expected, if he were taken, to be

e treated with the utmoſt ſeverity by the *Lombards*, made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the ſiege continued a long time; but the gariſon being in the end reduced to great ſtreights, *Droctulf* found means to withdraw in the night, and repair to *Ravenna*, with ſuch of his men as were able to follow him. *Autharis*, being thus maſter of the place, diſmantled it, that it might no longer ſerve as a place of refuge to the enemy, in caſe it ſhould fall again into their hands. After the reduction of *Briſſello*, he put his troops into winter-quarters, the ſeaſon being already far advanced, and employed himſelf till the following ſpring, partly in ſettling the affairs of the kingdom, and partly in making the neceſſary preparations for the enſuing campaign [e]. In the firſt place, he took upon him the name of *Flavius*, and ordered it to be uſed, in imitation

f of the *Roman* emperors, by all the *Lombard* kings his ſucceſſors [f]. In the ſecond place, conſidering that the dukes, who, for the ſpace of ten years, had ruled with an abſolute ſway over their reſpective dukedoms, would not willingly part with all their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments; but obliged them to contribute one moiety of their revenues towards the maintenance and ſupport of his royal dignity, ſuffering them to diſpoſe of the other as they pleaſed. He reſerved to himſelf the ſupreme dominion and authority, and took an oath of the dukes, that, in time of war, they would readily aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. Tho' he could remove the dukes at his pleaſure, yet he deprived none of their dukdoms, except

The Lombards *defeated anew in* Gaul.

They extend their conqueſts in Italy.

The royal authority reſtored among them, and Autharis *made king. Year after Chriſt* 585.

He retakes Briſſello.

His conduct towards the dukes.

[d] Greg. Tur. ibid. [e] Paul. Diac. ibid. c. 7. [f] Idem, l. iii. c. 8.

except in caſes of treaſon, nor gave them to others, but when their male iſſue failed [g]. a

The origin of fiefs in Italy.

And this was the origin of the fiefs in *Italy*. Some have imagined, that fiefs were firſt introduced by the *Lombards*, and, in imitation of them, adopted by other nations. But they are therein certainly miſtaken, ſince it is manifeſt from *Aimoinus* [h] and *Gregory* of *Tours* [i], that fiefs had been introduced into *Gaul* by the *Franks* ſome years before the reign of *Autharis*, who firſt eſtabliſhed them in *Italy*. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that in the year 574. that is eleven years before *Autharis* was raiſed to the throne, king *Guntran* deprived one *Erpon* of his dukedom, and created another in his room [k]. *Paulus Æmilius* and *Cujaccius* obſerve, that, when dukedoms were firſt inſtituted in *Gaul*, the king removed the dukes at his pleaſure; but that a cuſtom afterwards obtained, that they were not to be removed, unleſs convicted of treaſon, b or ſome other enormous crime. At laſt the kings, by an oath, confirmed them in the dukedoms, which at firſt they held only during pleaſure [l]. Thus were fiefs firſt introduced by the *Franks* into *Gaul*, and a few years after by the *Lombards*, in imitation of the *Franks*, into *Italy* [m]. However, it muſt be owned, that fiefs in ſome degree, owe their origin to the *Roman* emperors, who, for the greater ſecurity of the frontiers of the empire, uſed to grant to the officers and ſoldiers lands on the confines, as a reward for their long ſervice. By this grant which was called *beneficium*, the ſoldiers were encouraged to defend, with all their might, the frontiers of the empire, ſince they defended, at the ſame time, their lands and eſtates [n]. All the cuſtoms and laws, which were afterwards introduced and publiſhed concerning fiefs, are owing to c the *Lombards*, who gave them a certain and regular form; ſo that among all other nations, ſucceſſions, acquiſitions, inveſtitures, and every thing elſe relating to fiefs, were regulated by the cuſtoms and laws of the *Lombards*. Hereupon a new body of laws ſprung up, which were called *feudal laws*, and ſtill are in ſome provinces of *Italy*, eſpecially in the preſent kingdom of *Naples*, the chief part of the juriſprudence. But to return to *Autharis*. Having ſettled matters with the dukes in the maner we have related above, he enacted ſeveral wholeſome and ſeaſonable laws againſt theft, rapine, murder, adultery, and other crimes, which, at that time, prevailed among his ſubjects.

He embraces the chriſtian religion.

He was the firſt of the *Lombard* kings, who, renouncing paganiſm, embraced the chriſtian religion; and his example was followed by moſt of his ſubjects. But as d they were all inſtructed by *Arian* biſhops, they continued long infected with that hereſy; which occaſioned great diſputes between them and the orthodox biſhops of the cities ſubject to them.

Childebert, *king of the* Franks, *enters* Italy; *but is perſuaded by* Autharis *to retire.*

Autharis, having ſettled the affairs of his kingdom during the winter, received news early in the ſpring, that *Childebert* king of the *Franks* had, purſuant to his agreement with the emperor *Mauritius*, paſſed the *Alps* at the head of a powerful army. Hereupon, being well appriſed, that he had not ſufficient ſtrength to withſtand him in the field, he ordered his dukes to provide their cities with ſtrong gariſons, and to wait on their walls the arrival of the enemy, ſending at the ſame time embaſſadors to *Childebert*, with rich preſents, to ſue for peace. Ths conduct was attended with the e wiſhed for ſucceſs; for *Childebert*, conſidering it would prove a very tedious and difficult undertaking to lay ſiege to ſo many cities, accepted the preſents ſent him by *Autharis*, and returned home. Of this the emperor *Mauritius* loudly complained, and, reproaching *Childebert* with breach of faith, inſiſted upon his returning the money he had received, *viz.* fifty thouſand *ſolidi*, for making war on the *Lombards*, if he did not, within a time prefixed, perform his engagements. Hereupon *Childebert*, unwilling to return the money, and, on the other hand, thinking himſelf bound in honour to perform ſome remarkable ſervice in favour of his ally worthy of ſo large a ſum, raiſed a far more numerous army than he had before; and, having ſupplied them with every thing neceſſary for the expedition, he ordered them to march, under f the conduct of his beſt generals, into *Italy*. *Autharis* had formerly, as we have related above, declined coming to a battle, and, acting only defenſively, had kept his troops within the fortified towns. But now, conſidering, that if he ſhould have the good luck to cruſh ſo powerful an enemy, other nations, as well as the *Franks*, would be thereby deterred from invading his dominions, he reſolved to alter his conduct, and meet the enemy in the open field. With this view, he drew together all the forces he had,

He returns; but his army is entirely defeated.

[g] Idem ibid. Sigon, de reg. Ital. l. i. Regin. l. i. p. 517. [h] Aimoin. l. i. c. 14. [i] Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 45. [k] Idem, l. vii. c. 22. & l. x. p. 19. [l] Paul. Æmil. de reb. Franc. l. i. & Cujac. de feud. in princ. p. 38. [m] Molin. in conſuet. Pariſ. tit. de feud. num. 13. [n] Vide Lamprid. apud Loyseau des offices, l. i. c. 1. num. 104.

a had, and, having encouraged them with a ſeaſonable ſpeech, he marched in queſt of the enemy, and offered them battle. The challenge being readily accepted by the *Franks*, a bloody engagement enſued, in which both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but the *Franks* were in the end utterly defeated. The *Lombards* purſued them in their flight with great ſlaughter, and obliged ſuch of them as had the good luck to eſcape, to take refuge among the barren mountains, where moſt of them periſhed with hunger and cold; ſo that very few of them got ſafe to their own country. *Childebert*, to revenge the loſs of this army, ſent another, twenty thouſand men ſtrong, under the conduct of *Anduald*, *Olo*, and *Cedinus*, three generals of known valour, and long experience in war. *Olo* laid ſiege to a ſtrong caſtle called b *Bilitio*, where he was killed with an arrow, and moſt of his men cut off in a ſally by the beſieged. *Cedinus* took ſome ſtrong-holds in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, now *Lombardy*. And *Anduald*, advancing as far as *Verona*, laid ſome open places in aſhes, carrying with him the inhabitants into captivity, contrary to the articles of the treaty between him and the emperor. But in the mean time diſtempers beginning to rage among the *Franks*, occaſioned by the hot ſeaſon, and want of proviſions, and the *Lombards* keeping, as they had done formerly, within their fortified towns, the generals of the *Franks* thought it adviſeable to return home, leſt the *Lombards* ſhould fall upon them, after their army had been conſiderably weakened by the diſtempers that daily ſwept off great numbers. On their return, they were reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that they c were forced firſt to ſell their clothes, and at laſt their arms, to purchaſe proviſions[o]. *Authari*s, thus delivered from all fear of ſo powerful an enemy, reſolved to employ his whole ſtrength in ſubjecting ſuch provinces of *Italy*, as were ſtill held by the *Romans*. He had already made himſelf maſter of all the hither *Italy*, except the dukedom of *Rome*, and the exarchate, which was at that time governed by *Romanus*, who had ſucceeded *Zamaragdus*, and compriſed the preſent *Bologneſe*, *Romagna*, the dutchy of *Urbino*, and great part of *Picenum*, now *La Marca*. The provinces, which make up the preſent kingdom of *Naples*, were ſtill in the hands of the *Romans*, the chief cities being governed, according to the form of government which *Longinus* had introduced, by their dukes, who were all immediately under the exarch. But the d moſt powerful among them, *viz.* the dukes of *Naples*, *Surrento*, *Amalfi*, *Tarento*, and *Gaeta*, deſpiſing the exarchs, ruled almoſt with an abſolute ſway; which has induced ſome to imagine, that theſe cities were abſolutely free; whereas nothing is more certain in hiſtory, than that they acknowledged the emperor for their ſovereign, tho' they often refuſed to obey the exarch. As theſe provinces lay at a great diſtance from *Pavia*, the royal ſeat of the *Lombards*, and could receive ſpeedy ſuccours by ſea, in caſe they were attacked, the emperors kept but ſmall gariſons in the cities, being obliged to employ all the forces they could ſpare in the *Perſian* war, which lay heavy upon them at the ſame time. Of this *Authari*s was well appriſed, and therefore, leaving *Rome* and *Ravenna* behind him, which were defended by numerous e gariſons, in the ſpring of the year 589. he appointed his troops to rendezvous at *Spoletum*, and, pretending to march elſewhere, turned all on a ſudden, and entered *Samnium*, which province, together with the city of *Benevento*, he reduced almoſt without oppoſition. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, he over-ran all *Calabria*, and, advancing as far as *Rhegium* on the fartheſt point of *Italy*, he rid into the ſea, and ſtriking with his lance a pillar, that ſtood near the ſhore, *Thus far*, ſaid he, *ſhall the bounds of the* Lombards *extend*. This pillar was ſtill ſtanding in the days of our hiſtorian, and known by the name of *Authari*'s *pillar*[p]. *Authari*s, on his return into *Samnium*, reduced that province to a dukedom, appointing *Zoto*, or *Zotto*, firſt duke of *Benevento*, which he made the metropolis of *Samnium*[q]. Thus to the two famous f dukedoms of *Friula* and *Spoleti* was added a third, which, in proceſs of time, became as much ſuperior to the other two, as they exceeded the other dukedoms of *Italy*. Some authors, and among the reſt *Camillus Peregrinus*, are of opinion, that the dukedom of *Benevento* was founded before the time of *Authari*s[r]; but all agree, that *Zotto* was the firſt who governed that city and province with the title of duke. This dukedom, by degrees, extended its limits, ſo as to compriſe the far greater part of the preſent kingdom of *Naples*. *Authari*s, after the reduction of *Samnium*, reſolved to carry the war into the exarchate and the dukedom of *Rome*; but apprehending he might be diverted anew by *Childebert* king of the *Franks* from purſuing his conqueſts, he

Italy *invaded anew by the* Franks.

Who return home with great loſs.

Autharis *reduces* Samnium, *and the city of* Benevento.

The firſt duke of Benevento.

[o] Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 47. Paul. Diac. l. iii. c. 9. [p] Paul. Diac. l. iii. c. 16. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Cam. Per. in diſſert. de duc. Benevent. diſſert. 1.

he thought it adviſeable to conclude a peace, if poſſible, with ſo troubleſome and a powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Guntran*, uncle to *Childebert*, hoping, by his mediation, to lay the foundations of a laſting peace with the king of the *Franks*. *Guntran* readily interpoſed; but *Autharis* did not live to ſee the ſucceſs of the mediation, being in the mean time taken off by poiſon. He died in *Pavia* on the thirteenth of *September* 590. after having reigned about ſix years; but the author of his death was never known [s]. *Autharis* had married *Theudelinda*, the daughter of *Garibald*, king of the *Boioarians*; but, as he had no children by her, the *Lombards*, upon the news of his death, aſſembled in *Pavia* to chuſe a new king; but, not being able to agree among themſelves in the choice, they referred the whole affair to *Theudelinda*, having firſt ſettled among themſelves, that the perſon ſhe b ſhould chuſe among the dukes for her huſband, ſhould be inveſted with the royal dignity; ſo great was the opinion they had of the wiſdom and prudence of that excellent princeſs, who, to ſhew herſelf worthy of the confidence they repoſed in her, after having conſulted the wiſeſt men of the nation, by their advice, beſtowed herſelf and the kingdom on *Agilulf* duke of *Turin*, a perſon of extraordinary merit, and nearly related to the late king. Her choice being applauded by the whole nation, *Agilulf*, after his marriage, was crowned king of the *Lombards* in a full aſſembly held at *Milan* in the month of *May* 591.

Autharis *dies.* *Year after Chriſt* 590.

Agilulf *choſen king.* *Year after Chriſt* 591.

In the firſt year of his reign died *Zotto*, the firſt duke of *Benevento*, of whom we find nothing in hiſtory worthy of notice, except his plundering and deſtroying the c famous monaſtery of *Monte Caſino*, built about ſixty years before by St. *Benedict*, and already wonderfully enriched with the donations of ſeveral princes [t]. Upon his death, *Agilulf* appointed *Arechis*, couſin to *Gilulphus* duke of *Friuli*, to ſucceed him in the dukedom of *Benevento*. The dukes, according to the regulations introduced by *Autharis*, could only in caſes of treaſon be deprived of their dukedoms; and, upon their death, they were ſucceeded by their male iſſue, if the king judged them capable of ſo great a command. If the duke died without iſſue male, the king was at full liberty either to chuſe another in his room, or to ſuppreſs the dukedom: and truly ſeveral dukedoms were ſuppreſſed by the preſent king, the dukes having attempted to ſhake off all dependency, and to uſurp an abſolute power in their reſpective diſtricts. d The example of *Agilulf* was followed by his ſucceſſors, who, declining to appoint new dukes in the room of thoſe who died without iſſue male, reduced, by degrees, the dukedoms, to a very ſmall number. During the government of *Arechis*, which laſted for the ſpace of fifty years, that is, from the year 591. to 641. the bounds of the dukedom of *Benevento* were greatly extended; for, at that prince's death, they reached on one ſide to the city of *Naples*, and on the other to *Sipontum*, at the foot of mount *Garganus* in *Apulia*. But to return to *Agilulf*: He was, ſoon after his election, perſuaded by *Theudelinda*, who had been brought up in the catholic religion, to renounce the errors of *Arius*; and his example was followed by great numbers of his ſubjects, ſome of them abjuring paganiſm, and others the doctrine of *Arius*, to em- e brace the orthodox faith. Hence *Theudelinda* is highly commended by *Gregory the Great*, who inſcribed to her the four books of the lives of the ſaints, which he had compoſed. She had done all that lay in her power to induce *Autharis*, her firſt huſband, to profeſs the catholic faith; but to no purpoſe, that prince refuſing to quit the religion in which he had been brought up [u]. *Agilulf*, in the third year of his reign, was forced to turn his arms againſt his own countrymen; for two of the dukes, *viz.* *Minulf* duke of the iſland of *St. Julian*, and *Gaidulf* duke of *Bergamo*, revolting from him, claimed an abſolute authority in their reſpective diſtricts. *Agilulf* marched againſt them, and, having found means to get *Minulf* into his power, he put him to death, becauſe he had formerly revolted to the *Franks*, and joined *Childebert* in the irruption f he made into *Italy*. As for *Gaidulf*, he beſieged him in the city of *Pergamo*; but, upon his ſuing for peace, and ſubmitting, he received him again into favour. About the ſame time *Ulfaris*, another duke, but of what place, we are not told, refuſing to acknowledge the authority of *Agilulf*, raiſed great diſturbances, which were quelled not without boodſhed; but *Ulfaris* not only obtained his pardon, but was confirmed by the king in his dukedom [w]. While the arms of *Agilulf* were thus employed againſt the rebellious dukes, *Romanus*, who, as we have related above, had ſucceeded *Zamaragdus* in the exarchate, laying hold of ſo favourable an opportunity, broke the truce which

Arechis *ſecond duke of* Benevento.

Agilulf *embraces the catholic faith.*

Some dukes rebel; but are reduced by Agilulf.

[s] Paul. Diac. l. iii. c. 18. [t] Greg. Mag. dialog. l. ii. c. 17. Abb. De Nuce chron. Caſin. l. i. c. 2. [u] Paul. Diac. l. vi. c. 2. [w] Idem, l. iv. c. 14.

a which he had lately made, and ſurpriſed ſeveral cities belonging to the *Lombards*. Hereupon the king, drawing together all his forces, marched againſt the exarch, who, at his approach, retired to *Ravenna*, leaving ſmall gariſons in the towns he had taken. Upon his retreat, *Agilulf* eaſily recovered the cities he had ſeized. Only the city of *Perugia* held out for ſome time, being defended by *Mauriſius* duke of the place, who had delivered it up to the *Romans*; but in the end the city was forced to ſurrender. *Mauriſius* attempted to make his eſcape, but was taken, and by the kings order put to death [x]. From *Perugia Agilulf* marched into the *Roman* dukedom, and, having laid it waſte, encamped with his army at a ſmall diſtance from the city; but *Theudelinda*, at the earneſt requeſt of *Gregory the Great*, then biſhop of
b *Rome*, prevailed upon her huſband to grant a peace to the inhabitants of that city, and retire [y]. The priſoners taken by the *Lombards* on this occaſion, were all ranſomed by *Gregory the Great*, the other catholic biſhops generouſly contributing to ſo good a work [z]. *Paulus Diaconus* takes no notice of the ravages committed by the *Lombards* in the dukedom of *Rome*; but ſuppoſes them to have returned to *Pavia* after the taking of *Perugia*. However, from the letters of *Gregory the Great*, who flouriſhed at that time, it is manifeſt, that they invaded the *Roman* dukedom, and laid it waſte with fire and ſword, for ſeveral months together. From a letter of this biſhop to the empreſs *Conſtantina* it appears, that the inhabitants of thoſe parts ſuffered more from the emperor's officers, than from the *Lombards* themſelves; that the *Corſicans*
c in particular were loaded with ſuch taxes, as obliged them to ſell even their children in order to raiſe money for the collectors; and that thereupon they repaired in great numbers to the *Lombards* in *Italy*, leaving the iſland, in a manner, deſolate. In *Sicily* one *Stephen*, ſent from *Conſtantinople* to guard the coaſt of that iſland, committed ſuch rapines, ſo many acts of violence and injuſtice, as hardly could be contained, ſays our prelate, in one volume. He therefore earneſtly intreats the empreſs to acquaint her huſband with theſe grievances, that, by ſpeedily redreſſing them, he may avert the judgments, that muſt otherwiſe fall upon him and his family. He concludes his letter by telling her, it was far better *Italy* ſhould want ſupplies of money, than that they ſhould be raiſed in ſo ſcandalous a manner; and that the emperor's
d miniſters, being at ſo great a diſtance from their maſter, promiſed themſelves impunity, though guilty of the greateſt extortions; and therefore defeated all his endeavours for concluding a peace with the *Lombards*, which, they knew, would take away all pretence of levying ſuch heavy taxes [a]. A peace however was ſoon after concluded, by means of the holy prelate, between *Agilulf* and the exarch *Callinicus*, who, upon the death of *Romanus*, had been ſent from *Conſtantinople* to ſucceed him. At the ſame time *Theodebert*, the ſucceſſor of *Childebert*, was in the end perſuaded, not only to conclude a peace, but to enter into an alliance, with the king of the *Lombards*. This peace with the *Romans* and *Franks* proved very ſeaſonable; for ſoon after, three of his dukes, rebelling, raiſed great diſturbances in the kingdom, and gave riſe to a
e civil war. Theſe were *Zangrulf* duke of *Verona*, *Gaidulf* or *Gandulf* duke of *Bergamo*, and *Warnecaut* a third duke, but of what place, we are not told. *Agilulf*, marching againſt them, gave them a total overthrow; and, having taken them priſoners, he ordered them all three to be put to death, in order to deter, by their puniſhment, the other dukes from following their example. While he was yet engaged in this domeſtic war, the exarch *Callinicus*, with a manifeſt breach of treaty, which had been lately concluded, ſurpriſed the city of *Parma*, in which he found a conſiderable treaſure, and took the king's daughter, and her huſband *Godeſcalk* priſoners. This breach of faith in the exarch provoked the king of the *Lombards* to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to purſue the war, which had been thus begun by the *Romans*, with
f the utmoſt vigour, and not to lay down his arms, till he had driven them, if poſſible, quite out of *Italy*. Purſuant to this reſolution, he entered into an alliance with *Chagon* king of the *Avares*, who was to make a powerful diverſion in *Thrace*, while *Agilulf* carried on the war in *Italy*. The king of the *Lombards*, having raiſed a conſiderable army, and finding, that the exarch declined meeting him in the field marched from *Milan*, where his troops had aſſembled, to *Cremona*, which city he inveſted on all ſides. The *Roman* gariſon made a vigorous reſiſtance; but, deſpairing of relief, they were obliged, after having held out for a month, to deliver up the place, which, by the king's orders, was levelled with the ground. From *Cremona* ſeveral cities.

The exarch ſurpriſes ſeveral cities.

Which are recovered by Agilulf.

The emperor's ſubjects oppreſſed by his officers.

Agilulf *concludes a peace with the* Romans *and* Franks.

Three dukes rebel; but are overcome by Agilulf, *and put to death.*

The war with the Romans *renewed.*

From whom Agilulf *takes ſeveral cities.*

[x] Idem ibid. [y] Greg. Mag. l. iv. ep. 33. & l. vii. ep. 30, [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, l. iv. ep. 33.

mona he led his army, reinforced by a body of *Sclavi* ſent him by his ally the king a
of the *Avares*, againſt the cities of *Padua* and *Mantua*, which were both taken, plundered, and laid in aſhes, the gariſons being allowed to retire to *Ravenna*, and the inhabitants to what place they thought fit. While *Agilulf* thus purſued his conqueſts in *Italy*, *Chagan*, breaking into *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages there; and, having over-run both that province, and all *Mœſia*, approached the imperial city with his numerous army; which alarmed the inhabitants to ſuch a degree, that they thought of quitting *Europe*, and retiring with their beſt effects to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Aſia*. But in the mean time *Chagan* was obliged to return home by a plague, which broke out in his army, and caried off ſeven of his ſons in one day. Upon b
his departure he offered to releaſe all his priſoners, of whom he had twelve thouſand, at a crown a head; but his offer being rejected by *Mauritius*, who was a prince of a narrow, parſimonious temper, *Chagan*, in great indignation, cauſed all the captives to be put to the ſword. During this war died the exarch *Callinicus*, who had firſt begun it, as we have related above; and in his room was ſent *Zamaragdus* to govern *Italy* a ſecond time, with orders from the emperor to ſet at liberty the king's daughter, with her huſband, and to reſtore the whole treaſure, that had been ſeized by his predeceſſor in the city of *Parma*. By this obliging behaviour, *Agilulf* was ſo far won, as to grant the *Romans* a truce from the month of *September* till the following *April*[b].

A truce with the Romans.

c

Agilulf *takes his ſon* Adaluald *for his colleague.* *Year after Chriſt* 605.

During the truce, *Agilulf*, having aſſembled the chief men of the nation at *Milan*, declared, in their preſence, his ſon *Adaluald*, or, as others call him, *Aldonald*, yet an infant, his collegue, and cauſed him to be crowned in the open circus with great ſolemnity. After this, the peace was renewed with *Theodebert* king of the *Franks*, whoſe embaſſadors were preſent at the inauguration of the young prince, and a perpetual league concluded between the two nations. And now the truce with the *Romans* being expired, the *Lombards* began hoſtilities anew, ſeizing on two important poſts, *viz.* *Orbitum* and *Balneoregium*; but the exarch, with twelve thouſand ſolidi, prevailed upon the king to reſtore them, and to renew the truce for a whole year, which the king employed in embelliſhing and fortifying *Ferrara*, till that time an d
inconſiderable village, but conveniently ſituated on the *Po*, and on that account ſurrounded by *Agilulf* with walls, and beautified with ſeveral ſtately buildings; by which means it became, by degrees, one of the moſt conſiderable cities in thoſe parts, and has continued as ſuch ever ſince. In the mean time the truce between the king and the exarch expiring, *Zamaragdus* prevailed upon the king to renew it for three years longer. But, notwithſtanding this truce, the inhabitants of *Italy* did not enjoy the tranquility they had promiſed themſelves; for *Cacanus* king of the *Huns*, leaving *Pannonia*, made a ſudden irruption into the dukedom of *Friuli*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Hereupon duke *Gilulf*, having drawn together what forces he could, marched out againſt him; but, in the battle that enſued, he was overpowered e
by the enemy, and cut off, with moſt of his men. *Cacanus*, elated with this victory, laid ſiege to *Forum Julii*, the metropolis of the dukedom, which was betrayed to him by *Romilda*, the deceaſed duke's widow, upon his promiſing to marry her; for ſhe is ſaid to have been greatly taken with the comelineſs of the young prince in ſeeing him from the walls; but he, inſtead of performing his promiſe, cauſed her to be put to an ignominious death, after having abuſed her himſelf, and cauſed her to be in like manner abuſed by ſeveral of his ſoldiers, to gratify, as he ſaid, her vicious inclination. The duke's ſons, *Tato*, *Caco*, *Rodoald*, and *Grimoald*, found means to make their eſcape on horſeback; but the latter, being yet a child, was overtaken by ſome of the enemy's horſe, and delivered to the cuſtody of one of them, while the others purſued the reſt. But while the *Hunn* rid before him leading his horſe, he all on a f
ſudden gave him ſuch a blow on the head with his ſword, that he left him dead on the ſpot, and then riding full ſpeed, overtook his brothers, and, together with them, reached a neighbouring caſtle. The *Hunns*, upon their departure, carried with them all the inhabitants who had fallen into their hands, giving out, that they deſigned to allot them lands in *Pannonia*; but, having reached the confines, they put all the men to the ſword, and carried the women and children into captivity[c]. While the *Hunns* were thus ravaging the dukedom of *Friuli*, great diſturbances happened in *Ravenna*; for *Joannes Lemigius*, who had been ſent by the emperor *Heraclius* to ſucceed *Zamaragdus*

Ferrara *embelliſhed by* Agilulf.

The Hunns *break into the dukedom of* Friuli.

Forum Julii *betrayed to them.*

Their cruelty to the inhabitants.

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid.

a *ragdus* in the exarchate, levying heavier taxes on the people than they had formerly paid, the multitude, rising all on a sudden, broke into the palace, and there tore the exarch to pieces, together with the judges, whom he had called together for the administration of justice. When news of this mutiny was brought to *Naples*, *Joannes Compositus*, who governed that city for the emperor with the title of duke (S), thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of shaking off all dependence, and making himself absolute lord of the city committed to his charge. Accordingly, he caused himself to be acknowledged by the inhabitants for their prince, and provided the city with a strong garison, not doubting but forces would be soon dispatched against him either from *Ravenna* or *Constantinople*. And truly *Heraclius*, upon the first notice he had of the murder of the exarch, and the rebellion of the duke, appointed

b *Eleutherius* his chamberlain, a person highly esteemed for his prudence and valour, to succeed *Lemigius* in the exarchate, injoining him to appease the mutiny in *Ravenna*, and then march, with all the troops under his command, against *Compositus*, the rebellious duke of *Naples*. *Eleutherius*, arriving at *Ravenna*, punished with death such as he found guilty of the murder of his predecessor; and, having thus quelled the tumult, he set out on his march for *Naples*, with all the troops he could assemble. He took his route through *Rome*, where he was received with high demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who were greatly attached to the emperors, and bore an utter aversion to the *Lombards*. From *Rome* the exarch pursued his march to *Naples*, where he was, for some time, vigorously opposed by the garison; but having in the end made himself master of the city, he put the duke to death, and,

c appointing another in his room, he returned to *Ravenna* [d] (T). During these disturbances, *Agilulf* died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He was the first of the *Lombard* kings who embraced the catholic faith; and his example being followed by great numbers of his subjects, the *Lombards*, by that means, became less odious to the inhabitants of *Italy*, and their government more tolerable. By the advice of his queen *Theudelinda*, he rebuilt the churches, which had been ruined in the former wars, repaired the monasteries, and enriched both with large possessions, there being few churches

The exarch murdered.

The duke of Naples *rebels.*

Naples *reduced, and the duke put to death.*

[d] Idem, c. 34. Anastas. bibliothec. in Deusdedit. Camil. Pel. in dissert. de duc. Benevent. p. 33.

(S) The present kingdom of *Naples* was, at this time, held partly by the *Romans*, and partly by the *Lombards*. The dukedom of *Benevento* was governed by its own duke, who was subject to the king of the *Lombards*; *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Brutii*, the dukedoms of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, *Surrento*, *Amalfi*, and other smaller dukedoms, were governed by their dukes, according to the new polity introduced by *Longinus* the first exarch. These dukes were subject to the exarch, and he to the emperor. The dukedom of *Naples* had at first very narrow bounds; for it comprised only the city of *Naples*, and its territory. But it was greatly inlarged by the emperor *Mauritius*, who added to it the islands of *Ischia*, *Nisida*, and *Procida*, and afterwards the cities of *Cumæ*, *Stabia*, *Surrento*, and *Amalfi* (1); which were comprised under the dukedom of *Naples* till the time of pope *Adrian* and *Charles the Great*, as is evident from a letter of that pope quoted by the learned *Camillus Pellegrinus* (2). This dukedom being, by such additions, become a province, the name of *Campania* was given it, and the duke took the title of *dux Campaniæ*, or duke of *Campania*; which title *Gregory the great* often bestows on *Scolasticus* and *Gudiscalcus*, dukes of *Naples* (3). This dukedom held out against the *Lombards*, after they had reduced almost all the cities in that part of *Italy*; nay, it was never by them entirely subdued, but only obliged to pay a yearly tribute to the dukes of *Benevento*, who, in process of time, became very powerful. The dukes, who governed *Naples*, were usually appointed by the emperor himself; but, upon urgent occasions, the exarch was impowered to name a new duke. Thus *Eleutherius*, having put *Compositus* to death, appointed another in his room; and several years before, the duke of *Naples* being dead, and the two dukes of *Benevento* and *Spoleto* uniting their forces, with a design, as was supposed, to fall upon the dukedom of *Naples*, *Gregory the Great*, apprehending that, if the *Lombards* made themselves masters of that dukedom, they would easily reduce the rest of *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, wrote to *John* bishop of *Ravenna*, earnestly intreating him to represent to the exarch the danger that dukedom was in, and prevail upon him to send, without loss of time, a new duke (4).

(T) Some modern writers tell us, that *Compositus* not only made himself master of *Naples*, but likewise of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and several other cities, with their teritories; that he caused himself to be acknowledged king of the countries he had usurped; that he was first crowned with an iron crown at *Bari*, and afterwards with a golden crown at *Naples*. They add, that the *Norman* princes, who reigned in *Naples*, following his example, were first crowned at *Bari* with an iron crown, and afterwards at *Palermo* with a crown of gold (5). But it is plain from history, that *Compositus* was never master of *Apulia* or *Calabria*, which at that time were held by the *Lombards*; and that he only seized on the city of *Naples*, and its territory, being taken and put to death by *Eleutherius* before he had time to make himself master of other places (6).

(1) *Greg. Mag. l.* ix. *ind.* 4. *ep.* 53. (2) *Camill. Pellegrin. dissert. de finib. duc. Benevent. p.* 32. (3) *Greg. Mag. l.* ii. *ind* 11. *ep* 1, 2, & 51. (4) *Idem, l.* ii. *indic.* 10. *ep.* 32. (5) *Beutill. hist. Bar. p.* 12. (6) *Paul. Diac. l.* iv. *c.* 20.

churches or monasteries in his dominions, which could not shew some monuments of his piety and munificence [e].

Adaluald *succeeds his father* Agilulf *in the kingdom of the* Lombards. *Year after Christ* 615.

Agilulf was succeeded by his son *Adaluald*, whom he had taken some years before for his collegue, as we have related above. As he was yet very young, he suffered himself to be entirely governed by his mother *Theudelinda*, who applied herself wholly to works of piety and religion; so that, during his reign, the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity. But great disturbances happened in the exarchate; for *Eleutherius* the exarch, elated with the success that had attended him against the duke of *Naples*, and forgetting that virtue and moderation, which till then had recommended him to the esteem of the emperor, and all the *Romans*, began to entertain thoughts of usurping the sovereignty of *Italy*. The great distance between him and the emperor, the authority he had in those parts, and the war with the *Saracens*, in which the emperor was then engaged, offered him, he thought, a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his design. Having therefore, in the first place, gained the affection of the soldiery by several popular acts of condescension, but above all by paying them their arrears, which had been long due, he resolved to set out for *Rome* with his whole army, and cause himself to be acknowledged there king of *Italy*. He was encouraged to this by the news he received of the death of *Deusdedit* bishop of that city; for he thought, that, while the people were busied in the election of a successor, he might, with great ease, seize on the city, and then influence the election, so as to have one of his own friends raised to the see. But on his march he was informed, that *Boniface*, the fifth of that name, was already elected; which obliged him to alter his measures: for having commanded the army to halt, he made them a plausible speech, inveighing against the disorders and abuses which then prevailed, promised to redress them to their satisfaction, and assured them of his favour and protection. Having by this speech attached them, as he imagined to his interest, he openly assumed the title of king, telling them at the same time, that he was marching to *Rome*, in order to be invested there, as in the most proper place, with the ensigns of royalty. The army was not a little surprised at the conduct of their general; but did not however openly oppose it till some days after, when, arriving at *Luceoli*, they began to mutiny, and, no longer looking upon *Eleutherius* as their general, but as a traitor, and usurper, they slew him, and, sending his head to the emperor at *Constantinople*, returned to *Ravenna* [f]. *Heraclius* appointed *Isaaccius*, a patrician, to govern *Italy* in his room. In the beginning of his administration, one *Gregory* a patrician, who governed for the emperor those parts, which bordered on the dutchy of *Friuli*, pretending great kindness for *Tato*, who in that dukedom had succeeded his father *Gisulf* or *Gilulf*, killed by the *Hunns*, as we have related above, invited the youth to *Optigerium*, where he resided, in order to adopt them there, as he pretended, for his son. *Tato*, not suspecting the least treachery, readily complied with the invitation, taking with him his second brother *Caco*, and several other persons of distinction. But they had no sooner entered the town, than *Gregory*, having caused the gates to be shut, ordered his men to fall upon them. The two brothers and their followers defended themselves for some time with great courage, killing great numbers of the aggressors; but being pursued from street to street, overpowered with multitudes, and quite spent, they were in the end all cut off. *Gregory*, by this inhuman piece of treachery, hoped to make himself master of the whole dutchy, the two remaining brothers, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, being yet very young. But their uncle *Grasulf*, informed of what had happened, hastened to *Forum Julii*, and, taking upon him the administration, ordered matters so, that *Gregory* thought it advisable to make no further attempts. *Grasulf* kept the dukedom for himself, and the two brothers *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, not thinking themselves safe while in his power, fled to *Arechis* the second duke of *Beneventum*, by whom they were kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to their rank [g]. This happened, according to some, during the exarchate of *Eleutherius*, and soon after the death of *Agilulf* [h]. In the eighth year of *Adaluald*'s reign, one *Eusebius* was sent by the emperor *Heraclius*, with the character of embassador, to conclude a lasting peace with the king of the *Lombards*, and to settle other affairs of great importance. He, having gained the confidence of the king, either of his own head, or in compliance with his private instructions, presented him, as he came out of the bath, with a draught, which soon deprived

Eleutherius *the exarch takes upon him the title of king.*

But is killed by the soldiery.

The treachery of Gregory, *one of the emperor's officers.*

[a] Paul. Diac. l. vi. c. 2. [b] Idem, l. iv. c. 15. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Vide Sigon. ad ann. 625.

a deprived him of the right uſe of his ſenſes, and brought him to a kind of melancholy madneſs. While he was in this condition, *Euſebius*, pretending that his nobles had entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, adviſed him to put the moſt powerful among them to death. The king followed his advice, and immediately cauſed twelve of the chief nobility to be inhumanly maſſacred; which alarmed the reſt to ſuch a degree, that, taking up arms, they removed both him and his mother *Theudelinda* from the government, and raiſed to the throne *Ariovald* duke of *Turin*, who had married *Gundeberg* the ſiſter of *Adaluald*. This revolution occaſioned great diſturbances among the *Lombards*, and rent their kingdom into two parties. *Ariovald* was ſupported by the nobles, who had depoſed *Adaluald*, and all the biſhops beyond the *Po*, who earb neſtly laboured to draw the reſt to their party. On the other hand, *Honorius*, biſhop of *Rome*, eſpouſed with great zeal the cauſe of the depoſed king, and left no ſtone unturned to have him reſtored to the throne, being prompted thereto by the regard he had for *Theudelinda*, to whoſe piety the catholic religion was highly indebted, and by his averſion to *Ariovald*, who held the tenets of *Arius*, and had been brought up in that perſuaſion. He found means to gain *Iſaaccius* the exarch over to his party, and prevailed upon him to join the friends of *Adaluald* with all the troops under his command. He likewiſe obliged, with threats and menaces, the biſhops who had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Ariovald*, to abandon that prince, and declare for *Adaluald*, But, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts both of the pope and the exarch, *Ariovald* main-
c tained himſelf on the throne; and *Adaluald* dying ſeaſonably, ſome ſay of poiſon, an end was put to the domeſtic troubles, that threatened the kingdom of the *Lombards* almoſt with utter deſtruction [h]. *Theudelinda* was ſo affected with the misfortunes of her ſon, that ſhe fell into a conſumption, which, in a ſhort time, brought her to her grave. She was a princeſs no leſs commendable for her exemplary piety, than for the excellent endowments of her mind, and worthy, on account of both to be ranked among the moſt illuſtrious women mentioned in hiſtory. *Ariovald* reigned nine years after the death of *Theudelinda* during which time the *Lombards* enjoyed a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad. Only ſome diſturbances happened in the royal family, which gave the king no ſmall uneaſineſs. One of the chief
d lords at court, by name *Adalulf*, having ſolicited the queen, with whom he was paſſionately in love, to comply with his unlawful deſire, and his propoſal being rejected by her with the utmoſt indignation, the lover, apprehending ſhe would diſcover the whole to her huſband, reſolved to be before-hand with her, and prepoſſeſs the king againſt the virtuous princeſs. Accordingly, pretending great zeal for his ſafety, he aſſured him, that the queen was conſpiring againſt his life with *Tato* duke of *Etruria* who was to marry her after his death. Hereupon *Ariovald*, tranſported with rage and jealouſy, without further inquiry ordered the innocent queen to be kept under cloſe confinement in the caſtle of *Amellum*, where ſhe continued, till *Cletair* king of the *Franks*, pitying her condition, expoſtulated with her huſband for thus treating one
e of the royal blood of the *Franks*, and ſtripping her of her dignity, upon the depoſition of a ſingle evidence. *Ariovald* replied, That he was fully convinced of her guilt; whereupon the embaſſadors of the *Franks*, purſuant to their inſtructions, propoſed the trying of the cauſe by a ſingle combat between the accuſer and one of the queen's friends, according to the cuſtom that then prevailed among the *Lombards*, and moſt of the northern nations. As the king could not well reject this propoſal, *Adalulf* was obliged to enter the liſts againſt one *Pillo*, by *Paulus Diaconus* called *Carell*, who having with great eaſe overcome the accuſer, the queen was releaſed, and reſtored to her former dignity [i]. Not long after *Ariovald* died; and, as he left
f no male iſſue behind him, the dukes aſſembled, upon news of his death, to chuſe another in his room; but not being able to agree in the choice, they reſolved to pay the ſame regard to *Gundeberg*, which they had formerly paid to *Theudelinda*, allowing her to chuſe whom ſhe pleaſed for her huſband, and their king. Hereupon *Gundeberg* made choice of *Rotharis* duke of *Breſcia*, a perſon equal in every reſpect to that ſublime ſtation, but tainted with the *Arian* hereſy; whence, in his time, there were two biſhops in moſt cities of *Italy*, the one catholic, and the other *Arian* [k]. He is no leſs commended by the writers of theſe times for his equity and moderation, than for his valour and prudence, and was the firſt who gave written laws to the *Lombards*. His example was followed by the other kings his ſucceſſors; ſo that, in proceſs of time a new,

Adaluald *depoſed, and* Ariovald *choſen in his room.*
Domeſtic troubles amongſt the Lombards.

Adaluald *dies.*

And Theudelinda.
Year after Chriſt 627.

Diſturbances in the royal family.

Ariovald *dies, and* Rotharis *is choſen in his room.*
Year after Chriſt 636.

[h] Paul. Diac. l. iv. c. 15. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

a new volume of laws appeared, called the *Longobard laws*, which prevailed in all the provinces ſubject to that nation, that is, all over *Italy*, except the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and dukedoms of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, and the maritime cities of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Lucania*, which continued ſubject to the emperors, the *Lombards* being maſters of all the other cities and provinces. The *Lombards* had no written laws till the time of *Rotharis*; but had been governed by cuſtoms handed down to them by tradition. *Rotharis* therefore, in imitation of the *Romans* and *Goths*, undertook the publiſhing of written laws; and to thoſe he enacted, many were added by the ſucceeding princes. The incomparable *Grotius* prefers the method, which the *Lombards* followed, in making laws, to that which was practiſed by the *Romans* themſelves. Among the latter the emperor was the ſole lawgiver; ſo that whatever pleaſed him, had the force of a law. But the *Lombard* kings did not aſſume that power to themſelves, ſince their laws were enacted in public aſſemblies, convened for that purpoſe, after they had been maturely examined, and approved of by all the lords of the kingdom. From theſe aſſemblies were excluded the eccleſiaſtic order, and the people; ſo that the legiſlative power was lodged in the king and the nobles alone [1]. *Rotharis*, the firſt lawgiver among the *Lombards*, having ſummoned, in the year 643. a general diet in *Pavia*, enacted, with the approbation of his nobles, ſeveral laws, which he cauſed to be committed to writing, and inſerted into an edict. This edict, containing no fewer than three hundred and eighty-ſix laws, was publiſhed in the eighth year of king *Rotharis* reign, that is, in the year 644. in all the provinces under his dominion, eſpecially in the dukedom of *Benevento*, which was reputed at this time, as it had greatly extended its bounds, the beſt part of the kingdom of the *Lombards*. The example of *Rotharis* was followed by the other *Lombard* kings his ſucceſſors, eſpecially by *Grimoald*, *Luitprand*, *Rachis*, and *Aſtolphus*; but the laws of *Rotharis* far exceeded in number thoſe of the other princes (U). The reign of

Rotharis *the firſt lawgiver among the* Lombards.

a b c

[1] Grot. in proleg. ad hiſt. Goth.

(U) To the laws of king *Rotharis*, compriſed in the above mentioned edict, is prefixed the following preface: "Here begins the edict, which, with the advice of my principal judges, I have compoſed, I, in the name of God, king *Rotharis*, the ſeventh king of the nation of the *Lombards*, in the eighth year of my reign, and thirty-eighth year of my age, the ſecond indiction, and, ſince the coming of the *Lombards* into the province of *Italy* under *Albion*, at that time, by divine clemency, king, the ſeventy-ſixth. Given at *Pavia* in the palace. How great our care and anxiety is, and has ever been, for our ſubjects, the following decree ſuffi ciently declares." He then ſays, that he thought it incumbent upon him to make thoſe laws, in order to relieve the poor from the oppreſſion they groaned under, and to reſtrain the inſolence of the rich, and of men in power, that every one might live in peace, and enjoy his property undiſturbed. He declares, that theſe, and no other laws, ſhould, for the future, be in force, reſerving, however, to himſelf the power of adding ſuch other laws to them as ſhould be approved of by the wiſe men of the nation. He orders all controverſies, that were not yet decided, and ſuch as ſhould ariſe after the twenty ſecond day of *November*, the day of the publication of the edict, to be determined according to the laws compriſed in it; but at the ſame time forbids the cauſes already decided to be re-examined, and orders the parties to acquieſce to the ſentence given by proper judges. He concludes by declaring, that no other copy or copies ſhould be of any authority, but ſuch as were written, reviſed, or approved of, by *Anſuald* his notary, to prevent, by that means, litigious perſons from taking advantage of the miſtakes, to which writers or copyiſts are liable (1). In the famous monaſtery of the *Benedictines* at *Cava*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, is ſtill to be ſeen, amongſt other monuments of antiquity, an antient manuſcript in *Lombard* characters, containing, beſides this edict of *Rotharis*, the laws of the other *Lombard* kings, and thoſe likewiſe of the *French* and *German* emperors, who were kings of *Italy*. In the edict of *Rotharis*, after the preface, come the title of each chapter, and then the chapters or laws, in all three hundred and eighty-ſix, according to the order of the preceding chapters. To the laws of *Rotharis*, and of the other *Lombard* kings his ſucceſſors, the *Roman* laws in the end gave way. *Juſtinian* indeed had taken care to have the volumes of his laws ſpread all over *Italy*, and, annulling all other laws, had ordered them alone, and the *novellæ conſtitutiones*, to be obſerved. But, in ſpite of all the pains he had taken to eſtabliſh them, their authority ended in *Italy* almoſt with his life; for that country being in great part reduced by the *Lombards* in the reign of *Juſtin*, the ſucceſſor of *Juſtinian*, the *Roman* laws were only obſerved in ſuch places, as continued ſubject to the emperor, that is, in the exarchate of *Ravenna*, in the dukedom of *Rome*, in the ſmall dukedoms of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, and in ſome maritime towns of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Lucania*. The *Lombards* to the reign of *Rotharis*, were governed only by their antient cuſtoms. As for the natives of *Italy* ſubject to the *Lombards*, they were allowed to retain the *Roman* laws, but ſuch only as were contained in the *Theodoſian* code, which was in greater repute among the *Lombards*, than the *Juſtinian* code. The former therefore, and the compendium made by order of *Alaric*, were the only books that had any authority either among the *Lombards*, or the *Viſigoths*, at this time maſters of *Spain*. In *Rome* the popes ſtrove with all their power and might to maintain the authority of the *Juſtinian* laws, having much at heart the intereſt of the emperors, to whom they choſe rather to live ſubject, than to the *Lombards*. Their zeal for the ſervice of the emperors was, as the learned

(1) *Vide Sigon. de reg. Ital. l.* ii. *ann.* 643.

of king *Rotharis* is not only memorable for the laws that prince enacted, but for the conquests he made; for, not thinking himself bound by the treaty, which his predecessor had concluded with the exarch, he broke all on a sudden into the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and having, almost without opposition, made himself master of that province, he led his armies against the cities of *Opitergium*, now *Oderzo*, and *Treviso*, which he easily reduced, with all the cities in the province of *Venetia*, till that time held by the *Romans*. *Isaaccius*, then exarch, alarmed at this sudden and unexpected invasion, drew together all his forces; but not having been able to assemble them in time to cover the above-mentioned places, he broke with great violence into the dominions of the *Lombards*, laying them waste with fire and sword. *Rotharis* was then busied in the siege of *Perugia*; which city he had no sooner reduced, than he marched with his whole army in quest of the exarch, whom he met on the confines of *Æmilia*, and offered him battle. The exarch accepted the challenge; so that an engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were utterly defeated, eight thousand of them being killed on the spot, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. From this time to the reign of *Luitprand*, no acts of hostility passed between the exarchs and the kings of the *Lombards*, the latter being satisfied with their new conquests, and the former glad to enjoy unmolested the territories that remained under the dominion of the emperors [m].

He reduces the Alpes Cottiæ, *and several cities.*

Gives the exarch a total overthrow. Year after Christ, 638.

About this time, *Mauritius*, who had been, by *Heraclius*, appointed duke or governor of *Rome*, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, occasioned by the usurpation of *Heracleon*, and the invasion of the *Saracens*, usurped the sovereignty of the city committed to his charge. But an end was soon put both to his life and usurpation; for the exarch *Isaaccius* was no sooner informed of what had passed at *Rome*, than he dispatched against the usurper one of his officers, a person of great authority, with a considerable sum of money, and at the head of his best troops. This commander, marching up to the walls of the city, caused a declaration to be read, wherein *Mauritius* was declared a rebel, and not only a pardon promised, but a considerable gratuity, to all who should quit the traitor, and return to their duty. Upon this encouragement, *Mauritius* was abandoned by all his troops, and forced, as he had no other resource, to take sanctuary in a church; but he was dragged from thence, and, by an order from the exarch, beheaded, after he had been for some time kept in chains. Not long after, *Isaaccius* died, and *Theodorus Calliopa* was sent by the emperor to succeed him in the exarchate. *Theodorus* governed *Italy* with great applause for the space of seven years, that is, from the year 643. to 650. when *Olympius* was appointed exarch in his room. *Olympius* gained several advantages over the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, and at last drove them out of that island; but died in the third year of his exarchate, being quite spent and worn out by the toils and fatigues he underwent in that expedition. Upon his death, the emperor *Constans* II. sent *Theodorus Calliopa* to govern *Italy* once more. In the second year of the exarchate of *Olympius*, that is, in 652. died king *Rotharis*, after he had governed the *Lombards* for the space of sixteen years with such prudence, equity, and moderation, that he was deservedly esteemed the most illustrious prince of his age. He himself professed the doctrine of *Arius*, but allowed his subjects full liberty to embrace which of the two religions they liked best; and therefore took care, that, in all the cities of his kingdom, there should be constantly two bishops, the one catholic, and the other *Arian*.

A rebellion in Rome *suppressed by the exarch.*

King Rotharis *dies. Year after Christ* 652.

In the fifth year of the reign of king *Rotharis*, that is, in 641. died *Arechis* the second duke of *Benevento*, after he had governed that dukedom for the space of fifty years, and so inlarged it at the expence of the *Romans*, that on one side it reached to *Naples*, and on the other to *Sipontum* in *Apulia* [n]. He was succeeded by his son *Aio*, whom he had taken for his partner in the government five months before his death [o].

Arechis *the second duke of* Beneventodies.

Aio *his son succeeds him; but is killed by the* Sclavonians.

[m] Paul. Diac l. iv. c. 44. [n] Vide Paul. Æmil. de reb. Franc. p. 132. [o] Paul. Diac. l. iv, c. 15.

learned *Pietro Giannone*, a most impartial writer, rightly observes, nothing at the bottom but self-interest. As the emperors lived at a great distance, they could not easily discover or defeat the design the popes had of making themselves, by degrees, masters of *Rome*; whereas, if the *Lombards* had once got possession of that city, they must have laid aside all thoughts of ever usurping the sovereign authority over the metropolis of *Italy*. Hence *Rome* was no sooner threatened by the *Lombards*, than the popes, pretending great zeal for the emperor's service, solicited succours with great earnestness, both from the emperor and the exarch. By this means they preserved *Rome*, not for the emperors, but for themselves, as we shall relate hereafter.

Aio was a man of very ſlender parts, and ſometimes, as *Paulus Diaconus* inſinuates, diſtracted in his mind; which that writer aſcribes to a potion given him by the *Romans*. The father therefore, ſenſible of the incapacity of his ſon, recommended him on his death-bed to *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, the ſons of *Giſulf* duke of *Friuli*, who, as we have related above, had fled to him, and were now in the flower of their age. Theſe *Arechis* looked upon as his own children, and therefore appointed them by his laſt will to ſucceed in the dukedom, in caſe his ſon ſhould die without iſſue male [p]. While *Aio* governed the dukedom, the *Sclavonians*, paſſing by ſea from *Dalmatia*, which they had ſeized, into *Italy*, landed at *Sipontum*, and laid waſte great part of *Apulia*. They dwelt originally on the banks of the *Boryſthenes*, now the *Nieper*, in *European Sarmatia*, and from thence advancing to the *Danube*, they paſſed that river [b] in the reign of *Juſtinian*, and made themſelves maſters of that part of *Illyricum*, which lies between the *Drave* and the *Save*, and is to this day from them called *Sclavonia*. Upon their landing in *Apulia*, they encamped in the neighbourhood of *Sipontum*, and ſurrounded their camp with deep ditches, which they covered with branches of trees, laying ſome earth and green turf over them. As *Apulia* was for the moſt part ſubject at that time to the duke of *Benevento*, *Aio*, hearing of their invaſion, marched againſt them with what troops he could aſſemble, without waiting the return of *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, who were then abſent. But, having attacked their camp, he fell into one of the above-mentioned ditches, and was there ſlain by the enemy, after he had governed the dukedom five months with his father, and one year alone, *Rodoald*, [c] hearing what had happened, aſſembled with incredible expedition a conſiderable body of forces, and, falling upon the enemy before they had the leaſt intelligence of his march, he gave them a total overthrow, and drove them quite out of the dukedom. Having thus revenged the death of *Aio*, he took, together with his brother *Grimoald*, poſſeſſion of the dukedom, purſuant to the laſt will of *Arechis*, who had appointed them to ſucceed himſelf and his ſon [q]. Theſe two princes governed jointly for the ſpace of five years, during which time they laid ſiege to *Surrento*, ſtill held by the *Romans*; but the inhabitants, encouraged by *Agapitus* their biſhop, made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that the *Lombards*, after having attempted in vain to take the place by ſtorm, raiſed the ſiege, and returned home. *Rodoald* died in *Bene-* [d] *vento*, in the year 647. but his brother *Grimoald* held the dukedom ſixteen years after his death, and is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over the *Neapolitans* and *Romans*, and to have greatly extended the bounds of his dukedom. After he had governed the dukedom five years with his brother, and ſixteen alone, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne, and reigned nine years more over the whole nation of the *Lombards*, as we ſhall relate anon.

Who are defeated by Rodoald *the fourth duke of* Benevento.

Grimoald, *the fifth duke, inlarges the dukedom.*

BUT to return to the *Lombard* kings: *Rotharis* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Rodoald*, who, as he was a prince of a peaceable diſpoſition, performed nothing which authors have thought worthy of tranſmitting to poſterity. He was tainted, as his fathers had been, with the *Arian* hereſy, which occaſioned ſome religious conteſts [e] between him and the orthodox biſhops; but theſe diſturbances were ſoon appeaſed. He had reigned four years with his father, but ſcarce reigned one after his father's death, being killed by a *Lombard*, whoſe wife he had debauched. He had married *Gundeberg* the daughter of *Agilulf* and *Theudelinda*; but, as he had no children by her, the *Lombards*, upon his death, aſſembled, in order to chuſe a new king, when the choice fell upon *Aripert* or *Aribert*, the ſon of *Gundoald*, and brother of *Theudelinda*. The only thing we find recorded of him in hiſtory, is his building in *Pavia* the oratory of St. *Saviour*. He died, after he had reigned, according to *Paulus Diaconus* [r], nine years, though *Sigonius* allows him but five at moſt. He left two ſons behind him, *Partharit* and *Gundebert*, between whom he moſt imprudently divided his king- [f] dom. *Partharit*, the eldeſt, choſe *Milan* for the place of his reſidence, and *Gundebert Pavia*. But the latter, not ſatisfied with the part allotted him began to quarrel with his brother; and, being puſhed on by his ambition, and encouraged by the evil counſellors about him, he reſolved in the end to drive his brother from the throne, and make himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom. He was well appriſed, that he could not accompliſh this with his own ſtrength; and therefore he diſpatched *Garibald* duke of *Turin* as his embaſſador to *Grimoald* duke of *Benevento*, at that time by far the moſt powerful of all the *Lombard* dukes, inviting him to his aſſiſtance, and promiſing to

Rotharis *ſucceeded by his ſon* Rodoald.

Who is murdered.

Aripert *choſen king.*

He divides the kingdom between his two ſons Partharit *and* Gundebert *who quarrel.*

Gundebert *invites* Romuald *duke of* Benevento *to his aſſiſtance.*

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Vide CAMIL. PEL. in diſſert. duc. Benev. p. 54. & UGHEL. de archiepiſ. Surrent. p. 34. [r] PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 18.

to give him his ſiſter in marriage, if he ſucceeded in the undertaking. But the duke of *Turin*, acting quite contrary to his inſtructions, inſtead of perſuading *Grimoald* to aſſiſt his maſter, adviſed him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, and to decide the controverſy between the two brothers, by driving them both out, and ſeizing on the kingdom for himſelf. He told him, That the two brothers were young, raſh, and unexperienced; that the affairs of the *Lombards* required a prince of prudence, valour, and experience; and that the diſagreement between the two princes would, in all likelihood, end in the ruin of the whole nation. *Grimoald*, being naturally of an active and ambitious temper, was eaſily perſuaded to follow the advice of the embaſſador; and accordingly, having raiſed a conſiderable army, he marched at the head of it towards *Pavia*, leaving his ſon *Romuald* to govern the dukedom in his abſence. Being advanced as far as *Placentia*, he diſpatched *Garibald* to acquaint the king with his arrival. The inconſiderate prince received the news of his approach with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable; and, being at a loſs where he ſhould lodge and entertain his ſuppoſed friend and ally, *Garibald* told him, that his own palace was the only proper place for the reception of a perſon, to whom he had promiſed his ſiſter in marriage. He added, that, if he did not repoſe an intire confidence in *Grimoald*, or had the leaſt ſuſpicion of treachery, he ought, for his greater ſafety, to receive him with armour under his royal robes. The king put on armour accordingly, and the duke, with unheard-of treachery, returning to *Grimoald*, adviſed him to be upon his guard, ſince the king was coming to meet him in armour, no doubt with a deſign to murder him. *Grimoald* could not perſuade himſelf, that the king had any ſuch deſign, till they met, when, upon their embracing each other, he found, that *Gundebert* was really in armour; and, not doubting in the leaſt but that it was with a deſign to murder him, in order to be before-hand with him, he drew his ſword that inſtant, and killed the unhappy prince on the ſpot. Upon his death, he ſeized on the royal palace, and the treaſures lodged there, cauſing himſelf to be acknowledged king of the *Lombards* in his room. *Gundebert* left a ſon named *Rambert* or *Reginbert*, who was privately conveyed away, and brought up with great care by the friends of the deceaſed king, *Grimoald* making no great inquiſition after him, as he was but an infant. *Partharit* no ſooner heard of his brother's fate, than, abandoning *Milan* in the utmoſt confuſion, he fled to *Chagan* king of the *Avares*, and took refuge in his court. He left his queen *Rodolind* and his ſon *Cunibert*, yet an infant, to ſhift for themſelves; ſo that they both fell into the hands of *Grimoald*, by whom they were ſent to *Benevento*, and kept under confinement in that city. The inhabitants of *Milan*, finding themſelves abandoned by their king, opened their gates to *Grimoald*, who, having taken poſſeſſion of that important place, marched from thence to *Pavia*, where, in the latter end of the year 672. he was with one voice proclaimed by the people king of the *Lombards*. To gain the affection of the *Lombards*, and by that means eſtabliſh himſelf more firmly in his new kingdom, to the great joy of the whole nation, he married *Gundebert*, ſiſter to the two unhappy young princes. He then ſent back his army to *Benevento*, having firſt diſtributed conſiderable ſums amongſt them, but kept with him ſome of his moſt truſty friends, whom he raiſed to the firſt employments of the kingdom[a].

Who murders him, and ſeizes on the kingdom.

Grimoald proclaimed king. Year after Chriſt 662.

The new king, though confirmed in the power he had uſurped by the general conſent of the nation, yet reflecting on the fickleneſs and inconſtancy of the multitude, did not think himſelf ſafe, ſo long as *Partharit*, his competitor, reſided at the court of the king of the *Avares*, at that time a powerful prince. He did not doubt but the baniſhed king would watch all opportunities of attempting the recovery of his paternal kingdom, and would, in ſuch an attempt, be ſeconded by great numbers of the *Lombards*. To prevent therefore the diſturbances that would thence enſue, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Chagan*, complaining of the protection he had given to his rival, and threatening to make war upon him, if he not did forthwith baniſh him his dominions. The king of the *Avares*, though greatly affected with the misfortunes of the unhappy prince, yet did not think it adviſeable to engage in a war for his ſake; and therefore, to avoid it, commanded him to quit his dominions. *Partharit*, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by his friend and ally, and not knowing where to find an aſylum, reſolved, in that deſperate condition, to throw himſelf upon the honour and generoſity of his greateſt enemy. Accordingly, he diſpatched one of his truſty friends, by name *Unulf*, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his reſolution, and obtain

Partharit *driven from the court of* Chagan.

[a] Idem. ibid. & c. 19.

He recurs to Grimoald, *who receives him kindly.*

obtain leave for him to reſide at *Pavia*. *Grimoald*, highly pleaſed with the confidence the unfortunate prince repoſed in him, and glad of ſuch an opportunity to ſhew his generoſity, complied with the requeſt, and ordered a houſe to be got ready for him in *Pavia* every way fit for his reception. Upon his arrival, he received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs; but obſerving, that the multitude attended his entry with unuſual marks of joy, and that perſons of diſtinction flocked to him night and day, and ſeemed, in a manner, to reſpect him ſtill as their prince, he began to be apprehenſive, leſt they ſhould attempt to reſtore him to the throne. This jealouſy increaſed daily, and at length wrought upon him ſo far, that, after ſome time, he placed a guard upon him; and his fears, by degrees, getting the better of his generoſity, he one day ſent private orders to the guard to diſpatch him the following night. Theſe orders, however private, did not eſcape the vigilancy of his truſty friend *Unulf*, who, acquainting *Partharit* with them, adviſed him to change cloaths with him, and, thus diſguiſed, to attempt his eſcape. *Partharit* followed his advice, and, having by that means deceived the centinels, he paſſed the *Teſino* undiſcovered, and finding, on the other ſide of the river, horſes and guides provided for him by the care of *Unulf*, he eſcaped firſt to *Haſta*, thence to *Turin*, and at laſt into *Gaul*. *Grimoald*, being informed the next morning of what had happened, was ſo far from puniſhing *Unulf*, that on the contrary, he beſtowed the higheſt commendations upon him for his unſhaken fidelity, leaving it to his choice either to ſtay at home, or follow his maſter. *Clotaire* III. then king of the *Franks*, was ſo touched with the misfortunes of *Partharit* and his family, that the following year he ſent a powerful army into *Italy* to replace him on the throne. *Grimoald*, well apprized that he was far inferior in ſtrength to the *Franks*, had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: at their approach he pretended to fly, leaving his camp well ſtored with all manner of proviſions, eſpecially with wine. Hereupon the inconſiderate *Franks*, inſtead of purſuing the enemy, began to plunder the camp; and, finding in it great plenty of proviſions, they abandoned themſelves to eating and drinking, which when they had done to exceſs, they betook themſelves to reſt, without the leaſt apprehenſion of an enemy. But *Grimoald*, returning in the dead of the night, fell upon them while they lay faſt aſleep, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of them before they could betake themſelves to their arms, that few of them were left alive to carry home the news of their defeat [t].

But afterwards orders him to be put to death.

He makes his eſcape.

The Franks *eſpouſe his cauſe.*

But receive a total overthrow.
Year after Chriſt 663.

Grimoald, thus happily delivered from one war, was ſoon involved in another. Hitherto the emperors, neglecting the affairs of *Italy*, ſeemed to have laid aſide all thoughts of reuniting it to the empire, being well ſatisfied if they could but keep the few provinces and cities they held there, *viz.* the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the dukedom of *Rome*, and thoſe of *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Amalfi*, with ſome cities of *Calabria* and *Brutium*. But *Conſtans*, the ſon of *Conſtantine* and grandſon of *Heraclius*, having ſettled the affairs of the empire rent into parties and factions, reſolved to employ his whole ſtrength in driving the *Lombards* quite out of *Italy*. Purſuant to this reſolution, he cauſed a powerful fleet to be fitted out in *Sicily*; and, not ſatisfied with appointing the beſt officers he had to command in this expedition, he left *Conſtantinople*, and, coming into *Italy*, put himſelf at the head of his army. Some writers tell us, that, having murdered his brother *Theodore*, he was ſo haunted with ghaſtly ſpectres and terrible dreams, that, being no longer able to bear the ſight of the place where the murder had been committed, he left *Conſtantinople*, and repaired to *Italy*, hoping to find there ſome relief for his tormented conſcience. Others aſcribe his departure from the imperial ſeat to the hatred, which the *Conſtantinopolitans* bore him, on account of his having embraced the tenets of the *Monothelites*; and add, that he deſigned to transfer the ſeat of the empire from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome* [u]. But the moſt credible writers, and among the reſt *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* and *Paulus Diaconus*, [w] ſuppoſe him to have undertaken his journey into *Italy* upon no other account, but to drive the *Lombards* quite out of that country. Be that as it will, he landed at *Tarentum* in the ſpring of the year 663. and thence marched directly to *Benevento*, being joined on his march by the troops in the dukedom of *Naples*. This unexpected invaſion with a very conſiderable army, commanded by the emperor in perſon, ſtruck the *Lombards* of *Benevento* with ſuch terror and conſternation, that they abandoned ſeveral places in *Apulia*, and among the reſt *Luceria*, which *Conſtans* deſtroyed. From *Luceria* the emperor marched to *Acerenza*; but not being able to take

The expedition of the emperor Conſtans *into* Italy.

He takes ſome places, and beſieges Benevento.

[t] Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 2.—5. [u] Vide Sigon. de regn. Ital. ad ann. 663. [w] Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 4.

take it by ſtorm, on account of its ſtrong ſiutation, he purſued his march without loſs of time to *Benevento*, and inveſted the place with his whole army. *Romuald*, the ſon of *Grimoald*, at that time duke of *Benevento*, immediately diſpatched *Geſuald*, who had been his guardian, to acquaint his father with the danger he was in, and to ſolicit ſuccours. In the mean time, the *Lombards* not only repulſed with great vigour the *Romans* in their repeated aſſaults, but killed great numbers of them in the ſallies they daily made. *Grimoald* no ſooner heard, that the city was beſieged, than he aſſembled, with incredible expedition, all his forces, and, putting himſelf at their head, he marched to the relief of his ſon. He diſpatched back *Geſuald* to give him notice, that, in a very ſhort time, he ſhould be relieved, and to encourage him to hold out till his arrival. But *Geſuald* was unfortunately taken by the *Romans*, as he was attempting to get into the beſieged city, and carried before the emperor, to whom he ingenuouſly owned, that he was ſent by the king to acquaint the beſieged, that he was in full march, and already very near, with a powerful army to relieve them. The emperor, perplexed and greatly alarmed at this news, reſolved to conclude a peace with *Romuald*, that he might retire unmoleſted to *Naples* before the arrival of the king. But, in order to obtain better conditions, he commanded *Geſuald* to go to the walls, and tell *Romuald*, that his father could not poſſibly come to his relief, threatening to put him to a cruel death, if he refuſed to obey. *Geſuald* promiſed to do as he required; but when *Romuald* appeared upon the walls, with undaunted courage, and a loud voice, that *Romans* there preſent might likewiſe hear, *Take courage*, he cried, *and baniſh all fear; for your father is near at hand with a powerful army to relieve you. This night he will reach the river* Sangro. *I earneſtly recommend to you my dear wife and children; for I am in the hands of a perfidious enemy, who this moment will put me to death.* The emperor, highly provoked at this generous and bold action, inſtantly cauſed his head to be cut off, and with an engine to be thrown into the town, where it was taken up, and carried to *Romuald*, who, having kiſſed it with great affection, and bathed it with his tears, cauſed it together with the reſt of the body, which was ſoon after found, to be interred with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. In the mean time, the emperor, hearing the king of the *Lombards* was within a ſhort march of him, raiſed the ſiege, and began, in great haſte, his march to *Naples*. But *Mitula* duke of *Capua*, meeting him at the river *Calore*, cut off great numbers of his men, and obliged the reſt, together with the emperor, to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. To revenge this diſgrace, *Sabarrus*, one of the emperor's generals, engaged to give the *Lombards* a total overthrow, and put *Grimoald* himſelf to flight, provided he were allowed but twenty thouſand men, with an unlimited command. *Conſtans* having granted him his requeſt, he encamped at the paſs of *Formiæ*, now, as is generally ſuppoſed, *Mola di Gaeta*, with a deſign to cover the emperor's march, who intended to viſit *Rome*, and, when he was out of danger, to go in queſt of the enemy. In the mean time, *Grimoald*, arriving with his army at *Benevento*, and being there informed of the boaſting engagement of *Saburrus*, reſolved to march directly againſt him, and offer him battle; but his ſon *Romuald* earneſtly intreating him to ſuffer him to command the army in his room, he complied with his requeſt, and detached the young prince with the flower of his army, who, meeting *Saburrus* in the neighbourhod of *Formiæ*, fell upon him with great intrepidity. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their leader, who behaved very gallantly, made a vigorous ſtand; ſo that the victory continued a long time doubtful. But, while both armies were fighting with the utmoſt fury, a *Lombard*, by name *Amelogus*, engaging a *Roman* horſeman, firſt ſtruck him from his horſe, and then, lifting him up on the point of his ſpear, held him over his head in the ſight of the *Roman* army; which ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they began to give ground, and, being vigorouſly preſſed by the *Lombards*, they abandoned in the end the field of battle, and betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. *Romuald*, having purſued them for ſome time with great ſlaughter, returned to the field of battle, and from thence to *Benevento*, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at the gates by the king his father, and received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants, as the deliverer of his country [x]. In the mean time, *Conſtans*, arriving at *Rome*, was received there with extraordinary marks of honour, no emperor having, for a long time, ſet his foot in that city. He ſpent twelve days in viſiting, or in rather plundering, the remarkable places of that great metropolis; for he ſtripped her of all her moſt valuable

He raiſes the ſiege, and is defeated in his retreat.

The Roman *army utterly defeated by* Romuald. *Year after Chriſt* 663.

[x] Idem ibid.

able ornaments in gold, silver, brass, and marble, not sparing even the coverings of churches, which he caused to be conveyed by sea into *Sicily*, in order to transport them from thence to *Constantinople*. He himself went by land to *Naples*, and from thence to *Rhegium*, where his army was a third time defeated by the *Lombards*. From *Rhegium* he crossed over into *Sicily*, and fixed his residence at *Syracuse*, where he was murdered in the bath by his own people in 668. so that the inestimable wealth and plunder, which he had brought from *Rome*, being left in *Sicily*, was, soon after his death, seized by the *Saracens*, and carried to *Alexandria* [y]. After his departure from *Italy*, the *Lombards*, wholly intent upon improving their late victores, made themselves masters of *Bari*, *Tarento*, *Brindisi*, and all the places in that country now known by the name of *Terra d'Otranto*, which were added to the dukedom of *Benevento*. *Grimoald*, to reward *Mitula* duke of *Capua*, who had defeated the *Romans* in their retreat from *Benevento*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at the same time appointed him to succeed the late duke *Zotho* in the dukedom of *Spoletum*; which two dukedoms he governed for many years.

The Lombards *make themselves masters of several cities*

WHILE *Grimoald* was employed against the *Romans* in the dukedom of *Benevento*, *Lupus* duke of *Friuli*, taking advantage of his absence, oppressed his people in a most enormous manner, and, not satisfied with the wealth, which, by heavy taxes, he extorted from them, he broke into the territories of the *Venetian Lombards*, and there plundered the church of *Aquileia* of all its rich ornaments. For this the king, upon his return to *Pavia*, resolved to call him to a severe account; which he apprehending, renounced his allegiance to *Grimoald*, and openly revolted. *Grimoald* was determined at all events to punish him with exemplary severity; but being unwilling to lead his *Lombards* against their countrymen, or suffer them to imbrue their hands in the blood of each other, he employed *Chagan* king of the *Huns* to make war upon him, who broke into his territories the following year at the head of an infinite multitude, and laid them waste far and near. This *Lupus* did not tamely suffer; but, drawing together what forces he could, he marched against the *Huns*, and, engaging them four days successively, made a dreadful havock of the undisciplined multitude; but, in the fifth engagement, his men being tired out and quite spent, they were, after a most obstinate dispute, in which *Lupus* himself was killed, overpowered and put to flight. Upon the death of *Lupus* and the defeat of his army, *Chagan* over-ran the whole country, and laid it waste without controul. But *Grimoald*, who had employed the king of the *Huns* only to punish the rebellious duke, sent embassadors to put him in mind of their agreement, and require him to retire with his forces, since there was no further occasion for them in the dukedom of *Friuli*, or the territories of the *Lombards*. *Chagan* answered plainly, That he would not quit a country, which he had conquered with his arms, and the blood of so many of his subjects. *Grimoald*, provoked at this answer, resolved to drive him out by force; and accordingly marched against him at the head of a very considerable army; but as it was far inferior in numbers to that of the *Huns*, in order to make it appear more numerous than it really was, he mustered his troops in the presence of *Chagan*'s embassadors, and made the same men pass thrice before him in different cloathing. By this device they appeared to be treble the number they really were; and such they were by the embassadors represented to the king, who thereupon, in great fear, retired to his own dominions [c]. Upon the retreat of *Chagan*, *Warnefrid*, son to the deceased duke, attempted, with the assistance of the *Sclavonians*, to possess himself of his father's dukedom; but *Grimoald*, having defeated the *Sclavonians*, and killed *Warnefrid*, appointed one *Welcar* to succeed *Lupus* in the dukedom of *Friuli*; and at the same time married *Theodorata*, the daughter of *Lupus*, to his son *Romuald*, duke of *Benevento* [a]. About this time *Alczecus*, one of the princes of the *Bulgarians*, abandoning his own country, entered *Italy* with a body of his countrymen, and, repairing to *Pavia*, offered his service to *Grimoald*, who, thinking he might prove very serviceable to his son against the *Romans*, sent him to *Benevento*, in which dukedom several cities were allotted to him and his followers, as we have related elsewhere [b].

The duke of Friuli *revolts.*

He is killed by the Hunns.

Welcar *appointed duke of* Friuli.

AND now *Grimoald*, having no wars on his hands, and no enemy to fear, applied himself wholly to the arts of peace. The laws of king *Rotharis*, which had been published twenty-four years before, were by this time become familiar, not only to the *Lombards*, for whom they had been made, but likewise to the natives of *Italy*, who

Grimoald *corrects the edict of* Rotharis.

[y] Idem ibid, & PAGI de consulib. p. 348. c. 21.

[a] PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 17—23. [a] Idem ibid.

[b] Vide supra, p. 624.

a who chose to follow them, though they had never been forbidden the use of the *Roman* laws; but these laws, in process of time, proving, as it generally happens, defective, and some of them being thought too severe, *Grimoald*, in the sixth year of his reign, undertook the revising of the edict of *Rotharis*, and, in a general diet held in the year 668. with the consent and approbation of his nobles, repealed some laws, enacted others in their room, published a new edict [c], containing eleven chapters, which is still to be seen in the above-mentioned code lodged in the monastery of *Cava*. *Grimoald*, having thus performed all the duties of an excellent prince, was, to the great grief of the *Lombards*, unexpectedly snatched away by the following accident: he had been let blood in one of his arms, and as he was, nine days after,
b bending a bow, the vein opened, and, all possible means for closing it proving ineffectual, he bled to death [d]. He was a prince of uncommon parts, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. Though he had been brought up in the principles of *Arius*, he renounced the errors of that heresiarch, and embraced the catholic religion, yielding to the arguments of *John* bishop of *Bergamo*, a prelate of great piety and learning. The example of *Grimoald* was followed by the kings his successors, who all professed the catholic religion; so that *Arianism* was, in a short time, forsaken by the whole nation of the *Lombards*. He died in the year 672. the ninth of his reign, leaving behind him, besides *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*, another son, by name *Garibald*, to whom, though yet very young, he bequeathed on his death-bed the kingdom of the *Lombards*. From his excluding *Romuald*, authors concluded that prince to have been his illegitimate son. Be that as it will, *Garibald* did not long enjoy his new dignity; for he had scarce mounted the throne, when *Partharit*, who was still in *Gaul*, hearing of the death of his rival, hastened into *Italy*, and, being received with extraordinary joy by great numbers of *Lombards*, he advanced, attended by crouds of followers, to *Pavia*, and was there received by the inhabitants and the great men of the nation, as their lawful sovereign, *Garibald* having withdrawn to his brother in *Benevento*, after a short reign of three months. *Partharit*, thus restored to the throne, recalled his wife *Rodelinda* and his son *Cunipert*, who, ever since his expulsion, had been in exile at *Benevento*. Having reigned alone in great peace and tranquillity for the space of eight years, in the latter end of the year 680. he took his son *Cunipert* for his partner in the kingdom, and reigned with him ten years more. During their joint reign, *Alachis* duke of *Trent*, openly revolting, assumed the title of king of the *Lombards*. Hereupon *Partharit*, marching against him with all his forces, besieged him in his own city; but *Alachis*, sallying out with the flower of his troops, obliged the king to raise the siege, and save himself by flight. However, *Alachis*, finding himself abandoned by the greater part of his men, who refused to bear arms against their lawful sovereign, thought it advisable to submit, upon promise of pardon; which *Partharit* granted him, at the earnest request of his son *Cunipert*, who had a great friendship for the duke, with whom he had been brought up from his infancy; nay, the young prince, in order to win him by kindness, not only prevailed upon his father to take him anew into favour, but to create him duke of *Brescia*, adding that dukedom to the dukedom of *Trent*. The king on that occasion told his son, That, by his good offices, he did not so much oblige a friend, as strengthen an enemy; but nevertheless he could not help complying with his request. Some time after, *Partharit* died, a prince highly commended by our historian for his piety, justice, moderation, and above all for the great care he took of the poor [e]. Three years before his death, *Deodorus Calliopa* the exarch was recalled, and one *John* sent to govern *Italy* in his room. *Alachis*, duke of *Trent* and *Brescia*, was no sooner informed of the death of *Partharit*, than, unmindful of the favours he had received at the hands of *Cunipert*, he resolved to drive him from the throne, and place the crown upon his own head, agreeable to what *Partharit* had foretold his son, while he was studying to gain him by kindness. The rebellious duke, having drawn into the conspiracy two brothers, *Aldo*, and *Granso*, the two most considerable citizens of *Brescia*, and several other *Lombards*, while the king was absent, seized on the royal place of *Pavia*, and took upon him the title of king. Hereupon *Cunipert*, who was quite unprovided, not imagining the duke could be guilty of such treachery and ingratitude, fled to an island in the lake *Larius*, now *Lago di Como*, and there fortified himself in the best manner he could. In the mean time, the usurper, behaving in a most despotic and tyrannical manner, highly disobliged

Grimoald *dies. Year after Christ* 672.

Garibald *succeeds; but is driven out by* Partharit.

Who takes his son Cunipert *for his partner.*

Partharit *dies. Year after Christ* 690.

Alachis *duke of* Trent *revolts, and drives* Cunipert *from the throne.*

[c] Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 12. & Sigon. de regn. Ital. l. ii. ad ann. 668 [d] Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 33.
[e] Idem, l. v. c. 36.

liged all his ſubjects, even thoſe to whom he was chiefly indebted for the crown he a
wore. As he was one day telling money in his cloſet, he happened to let a piece
drop, which the ſon of *Aldo*, who was preſent, officiouſly took up, and gave him.
The tyrant, in receiving it, *Your father*, ſaid he, *has many ſuch pieces, which, ere it
be long, ſhall be all mine.* As the ſon of *Aldo* was but a child, the tyrant was not upon
his guard; but the boy, remembring what he ſaid, upon his return home, told it
to his father, who concluding from thence, that his death and the ruin of his family
would be the reward of all his ſervices, if he did not, by ſome means or other, pre-
vent them, conſulted with his brother *Granſo* and his other friends, about depoſing
the uſurper. They all agreed to ſeize on the city of *Pavia*, and recal their lawful
ſovereign, the firſt time *Alachis* ſhould go out to take the diverſion of hunting. This b
they did accordingly, to the great ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, eſpecially of the
clergy, whom the tyrant had chiefly diſobliged. *Alachis*, finding upon his return
the gates ſhut againſt him, and *Cunipert* anew poſſeſſed of the royal palace, fled into *Iſtria*,
and, having raiſed a conſiderable army there, he returned at the head of it, not
doubting but he ſhould be able to drive *Cunipert* anew from the throne. The king,
hearing of his return, drew together all his forces, and, meeting the uſurper in the
plains of *Coronata*, he challenged him to a ſingle combat, in order to ſave the lives of
many innocent men, who muſt otherwiſe periſh; but *Alachis* refuſing the challenge,
the two armies began to prepare for a general engagement. While they were drawn
up, and *Cunipert* ready to charge the enemy, one *Zeno*, a deacon of the church of c
Pavia, greatly attached, as were all the eccleſiaſtics, to the king's perſon, and firmly
perſuaded, that the welfare of the church depended upon his ſafety, with the greateſt
earneſtneſs imaginable, begged leave to put on his armour, and counterfeit his perſon:
If I periſh, ſaid he, *the loſs will be ſmall; but upon your ſafety depends the welfare both
of the church and ſtate.* The king being, with much ado, prevailed upon by the
tears and intreaties of his friends to accept the propoſal, *Zeno* put on his armour, and
appeared in it ſo like the king, whom he reſembled in ſhape and ſtature, that he
could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from him; ſo that, when the two armies joined battle,
Alachis, miſtaking him for the king, engaged him with the utmoſt fury, and, have-
ing with great eaſe overcome and ſlain him, in the greateſt tranſports of joy imagin- d
able, he ordered his head to be cut off, and expoſed to the view of both armies on
the point of a ſpear; but, finding it was the head of a prieſt, and not of the king,
his joy was ſucceeded by a violent rage and paſſion, in which he vowed to emaſculate
all the eccleſiaſtics, in caſe he obtained the victory. In the mean time, *Cunipert*,
obſerving that his men, diſheartned with the report of his death, began to give
ground, ſhewed himſelf to them, and, by ſhewing himſelf, encouraged them to ſuch
a degree, that, returning to the charge, they renewed the fight with freſh vigour.
However, *Cunipert*, to avoid the effuſion of blood, ſent a ſecond time to *Alachis*,
inviting him to decide the quarrel by a ſingle combat; but he declining anew the
challenge, the two armies fought with the utmoſt fury, till, *Alachis* being ſlain, his e
men, diſheartened by his death, fled in the utmoſt confuſion. Moſt of them were
cut off in the flight, and the reſt drowned in the *Adige*. The army of the dukedom
of *Friuli*, which *Alachis* enticed to his party, while they were marching to the aſſiſt-
ance of the king, withdrew in the beginning of the battle, ſcrupling either to fight
againſt him, to whom they had ſworn allegiance, or againſt their lawful ſovereign.
Cunipert, after this victory, which put an end to the civil war, returned in triumph
to *Pavia*, having firſt cauſed the deacon *Zeno* to be interred with the greateſt pomp
and ſolemnity. He afterwards built, in honour of St. *George*, a magnificent mona-
ſtery in the field where the battle had been fought [f]. *Cunipert*, having thus happily
ſuppreſſed ſo dangerous a rebellion, reigned in great peace and tranquillity till the f
year 703. when he died, univerſally lamented; for he was a prince, ſays our hiſto-
rian, of a moſt comely aſpect, of a ſweet temper, engaging behaviour, great cou-
rage, and extraordinary piety [g]. He had married *Hermelinda*, a princeſs of the
blood royal of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and had by her one ſon, named *Luitbert*, to whom
he bequeathed the kingdom; but, as he was then an infant, he committed him to
the care of *Aſprand*, a perſon of great diſtinction among the *Lombards*, and highly
eſteemed for his wiſdom. *Luitbert*, or rather *Aſprand*, had ſcarce governed eight
months, when *Ragumbert*, duke of *Turin*, taking upon him the title of king, defeated
Aſprand in battle, and cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged by the whole nation; but
he

Cunipert re-ſtored.

War between him and Ala-chis.

Alachis *killed, and his army defeated.*

Cunipert *dies. Year after Chriſt* 703.

Luitbert *ſuc-ceeds; but is driven out by* Ragumbert.

[f] Idem. ibid. c. 38.—41.

[g] Idem. ibid.

he died the ſame year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Aripert*, in whoſe reign *Luitbert*, aſſiſted by ſeveral dukes, attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but he was utterly defeated by the uſurper, and taken priſoner, in a battle fought at a ſmall diſtance from *Pavia*. *Rotharit* duke of *Bergamo*, who had eſpouſed with great zeal the cauſe of the king, fled, after the defeat of the army, to his own city, in which he was cloſely beſieged by *Aripert*, who, having in the end made himſelf maſter of the place, ſent the duke to *Turin*, where he was ſoon after put to death by his orders. *Luitbert*, his young competior, met with no better treatment; for he ſoon after ordered him to be ſtifled in a bath. As for *Aſprand*, whom, above all others, the tyrant was deſirous of getting into his power, he fled firſt to the above-mentioned
b iſland in the lake *Larius*; but being informed, that a ſtrong detachment was marching againſt him, he fled from thence to *Ravenna*, and from *Ravenna* to *Theudebert* duke of the *Boioarii*, with whom he continued for the ſpace of nine years. *Aripert*'s men reduced the iſland; but, not finding *Aſprand* there, they returned to *Aripert*, who, tranſported with rage at his diſappointment, put out the eyes of *Sigibrand* the ſon of *Aſprand*, and at the ſame time cauſed the noſe and ears of his wife *Theuderata*, and daughter *Aurona*, to be cut off. *Aſprand* had another ſon, by name *Luitprand*; but the tyrant ſpared him, as he was yet a child, and ſent him to his father, Providence reſerving him, as our hiſtorian obſerves, for great things [h]. *Aripert*, notwithſtanding the acts of cruelty he practiſed in the beginning of his reign, is ſaid to have ruled
c afterwards with great prudence and equity. He was a great friend to the eccleſiaſtics, and very liberal to the churches, which he enriched with ample donations. To the church of *Rome* he reſtored many lands, eſpecially the patrimony of the *Alps Cottiæ*, which had been ſeized on by king *Rotharis*. We are told, that he ſent the inſtrument of this donation to the biſhop of *Rome* written in golden letters [i] (W). In the ninth year of his reign, *Aſprand* returned into *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, raiſed by the duke of the *Boioarii*, who, having eſpouſed his cauſe with great warmth, reſolved to aſſiſt him with all his ſtrength, in revenging the cruel treatment his wife and children had met with at the king's hands. *Aripert* met him on the confines with an army no-ways inferior to his. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, which
d laſted till night parted the combatants. The next day *Aſprand* was for renewing the fight; but *Aripert*, though he had not loſt near ſo many men as his adverſary, yet declining,

Ragumbert *ſucceeded by his ſon* Aripert.

Who puts Luitbert *to death.*

His cruelty.

Is liberal to the churches.

Aſprand *returns into* Italy.

[h] Idem ibid: c. 18—21. & l. vi. c. 22. [i] Idem, l. vi. c. 28.

(W) The lands and eſtates, which the churches acquired, not only within the diſtrict of their reſpective cities, but in diſtant countries, were ſtyled patrimonies, as were likewiſe the hereditary eſtates both of princes and private perſons, but with this difference, that the prince's eſtate was called *patrimonium ſacrum* as appears from ſeveral conſtitutions of the *Juſtinian* code (1). The *patrimonium ſacrum* was what we now call the king's demain. As for the churches, ſo many profuſe donations were made to them, both by princes and private perſons, that, in proceſs of time, they acquired great eſtates, which, according to the ſtyle of thoſe times, were called *patrimonies*. Thus, in the letters of pope *Gregory the Great*, frequent mention is made, not only of the patrimony of the church of *Rome*, but of the church of *Milan*, *Rimini*, *Ravenna*, and ſeveral others. The churches of great cities, ſuch as *Rome*, *Ravenna*, and *Milan*, where the emperor's officers, and other illuſtrious perſons, reſided, acquired patrimonies, not only within their own diſtrict, but in diſtant countries; whereas the churches of ſmaller cities, whoſe inhabitants had but moderate fortunes, and their eſtates within their own limits, had no patrimonies out of their diſtricts. The church of *Rome*, above all others, acquired, by degrees, immenſe patrimonies, not only in *Italy*, but in the moſt diſtant provinces of *Europe* (2). In the time of *Gregory the Great*, that church held ample patrimonies in *Sicily*; for *Gregory*, in a letter to *Juſtin* governor of *Sicily* for the emperor, intreats him to cauſe the corn of the patrimony of St. *Peter* to be, without delay, conveyed to *Rome*, where there was great ſcarcity. The church of *Rome* had likewiſe a patrimony in *France*, and another in *Dalmatia*, of which the latter was committed to the care of one *Antoninus* a ſubdeacon, and the former to that of a prieſt named *Candidus*, whom *Gregory*, in one of his letters, earneſtly recommends to queen *Brunichild*, and likewiſe to king *Childebert* her ſon. In a letter to *Candidus*, he ſhews him how the revenues of that patrimony are to be diſpoſed of; nay, from the letters of the ſame pope it appears, that the church of *Rome* had, in his time, a patrimony in *Africa*; for, in a letter to *Gennadius* exarch of that province, he returns him thanks for taking care of the patrimony of St. *Peter* there, and in particular for ſending ſuch as depended upon him to till the lands, which had been abandoned by the tenants. In *Italy* the patrimonies of the *Roman* church were almoſt without number. In the province of the *Alpes Cottiæ* ſhe had a large patrimony, which was ſeized, and for a long time poſſeſſed, by the *Lombards*; but reſtored to her by king *Aripert* in the time of pope *John* VII. *Aripert* king of the *Lombards*, ſays *Paulus Diaconus*, reſtored the patrimony of the *Alpes Cottiæ* belonging to the apoſtolic ſee, but for a long time poſſeſſed by the *Lombards*, and ſent the donation to *Rome* in golden letters (3). This donation was, according to the ſame writer, confirmed by king *Luitprand*. Other patrimonies were held by the ſame church, as appears from the letters of ſeveral popes, in the exarchate of *Ravenna*, in the dukedom of *Naples*, in the territories of *Salerno* and *Nola*, in the provinces of *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Abruzzo*, *Liguria*, *Tuſcany*, &c. That theſe patrimonies might be the more reſpected,

(1) *Cod Juſtin. l.* xii. (2) *Vide Ammirat. in opuſc. diſcept.* vii. (3) *Pal. Diac. l.* vi. *c.* 28.

declining, for reaſons unknown to our hiſtorian, a ſecond engagement, he left the a
enemy maſters of the field of battle, and retired to *Pavia*. Being purſued by *Aſprand*,
whoſe men were no leſs encouraged by his retreat, than *Aripert*'s were diſheartened,
he abandoned *Pavia*, with a deſign to paſs into *Gaul*, and there hire a new army,
carrying with him for that effect the beſt part of his treaſures; but, attempting to
Aripert *drowned.* ſwim croſs the *Teſino*, he was drowned in that river. His body was found the next
day, and buried with great pomp in the church of St. *Saviour*, founded by *Aribert*,
the firſt of that name. His brother, by name *Guntbert*, fled to the king of the
Franks, and continued at his court to his death. *Raginbert*, the eldeſt ſon of *Gunt-*
bert, governed the city of *Orleans* for the king of the *Franks* in the time of our hiſto-
Aſprand *declared king.* rian [k]. The throne being vacant by the death of *Aripert*, *Aſprand* was placed on it b
by the unanimous conſent of the whole nation; but he dying three months after his
acceſſion, his ſon *Luitprand* ſucceeded him in the kingdom of the *Lombards*. But,
before we ſpeak of his reign, we ſhall relate what happened till his time, worthy of
notice, in the other provinces of *Italy* ſubject to the *Lombards*.

The dukes of Benevento. In the year 677. died *Romuald* duke of *Benevento*, and was ſucceeded by *Grimoald* II.
his ſon, to whom he left that dukedom greatly inlarged by the addition of *Tarento*,
Brindiſi, *Bari*, and their territories, which he took from the emperor of the eaſt, as
we have related above. *Grimoald* governed, with his brother *Giſulph* not quite three
years; and, upon his death, *Giſulph* held the dukedom alone fourteen years more. c
All we find recorded of him in hiſtory is his laying waſte, upon what provocation
we know not, the territory of *Rome*. *Giſulph* dying in 694. was ſucceeded in the
dukedom by his ſon *Romuald* II. who ruled twenty-ſix years, during which time he
greatly haraſſed the *Neapolitans*, and by, a ſtratagem, made himſelf maſter of *Cumæ*,
belonging to them. Hereupon *Gregory* II. then biſhop of *Rome*, apprehending that
metropolis to be in danger, did all that lay in his power to perſuade the duke to
reſtore *Cumæ*, offering him even a conſiderable ſum in lieu of it. But his offers, and
every other fair means, proving ineffectual, the biſhop in the end thundred againſt
him the ſentence of excommunication; but finding, that *Grimoald* made no more
account of his excommunications, than his offers, he had recourſe to *John* duke of
Naples,

[k] Idem ibid. c. 55.

the biſhops gave them the names of the ſaints, which each church had in ſpecial veneration. Thus the poſſeſſions of the church of *Ravenna* were called the patrimony of St. *Apollinaris*; thoſe of *Rome*, *Milan*, *Naples*, &c. the patrimony of *St. Peter*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Aſpremus*, &c. The name of patrimony did not import any ſovereignty or juriſdiction; for the pope, as well as the other biſhops, held their patrimonies of the prince, in whoſe ſtate they lay, paying the ſame taxes and impoſitions as other ſubjects. It is true, that, in ſome places, thoſe who had care of the patrimonies of St. *Peter*, attempted to take the adminiſtration of juſtice into their own hands; but this no prince would ſuffer; and beſides, *Gregory the great* forbid all attempts and encroachments of that kind, on pain of excommunication (4). In the year 681. the emperor *Conſtantine Pogonatus* granted an exemption from all tribute for the patrimonies of the *Roman* church in *Sicily* and *Calabria*; and the tribute paid for the patrimonies of the ſame church in *Lucania* and *Abruzzo* was remitted by *Juſtinian*, the ſucceſſor of *Conſtantine*, in 687. But *Leo Iſauricus*, provoked againſt the *biſhop* of *Rome*, on account of his hindering the imperial edict againſt the worſhip of images from being put in execution, firſt revoked the exemptions granted by his predeceſſors for the patrimonies in *Sicily* and *Calabria*; and afterwards, as the biſhop continued to oppoſe the edict, he ſeized on thoſe patrimonies, and ordered the revenues to be paid into the exchequer. The church of *Rome* poſſeſſed, as we have obſerved, ſeveral patrimonies in the different provinces of *Italy*, and this gave riſe to a great miſtake among the writers of later times, who, confounding the patrimonies which the church of *Rome* held in thoſe provinces with the provinces themſelves, have ſuppoſed the provinces of the *Alpes Cottiæ*, of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleto*, and part of *Tuſcany* and *Campania*, to have belonged to the church of *Rome*. Into this miſtake ſeveral eminent authors have fallen, and among the reſt *Scipio Ammiratus*, who, though otherwiſe a moſt exact and accurate writer, ſuppoſes king *Aripert*, by the donation we have mentioned above, to have reſtored and confirmed to pope *John* VII. the province of the *Alpes Cottiæ* (5); whereas it is evident from the words of the hiſtorian, that the king reſtored to the church of *Rome* the patrimony, which ſhe had in that province, and not the province itſelf, which reached as far as *Genoa*, and compriſed a great tract of country, in which were many cities of note, and places of great importance. It is ſurpriſing any one ſhould imagine, that the king of the *Lombards* would have diveſted himſelf of ſuch a country, and given it to the pope, whom he knew to be greatly attached to the emperors of the eaſt, the implacable enemies of the *Lombards*. But of this ſubject we ſhall ſpeak more at length hereafter, on occaſion of the many famous donations made to the church of *Rome* by *Charlemagne* and *Lewis the Pious*, where it will appear, that what we read in them of *Naples*, *Benevento*, and *Salerno*, ought to be underſtood of the patrimonies, which the church of *Rome* had in thoſe dukedoms, and not of the dukedoms themſelves, it being certain, that the dukedom of *Benevento* came firſt under the dominion of the church in the year 1052. by way of exchange made between the emperor *Henry* II. and pope *Leo* IX. for the church of *Bamberg* (6).

(4) *Vide Ant. Matt. man. ad jus can. l.* iii. *tit.* 17.
(6) *Vide Pietro Giann. hiſt. civil. di Napoli, l.* iv. *ſect.* 4.

(5) *Scip. Ammirat. opuſc. diſcept.* vii.

Naples, whom he adviſed to attack the city in the night; which he did accordingly,
a and, having made himſelf maſter of the place, he put three hundred *Lombards*, with their gaſtald, to the ſword, and took five hundred more priſoners, whom he carried with him to *Naples*. As for the city, he ſold it to the biſhop, as had been agreed on before-hand, for ſeventy pounds weight of gold [l]. *Romuald* died in 720. and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Adelai*, who governed only two years, and performed nothing worthy of notice. In the dukedom of *Friuli*, *Welcar*, who had been appointed duke by *Grimoald*, as we have related above, was ſucceeded by *Landar*, and he by *Rodoald*, in whoſe abſence one *Ansfrid* ſeized on the dukedom, and ſoon after, aſpiring at the crown, began to make vaſt preparations for ſo great an undertaking. But *Cunipert*,
b who reigned then, being privately acquainted with his deſign, found means to intercept him as he was going to *Verona*. However, he ſpared his life, but ſent him into baniſhment, after he had cauſed his eyes to be put out. In the mean time *Rodoald* dying, his brother *Aldo* ſucceeded to the dukedom, which he governed, according to our hiſtorian, but one year and ſeven months [m], though *Sigonius* will have him to have held it ſeven years. *Aldo*, who by *Paulus Diaconus* is ſtyled only protector of the dukedom, was ſucceeded by *Ferdulf*, who was killed by the *Sclavonians*, with all the nobility of the dukedom, except *Munichis*, who had the good fortune to make his eſcape. One *Corvulus* was then appointed duke by king *Aripert*, whom he ſoon diſobliged, and was on that account depoſed, and deprived of his ſight. In his room
c was raiſed to the dukedom one *Pemmo*, who, ſeeking for the ſons of the nobility killed by the *Sclavonians*, brought them up with his own children [n]. During this time died *Mitula*, who had been rewarded by king *Grimoald*, as we have related above, with the dukedom of *Spoleto*, for his gallant behaviour againſt the emperor *Conſtans*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Faroald*, who governed jointly with his brother *Wachilap* [o]. To return, after this ſhort digreſſion, to *Luitprand*:

The dukes of Friuli,

And of Spoleto.

Luitprand. *Year after Chriſt* 711.

THAT prince, from the very beginning of his reign, gave great inſtances of his courage and prudence. He had ſcarce mounted the throne, when one of his kinſmen, named *Rotharis*, conſpiring againſt him, invited him to a banquet at his houſe, where he had aſſaſſins concealed, who, upon a ſignal agreed on before-hand,
d were to ruſh into the room where the king was, and diſpatch him. But *Luitprand*, receiving private intelligence of the treaſon that was hatching againſt him, ſent for *Rotharis* to the palace, who, finding himſelf diſcovered, drew his ſword all on a ſudden, with a deſign to kill the king; but he defended himſelf with great bravery, not ſhewing the leaſt tokens of fear or ſurprize, till his guards, coming in at the noiſe, diſpatched the traitor. He ſometimes ſuffered himſelf to be tranſported by his courage beyond what was prudent in a prince, on whoſe ſafety depended the welfare of his ſubjects. Thus, being informed that two of his attendants had conſpired againſt his life, and only watched a favourable opportunity of putting their deſign in
e execution, he one day walked out with them alone into a thick wood, and there, drawing his ſword, he upbraided them with their treachery, and told them, that they now had what they ſo long wiſhed for, the king alone; and therefore might try, if they pleaſed, to compaſs their wicked deſign. Theſe words, with the king's generoſity, and their own guilt, made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon their minds, that they threw themſelves diſarmed at his feet, and, owning the whole truth, acknowledged themſelves unworthy of mercy. The generous prince, however, not only forgave them, but, receiving them into favour, preferred them afterwards to great employments [p]. Having thus won his enemies at home by his kindneſs, and ſtrengthened his intereſt abroad, by marrying the daughter of the duke of the *Boioarii*, who had
f received and entertained him and his father in their diſtreſs, he applied himſelf, in imitation of his predeceſſors *Rotharis* and *Grimoald*, to the making of new laws, for the better regulation of his kingdom, and adminiſtration of juſtice. Having therefore, in the firſt year of his reign, convened a general diet in *Pavia*, with the conſent and approbation of his nobles, and the judges from all parts of his kingdom, he enacted ſeveral laws, which he added to the edicts of *Rotharis* and *Grimoald*. In the following years he publiſhed many others, as occaſion required; ſo that, next to *Rotharis*, he ought to be accounted the chief lawgiver of the *Lombards* [q]. His firſt edict was publiſhed the laſt day of *February*, in the eleventh indiction, and the firſt year of his reign, as appears from the preface prefixed to it (X), and ſeveral others he

Two conſpiracies againſt him.

He publiſhes a new edict of laws.

[l] Idem, l. v. c. 44. & JOAN. DIAC. apud Ughell. de epiſc. Neap. p. 86. [m] PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 17. [n] Idem ibid. c. 24, 25. [o] Idem ibid. c. 30. [p] Idem ibid. c. 38. [q] Idem, l. vi. c. 58. BERNARD. SACCUS, hiſt. Ticin. l. ix. c. 5. SIGON. reg. Ital. ad ann. 713.

(X) The preface is couched in the following words: "Whereas our moſt mighty predeceſſor "and

he publiſhed the following years; ſo that his laws amounted in the end to an hundred and fifty-two. But the wiſdom this prince ſhewed in ſettling his kingdom with excellent laws, and his other extraordinary parts, were not a little eclipſed by his unbounded ambition; for, not ſatisfied with the large and extenſive dominions left him by his predeceſſors, he undertook to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Italy*; which in the end occaſioned the ruin of the kingdom of the *Lombards* in that country: for the popes growing jealous of their too great power, and finding the emperors of the eaſt incapable of making head againſt them, or putting a ſtop to their conqueſts, had recourſe to a foreign nation, which raiſed a new empire in *Italy*, upon the ruins of the kingdom of the *Lombards*, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory. *Luitprand*, puſhed on by his ambition, watched all opportunities of inlarging his dominions at the expence of the emperors; and in the fifth year of his reign a very favourable one offered: for *Leo Iſauricus*, who at that time reigned in the eaſt, having, by his famous edict, forbidden the worſhip of images, and ordered them to be every-where pulled down, the people were ſo provoked at that innovation, that, in ſeveral places they openly revolted, and, falling upon the emperor's officers, drove them out of the cities. In the eaſt *Germanus*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, oppoſed the emperor's deſign with great warmth; but *Leo* cauſed him to be depoſed, and *Anaſtaſius* to be raiſed to that ſee in his room, ordering at the ſame time all the images in the imperial city to be pulled down, and publicly burnt. He ſtrictly injoined his officers in the weſt, eſpecially the exarch of *Ravenna*, to ſee his edict punctually obeyed in their reſpective governments. In compliance with theſe orders, *Scholaſticus*, then exarch, began to pull down the images in all the churches and public places in *Ravenna*; which incenſed the ſuperſtitious multitude to ſuch a degree, that, taking arms, they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor, than the worſhip of images. Thus a kind of civil war being kindled in the city, *Luitprand* thought he had now a favourable opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the ſeat of the exarch, not doubting but the conqueſt of ſuch an important place would be followed by that of the whole exarchate. Having therefore drawn together all his forces, he unexpectedly appeared before *Ravenna*, and cloſely beſieged it. The exarch little expected ſuch a ſurprize, as a friendly correſpondence had been maintained for many years between the exarchs and the *Lombard* kings. However, he defended the place with ſuch courage and reſolution, that *Luitprand*, deſpairing of ſucceſs, broke up the ſiege, and led his army againſt *Claſſis* at a ſmall diſtance from *Ravenna*, which place he took, plundered, and levelled with the ground. The loſs of this place, and the ſevere treatment the inhabitants met with from the king, threw the citizens of *Ravenna* into the utmoſt conſternation; which *Luitprand* being informed of, he reſolved to take advantage of their fears, and, returning before *Ravenna* while the inhabitants were thus diſheartened, to attempt once more the reduction of that place. Accordingly he led his whole army againſt it, and, by frequent attacks, tired the inhabitants and gariſon to ſuch a degree, that the exarch, finding they could hold out no longer, and deſpairing of relief, privately withdrew.

Diſturbances occaſioned in Italy *by the edict of* Leo Iſauricus.

Luitpand *invades the exarchate.*

Luitprand,

" and moſt eminent king, *Rothar*, publiſhed an edict " for the *Lombards*, wherein he prudently cauſed the " following words to be inſerted; *If the princes of* " *the* Lombards, *our ſucceſſors, find any thing ſuper-* " *fluous in this edict, they may leave it out, and, with* " *the aſſiſtance of God add what they think wanting*: " after him, the moſt glorious king *Grimoald* ac- " cordingly added and left out what to him ſeemed " fit; and we, following his example, and inſpired, " as we hope, by God, have decreed to be added " and omitted ſuch things, as, according to the law " of God, ſeemed to us proper: therefore, in the " name of the omnipotent God, I *Luitprand*, the " moſt excellent, the chriſtian and catholic, king of " the nation of the *Lombards*, beloved of God, in " the firſt year of my reign, the day before the " calends of *March*, in the eleventh indiction, toge- " ther with all the judges from the parts of *Auſtria* " and *Neuſtria*, and borders of *Thuſcia*, with others " of my faithful *Lombards*, and all the people aſſiſt- " ing, am pleaſed with the following regulations, " which to us have appeared good, according to " the fear and love of God." Then follow the ſix chapters of the edict, whereof the firſt bears this title *De ſucceſſione filiarum*. In the fifth year of his reign he publiſhed another edict, and a great many more in the following years, which are all to be ſeen intire in the manuſcript code lodged in the monaſtry of *Cava*, with ſeven other chapters added to them, under the following titles: I. *De mercede magiſtri*. II. *De muro*. III. *De annona*. IV. *De opera*. V. *De caminata*. VI. *De furno*. VII. *De puteo*. The laws of *Luitprand* are in all an hundred and fifty two, as appears from the above-mentioned code; but the compiler of the three books of the laws of the *Lombards* has thought fit to inſert in that work only an hundred and thirty-ſeven of them, *viz.* forty eight in the firſt book, and eighty-nine in the ſecond. As for the third book, it is chiefly compoſed of thoſe laws, which were made by the emperors who reigned in *Italy*, as ſucceſſors to the kings of the *Lombards*; for ſeveral laws were enacted by them, not as emperors or kings of *France*, but as kings of *Italy*, or of the *Lombards*; and hence the *Lombard* laws were never of any force in *France*, nor the *French* laws in *Italy*.

a *Luitprand*, informed of his retreat, attacked the town with more violence than ever, and, having carried it by ſtorm, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who found in it an immenſe booty, as it had been for a long time the ſeat of the *Roman* emperors, of the *Gothic* kings, and the exarchs. The king ſtripped it of moſt of its valuable monuments of antiquity, and cauſed, among the reſt, an equeſtrian ſtatue of an emperor, of wonderful workmanſhip, to be conveyed to *Pavia*, where it is to be ſeen to this day. The reduction of *Ravenna* was followed by the ſurrender of ſeveral cities of the exarchate, which *Luitprand* reduced to a dukedom, appointing *Hildebrand*, his grandſon, to govern it with the title of duke, and giving him, as he was yet an infant, *Peredeus* duke of *Vicenza* for his guardian [r]. *He takes and plunders* Ravenna. *Year after Chriſt* 722.

b THE conqueſt of *Ravenna*, and the greater part of the exarchate, did not a little alarm *Gregory* II. biſhop of *Rome*. He was then at variance with the emperor, whoſe edict againſt the worſhipping of images he had oppoſed with all his might, and by that means provoked *Leo* to ſuch a degree, that he had threatned to drive him from his ſee, and ſend him into exile. However, the pope, no leſs jealous of the power of the *Lombards*, than all his predeceſſors had been, reſolved, by ſome means or other, to put a ſtop to their conqueſts. The only prince in *Italy*, to whom he could have recourſe, was *Urſus* duke of *Venice*, the *Venetians* making already no inconſiderable figure. To him accordingly he wrote a very preſſing letter, conjuring him to aſſiſt his worthy ſon the exarch, and, for the love of the holy faith, to attempt
c with him the recovery of the exarchate, which the wicked nation of the *Lombards* had unjuſtly taken from his ſons *Leo* and *Conſtantine* emperors. *Urſus* and the *Venetians*, moved with the pope's letter, and at the ſame time greatly alarmed at the growth of ſo powerful a neighbour, promiſed to aſſiſt the exarch with the whole ſtrength of their republic, and accordingly fitted out a conſiderable fleet, pretending it was deſigned for the ſervice of the emperor againſt the *Saracens*. At the ſame time the exarch, who had taken refuge in *Venice*, abandoning that place, as it were in deſpair of bringing the duke over to his party, raiſed, in the places ſtill ſubject to the emperor, what forces he was able; and having got together a conſiderable body he marched with them towards *Imola*, giving out, that he deſigned to beſiege that
d city; but turning all on a ſudden towards *Ravenna*, as had been agreed on between him and the *Venetians*, he laid ſiege to it by land, while they inveſted it almoſt at the ſame inſtant by ſea. *Peredeus* defended the town for ſome time with great courage and reſolution, obliging all thoſe, who were able to bear arms, to repair to the walls. But the *Venetians* having, in ſpite of all oppoſition, forced open one of the gates on the ſide of the ſea, the city was taken, and *Peredeus* ſlain, while he was attempting, at the head of a choice body, to drive the enemy from the poſts they had ſeized. As for *Hildebrand*, he fell into the hands of the *Venetians*, who, having thus recovered *Ravenna* to the emperor, returned home, leaving the exarch in poſſeſſion of the city. *Luitprand* was then at *Pavia*; but the town was taken before he could aſſemble his
e troops to relieve it [s]. And now *Gregory* biſhop of *Rome*, to whom the recovery of *Ravenna* was chiefly owing, purſuading himſelf, that the emperor would, out of gratitude, give ear to his remonſtrances and admonitions, began to ſolicit him with more preſſing letters than ever to revoke his edict againſt the worſhip of images; but *Leo* well appriſed, that the biſhop, in all the meaſures he had taken, had been more influenced by a regard to his own intereſt, than to that of the empire, inſtead of hearkening to his remonſtrances, was ſtill more provoked againſt him for thus obſtinately oppoſing the execution of his edict. Being therefore reſolved at all events to have it obſerved in *Rome* itſelf, and, on the other hand, not doubting but the pope would oppoſe it to the laſt with all his might, in order to remove all obſtacles, he
f ſent three officers to *Rome*, with private orders either to diſpatch the pope, or to take him priſoner, and convey him to *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame time he wrote to *Mauritius* duke of *Rome*, ſecretely injoining him to aſſiſt his three officers in their undertaking; but no favourable opportunity offering to put their deſign in execution, the emperor, in the year 725. recalled *Scholaſticus*, and ſent *Paul* a patrician into *Italy*, to govern in his room, with private inſtructions to encourage the above-mentioned officers with the promiſe of great rewards, and to aſſure them of his protection. But in the mean time the plot was diſcovered, and two of the conſpirators apprehended by the citizens of *Rome* and put to death, the third having eſcaped into a monaſtery, where he took the monaſtic habit, and ended his days [t]. Hereupon the exarch, in compliance

Ravenna *recovered by the exarch and the* Venetians.

Leo and pope Gregory quarrel.

[r] PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. c. 32. & ANAST. bibliothecar, in Greg. II. [s] PAUL. DIAC. ibid.
[t] ANASTAS. in Greg. II. SIGON. ad. ann. 725. MARG. FREHER. in chron. exar. Rav. p. 38.

compliance with the emperor's orders, resolved to proceed no longer by secret plots, but by open force. Accordingly he drew together a considerable body of troops, and set out at the head of them on his march to *Rome*, with a design to seize on the pope, and send him, as he had engaged to do, in chains to *Constantinople*. But, on this occasion, *Luitprand*, though highly provoked against *Gregory* for having stirred up the *Venetians* against him, yet resolved to assist him, and the citizens of *Rome*, against the exarch, in order to keep the balance even between them, and, by assisting sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, weaken both. Pursuant to this resolution, he ordered the *Lombards* of *Tuscany*, and those of the dukedom of *Spoleto*, to join the pope, and the inhabitants of *Rome*, who being, by this reinforcement, far superior in strength and number to the exarch, obliged him to return to *Ravenna*, and give over all thoughts of any further attempt on the person of the pope. In the mean time *Leo*, persisting in his former resolution of suppressing throughout his dominions the worship of images, sent fresh orders to the exarch *Paul*, strictly injoining him to cause his edict to be put in execution in all the cities of *Italy* under his empire, especially in *Rome*. At the same time he wrote to the pope, promising him his favour and protection, if he complied with the edict, and declaring him, if he continued to oppose it, a rebel, and no longer vested with the papal dignity. But *Gregory* was so far from yielding to the emperor's threats or promises, that, on the contrary, he solemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution; and at the same time wrote circular letters to the *Venetians*, to king *Luitprand*, to the *Lombard* dukes, and to all the chief cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue stedfast in the catholic faith, and to oppose with all their might such a detestable innovation. These letters made such an impression on the minds of the people in *Italy*, that, though of different interests, and often at war with one another, they all united, protesting they would defend the catholic faith, and the life of the pope in so glorious a cause, at the expence of their own; nay, the citizens of *Rome*, and the inhabitants of *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d' Ancona*, not contenting themselves with such a protestation, openly revolted from the emperor, and, pulling down his statues, they elected, by their own authority, magistrates to govern them during the interregnum. We are even told, that, transported with a blind zeal, they were for chusing a new emperor, and conducting him to *Constantinople*, not doubting but the people would every where join them. But the pope, thinking this resolution unseasonable, and not to be easily put in execution, opposed it; so that it did not take place[u].

The exarch attempts to get the pope into his power.

Who is defended by Luitprand.

The pope opposes the emperor's edict against images.

Several cities revolt.

In the mean time the exarch *Paul*, having gained a considerable party in *Ravenna*, began, pursuant to the repeated orders from the emperor, to remove the images, as so many idols, out of the churches. Hereupon the adverse party, supported and encouraged by the pope, flew to arms, and, falling upon the iconoclasts or image-breakers, as they styled them, gave rise to a civil war within the walls of *Ravenna*. Great numbers were killed on both sides; but those who were for the worship of images prevailing in the end, a dreadful slaughter was made of the opposite party, and, among the rest, the exarch himself was murdered. However, the city of *Ravenna* continued faithful to the emperor; but most of the cities of *Romagna* belonging to the exarchate, and all those of *Pentapolis* or *La Marca d' Ancona*, abhorring the emperor as an heretic, submitted to *Luitprand* king of the *Lombards*, who, pretending a great zeal for the catholic religion, took care to improve the discontent of the people to his advantage, by representing to them, that they could never maintain their religious rights under a prince, who was not only a heretic, but a persecutor of the orthodox. In *Naples*, *Exhilaratus*, duke of that city, having received peremptory orders from the emperor to cause his edict to be put in execution, did all that lay in his power to persuade the people to receive it; but, finding all his endeavours thwarted by the bishop of *Rome*, for whom the *Neapolitans* had a great veneration, he hired assassins to murder him. But the plot being discovered, tho' carried on with great secrecy, the *Neapolitans*, highly provoked against the duke, tore both him and his son to pieces, and likewise put to death one of his chief officers, who had composed a libel against the pope[w]. *Luitprand*, and *Gregory*, at that time duke of *Benevento*, laying hold of so favourable an opportunity to make themselves masters of the dukedom of *Naples*, did all that lay in their power to persuade the *Neapolitans* to submit to them. But the *Neapolitans*, bearing an irreconcileable hatred to the *Lombards*, with whom they had been constantly at variance, rejected every overture of

Great disturbances in Ravenna, *and the exarch murdered.*

All Pentapolis, *and great part of* Romagna, *submit to* Luitprand.

The Neapolitans *put their duke to death.*

[u] Paul. Diac. l. vi. c. 9. Regin. chronol. l. i. p. 47. Sigon. ad ann. 726. Maimb. hist. iconoclast. p. 73.

[w] Sigon. ad ann. 726.

a of that nature with the utmoſt indignation, and, continuing ſtedfaſt in their allegiance to *Leo*, received from *Conſtantinople* one *Peter*, who was ſent to govern them in the room of *Exhilaratus*. Some writers ſuppoſe the *Neopolitans*, in this general revolt of the cities of *Italy*, to have ſhaken off the yoke with the reſt, and to have appointed magiſtrates of their own election to govern them, in the room of the officers hitherto ſent from *Conſtantinople*, or named by the exarch; but they are therein certainly miſtaken, it being manifeſt from hiſtory, that *Peter* ſucceeded *Exhilaratus* in that dukedom; and that the *Neapolitans* continued to live under the emperors, till they were conquered many years after by the *Normans*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. In the mean time *Leo*, hearing of the murder of the exarch, and the general revolt of the
b cities, and not doubting but the pope was the chief author of ſo much miſchief, ſent the eunuch *Eutychius* into *Italy*, with the title and authority of exarch, ſtrictly injoining him to get the pope diſpatched by ſome means or other, ſince his death was abſolutely neceſſary for the tranquillity of *Italy*. The exarch left no ſtone unturned to get the pope into his power; but a meſſenger, whom he had ſent to *Rome*, being apprehended by the citizens, and an order from the emperor found upon him to all his officers in that city, commanding them to put the pope to death at all events, the pope's friends thenceforth guarded him with ſuch care, that the exarch's emiſſaries could never afterwards find any opportunity of executing their deſign. As for the meſſenger, the *Romans* were for putting him to death; but the pope interpoſed,
c contenting himſelf with excommunicating the exarch [x]. And now the *Romans*, provoked more than ever againſt *Leo*, and, on the other hand, unwilling to live under the *Lombards*, reſolved to revolt from the emperor, and appoint their own magiſtrates, keeping themſelves united under the pope, not yet as their prince, but only as their head. This they did accordingly, and from theſe ſlender beginnings the ſovereignty of the popes in *Italy* took its riſe, though they did not then, as is commonly ſuppoſed by hiſtorians, but many years after, become ſovereign lords of *Rome* (Y).

Eutychius *the new exarch attempts to get the pope murdered.*

The origin of the pope's temporal power.

Eutychius

[x] Freher. in chron. exarch. Raven. p. 82.

(Y) The *Greek* writers, who flouriſhed long after *Gregory*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, tell us, that the *Romans*, revolting from the emperor *Leo*, choſe *Gregory* for their prince, and took an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope readily accepted the ſovereignty offered him; that he forbad the *Romans*, and the other inhabitants of *Italy*, to pay tribute for the future to the emperor; that he abſolved all the ſubjects of the empire from their oath of allegiance; and finally, that, with great ſolemnity, he excommunicated and depoſed *Leo*. Hence, ſays the *Greek* writers, *viz. Theophanes*, *Cedrenes*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, the temporal dominion of the popes over *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom, took its riſe; to which were afterwards added, by *Pepin* and *Charles the Great*, the exarchate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis* or the *Marca d' Ancona*, and ſeveral other cities of *Italy*. On the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* and *Damaſcenus*, take no notice of the pope's depoſing or excommunicating the emperor; of his forbidding tribute to be paid to him; or of his accepting from the rebellious *Romans* the ſovereignty of *Rome*. Theſe writers only ſay, that he oppoſed with all his might the edicts of *Leo*; that he prevented them from being received by the people; and that he earneſtly exhorted and conjured the emperor to revoke them, and give over, as they ſtyle it, ſuch an impious undertaking. *Anaſtaſius*, after having told us, that *Leo* depoſed *Germanus* patriarch of *Conſtantinople* for oppoſing his edict, and appointed *Anaſtaſius* in his room, adds, that *Gregory* excommunicated the new patriarch, and wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to revoke his edict. Had he likewiſe excommunicated the emperor, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that *Anaſtaſius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Damaſcenus*, would have paſſed over in ſilence ſuch a remarkable incident, it being agreed on by all writers, that no prince or emperor had been excommunicated till that time. As for what *Cedrenus*, *Theophanes*, *Zonarus*, and *Nicephorus*, write of the pope's depoſing the emperor, it is evidently falſe, ſince *Gregory* acknowledged *Leo* for emperor as long as he lived, as did likewiſe *Gregory* III. his ſucceſſor, who wrote ſeveral letters to him full of reſpect; nay, the dates of moſt of that pope's letters bear the years of *Leo*'s reign; and in that, which he wrote to *Boniface*, he gives *Leo* the title of *Moſt pious*, *Imperante domino piiſſimo Auguſto Leone imperii ejus* XXIII (1). Hence the *French* writers, and among the reſt *P. de Marca*, *Natalis*, and *Du Pin*, maintain, that *Gregory* never excommunicated, or attempted to depoſe, the emperor *Leo*; that what the abovementioned *Greek* authors have written on that head, ought to be deemed fabulous; and, that, in ſo remarkable an incident, the ſilence of the *Latin* writers, who flouriſhed in times leſs diſtant, ought to be of far greater weight with every unbyaſſed reader, than the authority of the *Greeks*, who, out of their natural averſion to the *Latin* church, have obtruded ſuch fables on the public. But moſt of our proteſtant writers ſeem to give intire credit to the *Greeks*, and by all means will have it, that *Gregory* excommunicated the emperor; that he abſolved all his ſubjects from their allegiance; that he forbad them to pay him the uſual tribute; and that, being offered the ſovereignty of *Rome* by the rebellious *Romans*, he accepted the offer, and thenceforth took upon him all the ſtate of a temporal prince. *Spanhemius* thinks, that all this was denied by the *French* writers,

(1) *Greg.* III. *ep.* iii. *P. de Marca de con. ſac. & imp. l.* iii. *c.* 11. *num.* 5.

Eutychius failed in his design upon the life of the pope; but, having brought with him from *Constantinople* a good number of troops, he easily quelled the rebellion in *Ravenna*, and severely punished the authors of the late disturbances. As for the rebellious *Romans*, he was well apprised he could never reduce them, so long as they were supported by the king of the *Lombards*; and therefore he employed all his art and policy to take off that prince from the party of the *Romans*, and bring him over to his own. *Luitprand*, for some time, withstood all his offers; but *Trasimund* duke of *Spoleto* revolting at this very juncture, the exarch, laying hold of that opportunity, offered to assist the king with all his strength against the rebellious duke, provided he would, in like manner, assist him against the pope and the *Romans*. With this proposal *Luitprand* readily closed, and a league being concluded upon these terms between him and the exarch, the two armies joined, and began their march towards *Spoleto*. At their approach, the duke, despairing of being able two resist to such powers,

An alliance between the exarch and Luitprand.

writers, lest, in the reign of *Lewis the Great*, they should seem to acknowledge such a power in the popes (2). The *Italian* writers, even those among them who are most addicted to the court of *Rome*, agree with the protestants in giving credit to the *Greeks*, but with a different view, *viz.* to shew, that the power of excommunicating and deposing princes was so early exerted by the popes. To conclude, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, and *Nicephorus*, say, that *Gregory* II. not only excommunicated the emperor *Leo*, but absolved his subjects from their allegiance, declaring, that they were no longer bound to obey him; that on this occasion the *Romans*, shaking off the yoke, offered the sovereignty of *Rome* to the pope; and that he, accepting the offer, became sovereign lord of that city, and its dukedom. On the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius* and *Damascenus*, who flourished before the *Greek* writers, only say, that the pope opposed the edicts of *Leo*; that he excommunicated both the exarch of *Ravenna*, and the patriarch of *Constantinople*; and that he exhorted the emperor to revoke his edict. Some modern writers give entire credit to the *Greeks*; others, from the silence of the *Latins*, conclude the accounts of the *Greeks* to be fabulous: and such truly they appear to us, since *Gregory*, so long as he lived, acknowledged *Leo* as emperor; and *Gregory* III. his successor, not only wrote respectful letters to him, but dated those he wrote to others by the years of his reign, as we have hinted above. As for the temporal dominion of the popes in *Rome*, we shall shew in a proper place, that it did not begin till several years after; and that their first acquisitions were in the exarchate; that they became afterwards masters of *Pentapolis*, of several places in the *Roman* dukedom, and lastly of *Rome*. As for the famous donation of all *Italy*, said to have been made by *Constantine the Great* in the year 324. to pope *Sylvester*, it is now universally exploded as fabulous. It was indeed formerly defended with great warmth by most of the *Italian* writers, who even maintained in their works, that the emperors, who succeeded *Constantine*, had no title or right to any part of *Italy*, as belonging to the pope, and being the patrimony of St. *Peter*; that from thence the investitures given by the popes took their rise; and that, from that time, *Italy* began to be disjoined from the empire, and was never afterwards subject to the emperors; nay, *Matteo d' Afflitti*, a civilian of no small account, from this supposed donation, will have the constitutions published by the emperors, the successors of *Constantine*, to be of no force in *Italy*, since those princes had not the power of causing them to be received by the inhabitants of that country, who were no longer subject to them; and several eminent civilians, members of the collateral council in *Naples*, were of opinion, that in *Italy* recourse ought to be had to the canon, and not to the civil law (3). But, in later times, it has been evidently proved by many able writers (4), that this donation was forged in the eighth or ninth century, and then inserted into the decrees of *Gratian*, no mention of it being made by any writer before that time. The many copies of this famous instrument, which are still extant, and widely differ from each other, are so many evident proofs of forgery to every person, who does not delight in darkness, to use the expression of *Pietro Giannone*, and therefore shuts his eyes, lest he should be forced to see. A copy of this supposed donation is still to be seen in the *Vatican* library, but greatly differing from that, which we read in the decrees of *Gratian*. It is related in quite different words by the popes *Melchias*, *Nicholas* II. and *Leo* IX. and quoted by *Petrus Damianus*, *Balstar*, *Juo de Chartres*, *Bursattus*, and *Albericus*, with great disagreement both in words and sense. Besides, who can imagine, that *Eusebius*, and other contemporary writers, who have transmitted to posterity the most minute incidents of *Constantine*'s reign, would have passed over in silence this, perhaps the most remarkable of all? This donation is said to have been made by *Constantine* at *Rome*, in the spring of the year 324. and four days after his baptism. But it is evident from history, that *Constantine* was not then at *Rome*, but engaged in a war against *Licinius* in the east; and that, the war being ended, he went the same year to *Thessalonica*, and continued there till the year following (5). He defeated *Licinius* in his third consulship, having *Crispus* for his collegue, who was likewise in his third consulship, as is affirmed by all historians. Now, according to the unanimous consent of chronologers, *Constantine* and *Crispus*, were consuls for the third time in 324. and in the spring of that year, the very time when he is supposed to have made that donation, he was at *Thessalonica*, as is manifest from two of his constitutions still to be seen in the *Theodosian* code, the one bearing the following date, *Dat.* VIII. *id. Mart. Thessalonicæ*, *Crispo* III. *& Constantino* III. *coss.* the other dated thus; *Dat.* VI. *id. Aprilis*, *Thessalonicæ*, *Crispo* III. *& Constantino* III. *coss.* (6). The latter is directed to *Lucer. Verinus*, that year prefect of *Rome*, as appears from the *notitia* of the prefects of that city, where we read *Chrispo* III. *& Constantino* III. *coss. Lucer. Verinus præfectus urbi.* From these constitutions, and likewise from the most credible historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, it has been evidently proved by several writers, that *Constantine* was baptized in *Nicomedia* when he was dying, and not in *Rome* by pope *Sylvester*, to whom he is supposed to have made the above-mentioned donation four days after his baptism: so that, upon the whole, we may conclude *Constantine*'s yielding *Rome* to *Sylvester*, and his receiving baptism at the hands of that pope, to be equally fabulous.

(2) *Spanhem. contra Maimburg. in hist. imag. p.* 52. (3) *Afflit. in constit. in prælud. q.* 2. *num.* 2. *& q.* 20. *num* 1. *Tappia de jur. reg. l.* i. *de legib. l.* i. *num.* 6. (4) *Marca. l.* iii. *c.* 12. *& l.* vi. *c.* 6. *Schol. strat. antiq. illust. part.* ii. *diss* 3. *c.* 8. (5) *Vide Zos. l.* ii. *& annoym. Sigonund.* (6) *Cod. Theod. l.* iv.

a powers, came out with a small attendance to meet them, and, throwing himself at the king's feet, sued, in that humble posture, for pardon; which *Luitprand* not only granted him, but confirmed him in the dukedom, after he had obliged him to take a new oath of allegiance, and give hostages for his fidelity in time to come. From *Spoleto* the two armies marched, in pursuance of the treaty, to *Rome*, and encamped in the meadows of *Nero*, between the *Tiber* and the *Vatican*. *Gregory* had caused the city of *Rome* to be fortified in the best manner he could; but being sensible, that the *Romans* alone could not long hold out against two such armies, and reflecting on the kind treatment the duke of *Spoleto* had met with upon his submitting to the king, he resolved to follow his example; and accordingly, taking with him some of

b the clergy, and the principal inhabitants of the city, he went to wait on the king in his camp; and there, with a pathetic speech, as he was a great master of eloquence, softened *Luitprand* to such a degree, that, throwing himself at his feet in the presence of the whole army, he begged pardon for entering into an alliance against him, and, assuring him of his protection for the future, he went with him to the church of St. *Peter*, and there, disarming himself in the presence of his chief officers, he laid his girdle, his sword, and his gantlet, with his royal mantle, his crown of gold, and cross of silver, on the apostle's sepulchre. After this, he reconciled the pope with the exarch, who was thereupon received into the city, where he continued for some time, maintaining a friendly correspondence with the pope [y]. At this time an impos-

c tor, taking the name of *Tiberius*, and pretending to be descended from the emperors, seduced a great many people in *Tuscany*, and was by them proclaimed emperor. The exarch resolved to march against him; but, as he had not sufficient forces to oppose the rebels, *Gregory*, who let no opportunity slip of obliging *Leo*, persuaded the *Romans* to attend the exarch in this expedition; by which means the usurper being taken in a castle, his head was sent to the emperor, and the rebellion utterly suppressed. But the emperor still insisting upon his edict against the images being received in *Rome*, the *Romans*, at the instigation of the pope, publicly renounced their allegiance to *Leo*, paid him no more tribute, and withdrew for ever their obe-

d dience to the emperors of the east. *Leo*, informed of this revolt, and not questioning but the pope was the author of it, immediately caused all the patrimonies of the church of *Rome* in *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and his other dominions, to be confiscated. At the same time he ordered a powerful army to be raised, with a design to recover the towns that had revolted, to chastise the *Romans* for their rebellion, and, above all, to be revenged on the pope, who had raised all these disturbances, by opposing himself, and persuading others to oppose, the execution of his edict. *Gregory*, greatly alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on throughout the empire, and well apprised, that they were chiefly designed against him and the *Romans*, resolved to recur to the protection of the *French*, the only nation at that time capable of coping with the emperor, and on whom, on account of their zeal for religion, he

e thought he might depend. The *Lombards* were then very powerful; but, as they wanted to be masters of *Rome*, he did not think it adviseable to trust them. The *Venetians*, though zealous in the defence of the pope, were not yet in a condition to withstand the power of the emperor, and, besides, were jealous of the *Lombards*, who watched all opportunities of inlarging their dominions at the expence of their neighbours. As for *Spain*, it was then in a most deplorable condition, being over-run, and almost wholly ruined, by the *Saracens*. The *French* nation was at this time governed by the celebrated *Charles Martel*, who had distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the wars of *France* and *Germany*, and had, not long before gained a signal victory over the *Saracens* in the neighbourhood of *Tours*; whence he was

f generally reputed the best general, and the greatest hero, of his time. To him therefore *Gregory* sent a solemn embassy, with a great number of reliques, earnestly entreating him to take the *Romans*, and the church, under his protection, and defend them against the attempts of *Leo*. The embassadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour, and a treaty soon concluded between them and *Charles*, who engaged to march into *Italy* in person, at the head of a powerful army, in defence of the *Romans*, and the church, if they should be attacked either by the emperor, or the *Lombards*. On the other hand, the *Romans* were to acknowledge him for their protector, and confer on him the honour of the consulship, as it had been formerly conferred on *Clovis* by the emperor *Anastasius*, after that prince had defeated the *Visigoths*. The embassadors returned from *France* loaded with rich presents [z]. But *Gregory* did not long enjoy the fruit of their negotiations; for he died the same year 731. and was succeeded by pope *Gregory* III. in whose time some place the above-mentioned

They besiege Rome.

The pope persuades Luitprand *to raise the siege. Year after Christ* 729.

Leo *resolves to reduce the revolted cities, and to chastise the pope.*

Who has recourse to the French. *Year after Christ* 731.

[y] Sigon. ad ann. 729. Vide append. ad Greg. Tur. p. 15.

mentioned embaſſy. Theſe authors tell us, that *Luitprand*, having defeated *Thraſimund*, who had revolted a ſecond time, invaded, after his victory, the *Roman* dukedom, and laid cloſe ſiege to *Rome*, being provoked againſt *Gregory* for receiving and entertaining the rebel; that the pope, finding his prayers and entreaties did not make the ſame impreſſion on the king, as thoſe of his predeceſſor, had recourſe to *Charles Martel*; and that *Charles* perſuaded the king of the *Lombards* to raiſe the ſiege, and, contenting himſelf with four cities only, to leave *Rome*, and the reſt of that dukedom, to the *Romans* and the pope [a]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, upon the pope's recurring to *France*, the *French* firſt began to concern themſelves in the affairs of *Italy*, and afterwards, by degrees, made themſelves maſters of the country, as we ſhall relate anon.

In the mean time died the emperor *Leo*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *Copronymus*, who, treading in the footſteps of his father, renewed his edict againſt images, and began to proſecute all thoſe, who ſtood up in their defence; nay, not ſatisfied with ordering the images to be removed, he went farther, and forbad the invocation of ſaints, eſpecially of the virgin *Mary*, not ſuffering any holy days to be kept in her honour, or her aſſiſtance to be implored. This edict occaſioned new diſturbances in *Italy*, and confirmed the *Romans* in the reſolution they had taken of ſeparating themſelves entirely from the empire, the more as, being now under the protection of *Charles Martel*, they had nothing to fear from the emperor. They therefore drove out of their city ſuch of the imperial officers, as they had hitherto ſuffered to continue there, and by that means aboliſhed the very ſhadow of dominion, which the emperor had till this time among them. Soon after the emperor *Leo*, died *Gregory* III. and was ſucceeded by *Zachary*, who was no ſooner elected, than he diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to *Luitprand*, intreating him to reſtore the four cities, which had been yielded to him upon his raiſing the ſiege of *Rome*. *Luitprand* received the embaſſadors with extraordinary marks of honour, and ſeemed inclined to comply with their requeſt; but, as the deſired reſtitution was put off from time to time, *Zachary*, in imitation of *Gregory*, went in perſon to wait on the king, attended by all the clergy of *Rome*. *Luitprand*, who was then at *Terni*, received him with the greateſt reſpect imaginable, and not only granted him his requeſt, but reſtored to the church of *Rome* the patrimony in *Sabina*, which had been confiſcated thirty years before, and concluded a peace with the *Romans* for twenty years. Towards the latter end of his reign, being impatient of reſt, he invaded the exarchate, and, having taken *Ceſena*, was making the neceſſary preparations for beſieging *Ravenna*, and bringing that place once more under his dominion. But *Zachary*, for whom the king had the greateſt veneration, interpoſing, *Luitprand*, at his requeſt, not only laid aſide all thoughts of making further conqueſts, but even reſtored *Ceſena*, and ſome other places, which he had taken [b]. Not long after, *Luitprand* died, in the year 743. the thirty-ſecond of his reign, and was buried with great pomp and ſolemnity in the church of St. *Adrian* in *Pavia*. *Paulus Diaconus* beſtows on him the higheſt encomiums, and not undeſervedly; for he was endued with every good quality becoming a prince [c]. He governed with great juſtice and moderation, treating his ſubjects as his children, and giving daily inſtances of his generoſity and good-nature, even to his greateſt enemies. He inlarged his dominions by the addition of *Pentapolis*, and the greater part of *Æmilia*; and this his thirſt after conqueſts, and his ambition, are the only faults, which the writers of thoſe times have been able to diſcover in his character. He founded many churches and monaſteries, enumerated by *Paulus Diaconus* [d], whereof the veſtiges are admired to this day. With his death *Paulus Diaconus* cloſes his hiſtory of the *Lombards* (Z).

Luitprand *dies Year after Chriſt* 743.

Luitprand

[a] Sigon. ad ann. 739. [b] Paul. Diac. l. vi. c. 57, 58. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Idem, ibid.

(Z) With the death of *Luitprand*, *Paulus Diaconus* cloſes his hiſtory of the *Lombards*. He was deacon of the church of *Forum Julii*, in the territory of which city his great grand-father's father ſettled, when the *Lombards*, his countrymen, firſt came into *Italy*. He left five ſons, who were carried into captivity by the *Avares*, when *Forum Julii* was betrayed to them, as we have related above, by *Romilda* the wife of *Giſulf*. Of the five brothers, one only, by name *Lupicis*, returned to the place of his nativity, where he married, and had a ſon named *Arechis*. The ſon of *Arechis*, named *Warnefrid*, had, by his wife *Theudelinda*, *Paul Warnefrid* our hiſtorian, commonly called *Paulus Diaconus*, or *Paul the deacon*. He betrays throughout his whole work, great partiality for his countrymen, of which the reader will find ſeveral inſtances in the learned *Camillo Pellegrino* (7).

(7) *Camill. Peregrin. in diſſert. ſin. ducat. Benevent. ad ſeptentrion. p.* 37.

a *Luitprand* was ſucceeded by his grandſon *Hildeprand* or *Hildebrand*, whom he had, ſome years before taken for his partner in the kingdom. But the *Lombards*, finding him unequal to ſo great a charge, depoſed him, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, and in his room raiſed to the throne *Rachis* duke of *Friuli*, a perſon highly eſteemed for his piety and eminent virtues [e], He aſcended the throne in 744. to the unſpeakable ſatisfaction of the whole nation, and, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed the peace with *Zachary* and the *Romans*, which had been granted them by his predeceſſor. In the ſecond year of his reign, finding the laws of the *Lombards* ſtill defective notwithſtanding the many alterations and additions made by the preceding kings, he reſolved to add ſome new laws to them, and ſoften the rigour of others.

b Accordingly, having convened the ſtates in *Pavia*, with their conſent and approbation, he publiſhed a new edict in 745. and ordered it to be obſerved throughout his dominions. This edict, containing eleven chapters, is ſtill to be ſeen in the often-mentioned code of the monaſtery of *Cava* in the kingdom of *Naples* [f]. Having thus provided his ſubjects with excellent laws, and ſettled the affairs of the kingdom to his ſatisfaction, though naturally inclined to peace, he turned all on a ſudden his thoughts upon war, and puſhed on by an ambition of inlarging his dominions, as his predeceſſors had done, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and, putting himſelf at the head of it, he firſt retook ſeveral places in *Pentapolis*, which had revolted from him, and then, entering the *Roman* dukedom, laid cloſe ſiege to *Perugia*. The emperor

c was at a great diſtance, and did not mind the affairs of *Italy*. The exarch was not in a condition to defend himſelf, if attacked, much leſs to protect his neighbours. *Zachary* therefore, inſtead of ſolliciting the aſſiſtance either of the emperor or the exarch, reſolved to try, whether, by his own authority and character, he could divert the king of the *Lombards*, from purſuing his conqueſts. As his former journey had proved ſucceſsful beyond his expectation, he reſolved to undertake another. Accordingly, he went in perſon to the camp of *Rachis*, under the walls of *Perugia*, and, being received by that prince with great marks of reſpect and veneration, he repreſented to him, with ſuch force and energy, the puniſhment that is reſerved for thoſe, who unjuſtly invade the property of others, that *Rachis*, wonderfully affected with his

d ſpeech, not only raiſed the ſiege of *Perugia*, but reſtored all the places he held in *Pentapolis*; nay, the preſence and authority of the biſhop made ſuch a deep impreſſion on his mind, that the following year he went to *Rome*, with his wife *Taſia*, and his daughter *Ratruda*, to pay him a viſit. Being overcome, while he was in that city, with the ſecret force of religion, he renounced his kingdom, and proſtrating himſelf at the pope's feet, took the habit of St. *Benedict*, and retired to the monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*, where he ſpent the remainder of his days, and was honoured after his death by thoſe monks as a ſaint (A). *Taſia* his wife, and *Ratruda* his daughter, followed his example, retiring into a monaſtery of virgins, founded by them at a ſmall diſtance from *Monte Caſſino* [g]. The *Lombards* no ſooner heard, that *Rachis* had

e reſigned, than aſſembling in *Pavia*, they choſe his brother *Aſtulphus*, or *Aiſtulphus*, in

Hildebrand ſucceeds; but is depoſed, and Rachis *choſen in his room.*

He publiſhes a new edict of laws.

He invades the Roman *dukedom, and lays ſiege to* Perugia.

He raiſes the ſiege, and turns monk.

His brother Aſtulphus *choſen king in his room. Year after Chriſt* 751.

[e] Erch. apud Peregrin. in hiſt. princ. Longob. p. 5. Leo Ostiens. chron. l. i. c. 8. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. & Leo Ostiens. chron. l. i. c. 8.

(A) *Giovanni Villani*, in his hiſtory of *Florence*, ſuppoſes the large ſtatue of braſs, which is ſtill to be ſeen at *Barletta*, a city of *Apulia*, and is called *Arrachio*, to have been erected by the *Lombards* of *Benevento* to this prince (8). *Beatillus* (9), and the abbot *de Nuce* (10), are of the ſame opinion; for, at this time, the dukedom of *Benevento* extended as far as *Bari*, ſo that it compriſed the city of *Barletta*; and it is not improbable, ſay they, that the *Lombards* of *Benevento* ſhould in one of their cities, erect a ſtatue to their king. They were it is true, immediately ſubject to their own duke; but both he and they were at the ſame time ſubject to the king, the kingdom of the *Lombards* compriſing not only that country, which is now known by the name of *Lombardy*, and the other ſmall dukedoms, but likewiſe the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*. But *Pietro Giannone* alledges two ſtrong arguments againſt the opinion of *Villani*, and the two above-mentioned writers, who have eſpouſed, without due conſideration, his opinion. In the firſt place, it is altogether improbable, ſays he, that the *Lombards* of *Benevento* would have erected ſuch a large and magnificent ſtatue in a town at that time of no account and ſituated on the very borders of their dukedom, and not in *Benevento* their metropolis, or in ſome other city of note, ſuch as *Capua*, *Salerno*, *Bari*, &c. which were all cities of that dukedom. *Villani*, who flouriſhed in the reigns of *Charles* II. of *Anjou*, and *Joan* I. his niece, when *Barletta* was become one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Apulia*, thinking it had been ſuch in the reign of *Rachis*, and ſeeing a ſtatue there, called by the natives *Arrachio*, concluded it to be the ſtatue of *Rachis*. The other reaſon alledged by *Giannoni* is, that the prince repreſented by that ſtatue is dreſſed after the manner of the *Roman* emperors, has in one hand a croſs, in the other a globe, and no beard; whereas the king of the *Lombards* are repreſented, as appears from the antient code of the monaſtery of *Cava*, with long beards, military garments, a ſceptre in their right-hand, and a crown on their head, none of them having either the croſs or the globe. Hence *Giannoni* concludes it to be the ſtatue of ſome *Roman* emperor, perhaps of *Heraclius*, there being ſome reſemblance between that emperor's name and the name, which, time out of mind, has been given to the ſtatue by the inhabitants of *Barletta* (11).

(8) *Villan. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (9) *Beatill. hiſt. di St. Stabino, p.* 83. (10) *De Nuce ad Oſtienſ. l.* i. *c.* 8. (11) *Piet. Giannon. hiſt. civil. di Napol l.* v. *c.* 1. *ſect.* 11.

in his room, a man of great gallantry in the field, and wiſdom in council. He raiſed the kingdom of the *Lombards* to the higheſt pitch of its grandeur; which gave occaſion to its total ruin, as we ſhall relate anon. In the beginning of his reign, he confirmed the peace concluded between his brother and pope *Zachary*, who died the following year 752. and was ſucceeded by *Stephen* II. But *Stephen*, having held the ſee three days, died on the fourth, and in his room was choſen another named likewiſe *Stephen*, whom the antients call *Stephen* II. not reckoning his predeceſſor, who died before he was conſecrated; for, in thoſe days, the election alone did not make a pope, but the conſecration; and hence this pope is by *Echerempertus*, and *Leo Oſtienſis*, called *Stephen* II. and not *Stephen* III. but at preſent it is a ſettled point in the church of *Rome*, that the pope receives all authority from his election, contrary to what was believed by the antients; and therefore the writers of later times reckon *Stephen*, who lived but three days, and was not conſecrated, among the popes, altering by that means the number of the ſubſequent *Stephens*; ſo that the ſecond is by them called the third, the third called the fourth, *&c.* and the ninth called the tenth, which has bred confuſion in the hiſtory of the church. *Stephen* II. or, as the modern writers call him, the third, three months after his election, diſpatched legates to king *Aſtulphus*, with rich preſents, to confirm the peace, which had been lately granted by that prince to *Zachary*. The king received the new popes legates with the greateſt reſpect, and not only ratified the peace, but extended it to forty years more. This he did with no other view, but to divert the pope from thwarting the deſign he had upon the exarchate, which he was reſolved to invade, the emperor *Conſtantine Copronymus* being then engaged in a war with the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*, and all *Aſia* and *Greece* miſerably waſted by a dreadful plague. He thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of ſubjecting *Ravenna*, and the reſt of the exarchate; and therefore, having raiſed a very conſiderable army, he marched ſtrait to that city, and cloſely beſieged it. *Eutychius*, who was ſtill exarch, defended the place for ſome time with great valour; but finding his men quite tired out, and deſpairing of relief, he at laſt abandoned it to the enemy, and returned by ſea to *Conſtantinople*. *Aſtulphus*, thus become maſter of the metropolis of the exarchate, reduced, with great eaſe, the other cities, and all *Pentapolis*; which he added to his kingdom, and, by that addition, raiſed the power of the *Lombards* to a higher pitch than any of his predeceſſors had done. Thus ended the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and with it the ſplendor of that city, which, ever ſince the time of *Valentinian*, the emperors had choſen for the place of their reſidence, as it was afterwards the ſeat of the *Gothic* kings, and, upon their expulſion, of the exarchs, who, for the ſpace of an hundred and eighty-three years, maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the eaſt in *Italy*. As the dukes of the other cities of *Italy*, and of *Rome* itſelf, were under the exarch, who reſided at *Ravenna*, the biſhops of that ſee contended for precedency even with the biſhops of *Rome*. But a period was at the ſame time put to the exarchate, and to the luſtre of that antient metropolis, which was reduced by the *Lombards* to a dukedom; ſo that, by degrees, it decayed, and, in proceſs of time, came to the deplorable condition in which it is at preſent. *Marquardus Freherus*, in his chronology of the exarchs of *Ravenna*, writes, that the exarchate laſted for the ſpace of an hundred and ſeventy-five years [h]. But he does not reckon well; for he himſelf tells us, that it began in 568. and ended in 752. ſo that, even according to him, it muſt have laſted an hundred and eighty-three years.

He confirms the peace with the pope.

He invades the exarchate, and takes Ravenna.

An end of the exarchate, which is chaned into a dukedom.

Year after Chriſt 752.

Aſtulphus *invades the* Roman *dukedom.*

Aſtulphus, now maſter of the exarchate, thought he had a juſt title to all the places depending on it, and conſequently to the *Roman* dukedom, and to *Rome* itſelf. He therefore diſpatched a meſſenger to that city, requiring the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their ſovereign, and alledging in juſtification of his demand, that the exarchate, which was his by right of conqueſt, gave him the ſame power, which the emperors had till then in *Italy* over the inhabitants of *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom. At the ſame time he marched his army towards *Rome*, and, having taken *Narnia*, now *Narni*, he ſent from thence to acquaint the pope, that he was determined to plunder *Rome*, and put all the *Romans* to the ſword, if they refuſed to acknowledge him, by paying him yearly a golden *ſolidus* a head. The pope, alarmed at this ſevere meſſage, attempted firſt to divert the king from this reſolution by a ſolemn

The pope endeavours in vain to divert him from that invaſion.

[h] Freher. in Leuenclav. tom. i. jur. Græc-Rom.

a ſolemn embaſſy, at the head of which were the two abbots of *Monte Caſſino* and St. *Vincentius*, who meeting the king at *Vulturnum*, a City in *Campania*, ſtanding on a river of that name, put him in mind of the peace he had lately concluded with *Stephen* and the *Romans*, and endeavoured, by arguments, prayers, and intreaties, to perſuade him not to break it, but to employ his arms elſewhere [i]. The two legates had brought rich preſents with them for the king; but he, rejecting them, inſiſted upon his being acknowledged by the pope and the *Romans* for their ſovereign. This threw *Stephen* into the greateſt perplexity imaginable; for he found the king of the *Lombards* unalterably determined upon the reduction of *Rome*, and the *Roman* dukedom; and, on the other hand, the emperor was no ways in a condition to defend
b them, or put a ſtop to the conqueſts of ſo powerful and warlike a prince. The pope, upon the firſt irruption of the *Lombards* into the exarchate, had written preſſing letters to the emperor, repreſenting to him the danger *Italy* was in, the diſgrace, which, from the loſs of the countries, he ſtill held there, would, in future ages, redound upon his memory, and the glory, that would accrue to him from preſerving ſo valuable a portion of the empire. But the emperor, inſtead of an army, ſent one *John*, with the character of embaſſador, to the king of the *Lombards*, requiring him to reſtore the places he had already taken, and not to diſturb the peace of *Italy*, by attempting the reduction of others. *John* went firſt to *Rome*, and from thence, attended by *Paul*, the pope's brother, to *Ravenna*, where *Aſtulphus* then was. The king received
c the meſſage with the utmoſt contempt, and diſmiſſed the meſſengers with great ſcorn, which they might well have expected. Hereupon the pope ſent his brother to *Conſtantinople*, to acquaint the emperor that the king of the *Lombards* was not to be reſtrained by his authority alone, and to intreat him to ſend a powerful army into *Italy*, without which *Rome*, and the remains of the *Roman* empire in that country, would be irreparably loſt. But *Conſtantine* at that time had no troops to ſpare, being engaged in other wars; ſo that the pope, upon the invaſion of the *Roman* dukedom, thinking it was in vain to have recourſe to him, reſolved, after the example of *Zachary* and the two *Gregories*, to recur to the protection of *France*. That kingdom had been transferred ſome years before from the *Merovingian* to the *Carlovingian* line;
d and the celebrated *Pepin*, ſon to *Charles Martel*, was then king. As pope *Zachary* had had a great ſhare in that tranſlation, *Pepin* had promiſed to protect his ſee againſt all its enemies, eſpecially againſt the *Lombards*. *Stephen* therefore, not doubting but *Pepin* would readily perform what he had promiſed, diſpatched privately a meſſenger into *France*, to acquaint him with his diſtreſs, and the deſire he had of conferring with him in perſon, provided he could do it without danger, and a ſafe conduct was procured for him from the king of the *Lombards*, who already kept *Rome*, in a manner blocked up. *Pepin*, glad of the opportunity of obliging the pope, ſent immediately two perſons of diſtinction, to beg, in his name, of the king of the *Lombards*, leave for *Stephen* to come out of the city, and go with him into *France*. The two
e embaſſadors found the *Lombards* in poſſeſſion of all the caſtles, and ſtrong-holds in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and ready to inveſt that city. However, *Aſtulphus* readily complied with their requeſt, and ſuffered the pope, not only to come ſafe out of *Rome*, but to repair with them to *France*, where he was received by *Pepin* with the greateſt marks of eſteem and veneration. He laid before the king the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the *Lombards*, and, imploring his aſſiſtance and protection he promiſed, as one good turn deſerves another, to employ all the authority of the apoſtolic ſee in his behalf. On the other hand, *Pepin* aſſured him of his aſſiſtance, and, having prevailed upon him to ſtay till the winter was over, and the army ready to march, both he, and his two ſons *Charles* and *Carloman*, were in the
f mean time anointed by him with the holy unction, and, with great ſolemnity, conſecrated in the church of St. *Dennis* kings of *France*. This ceremony, *Pepin* thought would recommend him to the reſpect of his ſubjects, and greatly contribute to the eſtabliſhing of the kingdom in his perſon and poſterity [k].

Pope Stephen *recurs to* Pepin *king of* France.

He goes in perſon to France.

In the mean time *Aſtulphus*, not aware of the danger that threatened him, was wholly intent upon publiſhing a new edict of laws, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the code of the monaſtery of *Cava*, and contains twenty-two chapters. The preface prefixed to this edict is couched in the following words: "Having maturely and "ſeriouſly weighed and examined the laws enacted by my predeceſſors, I have found "many

Aſtulphus *publiſhes a new edict.*

[i] Sigon. ad ann. 753.

[k] Leo. Ostiens. l. i. c. 8.

" many things wanting, and great disorders arising from that want: Therefore, in a
" the fifth year of my happy reign, in the name of god, on the first day of *March*,
" the seventh indiction, having called together the chief lords and judges of my
" kingdom, I have caused to be added to the laws of my predecessors, and to my
" own, what to me seemed just, and pleasing to God." But while *Astulphus* was busied in making new laws, pope *Stephen* was negotiating in *France* the ruin of him and his kingdom. *Pepin* upon the arrival of *Stephen* in *France*, had promised to assist him against the *Lombards* with the whole strength of his kingdom, and to drive them out of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, which were to be restored, as *Pepin* understood, to the emperor, from whom the *Lombards* had taken them. But the pope finding the king ready to gratify him in all his demands, he resolved not to let slip b so favourable an opportunity of aggrandizing himself; and therefore insinuated to *Pepin*, that he could not better acquit himself of his obligations to the apostolic see, consult the welfare of his soul, or reward him for the dangers he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the safety of *Italy*, and the church than by granting both the exarchate and *Pentapolis* to St. *Peter*, that is, to himself. As for *Constantine*, the pope pretended he had forfeited all right to those countries, by forsaking the protection of *Italy*, and persecuting the church. *Pepin*, to oblige the pope, not only promised to put him in possession of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, if he should succeed in driving the *Lombards* out, but confirmed his promise, with a solemn oath, which was likewise taken by his two son *Charles* and *Carloman* [l]. When *Pepin* was ready to set c out on his march for *Italy*, in order to perform his promise, the pope was taken ill; so that the expedition was put off till the month of *August*. In the mean time the pope, by frequent letters and messages, endeavoured to persuade *Astulphus* to restore what he had taken, conjuring him by the holy misteries, and the tremendous day of judgment, to prevent, by his compliance, the effusion of christian blood. *Pepin* likewise interposed his good offices, sending three different embassies to the king of the *Lombards*, and earnestly intreating him to content himself with such countries as had been held by the kings his predecessors. But finding *Astulphus* deaf to his intreaties, he resolved to employ force; and accordingly, putting himself at the head of d his army, he marched, attended and spurred on by the pope, towards the *Alps*, sending a party of chosen men before to open the passes. These *Astulphus* attacked with great vigour; but his men being put to flight by the *French*, who had the advantage of the ground, he fled with great precipitation to *Pavia*. *Pepin*, finding the passes clear, crossed the mountains unmolested, and, entering *Italy*, advanced to *Pavia*, where the king had taken refuge, and closely besieged it. *Astulphus*, apprised of the danger he was in, sent one of his chief lords to *Pepin* to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon his engaging, by a solemn oath, to restore the places he had seized in the *Roman* dukedom, the exarchate, and *Pentapolis*, not to the emperor, but to the pope. For the performance of these articles, he delivered up forty hostages e to *Pepin*, who sent them into *Thrace*, and soon after followed them thither with his whole army, though in the depth of winter. As for *Stephen*, he returned with great joy to *Rome*, not doubting but *Astulphus* would soon put him in possession of the countries, which he had, by a solemn oath promised, to deliver up to him; but *Astulphus*, without the least regard either to his oath, or the hostages, when he thought the storm blown over by the departure of *Pepin*, instead of delivering up the countries he had seized before, broke unexpectedly, into the *Roman* dukedom, and made himself master of several cities, destroying all with fire and sword. At last he approached *Rome* with his army, and closely besieged it, not imagining that *Pepin* would pass the *Alps* a second time. In this extremity, *Stephen* had recourse to his protector, f writing to him the three letters that are still extant [m], and couched in the most submissive terms imaginable. St. *Peter*, to whom the donation had been made, is introduced speaking in these letters to the king, his two sons, and all the states of *France*, conjuring them to come to his relief, on pain of being debarred from the kingdom of heaven [n]. *Pepin*, greatly affected with the pope's letters, and looking upon the breach of faith in the king of the *Lombards* as an affront offered to him, resolved to have recourse anew to arms. Having therefore, with great expedition, assembled his forces, he again set out on his march for *Italy*; which *Astulphus* no sooner heard, than, breaking up the siege of *Rome*, which had lasted already three months, he returned

Pepin *is persuaded by the pope to make war on the* Lombards.

He enters Italy, *and besieges* Astulphus *in his metropolis.*

The exarchate and Pentapolis *given by* Pepin *to the pope. Year after Christ* 754.

[l] SIGON. l. iii. p. 126, 127. CHESNE hist. tom. iii. p. 705.

[m] Tom. vi. concil. p. 239. & BARON. ad ann. 755.

[n] Du

a returned in great haſte to the defence of his own country. In the mean time *Pepin*, having defeated, as formerly, the troops that had been ſent to defend the paſſes in the *Alps*, and entered *Italy*, *Aſtulphus*, whoſe army was not near ſo numerous as that of *Pepin*, threw himſelf a ſecond time into *Pavia*, with the flower of his army. Thither *Pepin* followed him, and inveſted the city on all ſides. In the mean time the emperor *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, receiving intelligence of the agreement between the pope and *Pepin*, in virtue of which the king was to drive the *Lombards* out of the exarchate, and then deliver it up, not to him, but to the pope, immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Pepin*, to proteſt againſt that donation, to convince him, if poſſible, of the injuſtice of it, and perſuade him to reſtore to the empire what had

b been rent from it, and not to the pope, who had no manner of claim to any part of his dominions. The embaſſadors went firſt to *Rome*, and thence to *Marſeilles*, where they were informed, that *Pepin* had already paſſed the *Alps*. Hereupon one of them made privately the beſt of his way to *Pavia*, where he underſtood the king then was, leaving the reſt at *Marſeilles* with the legate, whom the pope had ſent with them from *Rome*, and who, as they apprehended, would have thwarted their negotiations. The embaſſador, who was immediately introduced to the king, after having extolled, in his maſter's name, the courage, valour, and conduct, which he had ſhewn in the preſent war with the *Lombards*, the common enemy of the empire and *France*, repreſented to him, that the exarchate, without all diſpute, belonged to the empire, from

c which it had been taken with the greateſt injuſtice, while the emperor was engaged in a war with the *Saracens*; that, ſince the king had retaken it from the unjuſt invader, it was agreeable to the rules of equity, that he ſhould reſtore to the emperor what was his; that the biſhop of *Rome* was his ſubject; and that ſince he ſuffered him peaceably to enjoy what had been given him by princes and private perſons for maintaining his dignity, he could not uſurp the dominions of his ſovereign, without being guilty at the ſame time of high treaſon, and the moſt crying injuſtice. The embaſſador concluded his ſpeech by telling the king, that his maſter, who deſired nothing of others but what ſeemed agreeable to equity, was ready to practiſe it himſelf; and therefore would willingly reimburſe him all the expences he had been at in the recovery

d of the exarchate, and other places taken by the *Lombards*. *Pepin*, having heard with great attention what the embaſſador ſaid, replied, that the exarchate belonged to the conqueror of the *Lombards*, who had acquired it by right of war, as their forefathers had done; that many places had, of their own accord, ſubmitted to *Luitprand*, the inhabitants having no other means to maintain their religion; that therefore the right of the *Lombards* to thoſe countries was no more to be queſtioned, than that of the *French* to the countries, which they had taken from the *Romans* and *Viſigoths*; that the right which the *Lombards* had was devolved upon him, ſo that he could diſpoſe of thoſe countries as he thought fit; and he had judged it proper to beſtow them on the pope, that the catholic faith might be preſerved in its full purity, and

e be no longer defiled with the many abominable errors of the *Greeks*; that this was his firm reſolution, which nothing could make him alter; and that he was determined to maintain, to the laſt drop of his blood, the pope, and the church, in the poſſeſſion of what he had given them. He then diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, without ſuffering them to reply [o]; and, purſuing the ſiege of *Pavia* with great vigour, reduced *Aſtulphus* to ſuch ſtreights, that, being no longer able to hold out, he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which was granted him by *Pepin*, upon his promiſing to perform immediately the treaty made the year before, and, over and above, to deliver up to the pope the city of *Commachio*, a place at that time of great importance. This promiſe was confirmed by a ſolemn oath, and hoſtages were given as formerly. *Pepin*

f then renewed his donation, whereby he yielded to St. *Peter*, and his ſucceſſors, the exarchate, *Æmilia*, now *Romagna*, and *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d' Ancona*, with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever; and, having cauſed a new inſtrument of the donation to be drawn up, he delivered it, ſigned by himſelf, by his two ſons *Charles* and *Carloman*, and by the chief barons and prelates of *France*, to *Fulard* abbot of St. *Denis*, to be given into the pope's hands. *Fulard*, whom *Pepin* had appointed his commiſſary, having received this inſtrument, went, together with the commiſſaries named by *Aſtulphus*, to all the cities of the exarchate, *Æmilia*, and *Pentapolis*; and, taking poſſeſſion of them in the pope's name, he received hoſtages,

The emperor ſends embaſſadors to claim the exarchate.

Aſtulphus *beſieged a ſecond time in* Pavia *by* Pepin.

Pepin's *anſwer to them.*

Aſtulphus *ſubmits.*

Pepin *renews his donation to the pope.*

[o] Aastas. in vit. Steph. III. p. 87. P. de Marca de concord. ſacerdot. & imper. l. i. c. 11. num. 5.

And puts him in poſſeſſion of the exarchate, &c. Year after Chriſt, 756.

with whom he repaired to *Rome*, carrying with him the keys, and *Pepin*'s doationn, a which were laid by the pope on St. *Peter*'s ſepulchre. *Pepin*, having thus performed the promiſe he had made to the pope, left *Italy*, and returned with his army to *France* [p]. The exarchate compriſed, according to *Sigonius* [q], the following cities, *viz. Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Ceſena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*, *Commachio*, *Adria*, *Cervia*, and *Secchia*, which were all delivered to the pope, except *Faenza* and *Ferrara*. *Pentapolis*, or *Marca d' Ancona*, comprehended *Rimini*, *Peſaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*, *Oſimo*, *Umana*, *Jeſi*, *Foſſombrone*, *Monteferetro*, *Urbino*, the *Balneſian* territory, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Eugubio*, with their territories and diſtricts, as appears from the donation of *Lewis the Pious*, by which *Pepin*'s donation was confirmed. The pope committed the government of the exarchate to the archbiſhop of b *Ravenna*, who thereupon took the title of exarch, not as archbiſhop, but as an officer of the pope, now a temporal prince. Thus was the ſceptre added to the keys, the ſovereignty to the prieſthood, and the popes enriched with the ſpoils of the *Lombard* kings, and the *Roman* emperors. As thoſe countries belonged, without all doubt, to *Conſtantine* then emperor, ſome authors have thought, that this donation was made in his name, and that this gave riſe to the fable of the donation of *Conſtantine the Great* [r]. Be that as it will, from this time the popes left off taking notice of the years of the emperors in their bulls and letters, as they had done hitherto; and, depending upon the protection of *France*, they withdrew their obedience to the emperor, and would be no longer deemed his ſubjects. The *French*, who pique c themſelves upon being the firſt authors of the popes temporal grandeur, will not however allow *Pepin* to have ever inveſted them with the ſovereignty, it being manifeſt, ſay they, that the ſovereignty remained in *Pepin* and his deſcendants, and was exerciſed by them all over *Italy*. With them moſt authors agree, and, among the reſt, the learned *Sigonius*. *Petrus de Marca* maintains this opinion, and at the ſame time tells us how the popes, by degrees, became ſovereigns of *Rome*. The exarchate of *Ravenna*, ſays that writer, being yielded to the pope, the government of *Rome*, of courſe, devolved on him; for the *Roman* dukedom had been always ſubject to the exarch: the ſovereignty indeed was veſted in the emperor, but the adminiſtration belonged to the exarch; whence the pope, when he became maſter of the exarchate, claimed it, and continued to govern *Rome*, not as ſovereign, but only d with the authority that had been veſted in the exarch, till the year 876. when the authority of the emperors, ſucceſſors of *Charlemagne*, declining in *Italy*, *Charles the Bald* yielded all his claim to, and ſovereignty over *Rome*, to the apoſtolic ſee [s]. Hence *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, deſcribing the ſtate of *Europe* in his time, that is, about the year 914. writes, that *Rome* was ſubject to the pope as its ſovereign. It was upon the declenſion of the weſtern empire, when it was confined to *Germany* alone, that the pope, as well as the ſeveral princes of *Italy*, aſſumed the ſovereignty, which they enjoy to this day, as we ſhall plainly demonſtrate in our modern hiſtory. A modern writer has endeavoured to prove, from the coins of the popes, that the *French* empe- e rors were never ſovereigns of *Rome*, nor had any authority in that city, but what was granted them by the pope; for, according to him, the ſenate and people of *Rome*, ſhaking off the yoke of the emperors of the eaſt, ſubjected themſelves to the pope, and acknowledged him for their ſovereign [t]. But that writer is, in our opinion, fully confuted by *Le Blanc*, in a treatiſe which he publiſhed on the coins of *Charlemagne*, *Lewis the Pious*, *Lothaire*, and their ſucceſſors, coined in *Rome* [u].

Whether the people was inveſted with the ſovereignty over thoſe countries.

BUT to return to *Aſtulphus*: That prince, finding himſelf conſtrained to ſurrender the exarchate, and the other countries, to one who had no more right to them than himſelf, began to make vaſt preparations, with a deſign to retake what he had been obliged to give up, and at the ſame time to put himſelf in a condition of withſtanding the *French*, who, he did not doubt, would return into *Italy*, and renew the war. f But while, in the height of theſe warlike preparations, he was one day taking the diverſion of hunting in a neighbouring foreſt, he was killed, according to ſome, by a wild boar, according to others, by a fall from his horſe. *Erchempertus* writes, that he was killed with an arrow [w]. We ſhould perhaps have been able to give a more favourable account of his reign, had *Paulus Diaconus* continued his hiſtory; but that writer, living in the time of *Charlemagne*, the ſon of *Pepin*, prudently declined writing the hiſtory of this and the following king's reign, leſt by relating the tranſactions of thoſe times, he ſhould diſoblige the *French* princes, who, having driven out

Aſtulphus dies. Year after Chriſt, 756.

[p] LEO OSTIENS. l. i. c. 8. ANASTAS, ibid. [q] SIGON. ad ann. 756. [r] SPANHEM. de imag. contra Maimburg. [s] P. DE MARCA, l. iii. c. 11. num. 7, 11, 12. CONST. PORPH. de themat. l. ii. [t] VIGNOLI antiquior. pont. Rom. denar. p. 19. [u] Vide LE BLANC. p. 17. [w] ERCHEMP. p. 6.

a out the *Lombards*, ſucceeded them in the kingdom of *Italy*. His countrymen were, for the ſame reaſon, all ſilent; ſo that thoſe events have been tranſmitted to poſterity by ſuch writers only, as were byaſed in favour of the prevailing party. As the deceaſed king left no iſſue male behind him, and his brother *Arachis* had taken the monaſtic habit, the *Lombard* lords began to aſſemble, in order to proceed to a new election. But in the mean time *Deſiderius*, whom *Aſtulphus* had raiſed to the dukedom of *Tuſcany*, and beſides made him his *comes ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king by his *Tuſcan Lombards*. This *Rachis* no ſooner underſtood, than repenting of his former reſolution, he reſolved to quit the monaſtic life, and reſume the purple, being encouraged thereunto by ſeveral perſons of
b great authority among the *Lombards*, and by the inhabitants of *Liguria* and *Venetia*, who began to flock to him in great numbers. This gave great uneaſineſs to *Deſiderius*, who thereupon had recourſe to the pope, offering him the cities of *Faenza*, *Ancona*, *Secchia*, and *Ferrara*, which had not been reſtored by *Aſtulphus*, provided he aſſiſted him at this juncture, and, by his authority, maintained him on the throne. The pope readily cloſed with the propoſal, and, entering into an alliance with *Deſiderius*, found means to perſuade *Rachis* to continue in the ſtate he had embraced, and lay aſide all thoughts of recovering the kingdom, which was held by his friend and ally. *Deſiderius*, being thus delivered from the danger that threatened him, ſurrendered the above-mentioned cities to the pope, purſuant to the agreement. Pope
c *Stephen* died ſoon after, that is, on the twenty-ſixth of *April* of the preſent year 757. To him the church of *Rome* is chiefly indebted for the grandeur it ſtill enjoys. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Paul*, who renewed the alliance with the king of the *Lombards*, but died in the third year of that prince's reign. In his room was choſen *Stephen* the third, or, as the modern writers will have it, the fourth, between whom and *Deſiderius* great jealouſies aroſe, which at laſt came to an open rupture, *Deſiderius* having, by his intereſt, cauſed one of his intimate friends, named *Michael*, to be choſen by the people and clergy archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, the pope, not approving the election, drove him from that ſee. Hereupon the king, to be revenged on the pope, cauſed the eyes of *Chriſtopher* and *Sergius* to be put out. Theſe were two
d legates ſent from *Rome* to demand the reſtitution of ſome lands belonging to that church. After this, *Deſiderius*, not doubting but the pope would have recourſe to the kings of *France*, reſolved to be before-hand with them, and gain them over, if poſſible to his ſide. In order to this, he offered his two daughters in marriage to *Charles* and *Carloman*, who, upon the death of their father *Pepin*, had divided the kingdom between them. Pope *Stephen* was no ſooner informed of this treaty, than he wrote to the two princes, earneſtly intreating them not to enter into any ſort of alliance with the king of the *Lombards*, and threatening them with excommunication, nay, and damnation [w], if they conſented to marry his daughters. But *Deſiderius* having gained *Bertrade*, the mother of the two princes, the marriages were, by her
e means, concluded, in ſpite of the utmoſt endeavours of the pope to prevent them. This alliance however was but ſhort-lived; for *Charles* ſoon after divorced his wife, pretending, that ſhe was incapable of bearing children, and married in her room *Ildegarda*, a princeſs of *Suevia*. His brother *Carloman* dying about the ſame time, *Berta*, the deceaſed king's widow, not thinking herſelf, and the two ſons ſhe had by him, ſafe in *France*, fled to her father in *Italy*, and put herſelf, and her children, under his protection. *Deſiderius*, who was highly incenſed againſt *Charles* for divorcing his daughter, received them with great joy, not doubting but he ſhould, one time or other, be able, by their means, to raiſe diſturbances in *France*; which would both give him the ſatisfaction of being revenged on *Charles*, and divert that prince from
f intermeddling with the affairs of *Italy*. In the mean time died pope *Stephen*, and *Adrian* I. was, in the year 772. choſen in his room. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf raiſed to the apoſtolic ſee, than he ſent two legates to conclude a laſting peace with *Deſiderius*; and it was agreed, that neither of them ſhould diſturb the other in the poſſeſſion of the countries they held. *Deſiderius*, concluding, from this ſtep taken by *Adrian*, that he did not entertain ſuch jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the *Lombard* kings, as his predeceſſors had done, nor was ſo attached to the princes of *France*, propoſed to him the conſecrating and anointing the ſons of *Carloman* kings, not doubting but that would raiſe tumults and diſturbances in *France*, and at the ſame time create a miſunderſtanding between the pope and *Charles*, which would give him an opportunity of recovering

Deſiderius *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king.*

He is ſupported by the pope, to whom he yields ſome cities.

Miſunderſtanding between him and Charlemagne.

[w] Tom. vii. concil. p. 582.

recovering the countries taken by *Pepin*, and yielded to the church. The ceremony a
of anointing, after the example of *Pepin* and his two ſons, had been, by degrees,
introduced among chriſtian princes, the people deeming thoſe, who were thus anointed,
lawful kings. But *Adrian*, who, notwithſtanding the peace he had concluded with
the *Lombards*, who no leſs jealous of their power, than his predeceſſors had been,
peremptorily refuſed to comply with the requeſt of *Deſiderius*, being well appriſed,
that, by granting it, he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of *Charles*, the only prince
capable of protecting him againſt the *Lombards*. *Deſiderius* left no ſtone unturned
to bring the pope into his meaſures; but, finding he could obtain nothing by fair
He quarrels with the pope, and takes ſeveral cities. means, he reſolved to employ force. Accordingly, he broke unexpectedly into the
exarchate, and, having made himſelf maſter of *Ferrara*, *Comachio*, and *Faenza*, he b
threatened *Ravenna* itſelf with a ſiege. *Adrian*, alarmed at theſe hoſtilities, imme-
diately diſpatched embaſſadors to put the king in mind of the peace lately concluded,
and to demand the reſtitution of the places, which he had taken with an open breach
of the late treaty. The king received the embaſſadors with the greateſt marks of
honour, and told them, that he was deſirous of treating with the pope in perſon;
and that, if he came himſelf, nothing ſhould be denied him. But *Adrian*, rejecting
the invitation, anſwered with great haughtineſs, That he would never appear before
him, unleſs he reſtored the cities he had ſeized. *Deſiderius*, highly provoked at this
anſwer, marched his army into *Pentapolis*, and, having there laid waſte the territories
of *Sinigaglia*, *Monteferetro*, *Urbino*, and *Eugubio*, he approached *Rome*, deſtroying all c
with fire and ſword, and carrying into captivity ſuch of the inhabitants, as fell into
his hands. Hereupon *Adrian* ordered the abbot of St. *Vincent*, attended by twenty
monks in great reputation for the ſanctity of their lives, to wait upon the king in his
name, and earneſtly intreat him to reſtore the places he had taken, and deſiſt from
further hoſtilities. The king received them in a very obliging manner, and aſſured
them, that, if the pope would come in perſon to confer with him, the cities ſhould
be immediately reſtored, and an end put to all hoſtilities. Not ſatisfied with ſigni-
fying to the legate his earneſt deſire of a private interview with the pope, he ſent em-
baſſadors of his own to acquaint *Adrian* therewith, and perſuade him, if poſſible, to
comply with his requeſt, ſince he had matters of the utmoſt importance to impart to d
him. But *Adrian*, firm in his former reſolution, ſolemnly proteſted, that he would
never appear before the king, till the towns he had taken were reſtored; but that,
as ſoon as they were reſtored, he would meet him in what place ſoever he ſhould
think proper to appoint, in order to ſettle, in concert with him, the tranquillity of
Italy. Upon the return of theſe embaſſadors, *Deſiderius* ſent others, to whom the
pope made the ſame anſwer, adding, that, if he did not comply with the king's
requeſt, as ſoon as the cities were reſtored, he gave them leave to take them anew,
and invade the territories of the church at his pleaſure. But *Deſiderius*, provoked more
than ever at the obſtinacy of the pope, threatened to bring his army before *Rome*,
and, by that means, oblige *Adrian* to grant him his requeſt. The pope was ſo ter- e
rified with theſe menaces, that, thinking himſelf in the utmoſt danger, he reſolved,
in imitation of his predeceſſors, to have recourſe to *France*. Accordingly he ſent one
The pope recurs to Charlemagne *king of* France. *Peter* by ſea, all the paſſes by land being guarded by the *Lombards*, to acquaint *Char-
lemagne*, then king of *France*, with the danger he was in, and not only to implore
his aſſiſtance, but to invite him to the conqueſt of *Italy*, almoſt intirely ruined by the
Lombards. *Deſiderius* was no ſooner informed of the arrival of the pope's legate in
France, and of the things laid there to his charge, than he diſpatched embaſſadors
to *Charlemagne*, aſſuring him of his inclination to live in peace with the pope, and
complaining of *Adrian*'s obſtinacy, in refuſing him a private interview for ſettling the
tranquillity of *Italy*. But *Charlemagne*, who only wanted a favourable opportunity f
of revenging himſelf on *Deſiderius* for keeping his two nephews, with a view, as he
ſuppoſed, of raiſing diſturbances in *France*, received the invitation made him by
Adrian with incredible ſatisfaction, and began to make ſuch preparations, as plainly
ſhewed, that his deſign was not only to aſſiſt the pope, but to make an intire conqueſt
of the kingdom of the *Lombards* [x]. He appointed *Geneva* for the place of the general
rendezvous, and there, when the troops were all aſſembled, he divided his numerous
army into two bodies, whereof the one he led in perſon, and committed the other to
the conduct of his uncle *Bernard*. On the other hand, *Deſiderius*, having certain
intelligence

[x] Sigon. p. 138—143.

a intelligence of his motions, ſent ſome troops to guard the paſſes in the *Alps*, and then, making numerous levies in the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Benevento*, *Spoleto*, *Etruria*, and the other dukedoms, of which his kingdom was compoſed, he raiſed a mighty army, and, putting himſelf at the head of it, marched to *Turin*, with a deſign to give *Charlemagne* battle, in caſe he forced the ſtreights, and came into the plain country. We are told, that *Charlemagne*, as he drew near the *Alps*, to prevent the effuſion of chriſtian blood, diſpatched embaſſadors to the king of the *Lombards*, offering him fourteen thouſand ſolidi, provided he reſtored to the pope the cities he had taken; but that *Deſiderius* would hearken to no propoſals, being bent on the conqueſt of all *Italy*. Be that as it will, *Charlemagne* purſued his march to the *Alps*; and, finding
b the paſſes guarded by the *Lombards*, he ſent a detachment, under the conduct of experienced guides, to croſs the mountains another way. This they happily accompliſhed, and, falling unexpectedly upon thoſe who guarded the paſſes, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that, abandoning their poſts, they fled in the utmoſt conſternation. Upon their retreat, *Charlemagne* paſſed unmoleſted with his whole army, and, deſcending from the mountains, marched in queſt of the enemy. Some authors write, that the two armies came to an engagement, in which, after an obſtinate diſpute, *Deſiderius* was defeated. They add, that the place, where the battle was fought, from the great number of the ſlain, took the name of *Mortuaria*. Others, leſs affected to the *Lombards*, tells us, that, at the approach of *Charlemagne*, they fled in the
c utmoſt confuſion, not daring to look the enemy in the face. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Deſiderius* retired and ſhut himſelf up in *Pavia*, not being in a condition to keep the field. At the ſame time he ſent his ſon *Adalgiſus*, and his daughter *Berta*, the widow of *Carloman*, with her two ſons, to *Verona*, a place not inferior in ſtrength to *Pavia* itſelf. *Charlemagne*, hearing that the king had ſhut himſelf up in *Pavia*, led his whole army againſt that city, and cloſely beſieged it. The *Lombards* defended the place with great vigour; and, on the other hand, *Charlemagne* determined not to withdraw his troops from before it till it had ſubmitted, ſent for his wife and ſons, and continued with them in the camp till *Chriſtmas*, which feſtival he celebrated with great pomp, and then, leaving his uncle *Bernard* to purſue the ſiege of
d *Pavia*, he went, with part of his army, to inveſt *Verona*. *Adalgiſus* defended the town, for ſome time, with great bravery; but, in the end, finding himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, and deſpairing of relief, he withdrew in the night; and, after having wandered a long time about the country in diſguiſe, he found means at laſt, to make his eſcape by ſea to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received and entertained with great kindneſs by the emperor. Upon his departure, the garriſon and inhabitants of *Verona* ſurrendered to *Charles*, who, having got *Berta* and her two ſons into his power, ſent them immediately, under a ſtrong guard, into *France*; but what became afterwards of theſe two unfortunate princes, was never known. *Verona* being reduced, all the other cities on the ſame ſide of the *Po* ſubmitted upon the firſt ſum-
e mons to the conqueror, who, returning before *Pavia*, purſued the ſiege with more vigour than ever. But, in the mean time *Eaſter* approaching, *Charles* reſolved to keep that ſolemnity at *Rome*; and accordingly, committing a ſecond time the care of the ſiege to *Bernard*, he ſet out for that city with a ſplendid train, and, being received, in all the places through which he paſſed, with the greateſt marks of honour imaginable, he reached *Rome* the day before *Eaſter*. *Adrian* exerted himſelf on this occaſion, thinking it incumbent upon him to receive ſo great a prince, and one to whom the church was ſo highly indebted, with the greateſt demonſtrations of honour, gratitude, and eſteem. By his orders the magiſtrates and judges, with their banners, and the badges of their reſpective offices, met him thirty miles from the city. At a
f mile from the gate he was received by a proceſſion of children, carrying in their hands branches of palms and olives, and ſinging his heroic exploits and virtues. After them came a great number of croſs-bearers, for whom it was cuſtomary to attend the public entries of the exarchs and patricians. *Charles*, as ſoon as he ſaw the croſſes, alighted from his horſe, and, attended by his own nobility, and the *Roman* magiſtrates, went the reſt of the way on foot. As for the pope, he went early in the morning, with the clergy and people, to the church of the *Vatican*, and there, ſitting on a kind of throne on the ſteps, waited the arrival of the king, who going directly to the church, aſcended the ſteps, kiſſing each of them as he mounted. Being arrived at the throne, the pope, coming down, received him with great tenderneſs, and,

Charlemagne *enters* Italy.

Deſiderius *retires, and is beſieged in* Pavia.

Verona *beſieged by* Charles, *and taken.*

Charles *goes to* Rome.

His reception there.

after mutual embraces, and congratulatory ſpeeches, they went together into the a
church, the people following them with loud acclamations, and the clergy frequently repeating, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* When they came to the place, called then, as it is to this day, *the confeſſion*, proſtrating themſelves on the ground, they returned thanks to the Almighty, and to his apoſtle St. *Peter*, for the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended the king's arms againſt his enemies, and the enemies of the church, that is, the unhappy *Lombards*, who, in reality, were as well-wiſhers to the church as *Charles*, but were not willing the churchmen ſhould rob them of the countries they had purchaſed at the expence of their blood and treaſure. After this, *Charles* begged leave to go into the city, for the *Vatican* ſtood then without the walls, to perform a vow, and viſit the holy places; which was granted by the pope, b
after they had both ſworn upon the body of the apoſtle, that they deſigned no harm
Honours done him at Rome. or injury to each other. The day following, being the feſtival of *Eaſter*, the king made a ſolemn entery into the city, attended by the nobility, clergy, and *Roman* people, who accompanied him to the church of St. *Mary ad Præſepe*, whence, after divine ſervice, he went to the *Lateran*, and dined there with *Adrian*. The next day he aſſiſted at public prayers in the *Vatican*; and, when the ſervice was over, *Adrian* cauſed thanks to be given him for his kindneſs to the church in an oration, on which occaſion the generoſity of *Charles Martel*, and his ſon *Pepin*, to the church of *Rome*, were highly extolled, the exemplary piety of their moſt illuſtrious family mightily commended, and great encomiums beſtowed on the whole nation. The orator told c
his auditors, that *Charles*, not degenerating from the piety of his glorious anceſtors, was come, with a mighty army, to humble the enemies of the church; that he had hitherto, with the aſſiſtance of Heaven, been as ſucceſsful in ſo commendable an enterprize, as he had been ready to undertake it; and that according to all appearance, *Italy* would, in a few days, have occaſion to congratulate him upon his accompliſhing the work, which he had ſo happily begun, as now both *Italy* and the church returned him their hearty thanks for what he had already performed [y]. When the rejoicings, feaſtings, and congratulations, were over, *Adrian* came to the main point, requiring *Charles* to confirm the donation, which his father *Pepin* had made to the
He confirms the donation of Pepin. church of *Rome*. *Charles* readily complied with the pope's requeſt; and, having d
ordered *Iterius* his ſecretary to draw up a new inſtrument, he ſigned it himſelf, cauſed it to be ſigned by the abbots, biſhops, and other great men, who had attended him to *Rome*, and, with his own hand, ſays *Leo Oſtienſis*, laid it, thus ſigned, on the altar of St. *Peter* [z]. *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* writes, that *Charles*, not ſatisfied with the donation of *Pentapolis* and the exarchate made by *Pepin*, added to to them the iſland of
Whether he added other countries to that donation. *Corſica*, and that large country, which extending from *Luna* to *Sorano* and *Monte Bordone*, comprehends the cities of *Vercetri*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*, and *Monſelice*: nay, according to that writer, the generoſity of *Charles* did not even ſtop here; for he tells us, that the new inſtrument compriſed the provinces of *Venetia* and *Iſtria*, and the two dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleto* [a]. In the chronicle of the monaſtery of e
St. *Clement*, *Charles* is ſaid to have added to the donation of *Pepin* only thoſe two dukedoms. *Sigonius* will have the donation of *Charles* to have compriſed, beſides thoſe dukedoms, and the countries given by *Pepin*, the *Sabinian* territory, lying between *Umbria* and *Latium*, with part of *Tuſcany* and *Campania*. *Petrus de Marca* adds all *Campania*, with the city of *Naples*, and the provinces of *Abruzzo* and *Puglia*; and hence, according to him, the king of *Naples* have ever been, as they ſtill are, inveſted by the pope [b]. Some modern writers ſuppoſe *Charles* to have given likewiſe *Saxony*, which he had lately conquered, and other countries, which he never conquered, *viz.* *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; for theſe two iſlands were held by the emperors of the eaſt, till the *Saracens* became maſters of them. But as no copy of the ſuppoſed donation of f
theſe ſeveral countries is to be found, either in the archives of the *Vatican*, or the annals of *France*; and, on the other hand, it is manifeſt from hiſtory, that *Charles*, as king of *Italy*, held the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, in the ſame manner as they had been held by the *Lombard* kings his predeceſſors, and that they were immediately governed by their own dukes; we may conclude from thence, that *Charles* only confirmed the donation of the exarchate and *Pentapolis* made by his father *Pepin*. *Charles* indeed cauſed the patrimonies, which the church of *Rome* poſſeſſed in the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and in the dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleto*, to be reſtored; and hence, according to the learned civilian *Pietro Giannone*, aroſe the miſtake of thoſe

[y] Leo Ostiens. l. i. c. 12. Anastas. Bibliothec. in Adrian. p. 75. [z] Leo Ostiens ibid.
[a] Anast. Bibliothec. in Adrian. [b] P. de Marca de concord. ſacerd. & imper. l. iii. c. 10. num. 5.

a those writers, who will have *Charles* to have given that province, and those dukedoms, to St. *Peter*: they confounded the patrimonies of the church in those countries with the countries themselves [c].

Charles, having thus satisfied his own curiosity, and the desires of the pope, after a stay of eight days in *Rome*, returned to the camp before *Pavia*, which city he was resolved at all events, to reduce, being well apprised, that, if *Desiderius* remained master of it, he might easily recover all the rest. The same motive that prompted *Charles* to exert his utmost endeavours in the reduction of the place, animated the king of the *Lombards* to defend it with all his might. *Charles* finding his men con- *Charles returns to the siege of* Pavia.

b stantly repulsed in their repeated attacks, and despairing of being able to carry it by force, resolved to reduce it by famine. Accordingly, besieging it more closely, he shut up all the passes and avenues, so that nothing could possibly be conveyed into the city; which by that means was, in a short time, reduced to the utmost extremity. *Desiderius* however still held out for a considerable time; but, a violent plague beginning to rage within the walls, and carrying off daily great numbers both of the garrison and inhabitants, the unhappy prince, not able to contend with so many enemies at once, was obliged, in the end, to surrender the place, and deliver up himself, with his wife and children, to *Charles*, who sent them all to *France*, where they ended their days, being never afterwards heard of. Thus ended the kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, after they had held that country for the space of two hundred and six years. They were at first a cruel and barbarous nation; but divesting themselves, by degrees of their native fierceness and barbarity, especially after they had embraced the christian religion, they governed with such equity and mildness, that most other nations envied the happiness of those, who lived under them. As they had no other kingdom nor dominions elsewhere, *Italy* became their own country; whence the natives looked upon their kings as their natural princes, not thinking themselves governed, much less kept in slavery, by a foreign nation, as it happened to them afterwards, when, by frequent changes, they groaned under the heavy yoke, sometimes of one nation, and sometimes of another. Under the government of the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus* [d], and with him agrees the abbot of *Wesperg*, no vio- *Desiderius taken prisoner, and the end of the kingdom of the* Lombards. *Year after Christ* 774.

d lence was committed, no one unjustly dispossessed of his property, none oppressed with taxes; theft, robberies, murder, and adultery, were seldom heard of; every one went, without the least apprehension of danger, whether he pleased: and truly their many wholesome laws, restraining, and severely punishing all sorts of crimes, the magnificent churches, and rich monasteries, with which they filled that part of *Italy*, which was subject to them, the many bishopricks, which they erected, the towns and cities, which they either built, or repaired, in most provinces of *Italy*, their generosity even to the bishop of *Rome*, their avowed enemy, and finally, the great numbers of persons among them, whose sanctity and eminent virtues have been acknowledged by the popes themselves, must convince every impartial reader, that

e the *Lombards* were not such a savage, barbarous, and inhuman nation, as they are described by some of the popes especially by *Adrian*, the chief author of the downfal of their kingdom. They were the only power in *Italy* capable of defeating the ambitious views of the bishops of *Rome*, whom they would not suffer to enrich themselves with the spoils of the emperors, but looked upon them as their own by right of conquest; and hence arose the inveterate hatred, which the pope's bore them, and could not help betraying in all their writings. But the many wholesome laws which they left behind them, and devouring time has spared, are convincing proofs of their justice, humanity, and wisdom, and at the same time a full confutation, as *Grotius* *The* Lombards *undeservedly aspersed by the popes.*

f observes, of the many calumnies, with which the popes, and their partisans, have endeavoured to asperse them. Their laws were found so just and equitable, that they were retained in *Italy*, and observed there, some ages after their kingdom was at an end. *Paulus Diaconus*, *Grotius*, *Gunter*, who was secretary to the emperor *Frederic* I. and several other writers, equal, and, in many particulars, prefer, the laws of the *Lombards* to those of the *Romans* themselves. *Gunter*, who was far from being prejudiced in their favour, after examining their laws, could not help calling them a sagacious, wise, and industrious people, and above all, excellent lawgivers [e]. Hence it sufficiently appears, with how much injustice they are styled by pope *Adrian*, in his letter, an unpolished, barbarous, and cruel people.

BEFORE

[c] PIET. GIANN. hist. civil. di Napol. l. v. c. 4. [d] PAUL. DIAC. hist. Long. l. iii. c. 8. [e] GUNTER. in Ligurino, versu 173, &c.

The ſtate of Italy *in the time of* Charlemagne.

Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, it may not be improper to give the reader a ſuccinct account of the ſtate of *Italy* at the time *Charlemagne* by the captivity of *Deſiderius*, put an end to the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and of the new form of government introduced by the conqueror. *Italy* was, at that time, divided, as it were, into four ſtates, held by the *Venetians*, the *Lombards*, the popes, and the emperors of the eaſt. The *Venetians*, by their trade to the *Levant*, were become very conſiderable, and, having a great number of veſſels, they bore no ſmall ſway in the affairs of *Italy*, though we do not yet find them poſſeſſed of any town on the *terra firma* or continent. The pope, by the generoſity of *Pepin*, and his ſon *Charles*, was maſter of the exarchate and *Pentapolis*, which we have deſcribed above. The dukedom of *Naples*, and ſome cities in the *Hither* and *Farther Calabria*, where ſtill held by the emperors of the eaſt. All the other provinces of *Italy* were held by the *Lombards*, *viz.* the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, and the provinces of *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Tuſcany*, and the *Alpes Cottiæ*, which were properly called the kingdom of the *Lombards*. When *Deſiderius* was taken priſoner, the dukedom of *Benevento* was governed by *Arechis*, ſon-in-law to the unhappy prince. It compriſed then almoſt all the preſent kingdom of *Naples*; for of the twelve provinces, into which that kingdom is now divided, nine were ſubject to the duke of *Benevento*, viz. *Terra di Lavoro*, *Contado di Moliſe*, the *Hither Abruzzo*, *Capitanata*, *Terra di Bari*, *Baſilicata*, the *Hither Calabria*, and the *Hither* and *Farther Principato's*; ſo that it was bounded on the weſt by the dukedoms of *Rome* and *Spoleto*; on the ſouth by *Gaeta*, and its territory; on the eaſt by the territories of *Coſenza* and *Caſſano*; and on the north by *Siponto*, and the promontory of *Gargano*. This dukedom, on account of its extent, was by the *Latins* called *Italia Ciſtiberina*, and by the *Greeks Longobardia Minor*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Greater*, which, lying on both ſides the *Po* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, retains to this day the name of *Lombardy*. This extent of the dukedom induced the dukes to divide it, for the more convenient adminiſtration of juſtice, into ſeveral diſtricts, called *counties*, each of which had its proper governor, ſtyled *count* or *guaſtald*. Theſe counts or guaſtalds were, at firſt, appointed and removed by the dukes at their pleaſure; but, in proceſs of time, it became cuſtomary not to remove them, unleſs convicted of treaſon, and not to transfer the counties to other families, till their male line was extinct: and this was the firſt origin of counts and counties in that part of *Italy*. The only difference between the counts and guaſtalds was, that the latter governed only during pleaſure, and the former were never removed, unleſs guilty of treaſon: hence the title of count denoted dignity, and that of guaſtald only office. The other two great dukedoms, *viz.* of *Spoleto* and *Friuli*, were far inferior, both in power and extent, to that of *Benevento*. The former comprehended all *Umbria*, in which were many cities of great note; and the latter all *Friuli*, and the greater part of *Iſtria*. The dukedom of *Naples*, which continued ſubject to the emperors of the eaſt, extended towards the weſt as far as *Cuma*, comprehending within its limits the iſlands of *Iſchia*, *Niſita*, and *Provida*, with the maritime towns of *Pozzuolo*, *Baia*, and *Miſeno*. Towards the ſouth *Caſtellamare*, *Sorrento*, *Amalfi*, and the iſland of *Caprea*, were compriſed in it. Towards the eaſt and north its limits were much confined, the dukedom of *Benevento* reaching almoſt to the very gates of the city. The cities of this dukedom were governed by their particular *rectores*, who were appointed by, and ſubordinate to, the duke of *Naples*. Theſe *rectores* were likewiſe called counts; but were not, as in the dukedom of *Benevento*, feudatories; they only governed during the pleaſure of the duke: ſo that they were upon a footing with the *Lombard* guaſtalds. As for the duke, he was appointed and removed at pleaſure by the emperor. The duke of *Naples* was likewiſe ſtyled *magiſter militiæ*, and conſul; but how the title of conſul came to be given him, no writer has yet had the curioſity to inquire (B). Beſides the dukedom of *Naples*, the emperors of

The extent of the dukedom of Benevento.

And its government.

The dukedom of Naples, *its extent and government.*

Cities in Italy *belonging to the emperor.*

(B) The title of conſul, which the emperors had long had in great eſteem, and looked upon as an honour to themſelves, was, towards the latter end of the empire, intirely ſlighted by them, and laid aſide. What made them undervalue and deſpiſe it, was its being aſſumed by thoſe princes, whom they looked upon as barbarians and uſurpers. Thus *Charlemagne*, to ſhew, that he ſucceeded to all the rights of the emperors of the weſt, took upon him, amongſt other titles, that of conſul. The other *French* emperors, his ſucceſſors, followed his example, as did likewiſe

a of the eaſt poſſeſſed ſeveral cities in antient *Calabria*, and in the country of the *Brutii*, now known by the name of *Farther Calabria*. In antient *Calabria* they held the cities of *Gallipoli* and *Otranto*; and, in *Farther Calabria*, *Reggio*, *Gerace*, *Santa Severina*, *Crotone*, and, beſides theſe, the two cities of *Amantea* and *Agripoli*, with the promontory now called *Capo di Licoſa* [f], the dukedoms of *Gaeta* and *Amalfi*. All theſe cities were immediately governed by their *rectores*, who were appointed and removed by the patrician, as he is ſtyled, or governor of *Sicily*; for to him were ſubject, at this time, all the places, the dukedom of *Naples* excepted, which the emperors ſtill held in *Italy*: hence they are all compriſed by *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* under the *Thema* of *Sicily* (C). In more antient times, only the *Farther Calabria* was ſubject to the
b patrician of *Sicily*; but the cities, which the emperors held in that part of *Italy*, being reduced to a very ſmall number, they were all put under the government of the patrician, who was ſent from *Conſtantinople* to govern *Sicily*, as is evident from the *themata* of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* [g], and likewiſe from one of pope *Adrian*'s letters to *Charlemagne*, wherein he complains of the *Beneventan Lombards*, whom he calls a moſt wicked race, for taking from him the city of *Gaeta*, and reſtoring it to the patrician of *Sicily*. *Gaeta* belonged to the emperor, and was under the government of that patrician; *Charles* took it from the emperor, and yielded it to the pope; the *Lombards* of *Benevento* retook it, and reſtored it to its lawful owner; and on that account they are called by the pope a moſt wicked people [h]. From the ſuperinten-
c dency over the countries on this ſide the *Faro*, which, in thoſe times, belonged to the patrician of *Sicily*, ſome writers will have thoſe countries to have been called *Sicily*; which name was afterwards extended by the *Norman* and *Suevian* princes, and likewiſe

Whence the kingdom of Naples called Sicily.

[f] Pellegrin. in diſſert. de finib. ducat. Benevent. p. 72. [g] Const. Porphyr. de themat. p. 8. [h] Adrian. ep. lxxiii. Pellegr. in fin. duc. Benevent. ad Merid.

likewiſe the *Italian* emperors, *Berengarius* duke of *Friuli*, and *Guido* duke of *Spoleto*; nay, even the *Saracens*, after they had conquered *Spain*, in imitation of the emperors of *Conſtantinople*, ſtyled themſelves conſuls. Thus *Abderamus*, who began to reign in *Cordova* in the year 821. and *Mohammed*, his ſon and ſucceſſor in that kingdom marked, in their writs, not only the years of their reign, but likewiſe of their conſulſhip (1). The emperors therefore, finding it thus aſſumed by foreign and barbarous nations, took it no longer themſelves, but gave it to their officers. Father *Pagi* thinks, that the emperors laid it quite aſide about the year 933 (2). The *Saracens* gave the title of conſul to their admirals; whence, in proceſs of time, it became common not only to them, but to all the governors of the maritime towns, and to thoſe who, reſiding in the ſea-ports, took care, that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred to the merchants of their reſpective countries. Thus *Codinus* (3), *Pachimeres* (4), and *Gregoras* (5), obſerve, that the *Piſan* and *Anconitan* magiſtrates, reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, were ſtyled conſuls. No wonder therefore, that the title of conſul was given to the dukes of *Naples*, ſince it was beſtowed on magiſtrates of a much inferior rank.

(C) The empire of the eaſt being, by the invaſion of ſeveral barbarous nations, who had ſeized on *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Syria*, and other large provinces, confined to *Aſia* Minor, Greece, Thrace, and a ſmall part of *Italy*, with *Sicily*, and the adjacent iſlands, no further regard was had to the antient diviſion of provinces; but new diviſions into diſtricts, which had their particular governors, were introduced, and called *themata*. Of theſe *themata* or diviſions *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* wrote two books, whereof the firſt contains the *themata* or provinces of *Aſia*, ſeventeen in number, and the ſecond thoſe of *Europe*, which were but twelve. Among the *themata* of *Europe*, *Sicily* is the tenth, and *Longobardia*, or *Lombardy*, the eleventh. We have obſerved above, that, under the name of *Lombardy*, properly ſpeaking, came thoſe provinces in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, of which the kingdom of the *Lombards* was compoſed, and that the dukedom of *Benevento* was likewiſe called *Lombardy*. Of theſe two *Lombardies* the former was called *Longobardia Major*, and the latter *Longobardia Minor*; but neither of them was in the poſſeſſion of the *Greeks*, the *Greater Lombardy* being held by the *French* kings of *Italy*, and the *Leſſer* by the *Beneventan Lombards*, whoſe dukes had the ſame power and authority under the *French* kings of *Italy*, as they had had under the princes of their own nation. By the province of *Lombardy* therefore, mentioned by *Conſtantine* in his themata, muſt be underſtood that ſmall part of *Italy*, which was ſtill poſſeſſed by the emperors, who, out of vanity and oſtentation, gave it the name of *Lombardy*. The countries, which *Conſtantine* names under the *thema* of *Lombardy*, are the dukedom of *Naples*, and antient *Calabria*, in which however the *Greeks* poſſeſſed, at this time, but two cities, *viz.* *Gallipoli* and *Otranto*. The country of the *Brutii*, now *Farther Calabria*, with the cities of *Reggio*, *Girace*, *Santa Severina*, *Crotone*, and ſome other places, are compriſed under the *thema* of *Sicily*, as being ſubject to the patrician or governor of that iſland. That magiſtrate ſeems to have had ſome authority even in the dukedom of *Naples*; for *Anthemius* duke of that city being dead, and diſputes ariſing about the election of a new duke, the *Neapolitans* had recourſe to the patrician of *Sicily*, who appointed one *Theocliſtus* to be their duke; but the emperor, not approving of his choice, removed *Theocliſtus*, and ſent one *Theodore* to govern in his room (6). From this account *Capacius*, or whoever elſe is the author of the *Latin* hiſtory of *Naples*, and *Camillo Pellegrino*, conclude the *Neapolitans* to have been, at leaſt ſometimes, allowed to chuſe their own dukes.

(1) *Pagi de conſulib. p.* 370. & *Eulog. in memorial. ſanctor. l.* ii. *c.* 1. (2) *Pagi ibid.* (3) *Codin. c.* 7. *num.* 9. (4) *Pachimer. l.* ii. *c.* 32. (5) *Gregor. l.* iv. *c.* 6. (6) *Vide Ugholl ibid.*

wiſe by the popes, to all the provinces, of which the preſent kingdom of *Naples* is a compoſed. It is certain, that in the time of the *Normans*, the name of *Sicily* was common both to that iſland, and to the preſent kingdom of *Naples*; but with this difference, that the former was called *Sicily beyond the Faro*, and the latter *Sicily on this ſide the Faro*, as appears from a charter of *Roger* the *Norman* of the year 1115. quoted by *Ughellus* [i].

Deſiderius being taken captive, as we have related above, and the city of *Pavia* reduced, all the other cities ſubmitted of their own accord to *Charles*, who thereupon, claiming the kingdom of the *Lombards* by right of conqueſt, cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of *Lombardy*, with an iron crown, by the hands of the archbiſhop of *Milan*. The ceremony was performed by *Thomas* then archbiſhop of *Milan*, at a b place called *Modoſtia*, about ten miles from that city. *Charles*, as we read in an antient ritual called *Ordo Romanus*, was led out of his chamber by ſeveral biſhops to the church; and, being conducted to the high altar, after ſome ſolemn prayers, the archbiſhop aſked the people, Whether they would ſubject themſelves to *Charles*, and, with conſtant fidelity, obey his commands? The people anſwering they would, the biſhop anointed his head, breaſt, ſhoulders, and arms, praying, that the new king might prove ſucceſsful in his wars, and happy in his iſſue. He then girt him with a ſword, put bracelets on his arms, gave him a robe, a ring, a ſceptre, and, having placed the crown upon his head, he led him through the choir to the throne, and, having ſeated him there, and given him the kiſs of peace, he celebrated divine c ſervice [k]. *Charles* ordained, that the ſame ceremony ſhould be obſerved in the coronation of his ſucceſſors, and performed by the archbiſhop of *Milan*, who thenceforth began to contend for dignity with the archbiſhop of *Ravenna*. The ceremony of the coronation being over, *Charles*, now king of *Italy*, thought it neceſſary to ſettle the frame and polity of his new kingdom, and, in order to this, reſolved to go to *Rome*, and adviſe with *Adrian*. The pope, having notice of his deſign, aſſembled fifty biſhops, and a great number of abbots and other dignitaries, in order to conſult with them, what honours ought to be paid to ſo great a prince, whoſe father and grandfather, as well as himſelf, had ſo much deſerved of the *Roman* church. After ſeveral conſultations, it was unanimouſly agreed, that he ſhould be made a *Roman* patri- d cian; that, throughout the provinces, he ſhould inſtitute all biſhops and archbiſhops, who were not to be conſecrated, unleſs inſtituted by him; and that he ſhould appoint the biſhop of *Rome*, and be declared protector of the apoſtolic ſee. *Charles*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, was received by the pope, and the *Roman* people, with the greateſt marks of reſpect and eſteem, and the honours we have mentioned were, with the unanimous conſent of all, conferred upon him. The naming of the biſhop of *Rome* was granted to him, for preventing the tumults, that, to the great ſcandal of all good chriſtians, began to ariſe among the people and clergy, on occaſion of thoſe elections, no one having any power or authority to reſtrain them. But this right *Charles* uſed with great moderation, and, after ſome time, remitted it to the clergy e and people. The dignity of patrician was, at that time, the firſt in the whole empire, and the conferring of it belonged of right to the emperor; but his authority being now extinct in *Italy*, the pope arrogated to himſelf that, as well as he did, by degrees, all the other imperial honours and ornaments. *Charles*, extremely well pleaſed with the reception he met with at *Rome*, continued ſome time in that metropolis, conſulting with the pope about the manner of ſettling the affairs of *Italy*; and then returned to *Pavia*, where he declared, that he intended to maintain the ſame form of government, which had been introduced by the *Lombard* princes his predeceſſors. Accordingly, he allowed every one full liberty to live under the ſame *Roman* or *Lombard* laws, to which they had been accuſtomed; but to the latter he added, as king of the *Lombards*, ſome of his own. He did not diſturb the emperors in the poſſeſſion of the dukedom of *Naples*, and of the other places, which they ſtill held in *Italy*. As for the three famous dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, he allowed thoſe dukes the ſame power and authority, which they had enjoyed under the *Lombard* kings, requiring only, that, as they had been ſubject to theſe princes, they ſhould acknowledge him for their king. The exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the dukedom of *Rome*, he yielded to the pope; but retained the ſovereignty to himſelf. The other provinces, which we have mentioned above, he kept as the kingdom of *Lombardy* [l]. He continued, as his predeceſſors had done, the other dukes in their dukedoms, contenting himſelf with the oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, as

Charlemagne *crowned king of* Lombardy.

He goes to Rome, *where great honours are conferred upon him.*

He retains the ſame form of government.

Allows the dukes the ſame power.

[i] Ugh. Ital. ſacra, tom. ix. in archiepiſ. S. Severin. [k] Ordo Roman. apud Sigon. [l] Sigon. p. 163.

a as well as the greater dukes, to take annually to him. The oath was conceived in the following terms: *I promiſe, without fraud or deceit, to be faithful to my ſovereign* Charles, *and his ſons, as long as I live; and I ſwear, by theſe holy goſpels, that I will be faithful to him, as a vaſſal to his lord and ſovereign; neither will I divulge any thing, which in virtue of my allegiance, he ſhall commit to me.* The dukedoms he never transferred from one family to another, but when the dukes broke this oath, or died without iſſue male. This tranſlation from one to another was called *inveſtiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not granted but by inveſtiture, as was afterwards obſerved with reſpect to other vaſſals and feudatories, *viz.* counts, captains, and valvaſours, the model of whoſe ſervices and tenures were afterwards perfected by the princes of *Germany*. The

b limits of the kingdom, and the towns, *Charles* committed to the care of counts, who were veſted with great authority. Theſe limits or borders were called *marchæ* or *marches*; whence thoſe, who had the ſuperintendency of them, were ſtyled *counts of the marches*, and *marquiſes*; and hence the title of marquis had its riſe. Theſe were the ordinary magiſtrates appointed by *Charles* for the government of the cities, and the limits of the kingdom; but he ſometimes appointed extraordinary magiſtrates, or commiſſaries, who had greater authority than the counts, and were called *miſſi*. It was their province to part and diſtinguiſh the limits of each city, which, under the *Lombards*, were greatly confuſed; whence aroſe frequent diſputes among the neighbouring cities about their boundaries; but the *miſſi* aſſigned to each city its boundaries,

c and, for the moſt part, following nature, appointed mountains, rivers, brooks, vallies, and other perpetual and laſting limits to ſerve for marches, that time might not alter and confound them. He likewiſe obliged the cities to take an oath of allegiance to him, and impoſed upon them, as well as upon the fiefs, churches, and monaſteries, a kind of tribute, called *foderum*, *parata*, and *manſionaticum*, which was to be paid to him, eſpecially when he came into *Italy*; but this tribute he afterwards generouſly remitted for himſelf and his ſucceſſors. That *Italy* might retain at leaſt ſome ſhadow of liberty, as often as he returned thither, he convened a general aſſembly of all the biſhops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to ſettle with them the public affairs of importance. The *Lombards* had but one ſtate, compoſed of barons and

d judges; but the *French*, in the time of *Charlemagne*, had two, *viz.* of the eccleſiaſtics and nobility; hence by *Charles* was added likewiſe in *Italy*, after the manner of *France*, the order of the eccleſiaſtics to that of the barons or nobility. This cuſtom of aſſembling the two ſtates laſted in *Italy* till the time of the emperor *Frederic* I. They met, for the moſt part, at *Roncaglia*, a place not far diſtant from *Placentia*, and there enacted ſeveral laws for the better regulation of public affairs [m]. The affairs of *Italy* being thus ſettled, *Charles*, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in *Pavia*, returned to *France* in the year 774. But he was ſcarce gone, when the *Lombard* dukes, thoſe eſpecially of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, ſcorning to live ſubject to a foreign prince, reſolved to ſhake off the yoke, and make themſelves abſolute in their reſpective duke-

e doms. While *Charles* therefore was engaged in a war with the *Saxons*, *Rodgand* duke of *Friuli*, laying hold of that opportunity, renounced his allegiance, and cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged ſovereign in his dukedom. But *Charles*, who had already put an end to the *Saxon* war, by the reduction of that country, was no ſooner informed of the revolt of *Rodgand*, which he apprehended, might prove of dangerous conſequence, if it was not timely ſuppreſſed, than he haſtened into *Alſace*, and, having kept his *Chriſtmas* there, marched, in the depth of winter, with a powerful army croſs the *Alps*, and entered the dukedom of *Friuli*. *Rodgand* met him with all the forces he could raiſe; but, in the engagement that enſued, he was utterly defeated, taken priſoner, and, ſoon after, publicly beheaded. *Charles* did not appoint another

f duke, but, adding the cities, of which this dukedom was compoſed, to his kingdom, appointed counts to govern them in the ſame manner as the other cities of his kingdom were governed. Thus ended the dukedom of *Friuli*, the firſt that was erected under *Alboinus*, and likewiſe the firſt that was ſuppreſſed by *Charlemagne*. *Paulus Æmilius* tells us, that it was afterwards reſtored by *Charles*, who appointed one *Henry*, a native of *France*, to govern it with the title of duke [n]. But of this, and the dukes who are ſuppoſed to have ſucceeded him, no mention is made by other hiſtorians. *Hildebrand* duke of *Spoleto*, who had likewiſe revolted, upon the news of the defeat and death of *Rodgand*, ſubmitted of his own accord, and was again received into favour by *Charles*. At this time *Arechis*, who had married *Adelperga*, daughter to *Deſiderius*, the laſt king of the *Lombards*, was duke of *Benevento*; but he, waiting a more

Magiſtrates appointed by him.

Tribute impoſed by him.

The duke of Friuli *revolts.*

But is defeated, and put to death.

That dukedome ended.

[m] Vide Sigon. ibid. & Franken. diſſ. de Majum. Maicamp. & Roncal. p. 42.

[n] Paul. Æmil. de reb. Franc. p. 142.

more favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke, continued quiet till such time a as *Charles*, after having appointed *Pepin* his eldest son king of *Italy* in 781. was returned to *France*, and engaged there in other wars. Then *Arechis*, scorning to live in subjection to a foreign prince, as he had done to his father-in-law, and trusting to his own strength, and the affection his subjects bore him, not only revolted, but, laying aside the title of duke, assumed that of prince, causing himself to be anointed and crowned with great solemnity as king by his bishops, and dating thenceforth all his writs and deplomas *from our most sacred palace*, according to the style of other princes and sovereigns. As it was then customary among princes, when they were crowned, to cause their images to be placed in all the churches throughout their dominions, representing them with a crown on their head, this custom was likewise b observed by *Arechis*, who was thereupon acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the dukedom as their sovereign. He coined money with his own image, made what alterations he thought fit both in civil and military affairs, without consulting either *Charles* or *Pepin*, and even enacted several laws; for his *capitularia* have reached our times; and, in the often mentioned manuscript code lodged in the monastery of *Cava*, among the edicts of the *Lombard* kings, is to be found one of this prince, containing seventeen chapters. His example was followed by the other princes his successors, namely by *Adelchis*, *Sicardus*, and *Radelchisus*, as appears from their *capitularia* published by *Camillo Pellegrino* °. Thus to the laws of the *Lombard* kings were added those of the princes of *Benevento*. *Charles*, finding that his son *Pepin* was not c able to reduce the *Beneventan Lombards*, returned in 786. with a powerful army into *Italy*, being then disengaged from other wars. But, *Arechis* suing for peace, *Charles* granted him it upon the following terms, *viz.* that he should pay to *Pepin* a yearly tribute; that he should deliver up to him his treasure, and with it his son *Grimoald*, and his daughter *Adelgisa*, by way of hostages. The peace being thus concluded, *Charles* returned to *France*, leaving *Arechis* in possession of the principality of *Benevento*, which was held by him, with the title of prince, as it was by his successors, who greatly enlarged it, till a cruel war being kindled in the bowels of their country between *Siconulphus* and *Radelchisus*, two competitors to the principality, the one invited the *Saracens* of *Africa*, and the other those of *Spain*, to their assistance, who after a twelve years war, completed the ruin of both; so that, to get rid of their d troublesome auxiliaries, they were obliged to have recourse to *Lewis* king of *France*, and, by taking an oath of allegiance to him, acknowledge him for their sovereign. *Lewis* divided the provinces of *Benevento* between the two competitors, by which division two principalities were made out of one; that of *Benevento* was allotted to *Radelchisus*; and the other, called from its metropolis the principality of *Salerno*, to *Siconulphus*, the emperors of the west exercising, as kings of *Italy*, the same authority over them, as the *Lombard* kings had formerly done.

Arechis *duke of* Benevento *changes his dukedom into a principality. Year after Christ* 781.

The Beneventans *forced by their intestine broils, to submit to the emperors of the west.*

AND thus far of antient history, or the history of antient nations, from their first original, to their being either blended with, or giving rise to, some of the modern nations, which naturally paves us the way to modern history. We have spared no c pains in the execution of our proposals, and hope we have made no slips, but such as the candid reader will think excuseable, when he reflects on the many difficulties, that attend a work of this nature. We have not the vanity to think we have been guilty of no faults; but the encouragement which, far beyond our expectation, we have met with, we may say, from all ranks of people, both at home and abroad, and which we now acknowledge with the utmost gratitude, inclines us to believe, that the mistakes we may have committed, are no-ways material. This we are the more apt to imagine, as we find but very few alterations from the original made by the several men of learning, who have thought it worth their while to translate our work into their respective languages. As for a perfectly complete history, it is not to appear, as a modern writer expresses it [p], but in that year, which discovers the philosophers stone, and the perpetual motion.

° CAMILL. PELLEGRIN. capit. Arech. princ. p. 309. & cit. hist. p. 73—92. [p] LA MOTHE.

The End of the Seventh Volume.

AN

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† *Zobah*, the kingdom of, in Syria, i. 371, b. On the ruins of which rose up that of Damascus, ib. c. The chronology of its kings, 380, pass. Why called also Sophene, ibid.
Zobair's vain attempt and insignificant aqueduct, vii. 236, d, e.
Zoberes king of Albanes, defeated by M. Antony, iii. 839, a.
Zochares defeated before Antioch, vi. 585, b.
Zoe Ist, married to Leo, and dies, vi. 575, b.
— IId, the mother of Constantine, ib. Banished by Alexander, 577, f. Recalled by her son, 578, c. Assumes the government, ib. d. Defeated by the Bulgarians, 578, f, & seq. (vii. 630, d, e.). Confined by Romanus, vi. 579, c.
— Constantine's daughter married to Romanus IId, 594, b. Poisons and murders him, 595, c, d. Marries Michael, and makes him emperor, ib. e, f. Over-reached by his brother, 596, b, c. Confined by Calaphates, 597, c. Recalled, ib. d, e. Married afresh, 598, a. Dies, 600, f.
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Zohair IId, murdered, 279, a.
Zoilus's revolt from Syria, iii. 615, b
— the Critic, writes against Homer, 638, b. His miserable end, ib. d.
Zolilus, Heliogabulus's beastly husband, vi. 135, c.
Zonara's abridgment of Dion Cassius, vi. 150, sub not. Account of Macrianus's usurpation, 179.
Zonobarnes, king of Iberia, baptized, iii. 837, a.
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Zoroaster, Zoroastres, Zerdust, his Chaldean cosmogony from their antient oracles, i. 15, b. Description of the supreme deity, 31, b. Introduces learning into Persia, ii. 62, e. Reforms the Persic religion, 71, (c.) Had his own from the Mosaic writings, 74, b. His life, doctrine, &c. according to oriental writers, 204, & seq. Said to have been brought up under one of the prophets, 207. Converts the king of Persia, 211, & seq. His miracles, ib. Religion, 214, & seq. Liturgy, 215, d. Laws, writings, &c. ib. & seq. Foretold the coming of the Messiah, 217. His death, 218.
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Zotto, first duke of Benevento, vii. 683, f. His death, 684, c.
Zoub, king of Persia; see *Zab*, ii. 187, d.
† *Zow-aan*, mount, where situate, vii. 800, (M).
† *Zuchabari*, the spring of, in Syrtes, vii. 176, e.
† *Zuphons*, a tribe of Numidians, where sited, vi. 804, (Q).
Zur, king of Midian, i. 303, a. Sends his daughter to debauch the Israelites, ib. b.
Zuxidamus king of Sparta, ii. 576, e, f.
† *Zydretæ*, who, and where sited, vi. 37, a.
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FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the following *Chronological* TABLES to the Seven Volumes.

AT our firſt ſetting out in this work (*Pref. to Vol. I. pag.* 1.) we gave our readers the chronology of the world from the creation to the flood, according to the various ſyſtems of the moſt eminent chronologiſts in all nations, after which we ſubjoined our reaſons for preferring that of the *Samaritan* pentateuch to that of the *Hebrew* ſeptuagint, *Joſephus*'s, &c. as far as relates to that remote and impenetrable epocha; upon which account we were induced to compute all the events from the latter period by the years of the flood, rather than by thoſe of the world. (*Preface ibid, pag. ult.*) We need not repeat our reaſons at large here, but only remind our readers, that as we engaged to ſubjoin the year of the world to that of the flood in the chronological tables, whenever they came to be printed, ſo we have accordingly performed our promiſe in thoſe that follow.

AS for the *Julian* period, we have in purſuance of our reaſons there given wholly omitted it, as imaginary, and therefore uſeleſs. Thoſe readers who retain a fondneſs for it, may, however, ſupply it all along, by adding its complement to they are of the world; only let them remember, that it is not (according to theſe tables) that of 710, which is the *Hebrew* computation, but of 408, which is the *Samaritan*, that we have here followed. The reader will find our reaſons for all theſe in the preface above-mentioned.

IT is neceſſary to obſerve furthermore in this place, that we had purpoſed in our original plan to inſert at the end of each volume a chronological table of its particular contents: But upon mature conſideration, we have thought it much more eligible to comprize the whole in one general table, that our readers may ſee at one view all the ſynchronological events of each nation and kingdom, by which means a great deal of trouble, confuſion, and needleſs repetitions will be avoided, eſpecially as the moſt material are purpoſely made ſo full and explicit, that a reader who even is but moderately verſed in Hiſtory may, by the help here afforded, frequently ſpare himſelf the labour of conſulting the volumes; whilſt thoſe that are leſs acquainted with it will, by the help of the two laſt columns in the table, be eaſily directed to the volume and page where the point in queſtion is more fully diſcuſſed.

THE great difficulties which the authors of the foregoing volumes have met with in the carrying on of this arduous and extenſive work have occaſioned a number of anachroniſms to creep into ſeveral parts of the hiſtory, to ſay nothing of typographical overſights, which are almoſt unavoidable in a work of this nature. For this reaſon the greateſt care hath been taken to make the following tables ſo exact, that the accurate reader may, if he pleaſes, by the help of them rectify and adjuſt every error or inadvertency he meets with in the text.

Y. of world.	Y. of flood.	Before Chriſt		Vol.	Pag.
1		4305	GOD creates the world, and with it, time and man. Places him in Paradiſe. Forbids him eating of the tree of knowledge, and gives him *Eve* for his wife.	I	59
1		4305	*Adam*, by the perſuaſion of his wife, eats the fruit of the forbidden tree, and thereby introduces ſin, miſery, and natural death - - - - -	I	59
1		4305	*Cain*, the eldeſt Son of *Adam*, born within this year - - - -	I	72
2		4304	*Abel*, *Adam*'s ſecond ſon, born - - - - - - -	I	73
129		4177	*Cain* ſlays his brother *Abel*, and is condemned by God to be a fugitive and a vagabond, *&c.* - - - - - - - - -	I	74
130		4176	*Seth* (or the appointed one) born to ſupply the place of *Abel*, whom *Cain* ſlew, *&c.*	I	75
235		4071	*Enos*, the ſon of *Seth*, born in the 105th year of his father's age - -	I	71
325		3981	*Cainan*, the ſon of *Enos*, born in the 90th year of his father's age - -	I	71
395		3911	*Mahalaleel*, the ſon of *Cainan*, born in the 70th year of his father's age - -	I	71
460		3846	*Jared*, the ſon of *Mahalaleel*, born in the 65th year of his father's age - -	I	71
522		3784	*Enoch*, the ſon of *Jared*, born in the 62d year of his father's age - - -	I	71
587		3719	*Methuſelah*, the ſon of *Enoch*, born in 65th year of his father's age - - -	I	71
654		3652	*Lamech*, the ſon of *Methuſelah*, born in the 67th year of his father's age - - - -	I	71
707		3599	*Noah*, the ſon of *Lamech*, born in the 53d year of his father's age - - -	I	71
887		3419	*Enoch*, the ſon of *Jared*, the father of *Methuſelah*, as a reward for his extraordinary piety, is tranſlated from earth to heaven alive, without firſt dying naturally, in the 365th year of his age - - - - - - - -	I	78
930		3376	*Adam*, the firſt man, and common parent of mankind, dies a natural death in the 930th year of his age - - - - - - - - -	I	79
1042		3264	*Seth* dies in the 912th year of his age - - - - - -	I	71
1140		3166	*Enos* dies in the 905th year of his age - - - - -	I	71
1187		3119	*Noah* begins to preach repentance, and forewarn the people of the univerſal deſtruction of the world - - - - - - - -	I	85
1207		3099	*Japhet*, the ſon of *Noah*, born in the 500th year of his father's age - -	I	71
1209		3097	*Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, born in the 502d year of his father's age - -	I	71
1235		3071	*Cainan*, the ſon of *Enos*, dies aged 910 years - - - -	I	71
1290		3016	*Mahalaleel*, the ſon of *Cainan*, dies aged 895 years - - -	I	71
1307		2999	*Jared*, the ſon of *Mahalaleel*, dies aged 847 years - - -	I	71
1307		2999	*Methuſelah*, the ſon of *Enoch*, dies aged 720 years - - - -	I	71
1307		2999	*Lamech*, the ſon of *Methuſelah*, dies aged 653 years - - - -	I	71
1307		2999	The flood, after 120 years preaching by *Noah*, is brought upon the earth; and *Noah*, and his family, by God's command, goes into the Ark, which he had built by God's own appointment, and with them all kind of beaſts and fowls, and every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by ſevens, male and female, with proper quantities of food, *&c.* on the 17th day of the ſecond month, anſwering to our *December* - - - -	I	95
1308	1	2998	The waters being ſufficiently abated, and the dry land viſible, *Noah*, by God's direction, with all that were with him, comes out of the Ark on the 27th day of the ſecond month (or *December*) having been in it a year and ten days, *&c.* - -	I	108
1309	2	2997	*Arphaxad*, the ſon of *Shem*, born in the 100th year of his father's age - -	I	112
1444	137	2862	*Salah*, the ſon of *Arphaxad*, born in the 135th year of his father's age - -	I	112
1574	267	2732	*Eber*, the ſon of *Salah*, born in the 130th year of his father's age - -	I	112
1657	350	2649	*Noah* dies in the 950th year of his age, and is ſuppoſed to be buried in *Meſopotamia*	I	116
1708	401	2598	*Peleg*, the ſon of *Eber*, born in the 134th year of his father's age - -	I	112
1708	401	2598	The building of *Babel*; the confuſion, or multiplicity, of languages, and the diſperſion of mankind all over the earth - - - -	I	129

Y. of world.	Y. of flood.	Before Chriſt		Vol.	Page
1738	431	2568	*Nimrod*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, is ſuppoſed to drive his couſin *Aſhur*, the ſon of *Shem*, out of *Shinaar*, in *Babylon*, aud ſettle in it, making it the foundation of a large kingdom, over which he reigned	I	124
1738	431	2568	*Aſhur*, the ſon of *Shem*, being driven out of *Babylon*, by his couſin *Nimrod*, retires (no doubt with a large number of hands) into *Aſſyria*, and builds the cities of *Nineveh*, *Rhoboth*, *Calah*, and *Reſen*, and founds the *Aſſyrian* monarchy	I	126
1747	440	2559	*Arphaxad*, the ſon of *Shem*, dies in the 438th year of his age	I	112
1809	502	2497	*Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, dies in the 600th year of his age	I	112
1838	531	2468	*Reu*, the ſon of *Peleg*, born in the 130th year of his father's age	I	112
1877	570	2429	*Salah*, the ſon of *Arphaxad*, dies in the 433d year of his age	I	112
1947	640	2359	*Peleg*, the ſon of *Eber*, dies in the 239th year of his age	I	112
1970	663	2336	*Serug*, the ſon of *Reu*, born in the 132d year of his father's age	I	112
1978	671	2328	*Eber*, the ſon of *Salah*, dies in the 404th year of his age	I	112
2077	770	2229	*Reu*, the ſon of *Peleg*, dies in the 239th year of his age	I	112
2100	793	2206	*Nabor*, the ſon of *Serug*, born in the 130th year of his father's age	I	112
2179	872	2127	*Terah*, the ſon of *Nabor*, born in the 79th year of his father's age	I	112
2200	893	2106	*Serug*, the ſon of *Reu*, dies in the 230th year of his age	I	112
2216	909	2090	*Ægialeus*, the ſuppoſed firſt king and founder of the kingdom of *Ægialea*, ſince called *Sicyon* and *Peloponneſus*, began to reign and reigned 52 years	II	350
2247	940	2059	*Ninus*, ſon of *Belus*, is ſuppoſed to be the firſt king of *Aſſyria*, who governed that kingdom 52 years	I	876
2248	941	2058	*Nabor*, the ſon of *Serug*, dies in the 148th year of his age	I	112
2268	961	2038	*Europs*, the ſecond king of *Ægialea*, (or *Sicyon*) began to reign, and reigned 45 years	II	350
2289	982	2017	Began the 16th dynaſty of the *Egyptians*, which was of five *Theban* kings, that reigned 190 years	I	229
2299	992	2007	*Semiramis*, wife of *Ninus*, ſucceeds her huſband in the kingdom, as guardian of her ſon *Nynias*, (by ſome called *Zameis*) ſhe is ſaid to have built the great city of *Babylon*, and other extraordinary and magnificent works; and to be killed by her ſon for tempting him to lie with her, after reigning 42 years	I	880
2309	1002	1997	*Abram*, the ſon of *Terah*, born in the 130th year of his father's age	I	112
2313	1006	1993	*Telchin* or *Selchin*, the third king of *Ægialea*, (or *Sicyon*) began to reign, and changed the name of it into *Telchinia*, and reigned 20 years	II	350
2320	1013	1986	*Iſcah*, the daughter of *Haran* born, who was afterwards wife of *Abram*, and called *Sarai* and then *Sarah*	I	132
2333	1026	1973	*Apis*, (by ſome ſaid to be a ſtranger, that came out of *Ætolia*, and by medicines and charms rid the country of all ſorts of vermin that formerly annoyed it) the fourth king of *Sicyon*, changed its name into *Apia*, during his reign of 25 years	II	350
2341	1034	1965	*Nynias* or (*Zameis* the ſon of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*) began to reign, and reigned 38 years in *Syria*, whoſe capital city was *Nineveh*	I	883
2358	1051	1948	*Thelxion* or *Thelaſion*, the fifth king of *Sicyon*, began to reign, and reigned 52 years	II	350
2372	1065	1934	*Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, invades the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim*, (governed by five kings) where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, conquers and makes them tributaries	I	327
2379	1072	1927	*Arius* ſucceeded *Ninyas* in the throne of *Aſſyria*, and reigned 30 years	I	883
2383	1076	1923	*Terah*, *Abram*, and *Lot*, went from *Ur* to dwell at *Haran*	I	113
2384	1077	1922	*Terah*, the ſon of *Nahor*, dies in the 205th year of his age	I	112
2384	1077	1922	This ſame year *Abram*, by God's immediate command, leaves *Haran*, and takes his wife and family, and *Lot* and his family, and goes and ſettles in the land of *Canaan*, builds an altar at *Sichem*, where the Lord appears to him, promiſes to beſtow the Land of *Canaan* upon his poſterity	I	112
2385	1078	1921	*Abram* is drove out of *Canaan* into *Egypt* by a great famine, where *Pharaoh* the king, and his houſe, are puniſhed, for taking *Sarah*, *Abram*'s wife, upon which ſhe is returned; and the plague being over, *Abram* and his family return into *Canaan* again	I	327
2393	1086	1913	*Bera*, and the other four kings of the vale of *Siddim*, having revolted from *Chedorlaomer*, to whom they were tributaries, he comes againſt them, and ſlays great numbers, and carries away the reſt captive, among whom was *Lot* and his family, upon which *Abram* arms, purſues the conqueror, recovers his kinſman, and with him a great deal of plunder	I	327
2394	1087	1912	*Iſhmael*, *Abram*'s ſon, by his maid *Hagar*, born	I	426
2407	1100	1899	*Abram*'s name changed to *Abraham*, and his wife *Sarai* to *Sarah*; and circumciſion inſtituted by God's immediate command, upon which he circumciſes all the males in his family	I	426
2407	1100	1899	*Iſaac*, promiſed by God to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, upon his entertaining three angels at a feaſt	I	428
2408	1101	1898	The cities of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, with their inhabitants, for the unnatural ſin of *Sodomy*, are deſtroyed by a rain of fire and brimſtone, or a prodigious ſtorm of thunder and lightning, and the whole valley of *Siddim* from thenceforward became the Dead or Salt Sea, called ſometimes the lake *Aſphaltites*	I	328
2408	1101	1898	*Iſaac*, ſon of *Abraham* by his wife *Sarah* born, and at eight days old circumciſed, *Abraham* being an 100, and his wife 90 years of age	I	429
2409	1102	1897	*Aralius* ſucceeds *Arius* as king of *Syria*, and reigns 40 years	I	883
2410	1103	1896	*Ægydrus*, or *Ægyrus*, the ſixth king of *Sicyon*, now *Peloponneſus*, begins to reign, and reigns 34 years	II	350
2414	1107	1892	*Iſaac* is weaned, (here begins the 400 years that *Abraham*'s ſeed were to be ſtrangers, and to have no country of their own)	I	430
2415	1108	1891	*Iſhmael* mocking *Iſaac*, *Sarah*, the mother of the latter, requeſts *Abraham*, the father of both of them, to ſend *Iſhmael* quite away from him, he heſitating, God aſſures *Abraham* he would make *Iſhmael* a great nation, and thereupon he ſends both him and his mother away	I	430
2434	1127	1872	*Abraham*, by God's command, takes his ſon *Iſaac*, and goes to mount *Moriah*, to ſacrifice him there, but is prevented by a voice from Heaven, and the victim		

offered

Y. of world.	Y. of flood.	Before Christ		Vol.	Page
			offered, that was found in a neighbouring thicket; upon this the covenant or promiſe that God had formerly made with *Abraham*, is again renewed, &c. —	I	431
			— —	I	883
2444	1137	1862	*Thurimachus*, the ſeventh king of *Sicyon*, begins to reign, and reigned 45 years —		
2445	1138	1861	*Sarah*, the wife of *Abraham*, dies in the 127th year of her age, in the city of *Arbah*, where *Abraham* mourns for her, and buries her with great funeral ſolemnity, in the cave of *Machpelah*, which he had bought of *Ephron* the *Hittite*, for that purpoſe — — — —	I	432
2449	1142	1857	*Abraham* firſt ſwears, and then ſends, his chief ſteward or ſervant to *Meſopotamia*, where his brother *Nahor* dwelt, with large preſents, to demand one of his daughters to be the wife of his ſon *Iſaac*, who was now forty years of age, upon receiving the meſſage, and the preſents, *Nahor* ſends him his daughter *Rebecca*, a very beautiful virgin, who became the wife of *Iſaac* accordingly — —	I	433
2449	1142	1857	The ſame year *Abraham* marries *Keturah*, (which is ſuppoſed to be *Hagar*, the mother of *Iſhmael*), and, though he was then 141 years old, had ſix ſons by her —	I	434
			—	I	883
2449	1142	1857	*Xerxes*, called alſo *Baleus*, ſucceeds *Aralius* as king of *Syria*, and reigned thirty years		
2450	1143	1856	*Inachus* founded the kingdom of *Argos*, and was the firſt king thereof, and reigned fifty years, having by his ſiſter *Meliſſa*, whom he took to wife, two ſons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialeus*, and a daughter called *Io*, ſuppoſed to be *Iſis*, the goddeſs of the *Egyptians*, whom *Jupiter* turned into a cow; and from her ſwimming over the *Thracian* ſtrait, it was called the *Boſphorus* — — —	II	351
2469	1162	1837	*Rebecca*, after having been childleſs for twenty years, brings forth twins, and calls the firſt-born, *Eſau*, (a child remarkably hairy) and the other *Jacob*, who came into the world, holding his brother by the heel — —	I	437
2469	1162	1837	*Apis*, *Oſyris*, or *Iſis*, the chief God of the *Egyptians*, now began to be worſhipped under the form of a bull — — — —	I	206
			— —	I	883
2479	1172	1827	*Armamitres* ſucceeds *Xerxes* as king of *Syria*, and reigned 38 years — —	I	229
2479	1172	1827	The ſeventeenth *Egyptian* dynaſty of paſtors for 130 years		
2483	1176	1823	*Abraham* being 175 years old, dies, and is buried by his ſons *Iſaac* and *Iſhmael*, in the cave of *Machpelah*, along with his wife *Sarah* — —	I	434
2489	1182	1817	*Leucippus*, the eighth king of *Sicyon*, began to reign, and reigned 53 years, having one only daughter *Chalcinia*, upon whom *Neptune* got a ſon, called *Eratus* —	II	350
2499	1192	1807	*Phoroneus*, ſon of *Inachus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Argos*, was the firſt that ſacrificed to *Juno*, and the firſt that made laws, and governed by them, and therefore by ſome called, or ſaid to be, the firſt man: He collected the people that were ſcattered up and down the country into a body, and incorporated them in a city, built by him, and called *Phoroneum*; he is ſaid to have a ſon by the nymph *Laodice*, named *Apis*, and a daughter called *Niobe*, who was the firſt paramour of *Jupiter*, and had by him a ſon called *Argos* — — —	II	352
2501	1194	1805	*Iſaac* is forced to leave his habitation upon account of a great famine; and by God's direction, he goes to *Abimelech*, king of *Gerar*, who entertains him and all his family, very kindly; after ſtaying there ſome time, he enters into covenant with *Abimelech*, and then goes and lives in the valley of *Gerar* — —	I	438
2509	1202	1797	*Eſau*, at forty years of age, marries *Judith*, the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Baſhemath*, the daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites*, at which his parents are much grieved —	I	438
2517	1210	1789	*Belochus* ſucceeds *Armamitres* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and takes his daughter *Atoſſa*, called alſo *Semiramis*, a partner with him in his kingdom, for twelve years —	I	883
			—	II	352
2517	1210	1789	The *Telchines* and *Caryatæ*, make war againſt *Phoroneus* and the *Parrhaſii* — —	II	352
2525	1218	1781	*Apis* and *Niobe*, born to *Phoroneus*	III	2
2540	1233	1766	The *Ogygian* flood in *Attica* and *Bœotia*, 248 years before *Deucalion*'s flood in *Theſſaly*	I	96
2542	1235	1764	*Meſapus*, the ninth king of *Sicyon*, began to reign, and reigned 47 years —		
2544	1237	1762	*Meſſana* in *Sicily*, was built and called *Zancle*, till the *Meſſenians* got it, and called it *Meſſana*, afterwards the *Mamertines* got it, and called it *Mamertina*, and now *Meſſina* — — —	II	350
2546	1239	1760	*Iſaac* being 137 years old, and grown very dim-ſighted, calls his ſon *Eſau* (who was a great hunter) to him, and deſires him to go and get him ſome veniſon for ſupper; and that then he would give him his particular bleſſing, which *Rebecca* hearing, prepares a ſavoury diſh of meat, and obliges her favourite ſon *Jacob* to diſguiſe himſelf, and perſonate *Eſau*, and carry the meat in to his father, in order to obtain the promiſed bleſſing, which he doing with ſome difficulty, ſucceeds juſt before *Eſau* returned from hunting — — —	I	439
2546	1239	1760	*Eſau* threatning to kill *Jacob*, *Iſaac*, by the inſtigation of *Rebecca*, ſends *Jacob* to		
2547	1240	1759	his uncle *Laban* in *Padan Aram*, whom he agreed to ſerve ſeven years, to have his beautiful daughter *Rachel* to wife, to which the father conſents; but cheats him, and in the dark puts her eldeſt ſiſter *Leah* to bed to him in her ſtead, upon which complaining next day to *Laban*, he agreed he ſhould have *Rachel* alſo, provided he would ſerve him ſeven years more, which he agreeing to, has both the ſiſters for his wives — — — —	I	440
				I	441
2548	1241	1758	*Reuben*, the firſt ſon of *Jacob*, by his wife *Leah*, born — — —	I	441
2549	1242	1757	*Simeon*, the ſecond ſon of *Jacob*, by his wife *Leah*, born — — —	I	441
2550	1243	1756	*Levi*, the third ſon of *Jacob*, by his wife *Leah*, born — — —	I	441
2551	1244	1755	*Judah*, the fourth ſon of *Jacob*, by his wife *Leah*, born		
2552	1245	1754	*Rachel* very ſorrowful that ſhe had no children, deſires *Jacob* to take her maid *Bilhah*, and what children *Bilhah* might have, ſhe would adopt for her own; this agreed to, *Bilhah* conceives, and brings forth a fifth ſon to *Jacob*, whom *Rachel* called *Dan* — — — —	I	441
				I	883
2552	1245	1754	*Baleus* ſucceeds *Belochus* as king of *Syria*, and reigned 52 years — —		
2553	1246	1753	*Bilhah*, *Rachel*'s maid, conceives again, and brings *Jacob* a ſixth ſon, whom *Rachel* calls *Naphtali* — — — —	I	441
2554	1247	1752	*Leah* ſeeing the ſucceſs of her ſiſter, and having ceaſed ſometime from child-bearing herſelf, takes her maid *Zilpah*, and deſires *Jacob* would grant her the ſame favour he had allowed her ſiſter; he conſents, the maid conceives, and brings *Jacob*, a ſeventh ſon, whom *Leah* calls *Gad* — — — — —	I	441
2555	1248	1751	*Zilpah*, *Leah*'s maid, conceives again, and bears *Jacob* the eighth ſon, whom *Leah* calls *Aſher* — — — — —	I	441

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2556	1249	1750	*Reuben*, *Leah*'s eldeſt ſon, having been in the fields, bringing home ſome mandrakes to his mother, *Rachel* deſires them, and agrees, that *Jacob* ſhould lie with *Leah* that night, provided ſhe gave her the mandrakes; all parties agreed, and *Jacob* lying with *Leah*, ſhe conceives: And,		
2557	1250	1749	*Leah* brings forth *Jacob*'s ninth ſon, (but the fifth of her own body) and calls his name *Iſſachar*, (or the man of reward)	I	442
2558	1251	1748	*Leah* brings forth her ſixth ſon, (*Jacob*'s tenth) and calls his name *Zebulun*	I	442
2559	1252	1747	*Leah* bears *Jacob* a ſeventh child, (*Jacob*'s eleventh) which being a daughter, ſhe called her name *Dinah*, after whom ſhe bore no more	I	442
2559	1252	1747	*Apis*, ſon of *Phoroneus*, ſucceeds his father as king of *Argos*, from whom the country was called *Apia*, and the people *Apidones*	I	442
2561	1254	1745	*Rachel*, to her great joy, brings forth a ſon, and calls his name *Joſeph*; this was *Jacob*'s eleventh ſon	II	352
2564	1257	1742	The *Telchines*, being driven out of *Peloponneſus*, planted *Rhodes*, from them called *Telchini*	I	442
2567	1260	1739	*Jacob* having ſerved *Laban* his father-in-law 20 years, and his own ſeperate family being grown numerous, while *Laban* was gone to his ſheep-ſhearing, moves off with all his houſe-hold, *&c.* in his way to *Canaan*, he has a viſion of the angelick hoſt, by whom he is comforted, *&c.* but hearing his brother *Eſau* was coming towards him, he ſends a very great preſent before him to pave the way, that he might have a friendly reception, *&c.* in the mean time an angel appears to him in the common ſhape of a man, and wreſtles with him, touches his thigh, and he grows lame: at his departure, *Jacob* inſiſts upon his bleſſing, and then the angel changed his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, at a place from that time called *Peniel*	III	131
2574	1267	1732	*Shechem* the ſon of *Hamor*, falls in love with *Dinah Jacob*'s daughter, and forces her, to revenge which affront, after having prevailed with *Hamor* and *Shechem*, to have themſelves and their ſubjects circumciſed, the brothers of *Dinah* enter the city, and put all the males to the ſword, while they were yet ſore	I	445
2577	1270	1729	As *Jacob* (now *Iſrael*) was marching towards *Ephrath*, *Rachel* fell in labour, and was delivered of her ſecond ſon (*Jacob*'s twelfth) whoſe name ſhe called *Benoni* (or the ſon of my affliction) and died preſently after, and was buried at *Ephrath*; ſhe being dead, *Jacob* changed his name from *Benoni* into *Benjamin*, (or the ſon of my right-hand)	I	329 447
2578	1271	1728	*Jacob* ſhewing a particular fondneſs for *Joſeph* and *Benjamin*, the other brothers are ſo much diſpleaſed, that they take *Joſeph* and ſell him to ſome travelling merchants, who carried him into *Egypt*, and ſold him to *Potiphar*, a principal officer belonging to king *Pharaoh*	I	448
2588	1281	1718	*Sparta* the capital of the kingdom of *Sparta*, built by *Spartus*, ſon of *Phoroneus* king of *Argos*	I	449
2589	1282	1717	*Eratus*, tenth king of *Sicyon*, ſon of *Chalcinia*, daughter of *Leucippus*, eighth king of *Sicyon*, began to reign and reigned 46 years	II	395
2589	1282	1717	*Joſeph* having been enticed by his miſtreſs, *Potiphar*'s wife (one of *Pharaoh* king of *Egypt*'s great officers of ſtate) to incontinency, he refuſes her, whereupon ſhe accuſes him of attempting the crime, ſhe would have perſuaded him to, in conſequence whereof, he is caſt into priſon; and there interpreting the dreams of two ſtate priſoners that were under diſpleaſure, is greatly taken notice of, *&c.*	II	352
2590	1283	1716	*Iſaac* now 180 years old, worn out with labour and age, dies, and his two ſons, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, with *Abraham* his father and *Sarah* his mother	I	450
2591	1284	1715	*Pharaoh*, king of *Egypt*, has two extraordinary dreams, which his magicians or wiſe men, not being able to interpret, *Joſeph* is ſent for, who explained them ſo amply and ſatisfactorily, that from that moment he's advanced to be the ſecond man in the kingdom, *&c.*	I	448
2591	1284	1715	This, and the following ſix years, make up the ſeven years of extraordinary plenty that *Joſeph* had foretold would happen, in which he laid up immenſe ſtores of proviſions, making prodigious magazines all over the kingdom	I	453
2594	1287	1712	*Argus* ſucceeds *Apis* as king of *Argos*, from whom all *Peloponneſus* was called *Argos*, he reigned ſeventy years	I	453
2596	1289	1710	*Pelaſgus*, brother of *Niobe*, is ſaid to have now founded the kingdom of *Arcadia*, and to be the firſt king thereof	II	352
2598	1291	1708	This, and the following years, make up the ſeven years of dreadful famine, according to *Joſeph*'s prediction	II	378
2599	1292	1707	Ten of *Joſeph*'s brethren go out of *Canaan* into *Egypt* to buy corn, which he lets them have, but detains *Simeon*, and charges the others, that when they came again, they ſhould bring *Benjamin* their other brother with them	I	453
2600	1293	1706	The famine compels *Jacob* to ſend his ſons again, and with them *Benjamin*, &c. after ſome artificial trials of them, *Joſeph* makes himſelf known to them, ſends preſents to his father, and invites him and all his houſehold into *Egypt*	I	454
2601	1294	1705	Upon the arrival of *Jacob* and his family in *Egypt*, *Joſeph* acquaints *Pharaoh* with it, who orders them the land of *Goſhen* to dwell in, this happened in the 130th year of *Jacob*'s age	I	457
2604	1297	1702	*Altadus*, the tenth king of *Aſſyria*, began his reign, and reigned 32 years	I	457
2604	1297	1702	According to the ſet time appointed by *Joſeph*, he told the *Egyptians*, the following year the land would be fruitful as in common; that the *Nile* would overflow and reſtore all things to its uſual courſe, *&c.* which accordingly happened	I	865
2607	1300	1699	*Chebron*, king of *Egypt*, began to reign, and reigned thirteen years	I	459
2617	1310	1689	*Jacob* now advanced to the 147th year of his age, growing weak and ſickly, ſends for his ſon *Joſeph*, tells him his departure (or death) was at hand, and makes him ſwear not to bury him in *Egypt*, but in the cave of *Machpelah*, in the land of *Canaan*, &c.	I	230

Y. of world.	Y. of flood.	Before Christ		Vol.	Page
2617	1310	1689	*Joseph* brings his two sons to his father *Jacob*, now on his death bed, and desires him to bless them, which he not only does, but adopts them to be his sons instead of grandsons, and makes them the heads of two tribes, *&c.*	I	460
2617	1310	1689	*Jacob*, after having given each of his children his particular blessing, and prophetically declaring what would happen to them, dies, and with the utmost funeral pomp and solemnity is carried and interr'd (according to his desire) in the cave of *Machpelah*	I	461
2619	1312	1687	*Prometheus*, the inventor of striking fire, the use of metals, and other arts and sciences among the *Greeks*	II	163
2620	1313	1686	*Amenophis* king of *Egypt* began to reign, and reigned 21 years	I	230
2635	1328	1671	*Plemneus*, 11 king of *Sicyon*, son of *Eratus*, succeeds his father, and reigned 48 years	II	350
2636	1329	1670	*Mamitus*, king of *Assyria*, begins to reign, and reigned 30 years	I	865
2641	1334	1665	*Mephres*, *Amersis*, or *Miphris*, king of *Egypt*, began to reign, and reigned 12 years	I	230
2653	1346	1653	*Mispharmutosis*, *Misaphris*, or *Misphragmuthosis*, succeeds *Mephres* as king of *Egypt*, and reigns 26 years	I	230
2664	1357	1642	*Criasus*, son of *Argus*, succeeds his father as king of *Argos*, and reigns 54 years	II	352
2666	1359	1640	*Mancaleus* succeeds *Mamitus* as king of *Assyria*, and reigns 30 years	I	865
2671	1364	1635	*Joseph*, being arrived to the 110th year of his age, found himself so weakned with the laborious station he had been in, for now near 80 years, that he foresaw his departure was at hand, and sending for his brethren (being divinely inspired) told them, that God would certainly bring their posterity out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*, and charged them absolutely not to leave his bones in *Egypt*, but to take his body with them, and bury it in the spot of ground that *Jacob* had given him by his last will, and then gave up the ghost, *&c.*	I	467
2679	1372	1627	*Thomosis* succeeds *Misphartumosis* as king of *Egypt*, and reigned 9 years	I	230
2683	1376	1623	*Orthopolis*, son of *Plemneus*, succeeds his father as 12th king of *Sicyon*, and reigned 63 years	II	350
2688	1381	1618	The famous *Colossus*, or groaning statue, called *Memnon* after the name of him it was made to honour, was now supposed to be set up by *Amenophis*, king of *Egypt*	II	316
2688	1381	1618	*Amenophis* succeeds *Thomosis* as king of *Egypt*, and reigned 31 years	I	230
2696	1389	1610	*Spherus* succeeds *Mancaleus* as king of *Assyria*, and reigns 20 years	I	865
2716	1409	1590	*Mamitus* succeeds *Spherus* as king of *Assyria*, and reigns 30 years	I	865
2717	1410	1589	*Epidaurus*, a famous sea-port in *Argos*, built (by *Apollo* or *Hercules*)	II	396
2718	1411	1588	*Phorbas*, son of *Criasus*, succeeds his father as king of *Argos*, and reigned 35 years	II	352
2719	1412	1587	*Horus* succeeds *Amenophis* as king of *Egypt*, builds the famous city of *Memphis*, (others say 'twas built by *Memes* their first king, Vol. I. 176.) and several others, and having reigned 38 years, dies	I	230
2725	1418	1581	*Miriam* born, (sister of *Moses*) the daughter of *Amram*, the son of *Kohath*, grandson of *Levi* by his wife *Jochabed*	I	477
2726	1419	1580	*Hæmon*, son of *Pelasgus*, becomes the first king of *Thessaly*, so called from his son *Thessalus*	II	381
2728	1421	1578	*Phorbas*, son of *Lapithas*, reigned at *Ophiusa* (now *Rhodes*) having first cleared the country of serpents	III	129
2732	1425	1574	*Aaron*, brother of *Miriam* and *Moses*, son of *Amram*, born	I	477
2733	1426	1573	*Pharoah* king of *Egypt*, publishes an edict under the severest penalties, that every *Hebrew* male child, should be drown'd in the *Nile* as soon as it was born	I	477
2735	1428	1571	*Moses*, brother to *Miriam* and *Aaron*, son of *Amram* is born, and conceal'd three months, after which time, being forced to expose the child in a cradle, or ark of bulrushes to the mercy of the waters, *Pharoah*'s daughter (*Thermuthis* by name) attended with her maids, coming to the river *Nile* to bathe, seeing him to be a beautiful child, ordered him to be put to nurse, through ignorance to his own mother) and as he grew up, caus'd him to be instructed in all the learning of the *Egyptians*	I	477
2739	1432	1567	*Cydon*, king of *Crete*, began to reign	III	164
2746	1439	1560	*Sparetus* succeeds *Mamitus* as king of *Assyria*, and reigns 40 years	I	865
2746	1439	1560	*Marathus* succeeds *Orthopolis* as 13th king of *Sicyon*, and reigned 30 years	II	350
2749	1442	1557	*Cecrops*, the first king of *Athens*, by birth an *Egyptian*, brought into *Attica* a colony of *Saits*, gathered his people into 12 tribes, dedicated his city to *Minerva*, and set up the *Areopagus*, or high court of judicature. He is said to be the first that deified *Jupiter*, and offered sacrifices to him as the supreme Deity	II	362
2753	1446	1553	*Triopas* succeeds *Phorbas* as king of *Argos*, and reigned 46 years. (His son *Xanthus* first planted or peopled *Lesbos*, a famous *Greek* Island. Vol. III. 205.)	II	352
2756	1449	1550	*Lycaon*, son of *Pelasgus*, reigned in *Arcadia*, built *Lycosura* in *Mount Lycæus*, instituted the *Lycæan* games, where he is said to offer up living children to *Jupiter*, *&c.*	II	378
2757	1450	1549	*Acencheres* succeeds *Horus* as king of *Egypt*, and reigns 12 years	I	230
2759	1452	1547	The *Curetes* and *Corybantes* built *Cnossus* in *Crete*. (Note W. Vol. II. 298.)	II	299
2760	1453	1546	*Scamander* from *Crete* came into *Phrygia*. (See the Note of this Page.)	II	311
2761	1454	1545	*Lesbos*, planted by *Macar*, one of the 7 brethren called *Heliadæ*, that built *Jalyssus* in *Rhodes*	III	205
2769	1462	1537	*Achoris* succeeds *Acencheres* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 9 years	I	230
2775	1468	1531	*Moses* seeing the cruelties used towards his countrymen, particularly by the task-masters, one day killed one of them, and buried him in the sand, upon which he was forced to fly into *Midian*, or *Arabia Petrea*	I	479
2775	1468	1531	*Moses* coming into *Midian*, (where he is supposed either to have composed or purchased the book of *Job*) *Jethro*, the priest or prince there, taking a liking to him, gave him *Zipporah*, one of his daughters to wife, with whom he lived forty years in her father's house, *&c.*	I	302
2776	1469	1530	*Caleb*, the son of *Jephunneh* born, who was one of the 12 persons *Moses* sent to view the land of *Canaan*	I	526

Y. of world.	Y. of flood.	Before Chriſt		Vol.	Pag.
2776	1469	1530	*Marathus* ſucceeds *Marathus* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*, and reigns 20 years —	II	
2778	1471	1528	*Cenchres* ſucceeds *Achoris* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 16 years —	I	350
2785	1478	1521	*Eryſichthon*, ſon of *Cecrops*, begins building *Apollo*'s temple at *Delus*, which was afterwards enlarged and embelliſhed at the common charge of all the ſtates of *Greece* — — — — —	I	230
2788	1481	1518	*Deucalion*'s flood in *Theſſaly*, (note N) — — —	III	228
2794	1487	1512	*Acherres* ſucceeds *Cenchres* as king of *Egypt*, and reigns 8 year —	I	95
2796	1489	1510	*Echyreus*, or *Coronus*, ſucceeds *Marathus* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*, and reigns 55 years	I	230
2799	1492	1507	*Cranaus* ſucceeds *Cecrops* in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigns 9 years, (from his Daughter *Atthis* dying a virgin, the country was called *Attica*) — —	II	350
2799	1492	1507	*Crotopus* ſucceeds *Triopas* as king of *Argos*, and reigns 21 years —	II	362
2801	1494	1505	*Apteras*, ſon of *Cydon*, (by ſome called the *Saturn* of *Crete*) reigns as king in *Crete*	II	352
2802	1495	1504	*Cherres* ſucceeds *Acherres* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 15 years —	III	164
2804	1497	1502	*Teucer*, the ſon of *Scamander*, reigned in *Phrygia* over that People, from him called *Teucri*, afterwards *Trojans* — — —	I	230
2808	1501	1498	*Amphictyon*, ſon-in-law to *Cranaus*, began to reign (having firſt expelled his father-in-law, who thereupon fled to *Eleuſis*, and reigned there) and reigned as king of *Athens* (or *Attica*) 10 years — — —	II	311
2812	1505	1494	*Cadmus* having built a city, and called it *Cadmea*, and afterwards *Thebes*, became the king therefore, and reigned 62 years — —	II	362
2815	1508	1491	God appears to *Moſes* in a burning buſh upon mount *Horeb*, which, though viſibly all in flames, not a leaf is either burned or ſcorched, and commands him to return back into *Egypt*, to do miracles before *Pharaoh*, and to deliver his people. —	I	409
2815	1508	1491	This year the *Paſſover* was inſtituted and kept, and the people thruſt out of *Egypt*	I	484
2816	1509	1490	In the firſt ſix months of this year the tabernacle was ſet up, and in it the Ark of the covenant, and the altar, *&c* — — —	I	500
2816	1509	1490	The *Decalogue* delivered by *Moſes*, *&c* — —	I	523
2816	1509	1490	*Aaron* and his ſons conſecrated and appointed for the performance of the prieſt's office for ever — —	I	514
2816	1509	1490	*Nadab* and *Abihu*, *Aaron*'s two eldeſt ſons, ſtruck dead for preſuming to burn incenſe in the tabernacle with ſtrange fire — —	I	523
2816	1509	1490	Quails ſent to ſatisfy the people's hunger for 30 days —	I	524
2816	1509	1490	The meſſengers ſent by *Moſes* to view the land, report it, if not impoſſible, very hard and difficult to conquer, whereupon a general murmuring aroſe among the people, which ſo diſpleaſed God, that by *Moſes* he aſſur'd them, that not one above 20 years of age ſhould go into the promis'd land, except *Joſhua* and *Caleb* —	I	525
2817	1510	1489	*Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, three principal perſons, rebel againſt *Moſes*, whoſe undutifulneſs is rewarded by the earth's burſting aſunder and ſwallowing up them, their families, and ſubſtance — — —	I	526
2817	1510	1489	The prieſthood confirmed to *Aaron* and his family, by a miraculous budding of *Aaron*'s rod — — —	I	530
2817	1510	1489	*Armais* (called by the *Greeks Danaus*) ſon of *Cherres*, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned there 5 years — —	I	530
2817	1510	1489	*Lacedæmon* (or *Sparta*) built by *Lacedæmon*, ſon of *Jupiter*, *&c* —	I	230
2818	1511	1488	*Erichthonius*, ſon of *Vulcan*, drives out *Amphictyon*, and becomes king of *Athens* in his ſtead, and reigns 50 years — —	II	395
2820	1513	1486	*Arcas*, the reputed ſon of *Jupiter*, ſucceeds *Nyctimus*, and calls his kingdom *Arcadia* — — —	II	362
2820	1513	1486	*Stheneleus*, ſon of *Crotopus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Argos*, and reigns 11 years — — —	II	376
2822	1515	1484	*Rameſſes* (called by the *Greeks Egyptus*, from whom the land took its name of *Egypt*, being before called *Aeria*, or *Aetia*, from the river called firſt *Æetius*, then *Egyptus*, and now *Nile*) ejected his brother *Armais*, and became king of *Egypt* in his ſtead: and reigned 68 years — —	II	352
2826	1519	1480	*Amyntas*, king of *Aſſyria*, begins to reign, and reigns 45 years —	I	230
2826	1519	1480	*Dardanus*, ſon-in-law to *Teucer*, reigns as king of *Troy* for 31 years, in which time he builds a capital city called *Dardania* — —	I	865
2831	1524	1475	*Gelanor*, the ſon of *Sthenelus*, after he had reigned ſome time, yielded up the kingdom of *Argos* to *Danaus*, who was come thither from *Egypt* in a ſhip of 50 oars, being the firſt ſhip in *Greece*, where before that time they only uſed rafts. *Gelanor* reigned 59 years — — —	II	311
2834	1527	1472	*Buſiris* (ſon of *Neptune* by *Lybia*) now exercis'd his cruelty upon ſtrangers —	II	352
2835	1528	1471	*Oenotrus*, youngeſt ſon of *Nectymus*, led the firſt colony out of *Greece* into *Italy*, where he reigned as king — — —	I	211
2838	1531	1468	*Clymenus* comes from *Crete* into *Elis*, and there held the firſt *Olympick* games. (For an explanation of them ſee note K, p. 599. vol. IV.) — —	IV	416
2844	1537	1462	*Tat*, ſon of *Triſmegiſtus*, ſon of *Hermes*, flouriſhed — —	I	264
2851	1544	1455	*Corax*, ſon of *Coronus*, ſucceeds to the throne of *Sicyon*, which he enjoyed 30 years	II	350
2854	1547	1452	The temple of *Delphos* burnt by *Xerxes* —	II	123
2854	1547	1452	*Miriam*, the ſiſter of *Aaron* and of *Moſes*, dies —	I	532
2854	1547	1452	The *Iſraelies* defeated by *Arad*, one of the *Canaanitiſh* kings —	I	531
2854	1547	1452	*Moſes* ſmites with his rod, brings water out of a rock to ſatisfy the thirſt and murmuring of the people; but being vex'd, and uſing ſome cholerick expreſſions, God tells him that he and *Aaron* ſhould only ſee, but not enter the promis'd land	I	532
2854	1547	1452	*Moſes* commanded to take *Aaron* and his ſon *Eleazar* to the top of mount *Nebo*, and in the ſight of all the people ſtrip the father of, and clothe the ſon with, the prieſtly robes; this done, *Aaron* died immediately, and was buried ſo ſecretly, that the place of his interment was never publickly known — —	I	532
2854	1547	1452	*Balak*, king of *Moab*, ſends for *Balaam*, ſon of *Beor*, a famous prophet or diviner, to curſe *Iſrael* — — —	I	288
2855	1548	1451	*Moſes* goes to the top of mount *Nebo* (having firſt ſettled all the publick and private matters relating to him) and from thence views the promis'd land, and preſently ex		

pired,

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			pired, being 120 years old, and was ſucceeded by *Joſhua* in the command of the army, and as head of the civil government, *Joſhua* being now 93 years old — —	I	543
2855	1548	1451	*Joſhua* ſends two ſpies to *Jericho*, who are ſaved by the artifice of *Rahab*, to whom they promiſe ſafety and protection by an oath; at their return they make an encouraging report, and tell *Joſhua* all they had done — — —	I	551
			On the 10th day of *Niſan* (our 30th *April*) all *Iſrael* paſſed over the river *Jordan* into the land of *Canaan* — — — —	I	554
			The 11th of the month *Niſan* the whole camp was circumciſed, that ceremony having been omitted for ſome years paſt — —	I	554
			The 14th of the month *Niſan* (our 4th *May*) the paſſover was celebrated, which had been now diſcontinued near 40 years — —	I	555
			Jericho beſieged, and by being only gone round with ſome prieſts, *&c.* ſounding rams horns, the 7th day the whole army making a grand ſhout in conſort, the city walls fall down, and the beſiegers enter and put every creature to death, except *Rahab* — — —	I	556
2857	1550	1449	*Erichthonius*, ſon of *Dardanus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Troy*, and reigned 75 years, he is reported to be the richeſt king of his time — —	II	311
2860	1553	1446	*Europa*, daughter of *Phœnix*, (brother of *Cadmus*) is ſtole from *Sarepta* by the *Curetes*, in their ſhip called the *Bull*, and carried to their king *Aſterius*, by whom ſhe had three ſons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon* — — —	I	408
2861	1554	1445	*Joſhua*, having conquered *Canaan*, and ſettled the diſtricts of land each tribe was to have, call'd the heads or governors of *Iſrael* together, wiſh'd them carefully to obſerve the laws *Moſes* had given them, and particularly caution'd them againſt idolatry, died in the 110th year of his age, and was buried at *Timnath-ſerah* in mount *Ephraim*, a part of his own inheritance — —	I	738
2868	1561	1438	*Pandion*, ſon of *Amphictyon*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigned 40 years — — — —	II	362
2871	1564	1435	*Belochus*, king of *Aſſyria*, begins his reign, and reigned 25 years — —	I	865
2874	1567	1432	*Polydorus*, ſon of *Cadmus*, under his guardian *Nycteus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Thebes*, and reigns a ſhort time, and leaves the kingdom to his ſon *Labdacus* (which he had by *Nycheis*, daughter of *Nycteus*) under the guardianſhip of his grandfather *Nycteus* — — —	I	409
2876	1569	1430	*Bacchus* ſon of *Jupiter*, by *Semele* daughter of *Cadmus*, famous for finding out the art of making wine: He built *Nyſa* in *India*, was reputed a God whilſt alive, but was not ſolemnly deified till 100 years after his death — — —	III	372
2881	1574	1425	The burning of *Ida* — — —		
2881	1574	1425	*Epopeus* ſucceeds *Corax* as king of *Sicyon*, where he reigned 35 years — —	II	350
2881	1574	1425	*Lynceus*, king of *Argos*, ſucceeds *Danaus* to the crown: He is ſaid to be the only perſon out of 50 brothers that eſcaped being murdered by his wife; for his great ſkill in mining, he is ſaid to ſee thro' ſtone walls — — —	II	352
2882	1575	1424	King *Tereus* from *Thrace*, ſettled at *Daulis* above *Chæronea*		
2887	1580	1419	*Athens* has war with *Thebes*, in which *Tereus* having been very ſerviceable, *Pandion* king of *Athens* beſtows his daughter *Progne* upon *Tereus*, as a reward for his valour, by whom he had a ſon called *Itys* — — —	II	389
2893	1586	1413	*Micah*, a great man in the tribe of *Ephraim*, erects a chappel, puts up images, and encourages idolatry — — —	I	739
2896	1589	1410	*Cuſhanriſhathaim*, king of *Meſopotamia*, ſubdues and keeps *Iſrael* in ſubjection 8 years — — —	I	742
2896	1589	1410	*Belleparес*, ſon of *Bellochus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 30 years — — — —	I	865
2896	1589	1410	*Corinth* built by *Siſyphus* (Son of *Æolus*;) its antient name was *Ephyra* — —	II	390
2899	2592	1407	*Minos* I. reign'd in *Crete*, and built *Cydonia* — —	III	166
2899	1592	1407	*Side* in *Cilicia*, built by *Orion*, which he called by the name of his wife *Side*, the daughter of *Danaus* — — —	II	340
2900	1593	14 6	The inhabitants of *Gibbeath* in the tribe of *Benjamin*, having expreſs'd their deſires in a brutiſh manner, to have a *Levite* delivered to them who happened to be travelling that way, ſo abus'd the woman that was with him, that ſhe was found dead at the door in the morning; this occaſioned a civil war, *&c.* —	I	740
2900	1593	1406	*Cinyras*, ſon of *Sandochus*, reign'd at *Byblus*, the firſt city that was built in *Phœnicia*	I	135
2904	1597	1402	*Othniel*, the ſon of *Kenna*, *Caleb*'s youngeſt brother, is choſe the firſt judge in *Iſrael*, raiſes an army, and marches againſt *Cuſhanriſhathaim*, overthrows him, and delivers *Iſrael* to their full liberty — —	I	742
2908	1601	1398	*Erechtheus*, ſon of *Pandion*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Athens*, the people whereof till now were called *Cecropii*, but from henceforward *Athenians*, and the race of kings from this time *Erecthidæ*; he reigned 50 years — —	II	362
2910	1603	1396	The firſt jubilee among the *Jews* obſerved — —	I	614
2912	1605	1394	*Cinyras* built *Old Paphos* in *Cyprus*, and married king *Pygmalion*'s daughter —	I	402
2914	1607	1392	*Labdacus*, king of *Thebes*, killed in a tumult, leaving *Laius* his ſon (1 year old) under the guardianſhip of *Nycteus* his grandfather, who died next year of grief for the loſs of his daughter *Antiope* — — —	I	409
2915	1608	1391	*Epopeus*, king of *Sicyon*, in the 35th year of his reign received *Antiope*, then with child and flying from *Thebes* from her father *Nycteus*, his brother *Lycus* in revenge made war againſt him, in which war *Epopeus* was killed — —	II	350
2916	1609	1390	*Lamedon* ſucceeds his brother *Corax* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*, and reigned 40 years	II	350
2916	1609	1390	*Lycus*, brother to *Labdacus*, ſucceeds in the guardianſhip of his nephew *Laius* king of *Thebes*, for the ſpace of twenty years, in the firſt whereof *Lamedon* his brother delivers up *Antiope* and her two twin ſons, *Amphion* and *Zethus*; *Lycus* uſed her cruelly, and expoſed the twins, but in vain — —	I	409
2922	1615	1384	*Phryxus* and *Helle* (from whom the *Helleſpont* had its name) went to *Colchis* in a ſhip called the ram — —	II	305
2922	1615	1384	*Abas*, the ſon of *Lynceus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Argos*. He built *Abæ* in *Phocis*, from whence came the *Abantes* in *Eubœa*; he reigned 23 years —	II	352

Ceres

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2922	1615	1384	*Ceres* came to *Athens*, and both civilized the people and taught them husbandry, being the first that regularly planted corn there, and sent it out by *Triptolemus* her favourite to be dispersed to other countries	I	421
2925	1618	1381	*Triptolemus* plants corn in *Raria* at *Eleusis*, for the first time		
2926	1619	1380	The rape of *Ganymede*	I	865
2926	1619	1380	*Lamprides* succeeds *Bellepares* in the kingdom of *Assyria*, where he reigned 30 years		
2930	1623	1376	This year is fixed for the beginning of the 19 *Egyptian* dynasty of 194 years, in which they began to have kings of their own, the first whereof was *Sethos*, who reigned 55 years	I	230
2932	1625	1374	*Adonis* (the son of *Cynaras* and his wife *Metharme*) born, called also *Thammuz* or *Shammuz*, and *Osiris*	I	402
2932	1625	1374	*Tros*, the son of *Erichthonius*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Teucri*, which from this time forward was called *Troy*; he reigned 60 years	II	311
2936	1629	1370	*Amphion* and his brother *Zethus* rebel, and in a battle having killed *Lycus*, the guardian of *Laius* king of *Thebes*, is set up by the people, and reigned 35 years: He named the metropolis of the kingdom *Thebes*, which he inclosed with a wall, *&c.*	II	373
2943	1636	1363	*Tantalus*, king of *Sipylus* in *Phrygia*, before called *Mæonia*, was as famous for his great riches as he was infamous for his notorious wickedness	II	297
2944	1637	1362	*Eglon*, king of *Moab*, *&c.* invades the eastern parts of *Israel*, takes *Jericho*, and obliges them to pay tribute 18 years	I	291
2945	1638	1361	*Prætus*, son of *Abas*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Argos*, and reigns 17 years	II	352
2956	1649	1350	*Sicyon* succeeds *Lamedon* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*; from him the city *Ægiale* was called *Sicyon*. He reigned forty-five years	II	350
2958	1651	1348	*Sosares* succeeds *Lamprides* as king of *Assyria*, and reigned 20 years	I	865
2958	1651	1348	*Cecrops* II. son of *Erechtheus*, succeeds his father as king of *Athens*, and reigns 40 years. It was now agreed that the *Erechthidæ* should be kings, and the *Eumolpidæ* priests	II	362
2961	1654	1345	*Prætus* is driven out of his kingdom of *Argos* (where he had reigned 17 years) by his brother *Acrisius*, and flies to his wife's father, *Jobates* king of *Lycia*, who to accommodated the matter, that from this time the kingdom was divided into two parts, the one called *Mycenæ*, the other by its old name *Argos*	II	354
2962	1655	1344	*Acrisius*, brother of *Prætus*, is made the first king of *Mycenæ*, and reigned 31 years	II	354
2962	1655	1344	*Prætus* is made king of *Argos*, as divided, (which contained *Midea*, *Heræum*, and *Tiryns*,) and reigned 14 years	II	354
2962	1655	1344	*Ehud*, the son of *Gera*, a *Benjamite*, and famous for his left-hand dexterity, is chose second judge or principal governor in *Israel*; he going with the annual present or tribute, gets accession to *Eglon* king of *Moab*, privately stabs him, makes his escape, raises an army, and frees his country, and under him *Israel* enjoyed peace 40 years	I	742
2974	1667	1332	*Amphion*, king of *Thebes*, his family, and multitudes of the people, died of the great plague that at this time raged there	II	373
2975	1668	1331	*Laius*, son of *Labdacus*, succeeds *Amphion* (who had invaded his right) in the kingdom of *Thebes*, and reigned 55 years	I	409
2975	1668	1331	The city of *Ilion*, or *Ilium*, built by *Tros* king of *Troy*, who also called this city *Troy* after his own name, and *Ilium* from his son *Ilus*; it was seated on a rising ground near mount *Ida*, about 5 miles from the shore	II	305
2976	1669	1330	*Janus*, or *Saturnus Albanus*, becomes the first king of the *Abrogines* in *Italy*, who reigned 33 years.	II	261
2976	1669	1330	*Bacchus* deified, and *Pentheus* the son of *Echrion* was torn in pieces by his mother and sisters for profaning his rites	III	372
2976	1669	1330	*Prætus* king of *Argos* died	II	354
2977	1670	1329	*Acrisius*, king of *Mycenæ*, sets up the court of the *Amphictyons*, or general court of *Greece*, at *Delphos*, and endowed them with very great powers and privileges	II	388
2977	1670	1329	*Megapenthes*, son of *Prætus*, who was king at *Tiryns*, changes it for *Argos*, where his sons *Argæus* and *Anaxagoras* reigned after him, and with him in two thirds of the kingdom. *Melampus*, son of *Amythaon* and brother of *Bias*	II	354
2978	1671	1328	*Lampares* succeeds *Sosares* in the kingdom of *Assyria*, and reigns 30 years	I	865
2978	1671	1328	The city of *Crete* built. (See Note (K)	III	164
2984	1677	1322	*Pelops*, son of *Tantalus*, a little king in *Phrygia*, failing in an attempt upon *Ilium*, fled into *Greece*, and being wise, valiant, and rich, acquired the greatest part of the country which was afterwards (from him) called *Peloponnesus*	I	407
2985	1678	1321	*Ramses* succeeds *Sethos* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 66 years	I	230
2986	1679	1320	*Shamgar*, the son of *Anath*, was the third judge among the *Israelites*; he is said to have slain 600 *Philistines* with an ox-goad	I	742
2992	1685	314	*Perseus*, son of *Acrisius*, killed his father, king of *Mycenæ*, and changed *Argos* with *Megapenthes* for *Tiryns*. He built the city of *Mycenæ* for his seat, and reigned 32 years	II	355
2992	1685	1314	*Ilus*, the son of *Tros*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Troy*, where he reigned 54 years	II	311
2992	1685	1314	*Apollo* and his mother *Latona* are said to come from *Hyperborei* to *Delphi*; *Olen Hyperboreus* was the first prophet there	III	228
2998	1691	1308	*Pandion* II. succeeded *Cecrops* as king of *Athens*, and reigned 25 years: In this king's reign the sacrifice of man's flesh and *Lycea* were shewn (perhaps revived) in *Arcadia*	II	362
2999	1692	1307	In memory of king *Oenomaus*, whom he had driven out of *Pisa*, *Pelops* held his *Olympic*, which by his son *Atreus* was revived 100 years after	II	406
3001	1694	1305	*Polybius* succeeds *Sicyon* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*, and reigned 40 years	II	350
3001	1694	1305	*Jabin*, king of *Hazor*, conquers *Israel*, and sorely harrasses them for twenty years, *&c.*	I	335
3005	1698	1301	The 1st lustration at *Athens*	IV	457
3008	1701	1298	*Panyas* succeeds *Lampares* in the kingdom of *Assyria*, and reigned 45 years	I	865

Cyrus

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3009	1702	1297	*Cyzicus* of *Cyzicum*, built; this city was the capital of an iſland of the *Propontis* of the ſame name, which *Alexander the Great* joined to the continent by two great bridges	II	323
3009	1702	1297	*Picus* or *Jupiter Albanus*, the ſecond king of the *Aborigines*, began to reign, and reigned 37 years	II	261
3010	1703	1296	*Melaithus*, partner with *Megapenthes* in the kingdom of *Argos*, dies	II	354
3012	1705	1294	*Marſyas*, liv'd at *Celænæ*, a city in *Phrygia Major*; he invented the bagpipe, with which he challenged *Apollo*, and for his inſolence was flay'd	II	292
3012	1705	1294	*Oedipus*, the ſon of *Laius* king of *Thebes* born, and expoſed on mount *Cithæron*, and found by the ſhepherd's of the king of *Sicyon*, and by him brought up	II	374
3012	1705	1294	*Bias*, brother of *Megapenthes*, and one of his partners in the kingdom of *Tyrins*, dies. (Note D)	II	382
3018	1711	1288	*Miletus* built by *Sarpedon*	II	756
3021	1714	1285	*Deborah*, a propheteſs, the wife of *Lapidoth*, raiſes an army of 10,000 *Iſraelites*, with which *Barak* her general engages and conquers *Siſera*, *Jabin*'s general, who in his flight goes to the tent of *Heber*, where was *Jael*, *Heber*'s wife, who gave him refreſhment, and he being wearied lay down to ſleep, at which time *Jael* drove a large nail into his temples, and ſo killed him. This victory obtained *Iſrael* a forty years peace	I	336
3023	1716	1283	*Ægeus*, the ſon of *Pandion*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigns 48 years	II	362
3025	1718	1281	*Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, and *Linus* flouriſhed; the laſt of the three was the maſter of *Hercules*	II	384
3025	1718	1281	The three brothers *Electro*, *Meſtor*, and *Sthenelus*, reign as kings of *Mycenæ* in common	II	355
3028	1721	1278	*Eupilamus* invented the anchor		
3030	1723	1276	*Laius*, king of *Thebes*, going to the oracle at *Delphos* to enquire after his ſon, is killed by his ſon *Oedipus* ignorantly, who was alſo come thither to enquire who was his father, *&c.*	II	374
3030	1723	1276	*Creon*, brother of *Jocaſta* the wife of *Laius*, ſucceeds his brother-in-law in the kingdom of *Thebes*, and reigns about ten years	II	373
3031	1724	1275	*Meſtor*, one of the three kings of *Mycenæ*, dies	II	355
3032	1725	1274	*Electro*, another of the three kings of *Mycenæ*, dies	II	355
3032	1725	1274	*Hercules*, the ſon of *Amphytrion*, born; ſaid to be the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Alcmena*, wife of *Amphytrion*. (Note H)	II	355
3032	1725	1274	*Sthenelus* becomes king of *Mycenæ* alone, his two brothers *Meſtor* and *Electro* being dead, who were partners with him in the kingdom, and reigned alone 8 years	II	355
3036	1729	1270	*Androgeus*, the ſon of king *Minos*, killed at *Athens*, as it was thought, by the procurement of king *Ægeus*, upon which followed war, plague, and famine: The oracle being conſulted, bid the *Athenians* ſatisfy king *Minos* for his ſon; he demanded, that every 8th year, at his *Ludi* held in memory of his ſon, there ſhould be ſent him 7 young men and 7 virgins, to be given as rewards to the victors at theſe ſports	II	364
3037	1730	1269	The firſt colony of the *Aborigines* goes out of *Italy* into *Sicily* five years before the laſt colony	IV	414
3039	1732	1267	*Jaſon* and his *Argonauts* went now from *Iolchus* over the *Euxine* ſea to *Colchis*, in ſearch of the golden fleece, from whence this is called the *Argonautic* expedition	II	383
3040	1733	1266	*Atreus* and his brother *Thyeſtes* (ſons of *Pelops*) reigned in *Mycenæ* 65 years	II	355
3040	1733	1266	*Oedipus* married his mother *Jocaſta*, at that time not knowing ſhe was his mother, and became king of *Thebes*	II	355
3042	1735	1264	The ſecond colony goes out of *Italy* into *Sicily*, called the *Ligures*, or *Siculi*, from their leader *Siculus*	IV	416
3042	1735	1264	*Meleager* killed the *Calydonian* boar	II	410
3043	1736	1263	The firſt *Pythia*, or games in honour of *Apollo* for his killing the ſerpent *Python*, were now held by *Adraſtus*	II	382
3046	1739	1260	*Faunus*, or *Mercurius Albanus*, 3d king of the *Aborigines*, begins to reign, and reigned 44 years	IV	414
3046	1739	1260	*Laomedon* ſucceeds *Ilus* in the kingdom of *Troy*, and reigned 36 years	II	315
3051	1744	1265	*Amenophis* ſucceeds *Rameſes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 40 years	I	230
3053	1746	1263	*Soſarmes* ſucceeds *Panyas* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigned 19 years	I	865
3054	1747	1252	The firſt tribute-children ſent to *Crete*	II	364
3054	1747	1252	*Tyre* built; the metropolis of *Phænicia*, formerly called *Sor*, and commonly the daughter of *Sidon*	I	393
3061	1754	1245	*Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, two confederate kings of *Midian*, waged ſo cruel a war againſt the *Iſraelites* that they were not able to ſtand againſt them, but forced to fly into holes and corners, *&c.* this continued ſeven years	I	743
3062	1755	1244	The ſecond tribute of children ſent to *Crete*	II	364
3062	1755	1244	The *Arcadians* enter *Italy*, and ſettle there	IV	414
3068	1761	1238	God raiſed up *Gideon*, who by ſtratagem frightned and diſcomfited the hoſt of the confederate princes with the ſlaughter of 120,000 men, and many priſoners, particularly the two kings, *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, who were by him put to death; took immenſe ſpoil, and delivered *Iſrael* by deſtroying four kings, *&c.* ſo that they had peace 40 years, that is, all the remainder of *Gideon*'s government	I	743
3070	1763	1236	At the third ſending of the *Athenian* children to *Minos* king of *Crete*, *Theſeus*, ſon of *Ægeus* king of *Athens*, went to fight the champion that *Minos* had appointed, called *Minotaur*, whom *Theſeus* killed, by the help of *Ariadne* daughter of *Minos*, and brought her away with him to *Athens*	III	167
3071	1764	1235	*Theſeus*, ſon of *Ægeus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Thebes*, and reigned 30 years; this firſt year was called the year of *Theſeus* and the *Minotaur*	I	409
3072	1765	1234	*Carthage*, a capital city of *Africa*, built by *Eliſa*, called alſo *Dido*, ſiſter of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*	I	415

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3072	1765	1234	*Mitreus* ſucceeds *Soſarmes* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 21 years	I	865
3072	1765	1234	The *Pan-athenaica* and *Iſthmia* revived by *Theſeus*	II	391
3076	1769	1230	*Hercules* having killed *Augeas*, held an *Olympic Agon* at *Elis*	II	401
3078	1771	1228	*Oedipus* is turn'd out of the kingdom of *Thebes*, and his ſon *Eteocles* and his brother *Polynices* reign jointly in his ſtead	II	374
3080	1773	1226	The *Nemea* inſtituted by *Adraſtus*, *&c.* ſacred to *Jupiter* and *Hercules*	II	251
3081	1774	1225	*Eteocles* and *Polynices* die, and *Creon* (as guardian of *Laodamas*, ſon of *Eteocles*,) governs the kingdom of *Thebes*	I	409
3081	1774	1225	The *Theban* war	II	488
3082	1775	1224	*Priamus* (alſo called *Podarces*) the ſon of *Laomedon*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Troy*, and reigned 40 years	II	411
3083	1776	1223	*Phæſtus*, the ſon of *Hercules*, ſucceeds *Janiſtus* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*; he reigned 8 years and went to *Crete*	II	350
3084	1777	1222	*Hercules* (held his *Olympic* for *Pelops*) kills himſelf, by jumping into the Flames of a great fire, he had made upon mount *Oeta*	II	401
3090	1783	1216	*Latinus*, the ſon of *Faunus*, ſucceeds his father as king of the *Aborigines*, and reigns 36 years: Some ſay he was the ſon of *Hercules* by a daughter of *Faunus*	II	261
3091	1784	1215	*Epigoni*, having killed *Laodamas* king of *Thebes*, gave the kingdom to *Therſander* ſon of *Polynices*	I	409
3091	1784	1215	*Adraſtus* left the kingdom of *Argos* to his ſon *Ægialeus*, and went himſelf to *Sicyon*	II	352
3091	1784	1215	*Ammenemes* ſucceeds *Amenophes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 26 years	I	230
3091	1784	1215	*Adraſtus* (coming from *Troy* ſucceeds *Phæſtus* in the kingdom of *Sicyon* (who was gone to *Crete*) and reigned 4 years	II	350
3093	1786	1213	The *Amazonian* war	II	366
3095	1788	1211	*Polyphides* ſucceeds *Adraſtus* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*, and reigns 31 years	II	350
3098	1791	1208	*Euryſtheus*, king of *Mycenæ*, and five of his ſons, killed in battle with *Theſeus* king of *Athens*	II	365
3098	1791	1208	*Atreus* ſucceeds *Euryſtheus* in the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, and reigns 6 years	II	352
3099	1792	1207	*Tautanes* ſucceeds *Mitreus* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigned 32 years	I	865
3100	1793	1206	*Herophile* (called alſo *Sibylla Troica*) prieſteſs of *Apollo Smintheus*, lived about this time	V	79
3101	1794	1205	*Meneſtheus* ſucceeds *Theſeus* in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigns 23 years	II	362
3104	1797	1202	*Hercules* and *Æſculapius* deified	III	212
3105	1798	1201	*Agamemnon*, ſon of *Atreus*, becomes king of *Mycenæ*, and reigns 18 years	II	352
3107	1800	1199	*Eli* made high prieſt, though of the houſe of *Ithamar*	I	754
3107	1800	1199	*Abimelech*, *Gideon*'s baſtard ſon, ſets himſelf up for a judge or king in *Shechem*, and puts his father's 70 ſons to death	I	749
3108	1801	1198	After *Gideon*'s death, *Iſrael* fell to worſhip *Baal-berith*, the God of *Beritus*	I	749
3108	1891	1198	The rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, which occaſioned the famous ten years *Trojan* war, and the deſtruction of *Troy*	II	366
3110	1803	1196	The *Shechemites* revolt from *Abimelech*'s government, he conquers them, and burns 1000 perſons in the temple of *Baal-berith*, whither they flew for ſafety, then razed the tower and city. *Thebez*, a city of *Judah*, had alſo revolted, whither he went and beſieged it; but a woman, by throwing a great ſtone upon him, wounded him ſo ſorely, that he commanded *Zebul* his ſervant to kill him: *Tholah* the ſon of *Phuah*, the ſon of *Dodo*, of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, ſucceeds *Abimelech*, who reigned 23 years as judge of north and eaſt *Iſrael*	I	749
3112	1805	1194	*Laodamas*, king of *Thebes*, went to *Aulis* to meet the *Greek* princes going againſt *Troy*	II	371
3113	1806	1193	The *Trojan* war began with the *Greeks*	II	318
3113	1806	1193	King *Laodamas* of *Thebes* is killed by *Telephus* king of *Myſia*, where the *Greeks* by miſtake firſt landed	II	319
3113	1806	1193	*Meneſtheus* king of *Athens* goes with *Agamemnon* to the ſiege of *Troy*, and dies in his return after it was ended, at *Melos*	II	320
3113	1806	1193	*Tiſamenes* becomes king of *Thebes*	I	409
3117	1810	1189	*Thuores* began to reign in *Egypt*, and reigned 7 years	I	865
3118	1811	1188	*Caſtor* and *Pollux* deified	II	402
3121	1814	1185	*Peneleus Spartus*, guardian of *Tiſamenes* king of *Thebes*, killed in the *Trojan* war by *Eurypylus*. *Tiſamenes* had a ſon called *Auteſion*, who after his father's death, by the direction of the oracle, went to the *Heraclidæ* in *Doris*, and left his kingdom to *Damaſichton*, ſon of *Opheltas* and grandſon of *Peneleus*; next after *Damaſichton* reigned *Ptolemeus*, laſt of all reigned *Xanthus*	II	409
3122	1815	1184	At night between the 23d and 24th of *Thargelion*, *viz.* between the 11th and 12th of *June*, after midnight, the *Greeks* entered and took *Troy*, when king *Priam* and all his children (except two or three that were made captives) were killed; thus *Troy* was taken 408 years before the firſt *Olympiad*	II	321
3122	1815	1184	*Æneas* enters into *Thrace*	II	322
3123	1816	1183	*Æneas* goes from *Thrace* into *Sicily*	II	322
3123	1816	1183	*Agamemnon* killed by *Ægyſthus*, who reigned at *Mycenæ*	II	357
3123	1816	1183	*Cynipus* dies, by means whereof all *Argos* comes to *Cyllabarus*, ſon of *Sthenelus*	II	352
3124	1817	1182	The 20th *Egyptian* dynaſty begins, being the 3d of the *Dioſpolites* for 178 years; *Dioſpolis* was *Thebes*, and there king *Polybus* and his wife *Alcandra* are ſaid to have entertained *Menelaus* and *Helen*	I	230
3124	1817	1182	*Demophoon*, ſon of *Theſeus*, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Athens*, and in his return from the ſiege of *Troy*, he was caſt on the coaſt of *Thrace*: Queen *Phillis* received him kindly, but having got his kingdom, he neglected her, upon which ſhe ſtrangled herſelf. He reigned 33 years	II	362
3124	1817	1182	*Æneas*, with 22 ſhips and 600 men, goes from *Sicily* to *Laurentum*, king *Latinus* being at war with the *Ardeans*, begged his aſſiſtance, which being granted, he gave him 500 acres of land to ſettle in	IV	419

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		1181	*Latinus* is killed in the war againſt the *Rutili*, by king *Turnus*	IV	419
3125	1818	1181	*Æneas* ſucceeds *Latinus* as king of the *Latini*, marries *Lavinia* the daughter of *Latinus*, and calls the city which he had now finiſhed after her name *Lavinium*, and then reigns by her right	IV	419
3126	1819	1180	*Pelaſgus* becomes king of *Sicyon*, and reigns 20 years	II	350
3128	1821	1178	*Anchiſes*, father of *Æneas*, dies	IV	420
3129	1822	1177	*Æneas*, king of the *Latins*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Aſcanius*, who reigned 38 years in *Latium*	IV	420
3130	1823	1176	*Ægyſthus* king of *Mycenæ*, and his wife *Clytemneſtra*, killed by *Oreſtes*, ſon of *Agamemnon*, who reigned 15 years	II	357
3130	1823	1176	*Oreſtes* having loſt his wife *Hermione*, daughter of *Menelaus*, (who in his return from *Troy* took her with him to *Sparta*) runs mad	II	357
3131	1824	1175	*Tauteus*, or *Teuteus*, ſucceeds *Tautanes* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 40 years	I	865
3131	1824	1175	*Oreſtes* being cured of his madneſs, went to *Athens* to be tried for the murder of *Ægyſthus* and *Clytemneſtra*, and was acquitted by the vote of *Minerva*	II	403
3131	1824	1175	While *Oreſtes* was gone to *Athens* to take his trial, *Aletes*, the ſon of *Ægyſthus*, ſet himſelf up for king of *Mycenæ*, for which *Oreſtes* kills him. Soon after he got *Argos*, *Cyllabarus* being dead without heir	II	403
3131	1824	1175	*Jeſſe*, (the ſon of *Obed*) the father of king *David*, born		
3133	1826	1173	*Tholah* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Jair*, who judged north and eaſt *Iſrael* 22 years; a man of vaſt poſſeſſions, having 30 cities, which he gave to his 30 ſons	I	750
3135	1828	1171	During this time the *Iſraelites* were in bondage to the *Ammonites* for 18 years	I	750
3135	1828	1171	*Eli* now judged ſouth and weſt *Iſrael* 40 years, during which time they were oppreſſed by the *Philiſtines*	I	754
3135	1828	1171	*Æneas* was worſhipped under the name of *Jupiter Indiges*, by the *Latins*	IV	420
3135	1828	1171	*Sampſon* born. In this year the 18 years oppreſſion of north and eaſt *Iſrael* by the *Ammonites* began, and the 40 years of ſouth and weſt *Iſrael* by the *Philiſtines*	I	755
3141	1834	1165	*Hophni* and *Phineas*, the two ſons of *Eli* the high prieſt, and judge of ſouth and weſt *Iſrael*, make the people, by their extraordinary wickedneſs, forſake and abhor the worſhip of God	I	755
3142	1835	1164	*Pyrrhus* is killed at *Delphi*, and ſo *Oreſtes* recovers his wife *Hermione*	III	799
3143	1836	1163	*Tiſamenus*, the ſon of *Oreſtes*, by his father's conſent, reigns as king at *Mycenæ*, and afterwards he gave him *Argos* alſo	II	352
3143	1836	1163	*Menelaus* dies, his natural ſons ſet up at *Lacedæmon*, but were diſpoſſeſſed by *Oreſtes*, who drove them out and reigned in right of his wife	II	400
3146	1839	1160	*Zeuxippus* ſucceeds *Pelaſgus* in the kingdom of *Sicyon*, and reigned 32 years. With him died the kingly government, it being upon his demiſe changed into the government of the prieſts of *Apollo Carneus*	II	350
3149	1842	1157	*Jeptha*, in a quarrel with the tribe of *Benjamin*, cut off 42,000 of their men	I	753
3152	1845	1154	*Cleodæus*, the ſon of *Hyllus*, killed in the third attempt of the *Heraclidæ* to get *Peloponneſus*		
3153	1846	1153	*Alba Longa*, built by *Aſcanius*, the ſon of *Æneas* king of *Lavinium*, which he made the capital of his dominions, and his chief reſidence the laſt 12 of his 38 years reign	IV	421
3154	1847	1152	God raiſed up *Sampſon*, who judged ſouth and weſt *Iſrael* 20 years, *&c.* in partneſhip with *Eli*	I	754
3154	1847	1152	*Jephtha*, the baſtard ſon of *Gilead*, quarrelling with the *Ammonites* about ſome of his land, aſſembles an army, goes againſt and overcomes the *Ammonites*, and with a prodigious ſpoil regains his country's liberty: Upon his return his daughter goes out to meet and congratulate him, for which ſhe is ſacrificed, in performance of a vow he had raſhly made before the battle. He judged north and eaſt *Iſrael* 6 years	I	751
3157	1850	1149	*Oxyntes*, the ſon of *Demophoon*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigns 12 years	II	362
3158	1851	1148	The temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world, burnt by *Eroſtratus*	II	753
3159	1852	1147	*Jephtha* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Ibzan* as judge of north and eaſt *Iſrael*, who continued in that ſtation 7 years	I	753
3164	1857	1142	The firſt *Agon* of the *Lycæa* held on the top of mount *Lycæus*, the *Arcadian Olympus*: The victors were rewarded with brazen arms		
3166	1859	1140	*Sylvius Poſthumus* ſucceeds his father *Æneas* as king of *Latium*, and reigned 29 years: From him the kings of his race were called *Sylvii*, upon account of his mother *Lavinia* retiring into a wood to grieve for his father *Æneas*, during which time ſhe was born there. Now the *Latins* and *Albans* joined both their dominions into one kingdom	IV	421
3166	1859	1140	*Elon* ſucceeds *Ibzan*, and judged north and eaſt *Iſrael* 10 years	I	753
3169	1862	1137	*Aphidas*, ſon of *Oxyntes*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigns but one year, being killed by *Thymetes*, his baſtard brother	II	362
3170	1863	1136	*Thymetes*, the baſtard ſon of *Oxyntes*, ſucceeds *Aphides* in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigned 8 years, and was the laſt of the *Erecthidæ*	II	362
3171	1864	1135	*Samuel* becomes known to all *Iſrael* as a prophet, by foretelling *Eli* the high prieſt's death: He was a ſecond *Moſes* for 40 years, in all extraordinary caſes, over *Iſrael*, and probably now over ſouth and weſt *Iſrael* in all ordinary caſes	I	756
3171	1864	1135	*Thineus* ſucceeds *Tautes* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 30 years	I	865
3174	1867	1132	*Sampſon* pulls down the temple of *Dagon* at *Gaza*, and deſtroys both himſelf and a vaſt number of *Philiſtines* by the fall thereof	I	349
3174	1867	1132	The *Iſraelites* engage the *Philiſtines*, and loſe 30,000 men, and the ark at *Shiloh* which was carried by the *Philiſtines* to *Aſhdod*	I	756
3174	1867	1132	*Eli* the high-prieſt, being now 98 years of age, hearing of the ark being taken, falls backwards in a ſwoon, breaks his neck and dies, upon which *Samuel* ſucceeds him as judge of ſouth and weſt *Iſrael*, and *Ahitub* as high-prieſt	I	756

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3175	1868	1131	The *Philiſtines* ſend back the ark with preſents; upon its coming to *Bethſhemeſh*, the people's curioſity prompts them to look into it, for which 50070 is ſaid to be ſtruck dead; from thence it was carried to *Kiriath Jearim*, and lodged in the houſe of *Abinadab*, where it continued 20 years		
3176	1869	1130	*Abdon* ſucceeds *Elon* in the judges ſeat of north and eaſt *Iſrael*, and ſat therein 8 years	I	757
3177	1870	1129	*Melanthus* king of *Athens* kills *Xanthus* king of *Thebes* in a duel, and upon the death of *Xanthus* the kingdom of *Thebes* devolves into a democracy	I	753
3178	1871	1128	*Melanthus* drove *Thymetes* out of the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigned there 37 years	II	375
3178	1871	1128	*Archelaus*, prieſt of *Apollo Carneus*, reigns as chief magiſtrate in *Athens* one year	II	362
3179	1872	1127	*Automedon* ſucceeds *Archelaus* in the magiſtracy of *Athens* for one year	II	350
3180	1873	1126	*Pheoclytus* ſucceeds *Automedon* in the magiſtracy of *Athens*, and holds it four years	II	350
3181	1874	1125	*Penthilus*, baſe ſon of *Oreſtes*, reigned 22 years in *Mycenæ*	II	350
3182	1875	1124	The *Bæoti* being driven out of *Arne* by the *Theſſali*, went to live in *Cadmei*, which they called *Bæotia* after their own name	II	357
3182	1875	1124	The *Æolian* migration under *Penthilus* from *Aulis*, the famous ſea port in *Bæotia*, where the *Grecian* chiefs met and ſwore the deſtruction of *Troy*	II	370
3184	1877	1122	*Euneus*, prieſt of *Apollo Carneus*, is made chief magiſtrate of *Athens*, in which ſtation he continued 6 years	II	371
3184	1877	1122	*Abdon* dies, upon which, 'tis ſuppoſed, *Samuel* become judge over north and eaſt as well as ſouth and weſt *Iſrael*, in all caſes, both ordinary and extraordinary	II	350
3190	1883	1116	*Theonomus* ſucceeds *Euneus* in the magiſtracy of *Athens*, and holds it nine years	I II	753 350
3195	1888	1111	*Æneas Sylvius* ſucceeds his father *Sylvius Poſthumus* in the kingdom of *Latium*, and reigned 31 years	IV	421
3195	1888	1111	By *Samuel*'s prayers, ſacrifices, and encouragement, the *Iſraelites* engage the *Philiſtines* at *Mizpeh*, and obtain a complete victory, by which they are delivered from the yoke of bondage they had long groaned under, and a ſtone called *Ebenezer* ſet up in memory thereof	I	757
3199	1892	1107	*Amphigyes* ſucceeds *Theonomus* as chief magiſtrate of *Athens*, and holds it 18 years	II	350
3200	1893	1106	*Oreſtes* dies at *Tegea*, *Ægyptus* being then king of *Meſſenia*	I	865
3201	1894	1105	*Dercilus* ſucceeds *Thineus* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 40 years		
3201	1894	1105	*Ariromachus*, ſon of *Cleodeus* of the *Heraclidæ*, aſking the oracle the way of entering into *Peloponneſus*, was anſwered, by the *Straights*, which he interpreting to be the *Iſthmus*, was ſlain in the attempt; his ſons *Temenus*, *Creſphontes*, and *Ariſtodemus*, enquiring again, was anſwered, by the ſtreights of the ſea; and then they built ſhips at *Naupactus*, formerly *Ætolia* in *Elis*	II	359
3201	1894	1105	*Carnia* were now inſtituted to *Apollo*, upon *Hippote*'s killing a prophet of *Apollo Carneus*, which was followed by a plague, and he baniſhed for 10 years	II	359
3202	1895	1104	The *Heraclidæ* (or deſcendants from *Hercules*) return after two years, and out the *Pelopidæ*	II	359
3202	1895	1104	*Temenus*, *&c.* having finiſhed their ſhips, they paſſed the *Streights*, and landed at *Rhium Promontory*, where meeting with *Oxylus*, king of *Ætolia*, he became their guide and commander, and in a ſhort time made themſelves maſters of *Peloponneſus*	II	359
3204	1897	1102	*Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, reigned jointly at *Lacedæmon*	II	360
3204	1897	1102	Now the *Heraclidæ* ſhared the country by lot thus; *Temenus* had *Argos* and *Mycenæ* *Creſphontes*, *Meſſenia*, and the ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, *Lacedæmon*	II	360
			Oxylus would have had *Elis*, but is refuſed	II	360
3211	1904	1095	*Samuel* ſacrifices as high prieſt of the *Jews*	I	758
3211	1904	1095	*Saul* the ſon of *Kiſh*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, anointed by *Samuel* the firſt king in *Iſrael*, over whom he reigned 40 years	I	758
3211	1904	1095	This year *Nahaſh*, king of the *Ammonites*, beſieged *Jabeſh Gilead*; the people deſirous to capitulate, are anſwered they muſt conſent to have each man his right eye put out; they ſend word to *Saul*, who comes with a great army and relieves them	I	759
3212	1905	1094	*Jonathan*, ſon of king *Saul*, ſurprizes and defeats the *Philiſtines* at *Geba*	I	760
3213	1906	1093	*Saul*, by the fearfulneſs of the people, was reduced ſo low, that not a ſmith was to be found in *Iſrael*; he aſſumes the prieſts office, for which *Samuel* foretells the loſs of his kingdom to his family	I	761
3213	1906	1093	*Abia* officiates as high prieſt of the *Jews*	I	762
3215	1908	1091	*Codrus*, ſon of *Melanthus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Athens*, and reigns 21 years, in which time the *Iones* being driven out of their country, come to *Athens*, are kindly received, and allowed to ſettle there	II	362
3216	1909	1090	*Abiathar*, the ſon of *Abimelech*, born		
3217	1910	1089	*Charidemus* held the magiſtracy one year in *Sicyon*, then *Phalces* took the city, and made it a part of *Argos*, and from this time the *Sicyonians* were called *Dorians*	II	350
3218	1911	1088	The *Æoles*, conſiſting of a mixture of *Achæi* and others, brought by *Penthilus* into *Thrace* in 1124, now under his youngeſt ſon *Archelaus* move out of *Thrace* into *Aſia*, and fixed themſelves about *Diſcyleum* in *Cyzicena*, and as far as the river *Granicus*	II	323
3218	1911	1088	Another colony of the *Æolians*, under *Cometes* ſon of *Tiſamenes*, and *Clenas* ſon of *Dorus*, both deſcendants of *Agamemnon*, planted themſelves about mount *Phricius* in *Locris*	II	763
3221	1914	1085	*David*, the ſon of *Jeſſe* born, who afterwards became king of *Iſrael* and *Judah*		
3227	1920	1079	In the 27th year of *Dercilus*, king of *Aſſyria*, the *Amazons* and *Cimmerians* make an incurſion into *Aſia* together	II	303

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3232	1925	1074	*Aletes*, ſon of *Hippotes* and grandſon of *Hercules*, expels the race of *Syſiphus* from the government of *Corinth*, and becomes king of *Corinth*, and reigned there 38 years: From him his deſcendants called themſelves *Heraclidæ*	II	392
		1074	*Ereſus* in *Pityuſa*, built by the *Phœnicians*	VII	308
3232	1925	1074	*Zadock*, ſon of *Ahitub* heir of *Eleazer*, born	I	791
3235	1928	1071	*Codrus*, king of *Athens*, falling a voluntary victim for his country in the war with		
3236	1929	1070	the *Peloponneſians*, the people aboliſh kings and chooſe archons for life	II	362
3236	1929	1070	*Medon*, ſon of *Codrus*, is choſe firſt archon of *Athens*, and continued in that ſtation 20 years	II	362
3236	1929	1070	After the death of *Codrus* was the great remove out of *Athens*, under his ſon *Nileus*, of the *Iones*, together with the other ſons of *Codrus*: *Nileus* ſettled at *Miletus*, and liv'd and died there	II	369
3237	1930	1069	*Syndus*, *Jalyſſus*, and *Camirus*, in the iſland of *Rhodes*, built by *Althemenes* ſon of *Cliſſus*	III	129
		1068	*Miletus* built by the *Iones*, in the *Leſſer Aſia*	II	369
3238	1931	1065	*Eupates* ſucceeds *Dercilus* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, where he reigns 38 years	I	865
3241	1934	1063	*Saul* having deſtroyed the *Amalekites* deceitfully, is rejected by God, and *Samuel* or-		
3243	1936		dered to anoint *David*, the youngeſt ſon of *Jeſſe*, to be his ſucceſſor	I	763
3243	1936	1063	*David* engages and kills *Goliah*, upon which the *Iſraelites* fall upon, overthrow and quell the *Philiſtines*, with a great ſlaughter	I	764
3244	1937	1062	*Saul* grows melancholy through vexation, is relieved by *David*'s muſical perfor-		
			mances, but at laſt endeavours to kill *David*, upon which he flies to the deſerts of *Juda*	I	765
		1060	*Mephibosheth*, the ſon of *Jonathan* born	I	778
3246	1939	1060	*Abia* dies, and his brother *Abimelech* is high-prieſt, whom *Saul* in a fury, for		
3246	1939		having ſuccoured *David* at *Nob*, kills, with all his family, except his ſon *Abiathar*, who ſaved himſelf by flying to *David*, and afterwards ſucceeded his father as high-prieſt	I	767
3246	1939	1060	*Procles* having adopted *Sous* for his ſon, who reigned (likewiſe in partnerſhip in the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, which had now two kings) after *Procles*'s death 32 years	II	938
3247	1940	1059	In the reign of king *Agis* was the third remove of the *Æoles*, under *Grays* the youngeſt ſon of *Echelatus*, they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country between *Ionia* and the *Myſi*, now called *Æolis*	II	288
3247	1940	1059	*Euriſthenes* dies, and his ſon *Agis* ſucceeds him in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, but reign'd only one year: From him the deſcendants of *Euriſthenes* were called *Agidæ*. The *Helots* rebelled againſt him upon account of a tax he impoſed on them, for which he reduced them into a ſtate of perpetual villenage	II	400
3248	1941	1058	*Echeſtrates*, ſon of *Agis*, ſucceeds his father as partner in the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* which he held for the ſpace of 35 years	II	400
				I	768
3248	1941	1058	The prophet *Samuel* dies	II	763
3249	1942	1057	The *Iones* diſtributed themſelves to make other plantations	II	369
3249	1942	1057	*Myus* and *Priene* built, by *Nileus*, *&c.* *Codrus*'s ſon		
3250	1943	1056	*David* flies to *Ziklag* to avoid *Saul*'s fury, from whence he makes frequent excurſions againſt the enemies of *Iſrael*, and totally deſtroys men, women, and children	I	769
3251	1944	1055	*Ziklag* plunder'd and burnt by the *Amalekites*; *David* purſues after the *Amalekites*, ſlew their army, and brought back the ſpoil	I	770
3251	1944	1055	King *Achiſh* goes againſt *Iſrael*, upon which *Saul* (being terrify'd) goes to conſult the witch of *Endor*	I	770
3251	1944	1055	King *Achiſh* engages *Saul* upon mount *Gilboa*, where he and his three eldeſt ſons are ſlain	I	772
3251	1944	1055	Upon *Saul*'s death the 12 tribes divide, and *Judah* receives *David*, and the other tribes ſet up *Iſhboſheth*, *Saul*'s only ſon that was living, and they reign together 7 years and 6 months	I	773
3252	1945	1054	*Grays* paſſes over with the greateſt part of his army into the iſle of *Leſbos*	II	305
3252	1945	1054	*Mytilene* in *Leſbos* built	III	204
3253	1946	1053	*Magneſia* (at mount *Sipylus*) planted	II	381
3253	1946	1053	War begun between *Joab* and *Abner*	I	773
3254	1947	1052	*Cumæ* in *Italy* built by *Hippoctes* and *Megaſthenes*	II	606
3256	1949	1050	*Acaſtus*, ſon of *Medon*, declared archon of *Athens*, which he enjoyed 36 years	II	362
3257	1950	1049	*Androclus*, ſon of *Codrus*, led his great colony to *Epheſus*, where having drove out the *Leleges* and *Lydi*, he added it to *Samos* and other neighbouring iſles: The *Samians* flying from *Samos* planted themſelves in *Dardania*, and called it *Samothrace*	III	237
3258	1951	1048	*Iſhboſheth* being murdered by *Baana* and *Rechab*, as he lay on his bed they cut off his head, and carry'd it to *David*, who having ordered them to be put to death, becomes king over all *Iſrael*	I	774
3258	1951	1048	*Joab* kills *Abner* treacherouſly	I	774
3261	1954	1045	*Hadar-Ezer*, king of *Zobah*, ſo totally twice routed by *David*'s army, under the command of *Joab*, that his very kingdom was diſſolved	I	382
3261	1954	1045	The ark brought up from *Kiriath-Jearim*, firſt to the houſe of *Obed-Edom*, where it ſtaid three months, and then was placed in *Sion*, upon which occaſion *David* compoſed the 68th pſalm	I	775
3262	1955	1044	The firſt meeting of the cities or ſtates at the *Pan-Ionia*, or common council of the *Ionian* colonies, held at mount *Mycale*	III	189
3262	1955	1044	*Toi* king of *Hamath* ſends his ſon with great preſents to *David* king of *Iſrael*	I	391
3263	1956	1043	*Hiram*, with his father *Abiblus*, reign in *Tyre* together 19 years	I	774
3263	1956	1043	*Ahimaaz*, ſon of *Zadock* heir of *Eleazar*, born		
3266	959	1040	*Edom* ſubdued by *Joab*, *David*'s general	I	314

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3268	1961	1038	*Nahaſh*, king of the *Ammonites* dies, and war is made with his ſon and ſucceſſor *Hanun*, for ſhamefully treating *David*'s ambaſſadors, *&c.*	I	
3270	1963	1036	*Ixion* ſucceeds *Aletes* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigned there 38 years	II	778
3271	1964	1035	*Rabba*, the metropolis of the *Ammonites*, beſieged and taken, where *Uriah*, the huſband of *Bathſheba* was ſlain	I	390
3272	1965	1034	*David* reproved by *Nathan* for taking *Uriah*, the *Hittite*'s wife, being ſenſibly ſmote with the heinouſneſs of his crime, in a very penitential mood compoſes the 51ſt pſalm	I	779
3273	1966	1033	*Solomon* is born to *David* by his wife *Bathſheba*	I	779
3276	1969	1030	*Ammon* killed by the command of his brother *Abſalom*, for having deflowered his ſiſter *Thamar* two years before	I	780
3277	1970	1029	*Latinus* dies, and is ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Albany* (or *Latium*) by his ſon *Alba*, who reigned 39 years	IV	781
3278	1971	1028	*Eurypon*, ſon of *Sous*, upon the death of his father ſucceeds him in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, which he held ſeven years: From him the deſcendants of *Procles* were called *Eurypontidæ*	II	421
3279	1972	1027	*Laoſthenes* ſucceeds *Eupales* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 45 years	I	400
3279	1972	1027	*Abſalom* after three years returns to *Jeruſalem* from *Geſhur*, whither he flew upon his killing his brother *Ammon*, having been protected by his grandfather *Talmai* king of *Geſhur*, and lived two years privately	I	805
3281	1974	1025	*Abſalom* being reſtored to favour, conſpires againſt his father *David*	I	391
3282	1975	1024	*Abiblus*, joint king of *Tyre* dies, and *Hiram* his ſon reigned alone 34 years, was great with *David* and *Solomon*	I	783
3283	1976	1023	*Abſalom* having collected an army, breaks out into open rebellion againſt his father king *David*, and is defeated and ſlain by *Joab*	I	783
3283	1976	1023	*Echeſtratus* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Labotas* in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, which he enjoyed 377 years. In his reign the *Lacedæmonians* firſt declared war againſt the *Greeks*	I	786
3284	1977	1022	*Amaſa*, king *David*'s general, killed treacherouſly by *Joab*; and *Sheba*, who was in open rebellion, beheaded by the people of *Abel*, and his head thrown over the wall of the city to *Joab*, who thereupon rais'd the ſiege, and the rebellion ceaſed	II	400
3285	197-	1021	Famine brought upon the *Iſraelites* 3 years, for *Saul*'s killing the *Gibeonites*	I	827
3285	1978	1021	*Eurypon* dies, and his next ſon *Prytanis* ſucceeds him in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, which he enjoyed 35 years	I	788
3289	1982	1017	*David*, out of pride, numbers his people, and thereby offends God, who ſends the prophet *Gad* to rebuke him, and give him his choice of three ſorts of puniſhments; *David* chooſes the plague, of which 70,000 die in three days	II	400
3290	1983	1016	*Rehoboam*, the ſon of *Solomon* born	I	789
3291	1984	1015	The two books of *Samuel* ſuppoſed to be wrote by the prophets *Nathan* and *Gad* about this time		
3291	1984	1015	*David* dies, and is ſucceeded in the whole kingdom of *Iſrael* by his ſon *Solomon*, who reigned 40 years	I	792
3292	1985	1014	*Adonijah* and *Joab* both put to death for rebellion againſt *Solomon*, and *Abiathar* degraded from being high-prieſt	I	792
3292	1985	1014	*Archippus* ſucceeds *Acaſtus* (as archon or chief magiſtrate) in *Athens*, and reigned 19 years	II	362
3292	1985	1014	*Abiathar* deprived of the high-prieſthood, for conſpiring with *Adonijah* againſt *Solomon*, and *Zadock* put into his place. From this time the high prieſthood went out of the family of *Ithamar*, and returned into the family of *Eleazar*, wherein it continued, according to what had been foretold, 1 *Sam.* xi. 35.	I	792
3294	1987	1012	The Temple founded by *Solomon*, 480 years after the *Iſraelites* departure out of *Egypt*.	I	795
3295	1988	1011	*Shimei* put to death for breaking his confinement	I	793
3301	1994	1005	The famous temple at *Jeruſalem* built by *Solomon* king of *Iſrael*, finiſh'd.	I	795
3302	1995	1004	The firſt *Jewiſh* temple at *Jeruſalem* dedicated by king *Solomon*, with the utmoſt ſolemnity and magnificence, on the 8th day of the 7th month of the ſacred year, and which was the firſt month of the civil year, anſwering to the latter end of our *October*	I	795
3302	1995	1004	The 21ſt dynaſty of the *Egyptians* began, called the dynaſty of the *Tanites*, the firſt king whereof was called *Semendis*, who reigned 26 years	I	230
3308	2001	998	*Agelaus* ſucceeds *Ixion* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigned 38 years	II	390
3311	2004	995	*Therſippus* ſucceeds *Archippus* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, which dignity he held 41 years	II	362
3311	2004	995	*Homer*, the famous *Greek* poet, was brought up by *Phemius* of *Smyrna*, who had married *Homer*'s mother	III	108
3316	2009	990	*Balbazer*, ſon of *Hiram*, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigned 7 years	I	414
3316	2009	990	*Ahimaaz* ſucceeds his father *Zadock* in the high prieſthood of the *Jews*	II	332
3316	2009	990	*Medon*, king of *Argos* dies, and is ſucceeded in his kingdom by *Lacidaus*	IV	421
3316	2009	990	*Capetus* ſucceeds *Alba* in the kingdom of *Latium*, and reigns 26 years	III	187
3320	2013	986	*Samos* built, and *Smyrna* enlarged into the form of a city		
3320	2013	986	*Doryſſus* or *Doryſſæus*, ſon of *Labotas*, ſucceeds his father in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, and reigns 29 years	II	400
3320	2013	986	*Eunomus*, ſon of *Prytanis*, ſucceeds his father in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, and reigned 79 years	II	400
3323	2016	983	*Abdraſtus*, ſon of *Balbazer*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigns 9 years	I	414
3324	2017	982	*Pyritiades* ſucceeds *Laoſthenes* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 30 years	I	865
3326	2019	980	*Solomon* drawn into idolatry, out of complaiſance to his many wives and concubines	I	802
3328	2021	978	*Pſeuſennes* ſucceeds *Semendis* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 41 years	I	230
3331	2024	975	*Phialus*, ſon of *Bucolion*, began to reign in *Arcadia*, and changed the name of *Phigialia* into *Phialia*	II	378

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3331	2024	975	*Solomon* repenting, writes the *Eccleſiaſtes*, and is aſſured his ſeed ſhould reign over only *Juda* and *Benjamin*, 1 *Kings*, XL. 13. 32.	I	802
3331	2024	975	*Solomon* dies, whereupon the tribes divide themſelves, ten forſaking *Reboboam* his ſon, and ſet up a kingdom of their own, under the command of *Jeroboam*, which from this time forwards was called the kingdom of *Iſrael*; and two tribes adhere to *Reboboam*, under the title of king of *Juda* 17 years	I	803
3331	2024	975	*Jereboam* becomes the firſt king of *Iſrael*, and reigns 21 years, during which time he ſets up two golden calves at each end of his kingdom for the people to worſhip, inſtead of going up to *Jeruſalem*, *&c.* From his introducing idolatry in the firſt year of his reign, the 300 years of *Iſrael*'s iniquity is to be reckoned, mentioned *Ezekiel* iv. 5. 9.	I	803
3332	2025	974	*Iſthomius*, ſon of *Glaucus*, began to reign in *Meſſenia*	II	355
3332	2025	974	*Abdaſtartus*, king of *Tyre*, is killed by the four ſons of *Narſes*, the eldeſt of whom reigned 21 years	IV	414
3334	2027	972	The *Thracians* ſettle themſelves in *Bebrycia*, now called *Bithynia*	III	827
3335	2028	971	*Shiſhak* king of *Egypt* goes againſt *Jeruſalem*, takes it, and plunders the temple of all the golden veſſels, *&c.*	I	806
3342	2035	964	*Capys* ſucceeds *Capetus* in the kingdom of *Latium*, where he reigned 28 years	IV	421
3344	2037	962	*Aſtartus*, ſon of *Delæaſtartus*, becomes king of *Tyre*, and reigns there 12 years	I	414
3345	2038	961	*Proymnes*, or *Prymnes* or *Prumnis*, ſucceeds *Agelaus* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigns 35 years	II	390
3348	2041	958	*Azariah* ſucceeds his father *Ahimaaz* in the high-prieſthood at *Jeruſalem*		
3348	2041	958	*Abijah*, one of the ſons of *Reboboam*, ſucceeds in the kingdom of *Judah* upon the death of his father, and in a pitch'd battle with *Jeroboam* overthrew him; and killed 500,000 of his men. He reigned only 3 years	I	807
3349	2042	957	*Ageſilaus*, ſon of *Doryſſus*, ſucceeds his father in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, and reigned 44 years	II	400
3351	2044	955	*Abijam*, or *Abijah*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Aſa* in the kingdom of *Judah*, where he reigned 41 years: He was a prince of extraordinary piety, and purged out the idolatry that had crept in during the three foregoing reigns	I	807
3352	2045	954	*Jeroboam* dies, and is ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Iſrael* by his ſon *Nadab*, who reigned about two years	I	807
3352	2045	954	*Phorbas* ſucceeds *Therſippus* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and holds that dignity 31 years	II	362
3353	2046	953	*Baaſa*, of the tribe of *Iſſacher*, kills *Nadab* king of *Iſrael* at the ſiege of *Gibbiton*, and ſucceeds him in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, where he reigns 24 years, during which time he deſtroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*	I	807
3354	2047	952	*Ophrateus* ſucceeds *Pyritiades* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 20 years	I	865
3356	2049	950	*Aſtharymus* ſucceeds his brother *aſtartus* in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigns 9 years	I	414
3356	2049	950	*Meltas* began to reign at *Argos*	II	352
3356	2050	949	*Jehoſophat* (ſon of *Aſa* king of *Judah*) born	I	809
3365	2058	941	*Aſa* king of *Judah* commands all the idols that had been ſet up in his kingdom to be broken down, and depoſed his mother from the regal dignity for being an encourager of them	I	807
3365	2058	941	The *Cuſhites* attack *Aſa*'s kingdom with 10,000,000 men, commanded by *Zerah* the *Ethiopian*; *Aſa* encounters them at *Mareſhah*, totally routs them, and returns to *Jeruſalem* loaden with prodigious ſpoil, is met by a prophet who aſſures him of future ſucceſs, *&c.*	I	807
3365	2058	941	*Pheles* ſucceeds his brother *Aſtharymus* in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigns 8 months	I	414
3366	2059	940	*Ithobalus*, prieſt of *Aſtarte*, ſucceeds *Pheles* in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigns there 32 years	I	415
3366	2059	940	*Aſa* king of *Judah* ſends ambaſſadors and large preſents to *Benhadad* king of *Damaſcus*, who thereupon makes war with *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*, and takes ſeveral of his frontier towns, *&c.*	I	383
3366	2059	940	*Aſa* king of *Judah* builds *Geba* and *Mizpeh*, with the materials that he took from *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*, which were by him deſigned for the building of *Ramah*. *Aſa* throws the prophet *Hanomi* into priſon for reproving him	I	808
3369	2062	937	*Nephercheres* ſucceeds *Pſeuſennes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 4 years	I	230
3370	2063	936	*Calpetus* ſucceeds *Capys* in the kingdom of *Latium*, and reigns 13 years	IV	421
3373	2066	933	*Amenophis* ſucceeds *Nephercheres* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 9 years	I	230
3374	2067	932	*Ophratenes* ſucceeds *Ophrateus* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigned 50 years	I	865
3375	2068	931	*Dotadas*, ſon of *Iſthmius*, began to reign in *Meſſenia*	II	360
3376	2069	930	*Meltas* dies, and thereupon the regal government of *Argos* becomes a democracy		
3376	2069	930	*Ela* ſucceeds his father *Baaſha* in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and reigned only one year, being then murdered by *Zimri*	I	808
3377	2070	929	*Zimri*, the general over *Ela*'s chariots, conſpires againſt *Ela* and kills him, and then proclaims himſelf king, and as ſuch reigns 7 days at *Tirzah*, but being attacked by *Omri* (another general officer) *Zimri*, to avoid being taken, burns the king's houſe and himſelf in it: Upon this the kingdom of *Iſrael* was rent in twain, part following *Thibni* the ſon of *Ginath*, and the other part *Omri*, for 4 years they reigned together	I	808
3380	2073	926	*Lycurgus*, (ſon of *Eunomus* by his ſecond wife *Dianiſſa*) the famous *Lacedæmonian* lawgiver born		
3380	2073	926	*Bacchis*, ſon of *Proymnes*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigned 35 years: From him came the *Bacchiadæ*	II	390
3381	2074	925	*Thibni*, the partner king with *Omri* in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, being killed, *Omri* reigned alone 8 years	I	808
3382	2075	924	*Onſochor* ſucceeds *Amenophis* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 6 years.	I	230

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3382	2075	924	*Omri* having bought the hill of *Someron* or *Samaria*, of one *Shemer*, for two talents of silver, built the famous city of *Samaria* thereon, and removed the royal palace from *Tirzah* to *Samaria*, and made it the metropolis of the kingdom of *Iſrael*		
3382	2075	924	*Joram* (the ſon of *Jehoſophat* the ſon of *Aſa* king of *Juda*) born	I	808
3383	2076	923	*Tiberinus* ſucceeds *Calpetus* in the kingdom of *Latium*, and reigned 8 years	IV	421
3383	2076	923	*Megacles* ſucceeds *Phorbas* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and held that dignity 30 years.	II	362
3388	2081	918	*Pſinaſpinaces* ſucceeds *Onſochor* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 9 years.	I	230
3388	2081	918	*Ahab*, the ſon of *Omri*, upon the death of his father ſucceeds him in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, where he reigned 22 years; and having married *Jezabel*, daughter of *Ethbaal* king of the *Zidonians*, greatly encouraged idolatry, particularly the worſhip of *Baal*, by human ſacrifices, *&c.* 1 *Kings*, xvi. 31.	I	809
3390	2083	916	The *Rhodians* become maſters of the ſea, by their expertneſs in navigation; and the *Rhodian* laws for many ages were the ſtandard to decide all maritime affairs; the *Romans* eſteemed them ſo highly as to incorporate them into their pandect of laws, *&c.*	III	132
3391	2084	915	*Tiberinus*, king of *Latium*, being killed at the river *Albula* and drowned, that river from him was, and ſtill is, called the *Tiber*	IV	421
3391	2084	915	*Agrippa* (by *Ovid* called *Remulus*) ſucceeds *Tiberinus* in the kingdom of *Latium*, where he reigned 41 years	IV	421
3392	2085	914	*Jehoſophat*, upon the death of his father *Aſa*, ſucceeds him in the kingdom of *Judah*, and reigned 25 years: He began his reign with purging away idolatry, *&c.*	I	809
3393	2086	913	*Archelaus* ſucceeds his father *Ageſilaus* in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* and reigned 60 years. In this year the *Lacedæmonians* took *Teyea*, and raz'd it to the ground, to prevent their revolting to the *Arcadians*	II	400
3395	2088	911	*Jehoſophat* caus'd a competent number of prieſts and *Levites* to attend ſome of his chief offices with copies of the *Pentateuch*, to go through his kingdom and teach the real law of *Moſes*, which was then greatly corrupted	I	809
3397	2090	909	*Pſuſennes* ſucceeds *Pſinaſpinaces* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 35 years	I	230
3398	2091	908	*Bazorus*, ſon of *Ithobalus* ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigned 8 years	I	415
3399	2092	907	*Polydectes* ſucceeds his father *Eunomus* (who was killed in a riotous tumult) in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedmmon*	II	400
3399	2092	907	*Ahaziah*, ſon of *Joram*, (ſon of *Jehoſaphat* king of *Judah*, by his wife *Athalia* daughter of *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*) born	I	383
3405	2098	901	*Benhaaad* king of *Syria*, and his thirty-two confederate kings beaten off from *Samaria*, by *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, with prodigious ſlaughter	I	415
3406	2099	900	*Metinus*, ſon of *Bazorus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigns 9 years	I	384
3406	2099	900	*Benhadad*, king of *Syria*, is a ſecond time defeated by *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, with a mighty ſlaughter, *&c.*	II	558
3408	2001	898	*Polydectes*, half king of *Lacedmmon*, is ſucceeded by his half brother *Lycurgus*, who reign'd as guardian to his ſon *Charilaus*, who was born 8 months after his death	I	812
3408	2101	898	*Ahab* takes his ſon *Ahaziah* into partnerſhip with him in his kingdom of *Iſrael*	I	813
3409	2102	897	*Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, and *Jehoſaphat* king of *Judah* agree to beſiege *Ramoth-Gilead*, and retake it from the *Syrians*, where *Ahab* is ſlain, *&c.*	I	813
3409	2102	897	*Ahaziah*, upon the death of his father *Ahab*, reign'd alone in the kingdom of *Iſrael* about one year	I	813
3409	2102	897	*Amariah*, or *Azariah*, ſucceeds his father *Azariah* in the high prieſthood at *Jeruſalem*. 2 *Chron.* xix. 11.	I	814
3409	2102	897	The *Moabites* revolt, (who from *David*'s time till now had been ſubject to *Iſrael*) but are entirely defeated by the united force of *Iſrael* and *Judah*	I	809
3410	2103	896	*Johanan*, or *Jehoiada*, the ſon of *Amariah*, ſucceeds his father as high-prieſt at *Jeruſalem*	I	813
3410	2103	896	*Elias* being taken up into heaven alive, is ſucceeded by *Eliſha* in the prophetical Office	I	813
3410	2103	896	*Joram*, or *Jehoram*, the brother of *Ahaziah* king of *Iſrael*, (who was killed by the bruiſes he received in a fall) ſucceeds him in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and reigned 12 years	II	399
3412	2105	894	*Lycurgus* abdicated his government of the *Lacedæmonians*, and began his 10 years travel, to ſee the cuſtoms and manners of other nations	II	362
3413	2106	893	*Diognetus* ſucceeds *Megacles* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, which he held 28 years	I	814
3414	2105	892	*Joram* is taken into partnerſhip in the kingdom of *Judah*, by his father *Jehoſaphat*	I	390
3415	2108	891	*Agelas*, or *Agelaſtes*, ſucceeds *Bacchis* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, where he reigned 30 years	II	416
3415	2108	891	*Pygmalion*, the ſon of *Mettinus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Tyre*, and reigns 40 years: He is ſaid to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*, and to preſent the temple of *Hercules* in the iſland of *Gades*, with an olive tree made of maſſive gold, whoſe berries were emeralds, *&c.*	I	814
3417	2110	889	*Joram* (upon the death of his father *Jehoſaphat*) reigns alone 4 years, during which time he debauched the peoples manners, and introduced idolatry	I	315
3417	2110	889	*Edom* now revolted from the *Iſraelitiſh* government (to which they had been ſubject from *David*'s time) and having expelled or aſſaſſinated their vice-roy, ſet up a king of their own again	I	815
3418	2111	888	The *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* invade *Judah*, and take and plunder *Jeruſalem*, and among others carry away *Jehoram*'s wives, and all his ſons, (except *Jehoahaſh*) and *Ahaziah*, captive	II	378
3419	2112	887	*Pompus*, ſon of *Simus*, began to reign in *Arcadia*		

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		886	*Jeboram* king of *Judah* takes his ſon *Ahaziah* partner with him in his kingdom	I	815
3420	2113	885	Upon the death of *Joram* his ſon *Ahaziah* reigned king of *Judah* alone, for about		
3421	2114		the ſpace of one year, being then killed by *Jehu*, one of the officers of *Jeho-*		
			ram.	I	819
3421	2114	885	*Samaria* being beſieged by *Benhadad* king of *Syria*, the city is reduced to the ut-		
			moſt extremity by famine, *&c.* and is miraculouſly delivered by the prophet		
			Eliſha	I	816
3421	2114	885	*Hazael* murders *Benhadad* king of *Syria* at *Damaſcus*, and ſucceeds him in the king-		
			dom of *Syria*, which he raiſed to its meridian of glory	I	388
3422	2115	884	*Eliſa*, ſiſter of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*, (called alſo *Dido*) flying from *Tyre* upon the		
			murder of her husband *Sichæus* prieſt of *Hercules*, in company with many others,		
			goes and ſettles in *Africa*, and builds the famous city of *Carthage*	I	415
3422	2115	884	*Joram* king of *Iſrael* killed by his ſervant *Jehu*, who reigned 28 years, and de-		
			ſtroyed all the houſe of *Ahab*, and caus'd queen *Jezabel* to be thrown out of a		
			window, *&c.*	I	819
3422	2115	884	*Hazael* king of *Damaſcus* (or *Syria*) warring againſt *Jehu* king of *Iſrael*, over-		
			came him, and took almoſt all his kingdom from him, having ſlain and taken		
			captive an infinite number of his ſubjects	I	389
3422	2115	884	*Ahaziah* dies, and his mother *Athaliah* (daughter of *Ahab*) reigns 6 years in *Ju-*		
			dah, during which time ſhe practiſed and promoted idolatry with all her might,		
			and killed all his children; except *Joaſh*, whom *Jehoſheba* (ſiſter of king *Ahaziah*		
			and wife of *Jehoiada* the high-prieſt) ſaved, being then but one year old	I	822
3422	2115	884	*Lycurgus* returns to *Lacedæmon* from his travels, and ſettles the government by ex-		
			cellent laws	II	559
3422	2115	884	*Iphitus* began accounting or computing time by *Olympiads*, 108 years before the firſt		
			Olympiad	I	86
3424	2117	882	*Ocrazapes* ſucceeds *Ophratanes* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns there 42 years	II	357
3425	2118	881	*Sybotas*, ſon of *Dotadas*, was now king of *Meſſenia*		
3428	2121	878	*Jehoiada* the high-prieſt ſhews young *Joaſh* (the ſon of their late king *Ahaziah*) to		
			the heads and people of *Judah*, who being tired with the cruelty and wickedneſs		
			of *Athaliah*, proclaimed *Joaſh* king; and the high-prieſt having anointed him		
			and crowned him, ſlew *Athaliah*, *Joaſh* reigned 40 years. *&c.*	I	825
3432	2125	874	Begins the 22d *Egyptian* dynaſty of the *Bubaſtites*, the firſt king whereof was *Sen-*		
			ſoris, who ſucceeded *Pſuſennes*, and reigned 21 years, *&c.*	I	230
3432	2125	874	*Agrippa*, king of the *Latins* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Allades*, or *Alladius*, who		
			reigned 19 years	IV	422
3433	2126	873	*Charilaus* takes the government of *Lacedæmon* upon himſelf, and reigned 64		
			years	II	400
3437	2130	869	*Carthage*, the famous metropolis of *Africa*, built by queen *Dido*: *Phidon* now go-		
			verned at *Argos*, and made meaſures and ſcales, and coined ſilver money at		
			Ægina	I	415
3441	2124	865	*Pherecles* ſucceeds *Diognetus* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and reigned 19		
			years	II	362
3444	2137	862	*Jonas* propheſied againſt *Niniveh*		
3445	2138	861	*Eudemus* ſucceeds *Agelas* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigned 25 years	II	390
3449	2142	857	*Joaſh* repairs the temple of *Jeruſalem*, *&c.*	I	823
3450	2143	856	*Jehoahaz* ſucceeds his father *Jehu* (now dead) in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and		
			reigned 17 years	I	822
3451	2144	855	*Allades* king of the *Latins*, together with his palace, is ſwallowed up by an earth-		
			quake, as he was imitating thunder, and was ſucceeded by *Aventinus*, who		
			reigned 37 years	IV	421
3452	2145	854	The *Lacedæmonians*, by the help of the *Eleans*, overthrew the tyrant *Phidon*	II	400
3453	2146	853	*Teleclus* ſucceeds *Archelaus* in the partnerſhip of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, and		
			reigns 40 years	II	400
3453	2146	853	*Oſorthon* ſucceeds *Sethoris* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 15 years	I	230
3456	2149	850	*Jehoiada* the high-prieſt dies, at 130 years old, and is ſucceeded in that office at *Je-*		
			ruſalem by his ſon *Zachariah*	I	824
3458	2151	848	*Polymeſtor*, ſon of *Æginetas* king of *Arcadia*, overcame the *Lacedæmonians*, and took		
			Charilaus priſoner, whom they obliged to take an oath that he ſhould not make		
			war any more on the *Tegæans*, but ſome time after he broke it	I	569
3460	2153	846	*Ariphron* ſucceeds *Pherecles* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and reigned 20 years	II	362
3464	2157	842	*Jonas* propheſies of *Iſrael*'s deliverance		
3465	2158	841	*Jehoahaz*, king of *Iſrael*, takes his ſon *Joaſh* partner with him in the regal govern-		
			ment	I	825
3466	2159	840	*Zachariah* the high-prieſt having reproved *Joaſh* king of *Judah* for falling into and		
			encouraging and promoting idolatry, *&c.* is, by that king's command, ſtoned to		
			death	I	824
3466	2159	840	*Tonoſconoleros*, or *Sardanapalus*, ſucceeds *Ocrazapes* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and		
			reigned 20 years	I	865
3467	2160	839	*Hazael*, king of *Syria*, (or *Damaſcus*, he being called by both titles) after taking		
			Gath and conquering the king of *Judah*'s army, was about inveſting *Jeruſalem*,		
			but by large preſents, *&c.* departed for that time, but ſoon after ſent a part of		
			his great army, who (overthrowing *Joaſh*, *&c.*) ſack'd *Jeruſalem*, ſlew the		
			princes, and ſent a prodigious ſpoil to *Damaſcus*	I	388
3467	2160	839	*Joaſh* being murdered on his bed by his ſervant, is ſucceeded by his ſon *Amaziah*,		
			who reigned 29 years as king of *Judah*	I	824
3467	2160	839	*Jehoahaz*, king of *Iſrael* dies, and *Joaſh* his ſon reigns alone 3 years		
3468	2161	838	*Amaziah* overcomes the *Edomites*, ſlaying 10,000 in battle, and throwing 10,000		
			priſoners down from the rock whereon *Selah* their capital city was built, *&c.*	I	316
3468	2161	838	The prophet *Eliſha* dies	I	825
3468	2161	838	*Tachelotis* ſucceeds *Oſarthon* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 13 years.	I	230

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3470	2163	836	*Ariſtodemus* ſucceeds *Eudemus* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigns 35 years	II	390
3470	2163	836	*Joaſh* king of *Iſrael* takes his ſon *Jeroboam* to be a partner with him in his kingdom	I	389
3470	2163	836	*Hazael* king of *Syria* dies, and was deified; but being ſucceeded by his ſon *Benhadad* the 3d, he was thrice defeated by *Jehoaſh*, the ſon of *Jehoahaz* the king of *Judah*, and made a tributary	I	389
3471	2164	835	*Phintas*, ſon of *Sobytas*, was king of *Meſſenia*, in his time the *Meſſenians* firſt ſent their ſacrifices to *Apollo* at *Delos*, with a chorus of men		
3472	2165	834	*Eumelus* compoſed the hymn called the *Proſodium*, to be ſung by the *Meſſenians* in their ſacrifices to *Apollo* at *Delphos*		
3480	2173	826	*Theſpieus* ſucceeds *Ariphron* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and governed 27 years	II	362
3480	2173	826	*Amaziah*, king of *Judah*, challenging *Joaſh* king of *Iſrael*, is taken by him, and a very large ranſom ſet upon him	I	826
3481	2174	825	*Joaſh* king of *Iſrael* dies, and *Jeroboam* his ſon reigned alone 41 years	I	827
3481	2174	825	The twenty-third dynaſty of the *Egyptians*, called the *Tanites*, the firſt king whereof was *Petubaſtes*, who ſucceeded *Tachelotis*, and reigned 25 years	I	230
3483	2176	823	*Arbaces*, prefect of *Media*, and *Beleſis*, a prieſt of *Babylon* and a famous aſtronomer, revolt againſt *Sardanapalus* king of *Aſſyria*, and beſieged him with a vaſt army in *Niniveh*; in the 3d year of the ſiege, the river overflowed and threw down a great part of the wall, through which breach they entered and took the city, upon which *Sardanapalus* burnt both his palace and himſelf in it; *Arbaces* and *Beleſis* divided the empire between them, *Arbaces* taking *Media*, *Perſia*, and *Aſſyria*; and *Beleſis*, *Babylon*, whoſe ſucceſſors are not known till the time of *Nabonaſſar*.	I	887
3485	2178	821	*Media* now freed from the yoke of the *Aſſyrians* by *Arbaces*, is govern'd by him 28 years	II	12
3488	2181	818	*Aventinus* dies (and being buried upon a mountain, it was called from thence mount *Aventine*) and is ſucceeded in the kingdom of the *Latins* by *Procas*, who reigned 23 years	IV	421
3492	2185	814	*Caranus* (one of the *Heraclidæ*) coming to *Macedonia*, founded the kingdom ſo called, and reigned over it 28 years	III	271
3493	2186	813	*Teleclus*, half king of *Lacedæmon*, is ſlain by the *Meſſenians* in the temple of *Diana Limnas*, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Alcamenes*, who reigned 37 years.	II	400
3496	2189	810	*Amariah*, the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, dies, and his ſon *Ahitub* II. ſucceeds him in that office		
3496	2189	810	*Amaziah*, king of *Judah*, is driven from *Jeruſalem* by a conſpiracy that was formed againſt him, and which followed and killed him at *Lachiſh*, when he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, who reigned 52 years	I	826
3497	2190	809	*Nicander*, the ſon of *Charilaus*, ſucceeds his father in the half kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, and reigns 39 years	III	400
3505	2198	801	*Agamemnon*, brother of *Ariſtomedes*, ſucceeds him in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigns 16 years	III	390
2505	2198	801	*Capua*, a noble city in *Campania*, built (but now in ruins) about 12 miles diſtant from the preſent city of that name	IV	412
3506	2199	800	*Joel* propheſied about this time		
3506	2199	800	*Oſorthon* the II. ſucceeds *Petubaſtes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 9 years	I	230
3507	2200	799	*Agameſtor* ſucceeds *Theſpicus* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and governed 20 years	II	362
3509	2202	797	*Ardyſus*, king of *Lydia*, reigns 36 years, was one of the *Heraclidæ* or deſcendants of *Hercules*	II	333
3511	2204	795	*Amulius*, ſon of *Procas*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Latium*, having firſt put by his elder brother *Numitor*, to whom *Procas* had left the kingdom, and reigned 42 years	IV	421
3513	2206	793	*Soſarmes* ſucceeds *Arbaces* as king of *Media*, and reigns 30 years	II	12
2515	2208	791	*Pſammis* ſucceeds *Oſorthon* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 10 years	I	230
3519	2212	787	*Amos* propheſied againſt *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*	I	828
5520	2213	786	*Cænus* ſucceeds *Caranus* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigned 12 years	III	271
3520	2213	786	The *Corinthians* now firſt of all the *Greeks* had *Trirems*, or boats with 3 oars on each ſide	II	390
3521	2214	785	*Alexander* ſucceeds *Agamemnon* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigned 25 years	I	827
3521	2214	785	*Hoſea* propheſied againſt *Iſrael*		
3522	2215	784	*Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael* died, upon which followed an interregnum of 11 years		
3525	2218	781	Begins the 24th *Egyptian* dynaſty of the *Saites*, when *Bocchoris* ſucceeds *Pſammis* in the kingdom, and reigned 44 years	I	230
3527	2220	779	*Æſchylus* ſucceeds *Agameſtor* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and reigns 23 years	II	362
3530	2223	776	*Polydorus* ſucceeds *Alcamenes* in the half kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, and reigned 52 years	II	400
3530	2223	776	This is commonly eſteemed the beginning of the firſt *Olympiad*, (vulgarly ſo called.)	III	271
3532	2225	774	*Thurimas* ſucceeds *Cænus* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns 45 years		
3533	2226	773	*Zachariah*, ſon of *Jeroboam*, the 4th and laſt of the houſe of *Jehu* (according to the prophecy 2 *Kings*, xv. 10.) ſucceeds in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and reigned but 6 months, being killed by *Shallum* ſon of *Jabeſh*, one of his own domeſticks, who reigned in his ſtead one month, and was killed by *Menhaem*, *Zachariah*'s general	I	828
3534	2227	772	*Ahitub*, the high-prieſt of the *Jews* dying, is ſucceeded by his ſon *Zadock*, (called alſo *Azariah*)	I	828
3534	2227	772	*Menahem* ſucceeded *Shallum* in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and reigned 11 years		
3535	2228	771	*Uzziah*, king of *Judah*, was ſtruck with a leproſy by *Azariah* the high-prieſt, till his death, for preſuming to burn incenſe; and his ſon *Jotham* governed the kingdom for him 13 years	I	829
				I	858
3535	2228	771	*Pul* in ſcripture appears to be the firſt king of *Aſſyria*		
3535	2228	771	*Pul* king of *Aſſyria*, invading *Iſrael*, *Menahem* gives him 1000 talents of ſilver as homage-money	I	889

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			Theopompus, ſon of *Nicander*, ſucceeds his father in the half kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, and reigned 47 years	II	558
3543	2236	763	*Medinus* (or *Mandauces*) ſucceeds *Soſarmus* in the kingdom of *Media*, and reigns 40 years	II	12
3545	2238	761	*Pekaia*, ſon of *Mehanem*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and reigned two years	I	830
			Halyattes ſucceeds *Ardyſus* in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigned 14 years	II	333
3545	2238	761	*Eſay* began to propheſy		
3546	2239	760	*Teleſtes*, ſon of *Ariſtomenes*, having killed *Alexander*, ſucceeds him in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigned there 12 years	II	390
3546	2239	760	*Theopompus* ſets up the *Ephori* at *Lacedæmon*, which conſiſted of five perſons, arm'd with power to check even the king, as well as govern the people	II	574
3547	2240	759	*Peka* kills *Pekaia* king of *Iſrael*, in his royal palace at *Samaria*, and reigned in his ſtead 20 years	I	830
3548	2241	758	*Uzziah* king of *Judah* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Jotham*, who reigned alone 16 years	I	830
3548	2241	758	*Nahum* propheſied againſt *Niniveh*, foretelling the dreadful deſtruction of it, which afterwards happened in the days of *Joſiah*	I	830
3550	2243	756	*Alcmæon* ſucceeds his father *Æſchylus* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and reigns 2 years when that office for life was diſſolved, and perſons choſe to hold it for 10 years only	II	36
3552	2245	754	*Charops* begins the archonſhip of *Athens*, upon the new regulation of holding that office 10 years	II	36
3552	2245	754	*Romulus* kills *Amulius*, and ſets up *Numitor*	IV	420
3553	2246	753	*Romulus* having built and finiſhed the city of *Rome*, is choſen king, and tranſlates the kingdom from *Alba* to *Rome*, where he reigned 37 years	IV	42
3554	2247	752	*Romulus* inſtituted his year of 10 months, of which *March* was the firſt; this calendar was corrected by *Numa*, his ſucceſſor, as is more particularly related and deſcribed	IV	427
3554	2247	752	*Daicles* now firſt crowned in the olympic games	IV	429
3556	2249	750	The rape of the *Sabine* virgins by the *Romans*		
3557	2250	749	*Teleſtes* king of *Corinth* is killed, and the kingly government changed for yearly magiſtrates, of which *Automenes* was the firſt.		
3557	2250	749	War between the *Romans* and the *Sabines* upon account of the rape: *Romulus* encounters and kills with his own hand *Arcon* their king, diſperſes their army, razes their city, and incorporates the priſoners among his own people.	IV	429
3559	2252	747	The *Romans* and *Sabines* conclude a peace, and become one people; and *Tatius*, then *Sabine* king, reigned jointly with *Romulus*, and the people were called *Quirites*	IV	431
3559	2252	747	*Tiglath-pileſer* becomes king of *Aſſyria* as ſucceſſor to his father *Pul*	I	890
3559	2252	747	*Nabonaſſar*, king of *Babylon*, lays the foundation of the firſt of the four great monarchies, and reigns 14 years	I	940
3559	2252	747	*Melles* ſucceeds *Halyattes* in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigns 12 years	II	333
3462	2255	744	*Æſimedes* ſucceeds *Charops* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, for 10 years	II	362
8563	2256	743	*Androcles*, one of the kings of *Meſſenia*, killed in a quarrel with his brother *Antiochus*, ſoon after which accident *Euphaes* reigned in *Meſſenia*	II	570
3564	2257	742	*Tatius*, joint king with *Romulus*, killed by the *Lavinians* at the foot of the altar, while he and *Romulus* were offering a ſacrifice to the tutelary Gods	IV	433
3565	2258	741	*Ahaz* ſucceeds his father *Jotham* in the kingdom of *Judah*, and reigned 16 years; but being a wicked prince and committing idolatry, *&c.* was very unſucceſsful	I	831
3565	2258	741	*Peka* king of *Iſrael* warring againſt *Judah*, kills 120,000 in one day, and carries 200,000 away priſoners	I	832
3566	2259	740	*Tiglath-pileſer*, king of *Aſſyria*, invades *Damaſcus*, takes *Rezim* their king, tranſplants the inhabitants, and diſſolves the kingdom of *Syria*, and made *Ahaz* king of *Judah* tributary	I	390
3567	2260	739	*Peka* king of *Iſrael* is killed by *Hoſea*, ſon of *Ela*, upon which followed a ſtate of anarchy for 9 years	I	830
3568	2261	738	The *Romans* make a triumph for their victory over the *Camerini*	IV	433
3569	2262	737	The 25th *Egyptian* dynaſty called the *Æthiopes*, the firſt king whereof was *Sabacon*, who reigned 12 years	I	232
3571	2264	735	*Candaules* ſucceeds *Melles* in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigns 17 years	II	333
3572	3265	734	*Clidicus*, the ſon of *Æſimedes*, ſucceeds his father in the archonſhip of *Athens*, for the ſpace of 10 years	II	362
3573	2266	733	*Naidius* ſucceeds *Nabonaſſar* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigned 2 years	I	940
3573	2266	733	*Naxus* in *Sicily* built by the firſt *Greek* colony that came from *Chalcis* in *Eubæa* to ſettle in *Sicily*	II	220
3574	2267	732	The *Romans* make triumph for their conquering the *Veientes*	IV	433
3574	2267	732	*Syracuſe*, formerly the metropolis of all *Sicily*, was built by *Archias* of *Corinth*	III	4
3575	2268	731	*Cincirus* and *Porus* ſucceed *Nadius* in the kingdom of *Babylon*	I	940
3576	2269	730	*Euphaes* being killed in battle, was ſucceeded by *Ariſtodemus* in the kingdom of *Meſſenia*	II	573
3576	2269	730	*Hoſea* becomes king of *Iſrael*, and reigns 9 years	I	833
3577	2270	729	*Perdiccas* ſucceeds *Thurimas* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns 51 years	I	558
3578	2271	728	*Salmanazar*, king of *Aſſyria*, conquers and makes *Hoſea* king of *Iſrael* tributary	I	833
3579	2272	727	*Ahaz*, king of *Judah*, takes his ſon *Hezekiah* partner with him in the kingdom: The prophet *Eſay* foretels the birth of *Emanuel* (or *Chriſt*) and that he ſhould be born of a virgin	I	831
3579	2272	727	*Leontinis* in *Sicily* built by the inhabitants of *Naxus*, and afterwards *Catana*, another famous city of the ſame iſland	III	3

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3580	2273	726	Upon the death of *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, his ſon *Hezekiah* reigns alone 28 years: he endeavours to reform *Judah* by purging away idolatry, ſolemnizing the paſſover, *&c* in which *Azariah* the high-prieſt was greatly ſerviceable —		
3580	2273	726	*Jugæus* ſucceeds *Cincirus* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigned 5 years —	I	835
3581	2264	725	*So*, king of *Egypt*, intices *Hoſea* king of *Iſrael* to rebel againſt *Salmanaſar* king of *Aſſyria* —	I	945
3581	2274	725	The Prophet *Hoſea* declared his laſt prophecy	I	833
3581	2274	725	*Sevicus* ſucceeds *Sabacon* in the kingſhip of *Egypt*, and reigns there 12 years		
3582	2275	724	*Hippomenes* ſucceeds *Clidicus* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, which he enjoyed 10 years —	I	230
3582	2275	724	The *Lacedæmonians* end the long war with the *Meſſenians* with the taking of *Ithome*, upon which the *Meſſenians* ſerve the *Lacedæmonians* 39 years —	II	362
3582	2275	724	*Polydorus* being killed by one *Polemarchus*, a perſon of mean extract, is ſucceeded by his ſon *Eurycrates* in the joint kingdom of *Lacedæmon* for 17 years —	II	575
3582	2275	724	*Ariſtodemus* kills himſelf at his daughter's tomb, whom he had ſacrificed 13 years before —	II	558
3583	2276	723	*Cardiceas* ſucceeds *Medidus* in the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigns 13 years		
3583	2276	723	*Theopompus*, one of the partner kings of *Lacedæmon*, dying, is ſucceeded by his grandſon *Zeuxidamus*, (ſon of *Archidamus*, who died before his father *Theopompus*) who reigns 33 years —	I	865
3585	2278	721	*Mardokempad* ſucceeds *Jugæus* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigns 12 years. (In ſcripture this prince is called *Merodak Baladan.*)	II	558
3585	2278	721	*Salmanaſar*, king of *Aſſyria*, takes *Samaria* after a ſiege of three years, and carried away the ten tribes of *Iſrael* into captivity, and ſo put an end to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, after it had ſtood 234 years divided from *Judah* —	I	945
3586	2279	720	*Azariah*, the high prieſt of the *Jews* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Shallum*	I	835
3588	2281	718	*Candaules* being by *Gyges* (the firſt of the *Mermnadæ*, who ruled 170 years) is ſucceeded by him in the kingdom of *Lydia*, who reigned there 38 years. *Gyges* ſends many rich preſents to the oracle at *Delphos*, *&c.*		
3588	2281	718	The *Tyrians* intirely defeat *Shalmanaſar* king of *Aſſyria*'s fleet —	II	353
3589	2282	717	*Salmanaſar*, king of *Aſſyria*, beſieges *Tyre*, which held out 5 years againſt him —	I	892
3589	2282	717	*Hezekiah*, king of *Judah*, revolts and refuſes to pay tribute to the king of *Aſſyria* any longer —	I	192
3589	2282	717	*Romulus* killed, upon which followed an interregnum for upwards of one year in *Rome* —	I	592
3591	2284	715	*Numa* becomes king or governor in *Rome*, but more like *Pontifex* than *Rex*, for the ſpace of 43 years —	IV	434
3592	2285	714	*Leocrates* ſucceeds *Hippomenes* in the archonſhip of *Athens*, and ruled there 10 years	IV	435
3593	2286	713	*Senacherib*, king of *Aſſyria*, goes up againſt *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*, who being ſick of the plague, upon his earneſt prayer to God has an addition of 15 years made to his life, and *Senacherib* goes away againſt *Egypt* —	II	362
3593	2286	713	*Taracus* ſucceeds *Sevicus* king of *Egypt*, and reigns 20 years in that kingdom	I	836
3596	2289	710	*Numa Marcius* is made the firſt *Pontifex Maximus* among the *Romans* —	I	230
3596	2289	710	*Tirhaka*, king of *Ethiopia*, helps the *Egyptians* and *Jews* againſt *Senacherib* king of *Aſſyria* —	IV	436
3596	2289	710	*Senacherib*, king of *Aſſyria*, returns from *Egypt* and beſieges *Lachiſh*; *Hezekiah* buys his peace, but *Senacherib* breaks his promiſe, and returns againſt *Jeruſalem* with his whole army, of which God by his angel deſtroys 185,000 in one night —	I	893
3596	2289	710	*Senacherib*, king of *Aſſyria*, returning to his royal palace at *Niniveh*, grew ſullen and tyrannical upon his defeat at *Jeruſalem*, and thereby becoming hateful to all about him, *Adrammelek* and *Sharazer*, two of his ſons, killed him, as he was worſhipping his God *Niſroch*, and *Eſarhaddon*, his third ſon, reigned in his ſtead	I	838
3597	2290	709	*Pityuſa* firſt planted with a colony of *Carthaginians* —	I	895
3597	2290	709	An order of 12 prieſts inſtituted among the *Romans* called *Salii* —	VII	308
3597	2290	709	*Arcianus* ſucceeds *Mardokempad* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigns 15 years	I	946
3598	2291	708	*Ecbatana* (the metropolis of all *Media*, and ſeat of the *Median* and *Perſian* monarchs) built by *Dejoces*, and *Sybaris* by the *Thurians* —	I	941
3599	2292	707	The *Parthenians* under *Phalantus* build *Tarentum* —	II	14
3602	2295	704	*Arcianus* dies, and an interregnum follows in the kingdom of *Babylon* for two years —	I	945
3602	2295	704	*Aminocles* of *Corinth* built for the *Samians* their firſt trirems, or galleys with 3 oars on a ſide —	I	946
3602	2295	704	*Apſander* ſucceeds *Leocrates* in the archonſhip of *Athens* for 10 years —	II	362
3603	2296	703	*Corcyra* built by the *Corinthians* —	III	240
3604	2297	702	*Belibius* ſucceeds, after an interregnum of 2 years, in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigns 3 years —	I	946
3607	2300	699	*Apronadius* ſucceeds *Belibius* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigns 6 years —	I	949
3607	2300	699	*Dejoces* is choſen the firſt real king of *Media*, (thoſe before this time being only nominal ones) and ſets about reforming abuſes, *&c.* (*Marſhal*'s tables calls him the ſon of *Phraortes*, and puts his creation in 710.) He reigned 54 years —	II	14
3608	2301	698	*Hezekiah*, the good king of *Judah* dies, and is ſucceed by his ſon *Manaſſeh*, a youth of 12 years old, who reigned 55 years in the moſt wicked infamous manner poſſible —	I	839
3609	2302	697	*Midas* king of *Phrygia* dies —	II	301
3612	2305	694	*Eryxias* ſucceeds *Apſander* in the archonſhip of *Athens* for 10 years —	II	369
3613	2306	693	The 26th *Egyptian* dynaſty of the *Saites* begins with the reign of *Merres*, who governed that kingdom 12 years, and ſucceeded *Taracus* —	I	230
3613	2306	693	*Rigebelus* ſucceeds *Apronadius* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigned but one year —	I	946

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			Meſeſſimordachus ſucceeds *Rigebelus* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigns four years	I	946
3614	2307	692			
3616	2309	690	*Anaxidamus*, ſon of *Zeuxidamus*, ſucceeds his father as one of the two kings of *Lacedæmon*	II	577
3618	2311	688	*Dejoces*, king of *Media*, extended his empire to the river *Halys*. *Uſſher*		
3618	2311	688	Upon the death of *Meſeſſimordachus* king of *Babylon*, follows an interregnum, which laſted 8 years	I	946
3619	2312	687	*Gela* in *Sicily* built on a river of the ſame name, by *Antiphemus* a *Rhodian*, and *Entimus* a *Cretan*, who each of them heading a colony of their countrymen, came and ſettled here	III	11
3619	2312	687	*Anaxander*, ſon of *Eurycrates*, ſucceeds his father as one of the two kings of *Lacedæmon*	II	577
3620	2313	686	*Archilochus*, the famous inventor of *Iambick* verſe, a native of *Paros*, now flouriſhed; he wrote ſo ſatyrically againſt *Lycambes*, his father-in-law, for taking his daughter from him, that *Lycambes* hanged himſelf	III	223
3621	2314	685	The *Meſſenians* rebel againſt the *Lacedæmonians* which occaſions a ſecond war, which laſted 18 years, in which the *Lacedæmonians* are beat at *Deræ*, where *Ariſtomenes* for his bravery was made general, and offered the kingdom of *Meſſenia*	I	577
3622	2315	684	The government of *Athens* is now changed into annual archons, choſe from among the moſt conſiderable of the citizens; the firſt was *Creon*	II	369
3623	2316	683	The *Lacedæmonians* are beaten again by the *Meſſenians*, under their general *Ariſtomenes*	II	578
				II	417
3624	2317	682	*Lyſias* is archon at *Athens*		
3624	2317	682	The *Meſſenians* are betray'd by the *Arcadians* to the *Lacedæmonians*	II	578
3624	2317	682	The *Lacedæmonians* conſult the oracle at *Delphos* about the ſucceſs of the *Meſſenian* war, and are anſwered, they muſt have an *Athenian* leader; upon which, applying to *Athens*, they ſend one *Tyrtæus*, a ſchool-maſter, who did them mighty ſervice	II	577
3625	2318	681	*Stephinates* ſucceeds *Merres* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 7 years	I	230
3625	2318	681	*Ariſtomenes*, the *Meſſenian* general, celebrates a ſecond time the *Hecatomphonia*, or ſacrifice appointed for thoſe who had killed 100 of the enemy with their own hands; after which he lived to do it a third time	II	580
3626	2319	680	*Ardyſus*, or *Ardyes* ſon of *Gyges*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigned 49 years; during which time the *Cimmerians* over-run all *Aſia Minor*	II	333
3626	2319	680	*Aſſaradinus*, or *Eſarhaddon*, (king of *Niniveh* or *Aſſyria*) makes himſelf king of *Babylon*, for the ſpace of 13 years	I	895
3628	2321	678	*Argæus* ſon of *Perdiccas*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Macedonia*, and reigns 38 years	III	271
3629	2322	677	*Manaſſes*, king of *Judah*, being conquered by *Eſarhaddon* king of *Babylon*, is bound with chains, and ſo carried priſoner to *Babylon*, and caſt into a dungeon	I	840
3629	2322	677	*Eſarhaddon* tranſplants the remnant of the *Iſraelites*, and ſupplies their country with ſtrangers; ſo that from this time forward it was no more a kingdom in name or thing	I	896
3630	2323	676	*Manaſſes* king of *Judah* returns from his *Babyloniſh* captivity, and reigns 38 years in *Judah*, where he wrought a great reformation	I	841
3631	2324	675	*Chalcedon*, a famous city of *Bythinia*, built on the *Boſphorus* which parts *Europe* from *Aſia*, and joins the *Propontis* with the *Euxine* ſea	III	822
3632	2325	674	*Nechepſos* ſucceeds *Stephinates* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 6 years	I	230
3633	2326	673	*Eſarhaddon*, king of *Babylon*, reduces the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians* to be his tributaries	IV	438
3635	2328	671	*Leoſtratus* archon at *Athens*	II	417
3637	2330	669	*Piſiſtratus* archon at *Athens*	II	417
3638	2331	668	*Necho* ſucceeds *Nechepſos* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 8 years	I	230
3638	2331	668	*Eſarhaddon* dies, and is ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Babylon* by his ſon *Saoſduchinus*, who reigned 20 years	I	897
3638	2331	668	*Ira* taken by the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Ariſtomenes* dies, which puts an end to the war by driving the *Meſſenians* out of *Peloponneſus*	II	580
3638	2331	668	*Autoſthenes* is made archon at *Athens*	II	517
3638	2331	668	The ſecond *Meſſenian* war ends, and *Ariſtocrates*, king of the *Arcadians*, is ſtoned to death by his people	II	581
3639	2332	667	The *Meſſenians* being invited by *Anaxilas*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, they go into *Sicily*, ſettle there, and build the famous city of *Meſſene*, now called *Meſſina*	II	581
3640	2333	666	*Tullus Hoſtilius* ſucceeds *Numa* as king of the *Romans* (after a ſhort interregnum) and reigned 32 years	IV	438
3642	2335	664	*Miltiades* archon at *Athens*	II	417
3642	2335	664	The *Meſſenians* aſſiſt *Anaxilas*, and take *Zancle*, and change its name into *Meſſena* or *Meſſene*	III	3
3642	2335	664	A ſea-fight between the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians*, wherein the latter are beat, and the former take the city of *Epidamnum*	III	280
3642	2335	664	*Eurycrates* the ſon of *naxander*, and *Archidamus* (or *Hegiſicles*) the ſon of *Anaxadimus*, ſucceed their father jointly in the kingdom of *Lacedæmon*	II	582
3643	2336	663	The famous battle between the three *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, by which the kingdom of *Alba* was joined to *Rome*	IV	442
3643	2336	663	*Suffetius*, the *Alban* king, ordered by the *Romans* to be ty'd to two chariots, and torn to pieces by horſes, for treachery, and all his accomplices to be put to the ſword	IV	443
3644	2337	662	The *Romans* triumph upon their conquering the *Fidenates*	IV	443
3644	2337	662	*Acræ* in *Sicily* built by the *Syracuſans* upon the mouth of the *Eurotas*, *&c.*	III	12
3646	2339	660	*Pſammiticus* ſucceeds *Necho* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 44 years	I	263

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3647	2340	659	*Miltiades* archon at *Athens*	II	417
3647	2340	659	*Cypselus* began to tyrannize at *Corinth*; he reigned 30 years, (being the first king after the aristocracy)	III	393
3648	2341	658	*Byzantium* built (by *Pausanias*, a *Spartan* captain) in *Thrace*, now called *Constantinople*	VI	263
3649	2342	657	*Alcmæon* and *Lesches* flourished	III	256
3650	2343	656	*Acanthus* and *Stagira* built, (the latter famous for the birth of *Hipparchus* and *Aristotle*, who is called the *Stagyrite* philosopher)	II	324
3651	2344	655	*Istrus*, *Borysthenes*, *Lampsacus* and *Abdera* built	IV	442
3652	2345	654	The *Romans* and *Sabines* make war	II	15
3658	2351	648	*Phraortes*, son of *Dejoces*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Media*, and reigns 22 years, during which time he subdued *Persia* and *Asia*	I	935
3659	2352	647	*Chyniladanus* (called also *Nebuchadonozor* in the scripture) succeeds *Saosduchinus* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigns 22 years	II	417
3661	2354	645	*Dropilus* made archon of *Athens*	I	841
3661	2354	645	*Terpander* wrote	I	841
3663	2356	643	*Ammon*, the son of *Manasses*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Judah*, and reigned 2 years. (He was an idolater.)	III	271
3665	2358	641	*Ammon* king of *Judah* killed by his servants, and was succeeded by his son *Josiah*, (but 8 years old) who reigned 31 years, and was the best king ever *Judah* had	II	577
3666	2359	640	*Philip*, son of *Argæus*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigned 38 years	II	417
3666	2359	640	*Tyrtæus*, the lame *Athenian* school-master flourished	II	434
3667	2360	639	*Damasias* chose archon of *Athens*	I	898
3668	2361	638	*Thales*, the prince of the *Ionic* philosophers, born, *&c.*	I	901
3670	2363	636	*Chyniladan* (or *Nebucdadonosor*) conquers and kills *Arphaxad* king of *Media*, and makes his kingdom tributary	IV	444
3670	2363	636	*Holofernes*, the chief general of *Nebuchadonosor* (*Chyniladan*) besieges *Bethulia* with a prodigious army, is charmed by the beauty, *&c.* of *Judith*; she cuts off his head, his army flies and is plundered, *&c.*	IV	445
3673	2366	633	*Tullus Hostilius*, king of the *Romans*, and all his family, is destroyed by lightning, upon which a short interregnum follows, and then the senate chose *Ancus Marcus*, grandson of *Numa* by his daughter *Pompilia*, king, who reigned 24 years in *Rome*	III	725
3673	2366	633	*Ancus* wars with the *Sabines*, takes *Politorium*, and lays it waste	I	846
3674	2367	632	*Sinope* and *Lipara* built, (famous *Greek* cities on the coast of *Paphlagonia*	III	215
3675	2368	631	*Jeremiah* began to prophesy	II	334
3675	2368	631	*Battus*, son of *Polymnestes*, founded and built the city and kingdom of *Cyrene*, and reigned 40 years	I	843
3675	2368	631	*Sadyattes*, the son of *Ardysus*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigns 15 years	IV	445
3676	2369	630	*Josiah*, king of *Judah*, begins a reformation in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*	II	393
3676	2369	630	*Zephaniah* began to prophesy	III	254
3677	2370	629	*Prusias* in *Bythinia* built	I	947
3677	2370	629	*Periander* succeeds *Cypselus* in the kingdom of *Corinth*, and reigns 40 years	IV	445
3679	2372	627	*Epidamnis* (or *Dyrrachium*) built, and the *Megarians* send a colony into *Sicily*	IV	447
3680	2373	626	*Nabopolassar* succeeds *Chyniladanus* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, (or *Chaldæa*) and reigns 21 years; during which time he transferred the kingdom of *Assyria* to *Babylon*	II	16
3680	2373	626	The *Fidenates* and *Sabines* rebel against the *Romans*	II	421
3680	2373	626	*Lucumo Tarquin* (called *Priscus*) an *Etrurian*, got a command among the *Romans*, and did great service against the *Latins*	I	843
3681	2374	625	*Cyaxares* succeeds his father *Phraortes* in the kingdom of *Media*, and reigns 40 years: He conquered all above the river *Halys*, and destroyed *Niniveh*	I	844
3682	2375	624	*Draco* (the bloody law-giver) is chose archon at *Athens*, and publishes his laws, which he called *Sanctions*	IV	445
3683	2376	623	*Hilkiah*, the high-priest of the *Jews*, finds a true copy of the original book of the law, as they were repairing and purging the temple	IV	446
3683	2376	623	All *Israel* kept the passover, and utterly destroyed idolatry	IV	446
3684	2377	622	The *Veientes* conquered by the *Romans*	IV	447
3684	2377	622	The *Gauls*, (under *Ballovesus*, nephew of *Ambigatus* king of *Celtgallia*) crossed the *Rhosne* and the *Alps*, and settled themselves in that spot of *Italy* now called *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, then inhabited by the *Hetrurians*	III	190
3686	2379	620	*Hilkiah* the high-priest of the *Jews* dies, and is succeeded in that office by his son *Azariah* III.	I	264
3686	2379	620	The *Veientes* conquered by the *Romans* again	II	417
3686	2379	620	The city of *Ostia* (a sea-port) built by the *Romans*	I	845
3687	2380	619	*Tarquin* made a patrician and a senator, as a reward for his bravery against the *Veientes*		
3690	2383	616	The *Samians* hinder the *Corinthians* from carrying away 300 youth of the principal families of the *Corcyrians* to be made eunuchs		
3690	2383	616	*Necho*, son of *Psammiticus*, (called in scripture *Pharoah-Necho*) succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigned 16 years		
3691	2384	615	*Heniochides* chose archon at *Athens*		
3692	2385	614	*Panætius* was the first tyrant (or absolute prince) in *Sicily*		
3696	2389	610	*Pharaoh-Necho*, king of *Egypt*, goes against the king of *Assyria*, to besiege *Carchemish*, a city upon the banks of the river *Euphrates*		
3696	2389	610	As *Pharaoh-Necho* was going against the king of *Assyria*, in his march through *Palestine*, *Josiah* king of *Judah* rashly opposes him, and is slain in battle, upon which the people set up his son *Shallum* (or *Jehoahaz*) who after a reign of		

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			three months, is carried away priſoner to *Egypt* by *Pharaoh-Necho*, who ſet up his elder brother *Eliakim* (or *Jehoiakim*) who reigned 11 years —	I	845
3697	2390	609	*Lucumo Tarquin*, the *Greek*, who fled from *Corinth* to ſave his wealth and his life, took ſhelter at *Rome*, is choſe to ſucceed *Ancus* (now dead) as king of the *Romans*, whom he governed 38 years — — —	IV	447
3697	2390	609	The *Romans* conquer the *Apiolani*, and build the *Circus* for the *Roman* games —	IV	447
3697	2390	609	*Habakkuk* propheſied the *Jewiſh* captivity — —	I	847
3697	2390	609	*Jeremiah* propheſies the *Jewiſh* captivity, and likewiſe *Uriah*, whom king *Jehoiakim* puts to death — —	I	846
3698	2391	608	*Tarquin* having overthrown the *Hetrurians*, &c. *Rome*, being now at peace, ſets about beautifying, cleanſing, and fortifying *Rome*, by building the walls with hewn ſtone, the famous aquaducts, &c. —	IV	449
3699	2392	607	*Nebuchadnezzar* drives the *Egyptians* home, and beſieges and takes *Jeruſalem*, &c. — —	I	848
3700	2393	606	*Jehoiakim* burns the roll of the prophecy wrote by *Baruck* from the mouth of *Jeremiah* — —	I	847
3700	2393	606	*Nebuchadnezzar* puts *Jehoiakim* king of *Judah* in irons, but ſoon releaſes him, and leaves him king under tribute, takes away *Daniel* and many others to *Babylon*: This begins the ſeventy years captivity foretold by *Jeremiah* the prophet — —	I	848
3700	2393	606	*Pittacus*, the *Mytilenæan* commander, kills *Phrynon* the *Athenian* commander, in ſingle combat — — —	II	422
3701	2394	605	*Ariſtocles* archon at *Athens* — —	II	417
3702	2395	604	*Critias* I. made archon at *Athens* — —	II	417
3702	2395	604	*Nabocolaſor* (in ſcripture *Nebuchadnezzar*) becomes king of *Babylon*, and reigns 43 years — —	I	948
3703	2396	603	*Daniel* interprets king *Nebuchadnezzar*'s dream, is made governor of the whole province of *Babylon*, &c. —	I	951
3703	2396	603	*Jehoiakim*, king of *Judah*, depending upon aſſiſtance from *Egypt*, rebels againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, who ſends a great army againſt him, overthrows him, kills him, &c. — —	I	848
3704	2397	602	*Sappho* (the famous poeteſs, the inventreſs of the *Sapphick* verſe) now flouriſhed	III	204
3704	2397	602	*Æropas*, ſon of *Philip*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns 26 years — —	III	271
3705	2398	601	The *Medes* and *Lydians* being at war, while they were engaged in a battle very furiouſly together, happens an eclipſe of the ſun and parts them. —	II	18
3706	2399	600	*Cylon*, and his companions are killed in an attempt of aſpiring to the government of *Athens* — — —	II	422
3706	2399	600	*Pſammis* ſucceeds his father *Nechus* in the throne of *Egypt*, and reigned 6 years	I	265
3706	2399	600	*Nebuchadnezzar*'s army over-runs and deſtroys all *Judah*, and takes *Jeruſalem*	I	848
3706	2399	600	*Azariah* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* dies, and is ſucceeded in that office by his ſon *Scraia* — — —		
3707	2400	599	*Mordecai*, queen *Eſther*'s uncle, and *Ezekiel* carried into captivity —	I	848
3707	2400	599	*Jehoiakim* king of *Judah* taken, and killed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who buries him with the burying of an aſs, as propheſied by *Jeremiah*, &c. *Nebuchadnezzar* ſets up his ſon *Jehoiachim* (called alſo *Conias*, or *Jeconias*) king in his ſtead; but after a reign of three months and 10 days, *Nebuchadnezzar* takes him and all *Jeruſalem* captive to *Babylon*, and ſets up his uncle *Mattaniah* king in his ſtead, and changed his name into *Zedechiah*, who reigned tributary to *Nebuchadnezzar* 11 years — — —	I	848
3707	2400	599	*Cyrus*, the ſon of *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*, and of *Mandane* daughter of *Aſtyages* king of *Media*, born. (He was ſirnamed *Cyrus the Great*) —	II	88
3707	2400	599	The *Romans*, under king *Tarquin*, conquer the *Fidenæ* and the *Camerini* —	IV	448
3708	2401	598	The *Romans* entirely conquer the *Latins* --- ---	IV	449
3709	2402	597	The *Sabines* and *Romans* make a drawn battle --- ---	IV	449
3709	2402	597	*Camarina* (a famous city in *Sicily*) built by the *Syracuſans* ---	III	12
3709	2402	597	*Anaxandrides* and *Ariſton* jointly reign in *Lacedæmon* --- ---	II	582
3709	2402	597	The *Sabines* defeated, beg a truce of 6 years, which is granted ---	IV	449
3711	2404	595	The deſtruction of *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and the reſtoration of *Iſrael* foretold by *Jeremiah* the prophet, Ch. L. LI. and *Baruch* in captivity read his book, and *Ezekiel* being in captivity, had his firſt viſion ---	I	846
3711	2404	595	*Epimenides* the *Pheſtian* is ſent for to *Athens* from *Crete*, to expiate the *Athenians*, &c. — — —	II	423
3711	2404	595	*Philombrotus* archon at *Athens* — —	II	417
3712	2405	594	*Apries* (the *Pharoah-Hophra* of ſcripture) ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Egypt* — — —	I	267
3712	2405	594	*Solon*, the wiſe law-giver, archon at *Athens* — —	II	417
3714	2407	592	*Eucrates* archon at *Athens* — —	II	417
3714	2407	592	*Anacharſis* having vowed to introduce the worſhip of the mother of the Gads among the *Scythians*, is ſlain in the midſt of his ceremonial performance —	II	285
3715	2408	591	*Zedechiah*, king of *Judah* rebelling, *Nebuchadnezzar* went up againſt *Judea*, lays all the country waſte, and comes up againſt *Jeruſalem* — —	I	849
3715	2408	591	*Archeſilaus* ſucceeds *Battus* in the kingdom of *Cyrene*, and reigns 16 years —	III	215
3716	2409	590	About the middle of winter *Nebuchadnezzar* begins the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* in form —	I	849
3717	2410	589	*Jeruſalem* cloſely beſieged for 360 days; from hence the 70 years of indignation, mentioned *Zech.* I, 12. VII. 5. are ſuppoſed to commence —	I	848
3717	2410	589	*Pſammitichus* ſucceeds *Periander* in the government of *Corinth* for 3 years —		
3717	2410	589	*Jeremiah* being in priſon, has his own deliverance revealed to him by God. *Jer.* xxxix. 15. 18. — — —	I	849

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3718	2411	588	*Jeremiah* carried captive as far as *Ramah*, is there releaſed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, upon which he returns home, (and, 'tis ſuppoſed, wrote the two books of the *Kings*)		
3718	2411	588	The famine prevailing, *Jeruſalem* is broken up by *Nebuchadnezzar*, upon which king *Zedekiah* flies, but is purſued and taken, and his ſons firſt ſlain in his preſence, then his own eyes are put out, and afterwards he is carried in chains captive to *Babylon*: On the third day after the taking and plundering the city, by *Nebuzar-adan Nebuchadnezzar*'s general, being the 10th of the 4th month, (our 27 *Auguſt*) the temple, palace, and whole city was burnt to the ground, *&c.* the walls and fortifications all demoliſhed, and the people carried away captive: Such was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the *Iſraelitiſh* monarchs, after it had ſtood 468 years from the beginning of *David*'s reign, 388 from the revolt of the 10 tribes, and 134 from the exciſion of the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth	I	850
3718	2411	588	*Seraia*, the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, killed at *Riblah* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his ſon *Jozadek* carried captive to *Babylon*	I	850
3718	2411	588	*Nebuzar-adan* leaves *Gedaliah* governor of *Judah*, with the power of life and death, who, about three months after was treacherouſly killed by one *Iſhmael*, *&c.*	I	851
3719	2412	587	*Obed* propheſied againſt the *Edomites*	II	382
3720	2413	586	The *Pythia* (or games in honour of *Apollo*) exhibited at *Delphos*, where the victors were crowned with oak leaves	II	20
3722	2415	584	*Aſtyages* (called in ſcripture *Ahaſuerus*) the ſon of *Cyaxeres*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Media*, and reigns 35 years	I	955
3722	2415	584	*Nebuchadnezzar* beſieging *Tyre*, was the laſt carrying away of the *Jews* by *Nebuzar-adan*, the *Babyloniſh* general	II	382
3724	2417	582	The victors at the *Pythian* games are now firſt crowned with laurel, from whence ſome call this the firſt *Pythias*	II	366
3724	2417	582	The *Iſthmean* games now reſtored, (firſt inſtituted by *Theſeus* at *Corinth* in honour of *Neptune*;) the victors were crowned with pine leaves	II	417
3724	2417	582	*Damaſcas* archon at *Athens*	III	271
3730	2423	576	*Alcetas*, the ſon of *Æropas*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns 29 years	III	215
3731	2424	575	*Battus* II. ſucceeds *Arceſilaus* in the kingdom of *Cyrene*, and reigns 21 years	III	128
3734	2427	572	*Phalaris*, the cruel tyrant of *Agrigentum*, begun his 16 years reign	I	955
3734	2427	572	*Tyre*, after 13 years ſiege, yields to *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Ezek.* xxix. 18.	IV	455
3734	2427	572	*Tarquin*, king of *Rome*, treacherouſly murdered, and ſucceeded by his ſon-in law *Servius Tullius*, who reigned 44 years	I	958
3735	2428	571	The *Jews* in *Egypt* carried to *Babylon*	IV	454
3735	2428	571	*Servius Tullius* defeats the *Veientes*, *&c.* for which he has a triumph, and is legally elected king by the *Curiæ*	I	956
3735	2428	571	*Apries*, king of *Egypt*, is drove out of his kingdom by *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*	I	962
3736	2429	570	*Nebuchadnezzar*'s dream of the great tree, *&c.* and *Daniel*'s interpretation, *&c.*	IV	455
3736	2429	570	*Servius* a ſecond time defeats the *Hetrurians*, and has a ſecond triumph, and then enlarges the city of *Romé*, *&c.*	II	417
3736	2429	570	*Ariſtomenes* made archon at *Athens*	I	956
3737	2430	569	*Apries* king of *Egypt* gives battle to *Amaſis*, Viceroy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but is defeated, taken priſoner and ſtrangled, and *Amaſis* reigned 44 years as king of *Egypt*	I	963
3737	2430	569	*Nebuchadnezzar* becomes mad, and is driven out of his kingdom for ſeven years		
3739	2432	567	The *Nemean* games renewed	I	964
3744	2437	562	*Nebuchadnezzar* throws his ſon *Evil-merodach* into priſon, for male adminiſtration during his illneſs	II	334
3744	2437	562	*Cræſus*, ſon of *Hallyattes*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigned 14 years	I	964
3744	2437	562	*Nebuchadnezzar* is reſtored to his ſenſes	I	965
3744	2437	562	The firſt comedy at *Athens* made by *Suſarion*, and acted upon a moveable ſcaffold	II	417
3745	2438	561	*Iloardudamus* (called in ſcripture *Evil-merodach*) becomes king of *Babylon*, and reigns 2 years, when he is murdered by *Nerigliſſar* (his ſiſter's huſband) who ſucceeds him in the kingdom	I	966
3745	2438	561	*Comias* made archon at *Athens*. During his reign, *Piſiſtratus* ſet up his tyranny or abſolute government in *Athens*	I	951
3745	2438	561	*Evil-merodach* prefers *Jeconiah* king of *Judah* above all his captive kings		
3745	2438	561	The prophet *Daniel* obtains great favour in the eyes of *Nebuchadnezzar*		
3745	2438	561	*Æſop* the famous fabuliſt dies	II	446
3746	2439	560	*Piſiſtratus*, *Solon*'s kinſman, having obtained a guard for his private perſon, ſeizes the citadel of *Athens*, and turns the commonwealth into a kingdom, reigning alone under the name of a tyrant, (though a very good prince)	II	446
3746	2439	560	*Theſpis* the *Athenian* poet, the inventor of tragedy, about this time introduced it into *Athens*, together with the uſe of maſks or painted faces, *&c.*	IV	457
3746	2439	560	*Servius Tullius* having ſpent his time in regulating the kingdom by good laws, *&c.* eſtabliſhed a *Cenſus* (or valuation of each man's eſtate to be taken, and the poſſeſſors to be eſteemed of ſuch and ſuch a rank, in proportion to the value thereof,) every five years, at which time a ſolemn luſtration, or expiatory ſacrifice for all the people, was performed: From this inſtitution the *Romans* computed time, making this firſt an *Æra* to reckon from. *Servius* is ſuppoſed to coin the firſt money in *Rome* with the figures of the animals that were then ſacrificed upon it	II	417
3746	2439	560	*Hegeſtratus* made archon at *Athens*		

Cyrus

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3746	2439	560	*Cyrus* (ſon of *Cambyſes*, by *Mandane* daughter of *Aſtyages*) began to reign over *Perſia*,	II	82
			Solon dies, aged 79 years.	II	448
3747	2440	559	*Niricaſſolaſſarus* ſucceeds *Evil-merodach* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigned 4 years.	I	935
3747	2440	559	*Servius Tullius* makes a law to form a fourth tribe among the *Romans*, and abridges the royal power, by giving the judgment of all common matters to the ſenate, and reſerving only ſtate crimes to the crown.	IV	457
				III	217
	2442	557	*Simonides* born.		
3749	2443	556	*Phalaris* kill'd by the *Agrigentines*, for his extraordinary cruelty and tyranny.		
3750	2443	556	*Euthydemus* made archon at *Athens*.	III	128
3750	2443	556	*Chilo*, one of the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*, was *Ephorus*.	II	417
3750	2443	556	*Laboroſoarchod*, ſon of *Niricaſſolaſſarus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigned 9 months.	I	935
3751	2444	555	*Daniel* has the viſion of the four monarchies.	I	958
3751	2444	555	*Nabonadius* (in ſcripture called *Belſhazzar*) ſucceeds *Laboroſoarchod* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and reigned 17 years.	I	935
3751	2444	555	*Arceſilaus* II. becomes king of *Cyrene*, and reigns 4 years.	III	215
3752	2445	554	*Barce* (a ſea port of *Cyrenaica*) built by the brothers of *Arceſilaus* king of *Cyrene*.	VII	151
3752	2445	554	*Daniel* ſees the viſion of the *Perſian* and *Grecian* monarchies.	I	958
3753	2446	553	*Confucius* born.		
3755	2448	551	*Battus* III. ſucceeds in the kingdom of *Cyrene*, and reigns 24 years.	III	215
3756	2449	550	*Cyaxares* II. ſon of *Aſtyages*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Media*, and		
3757	2450	549	reigns 24 years. (In ſcripture called *Darius* the *Mede*. *Dan.* ix.)	II	16
3758	2451	548	*Cræſus* paſſing the river *Halys* upon a bridge built by *Thales*, is taken by *Cyrus* at *Sardis*, who carried him away captive, put an end to the kingdom of *Lydia*, after it had ſtood 248 years under the government of 9 kings, and made it a province of *Perſia*.	II	336
3758	2451	548	*Thales* dies, aged 90 years, and is ſucceeded in his ſchool by *Anaximander*.	I	18
3759	2452	547	*Amyntas*, ſon of *Alcetus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns 53 years.	III	271
			Anaximander dies, aged 64 years, and is ſucceeded by *Anaximenes* in his ſchool.	I	19
3759	2452	547	The *Medes* go againſt the *Ionians*.	II	109
3761	2454	545	The united fleets of the *Carthaginians* and *Etruſcans* engage the *Phocæans* in the		
3768	2456	543	*Sardinian* ſea, and ſink or diſable their whole fleet, upon which the *Phocæans* are obliged to quit the iſland of *Cyrnus* (now *Corſica*) to the *Carthaginians* and *Etruſcans*.	VI	724
3768	2461	538	*Daniel* interprets the hand-writing upon the wall to *Belſhazzar*, and is promoted to be the chief of the three princes over the whole kingdom of *Babylon*.	I	971
3768	2461	538	*Daniel* is caſt into the lion's den, but is preſerved, and ſees the viſion of the 70 weeks, *&c.*	I	972
3768	2461	538	*Cyrus* takes *Babylon* and kills *Belſhazzar*; *Darius* (or *Cyaxares*) becomes king of *Babylon* for 2 years.	II	92
3769	2462	537	*Machæus*, the *Carthaginian* general, gains great advantages for his countrymen over the *Africans*.	VI	713
3770	2463	536	*Cyrus* makes a decree, and ſends *Zerubabel* (or the ſupreme judge over all that returned) of the ſeed of *David*, and the high-prieſt *Jeſhua*, with a great number of *Jews* to *Jeruſalem*, with authority to rebuild the temple, and to have the free exerciſe of their religion.	II	94
3770	2463	536	*Athenæus* made archon at *Athens*.	II	417
3770	2463	536	The firſt great monarchy of *Babylon* diſſolved, after it had ſtood 210 years under 21 kings and two interregnums.	II	92
3770	2463	536	*Cyaxares* (or *Darius* the *Mede*) dies, and is ſucceeded by *Cyrus*, whoſe father, *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*, dying likewiſe, he unites the two kingdoms, and forms the ſecond great monarchy, under the name of the *Perſian* monarchy, over which he reigned 7 years.	II	93
3770	2463	536	*Machæus*, the *Carthaginian* general, reduces a great part of the iſland of *Sicily* to the obedience of *Carthage*.	VI	724
3771	2464	535	The foundation of the new temple at *Jeruſalem* is laid, and *Jeſhua* the ſon of *Jozadek* made high-prieſt: The *Cuthim* offer to aſſiſt in building, but being refus'd, get a ſtop to be put to it.	II	94
3771	2464	535	The plague makes dreadful havock at *Carthage*, whereupon the *Carthaginians* ſacrifice their children to appeaſe the Gods.	VI	725
3772	2465	534	*Daniel* ſees his laſt viſion, as recorded in the X. XI. and XII. chapters of the book of *Daniel*	II	93
3774	2467	532	*Polycrates* and his brother *Pantagrotus* tyrants together at *Samos*, but *Polycrates* ſoon reigns alone.	III	190
3776	2469	530	*Machæus*, with the *Carthaginian* army, leaves *Sicily*, and invades *Sardinia*, where he is defeated and half his army deſtroyed, upon which the ſenate baniſhes the general and the remainder of his army, who revenge themſelves by beſieging *Carthage*, and crucifying *Cartalo*, the ſon of *Machæus*; and after the ſurrender of the city, they put 10 ſenators to death, and ſo re-eſtabliſh the publick peace.	VI	726
3777	2470	529	*Cambyſes* (in ſcripture alſo called *Ahaſuerus*) ſon of *Cyrus*, ſucceeds his father in the united kingdoms of *Perſia* and *Media*, or the 2d great monarchy, and reigns about 8 years.	II	92
3777	2470	529	*Tarquin* (ſirnamed the proud) ſon-in-law to *Servius* king of the *Romans*, conſpires againſt his father and murders him, aſcends the throne, and reigns very arbitrarily and cruelly 25 years.	IV	458
3778	2471	528	*Piſiſtratus* the tyrant of *Athens* dies, after 33 years reign, though twice interrupted, and is ſucceeded by his ſons *Hipparchus* and *Hippias*.	II	453

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3780	2473	526	*Arceſilaus* III. ſucceeds *Battus* III. in the kingdom of *Cyrene*, but after one year's reign he yields his kingdom to *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*.		
3781	2474	525	*Pſammenitus* ſucceeds his father *Amaſis* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, but after a reign of ſix months is conquered by *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*, and the whole country becomes tributary to *Cambyſes*.	II	93
3782	2475	524	*Cambyſes* king of *Perſia* marches with a great army againſt *Ethiopia*, and is ſo diſtreſſed for food, that every tenth man in his army is ſlain by lot to feed the other nine. On his return to *Thebes* he cauſed all the temples to be pillaged and burnt to the ground; there was 300 talents of gold and 2300 talents of ſilver ſaved out of the flames; he likewiſe carried away the famous gold circle that encompaſſed the tomb of king *Ozymandyas*, which was 365 cubits in circumference, and had upon it the repreſentation of the motions of the ſeveral conſtellations, *&c.*	II	96
3782	2475	524	*Cambyſes* firſt marries, and then murders his own ſiſter *Meroe*, by kicking her on the belly while great with child	II	97
3783	2476	523	*Polycrates*, tyrant of *Samos*, is treacherouſly murdered by *Oroetes* the *Perſian* governor of *Sardis* (under *Cyrus*) at *Sardis*; upon hearing whereof *Meandrus*, ſecretary to *Polycrates*, ſets himſelf up for his ſucceſſor, and being eſtabliſh'd in the ſupreme power, offers to reſtore the *Samians* to their former liberty, *&c.*	II	98
3783	2476	523	*Machæus* the *Carthaginian* general endeavours to overturn the government of *Carthage*, and introduce arbitrary power, for which he was put to death, and ſucceeded in the generalſhip by *Mago*.	III	195
3783	2476	523	*Cambyſes* king of *Perſia* orders his brother *Smerdis* to be murdered, for fear he ſhould, during his abſence, take the kingdom from him.	VI	714
3784	2477	522	*Cambyſes* king of *Perſia* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Smerdis*, brother of *Patizithes*, who being perſonally like *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus* and brother of *Cambyſes* pretended to be the real perſon, and ſo got himſelf eſtabliſhed in the empire, and reigned about 8 months	II	98
3784	2477	522	*Darius* ſon of *Hyſtaſpis*, a noble *Perſian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, governor of the province of *Perſia*, with 7 other lords, conſpire againſt and murder the impoſtor *Smerdis*, the then reigning *Perſian* monarch, and is choſen king in his ſtead: To ſtrengthen his intereſt he married *Atoſſa* and *Artyſtona*, the two daughters of *Cyrus*; alſo *Parmys* the daughter of *Smerdis* the real ſon of *Cyrus*, (who was murdered by order of his brother *Cambyſes*) and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, (one of the ſeven lords who aſſiſted *Darius*, and who detected *Smerdis* the impoſtor.) He reigned 36 years.	II	100
3786	2479	520	*Arceſilaus* III. king of *Cyrene*, revolts from *Perſia*, but being purſued to *Barce* was killed there; upon which his mother *Pheretyme*, getting an army in *Egypt*, returns to *Cyrene*, and reigned there 6 years.	II	103
3788	2481	518	*Darius*, king of *Perſia*, makes a decree to enable the *Jews* to go on with rebuilding the temple at *Jeruſalem*.	VII	173
3789	2482	517	The *Babylonians* revolt from *Darius* king of *Perſia*, upon which *Darius* comes with a great army and beſieges *Babylon*; the *Babylonians* to make their proviſions hold out, collect the women, old men, and children, and ſtrangle them without diſtinction.	IV	10
3790	2483	516	The temple of *Jeruſalem* finiſhed by *Zerubabel*, the civil governor under *Darius*, king of *Perſia*, and *Jehu* the high-prieſt, in the month *Adar*, anſwering in part to our *February*	II	105
3791	2484	515	*Darius* king of *Perſia* puts away his wife *Vaſhti*, and promotes *Eſther*, a *Jeweſs*, to be queen in her ſtead	IV	10
3791	2484	515	*Darius* takes *Babylon*, by the aſſiſtance and artifice of *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders, and broke down the walls that were 200 cubits high to 50 cubits high	IV	11
3792	2485	514	*Pheretyme* dying in *Egypt*, is ſucceeded by *Battus* IV. in the kingdom of *Cyrene*, where he reigned 48 years	II	105
3793	2486	513	*Hipparchus*, one of the tyrants of *Athens*, is killed by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*; and then *Hippias* reigned alone in ſo cruel a manner, that the people expelled him in three years afterwards	VII	175
3796	2489	510	*Cleomenes* and *Demaratus* jointly reign kings in *Lacedæmon*	II	453
3797	2490	509	*Haman*, an *Amalekite*, having got into favour at *Darius*'s court, out of ſpite to *Mordecai*, queen *Eſther*'s uncle, he gets an order to deſtroy all the *Jews* on the 13th of the month *Adar*; but *Eſther* petitions the king, and gets an order for the *Jews* to kill all their enemies, on that and the following days, throughout all the provinces of his vaſt dominions, upon which *Haman* was hang'd, *&c.* In memory of this deliverance the *Jews* keep the feaſt of *Purim* to this day, on the 13th and 14th days of *Adar*	II	558
3797	2490	509	The tyrant *Hippias* flies from *Athens* to *Darius* king of *Perſia*	IV	12
3797	2490	509	In the bloody war between the *Crotonians* and *Sybarites*, *Milo*, the general of the *Crotonians*, conquers 300,000 *Sybarites* with 100,000 *Crotonians*; upon which *Milo* deſtroys *Sybaris*, *&c.* This *Milo* was the diſciple of *Pythagoras*, and had been ſix times victor in the *Olympic* games, and often in others. (See note E.)	III	275
3798	2491	508	The *Carthaginians* and *Romans* make a league of amity together for the firſt time	II	492
3800	2493	506	*Pythagoras* the famous philoſopher died. (Note O)	VI	714
3800	2493	506	*Tarquin*, king of the *Romans*, buys the *Sibyline* books, and appoints two perſons, called the *Duumviri*, to be their guardians, and orders them to be lock'd up in a vault under the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, (the moſt magnificent and expenſive building that ever was erected) where they remain'd till they and the temple were burnt together	IV	194
3800	2493	506	Upon a raging plague breaking out at *Rome*, *Tarquin* ſends his two ſons to conſult the oracle at *Delphos*, who being ask'd, who ſhould be prince of *Rome*, anſwer'd, he that firſt kiſs'd his moth[illegible]	IV	463

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			plained myſtically, by falling down upon the ground as ſoon as he came within the limits of *Italy* and kiſs'd the earth, the common parent of mankind.	IV	464
3501	2494	505	*Tarquin*, king of the *Romans*, having raviſhed *Lucretia*, the wife of *Collatinus*, ſhe aſſembles her father, *&c.* tells them what had happened, and then ſtabs herſelf; upon which *Junius Brutus* aſſembles the ſenate, inveighs bitterly againſt *Tarquin*, *&c.* ſo that the ſenate and people deprived *Tarquin* of the crown, baniſhed him and all his family for ever, and diſſolved the regal government, and turned it into a commonwealth under the management of two annual conſuls, *&c.*, the firſt whereof were *Junius Brutus* and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, *&c.*	IV	466
3802	2495	504	*Collatinus* is obliged to reſign the conſulſhip with ſhame, and *Publius Valerius* is choſe in his ſtead.	IV	471
3802	2495	504	*Tarquin* raiſes the *Veientes*, *&c.* and comes againſt *Rome*: The conſuls command the *Roman* army; *Brutus* is ſlain, but *Valerius* comes off conqueror.	IV	472
3802	2495	504	*Valerius* ſummons the people, and they chuſe *Sp. Lucertius* his colleague; but he dying in a few days, *Valerius* reigns alone, and from his love to the real intereſt of his country was called *Poplicola* or *Popular*.	IV	473
3803	2496	503	*Poplicola* and *T. Lucretius* choſe conſuls; they revive the *Cenſus* and *Luſtrum*, and find 130,000 men in *Rome* paſt the age of puberty.	IV	473
3803	2496	503	*Naxus*, the famous and fruitful city of the *Cyclades* in *Sicily*, beſieged by *Ariſtagoras*, governor of *Miletus* in *Ionia*, aſſiſted with 200 ſhips and a conſiderable army of land forces from *Darius* king of *Perſia*; but after four months the ſiege was raiſed, *&c.* by their being forwarned of the deſign, by *Megabates* the *Perſian* general, out of pique to *Ariſtagoras*, with whom he had quarrelled.	III	221
3804	2497	502	*Hiſtæus*, tyrant of *Miletus* in *Ionia*, perſuades *Ariſtagoras* to revolt from *Darius*, which he does, and gets many of the *Greeks* on his ſide.	III	221
3804	2497	502	*Porſena*, king of *Cluſium*, at the head of a great multitude of *Hetrurians*, eſpouſes *Tarquin*'s cauſe, which defeat and intimidate the *Romans* for a while; but by the bravery of *Horatius Cocles* the *Romans* were ſupported, and by means of *Mutius Scævola*'s extraordinary courage a peace is made, and the *Tarquins* rejected by *Porſenna*, *&c.*	IV	476
3805	2498	501	*Spurius Lartius* and *T. Herminius* choſe conſuls at *Rome* for this year	IV	477
3806	2499	500	*M. Valerius* and *P. Poſthumius* being conſuls, twice defeat the *Sabines*, who invaded the *Roman* territories, for which they were decreed a triumph, and extraordinary honours and privileges	IV	477
3806	2499	500	*Gorgus*, brother of *Oncſilus*, being king of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, *Oncſilus* raiſes a party, drives out *Gorgus*, and ſhakes off the *Perſian* yoke	III	477
3807	2500	499	*Zeno Eleates*, the famous *Athenian* philoſopher, born at *Pergamus*, now flouriſhed and taught the doctrine of *Xenophanes*, *viz.* That God and the world is one and the ſame thing, *&c.*	I	6
3807	2500	499	*Poplicola* being the 4th time conſul of *Rome*, the *Sabines* reſolve to renew the war; upon which *Attius Clauſius*, the greateſt man in all *Sabinia*, with 5000 familie, comes over to the *Romans*, and changes his name for *Appius Claudius*: *Poplicola* engages and entirely routs the *Sabines*, is honoured with a triumph, and dies, *&c.*	IV	478
3808	2501	498	*Ariſtagoras*, the *Ionian*, killed in *Thrace*, by the *Perſians* in battle, from whom he had perſuaded the *Ionians* to revolt	II	110
3808	2501	498	The *Sabines* again attack the *Romans*, and are entirely defeated by *Menenius* the conſul, for which he is granted a triumph, and his colleague *Poſthumius* an ovation	IV	479
3809	2502	497	*Hiſtiæus*, the *Ionian*, crucify'd at *Sardis* by *Artaphernes*, general of the *Perſian* army under *Darius* king of *Perſia*	II	111
3809	2502	497	*Hippocrates* began his tyranny at *Gela*,	III	15
3809	2502	497	The *Sabines* being troubleſome, the new conſul *Caſſius Ucellinus* overthrows them in a pitch'd battle, kills 10,000 upon the ſpot, upon which they ſue for peace, which is granted them upon condition of their paying great ſums of money, and furniſhing large quantities of corn, and yielding up 10,000 acres of arable land.	IV	479
3809	2502	497	*Alexander*, the ſon of *Amyntas*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigned 43 years	III	271
3810	2503	496	The conſpiracy of the *Tarquins* to murder the ſenators, and eſtabliſh themſelves upon the *Roman* throne again, is diſcovered by *Publius* and *Marcus*, upon which the conſpirators were taken aud put to death, *&c.*	IV	481
3811	2504	425	*Darius*, king of *Perſia*, firſt reduces the *Greek* iſlands under his dominions, and lays a tribute on all the provinces, (*Eſther* X) which before only paid a free gift.	III	197
3812	2055	494	*Mardonius*, the *Perſian* general, loſes 300 ſhips about mount *Athos*, and more than 20,000 men, by a violent ſtorm that drove about half his fleet on ſhore, *&c.*	III	275
3813	2506	493	The dignity of dictator, or abſolute governor in the *Roman* commonwealth for ſix months, is created, and *Lartius* the conſul is made the firſt dictator, who promoted *Sp. Caſſius* general of the horſe, or ſecond man in the government, which office died with the dictatorſhip	IV	482
3813	2509	493	*Lartius* the dictator, having made a truce with the *Latins* for a year, lays down the dictatorſhip before the expiration of the time appointed for the continuance of that office.	IV	482
3814	2507	492	*Poſthumius*, the *Roman* conſul, being made dictator goes againſt and engages the *Latins*, kills 33,000 men, and their three generals, and ſo ended the war entered into to reſettle *Tarquin* on the *Romans* throne, who hereupon retired to *Cumæ*, and died there in the 90th year of his age and 14th of his exile.	IV	484
3815	2508	491	*Hybrilides* made archon (or Judge) at *Athens* this year	II	453
3815	2508	491	*Cleomenes*, joint king of *Sparta*, thruſts out his colleague *Demaratus*, and *Leotychides* ſucceeds and reigns with *Leonidas*	II	558
3815	2508	491	*Cleomenes*, joint king of *Sparta*, kills himſelf, and is ſucceeded by *Leonida*, the ſecond ſon of *Anaxandrides*	II	558

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3815	2508	491	The *Romans* make a law, that all persons entring themselves into the army should be free from all prosecutions for debt, upon which the army under *P. Servilius* the consul becomes very numerous, with which he engages the *Volsci* and defeats them entirely; whereupon demanding a triumph, he is denied it, but gives himself one by force of arms.		
3815	2508	591	*Miltiades*, the *Athenian* general, with only 10,000 men overcomes the *Persian* general *Datis*, with 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, in the plains of *Marathon*, killing vast numbers, and driving the rest on board their ships, many of which he also burnt and destroyed.	IV	486
3816	2509	490	The book of *Esther* is now supposed to be wrote by *Mordecai*, uncle to *Esther* the *Jewess*, queen of *Persia* instead of *Vashti*, who was put away for disobedience.	II	112
3816	2509	490	*Pausanias*, king of *Sparta*, conspires with *Artabazus* the *Persian* general to make himself sovereign of all *Greece*, for which the allies deprive him of his command of the allied army, and even besiege him in *Byzantium*, from whence flying to *Heraclea* he returned to *Sparta*, where the *Ephori* try him, but pass him by for a time; but continuing his male practices, and being pursued, flew into the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, where he was starved to death	II	593
3816	2509	490	*Manius Valerius*, brother of *Poplicola*, is chose dictator of *Rome*; by whose wise management the publick dissentions between the people and patricians were appeased, and all the foreign enemies of *Rome* subdued; for which he was decreed a triumph.	IV	848
3816	2509	490	The city of *Eretria* in *Eubæa* being treacherously delivered into the hands of the *Persians*, was by them first pillaged, then burnt, and the inhabitants sold for slaves	II	460
3817	2510	489	*Leotychides*, king of *Sparta*, takes bribes of the *Thessalians*, professed enemies of his country; but being detected, he flies to *Tegea*, and dies there in exile	II	594
3817	2510	489	*Valerius* lays down the dictatorship, and the *Roman* people rise in arms upon account of the law of indemnity from debt, not being confirmed, *&c.*	IV	490
3817	2510	489	*Mago*, having thoroughly introduced a strict military discipline into the *Carthaginian* troops, and behaved in an unexceptionable manner in all his great posts and employments, dies, and is succeeded in his honours and estates by his two sons *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*	VI	714
3817	2510	489	The *Carthaginians* endeavour to free themselves from paying an annual tribute to the *Africans* for the ground whereon their city of *Carthage* stood, are beat by the *Africans*, and the tribute fixed more firmly than before	VI	728
3818	2511	488	The *Roman* senate agrees to pass the law of indemnity from debt, and choose five officers out of the people, or plebeians, called them tribunes, whose office was to examine and disannul all laws pass'd by the senate that were injurious to the people; upon which the people return to their duty, *&c.*	IV	492
3818	2511	488	*Miltiades* (one of the ten *Athenian* generals) going against the *Persians*, miscarries; at his return to *Athens* he is tryed, and condemned to pay fifty talents, (the whole charge of the expedition; but not being able to pay, is cast into prison, *&c.*	II	465
3818	2511	488	*Darius* king of *Persia* sends ambassadors to *Carthage*, to desire those people to abstain from human sacrifices, and the eating of dogs flesh, to burn their dead and not to bury them, and to furnish him with a body of auxiliary troops against the *Greeks*; all which they comply'd with, except the last	VI	728
3819	2512	487	*Cominius* the *Roman* consul honours *Caius Martius* with the sirname of *Coriolanus*, for his taking *Corioli*, the metropolis of the *Volsci*, and being greatly instrumental in defeating the armies of the *Volscians* and *Antiates*; this consulship ended with a census and lustrum, when it appeared there were but 100,000 men in *Rome* fit to bear arms	IV	493
3820	2513	486	A great famine in *Rome* breeds a civil dissention, upon which the *Antiates* make incursions into the *Roman* territories, and even threaten *Rome* itself; upon which *Coriolanus* assembles a band of volunteers, advances into the enemies country, defeats them several times, and returns loaded with booty, *&c.*	IV	493
3820	2513	486	*Xerxes* (son of *Darius Hystaspis*, by *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*) succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Persia*, and reigned 21 years. *Artamenes*, his half brother, son of *Darius* by the daughter of *Gobryas*, opposed him, pleading his primogeniture, but finding himself too weak to contest it, yields the kingdom to him	II	114
3820	2513	486	*Coriolanus*, after a long dispute between the senate and people, is condemned to banishment; upon which he goes over to the *Volsci*	IV	498
3820	2513	486	*Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general in *Sardinia*, dying of his wounds, the command of that army falls upon his brother *Hamilcar*	VI	714
3821	2514	485	*Xerxes*, king of *Persia*, renews, confirms, and enlarges the former privileges granted to the *Jews*	IV	11
3821	2514	485	*Coriolanus*, as general of the *Volscian* army, besieges *Rome*, is wrought upon by his mother, wife, and the *Roman* matrons, to raise the siege, for which he was stabbed in the *Volscian* senate, when he appeared to answer the complaints exhibited against him	IV	502
3821	2514	485	*Gelon* (a native of *Gela* in *Sicily*) upon the death of *Hippocrates*, under pretence of defending the rights of *Hippocrates*'s children, after several engagements with, and overcoming the *Syracusans*, *&c.* was declared the first king thereof, and reigned 18 years with great applause, striving all that time to do all the good possible.	III	18
3831	2514	485	The *Sicilians* beg the assistance of *Leonidas*, the *Athenian* general, against the *Carthaginians*, but are refused; whereupon *Gelon* defends himself, *&c.*	VI	723
3822	2515	484	*Xerxes* king of *Persia* goes against the *Egyptians*, who had revolted from him, overcame them, and fixed his brother *Achæmenes* viceroy, and then returns to *Susa*.	II	115

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3823	2516	483	*Ariſtides* is baniſh'd *Athens*, by oſtraciſm; *viz.* a writing the accuſed perſon's name upon a ſhell by the freemen, which, if they amounted to 6000, baniſhed the perſon for ten years	II	467
3823	2516	483	*Aquilius Tuſcus* and *Sicinnius* being conſuls at *Rome*, *Tuſcus* gains a complete victory over the *Hernici*, and is voted an ovation. *Sicinnius* overcomes the *Volſci*, kills their general, and takes their camp, for which he is decreed a triumph, *&c.*	IV	508
3824	2517	482	The *Agrarian* law for dividing the conquered lands among the people, *&c.*	IV	503
3825	2518	481	*Caſſius* is accus'd by his own father of aſpiring to the *Roman* ſovereignty, and is condemned and executed, by being caſt headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock	IV	505
3826	2519	480	The *Roman* ſenate order the conſecration of the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*	IV	505
3826	2519	480	*Themiſtocles* buys off *Epicydes* from ſolliciting to be made general of the *Athenian* forces, and gets himſelf elected; procures an act to recall all the baniſhed, by which means *Ariſtides* returns home, at the end of 3 inſtead of 10 years	II	468
3826	2519	480	*Joſhua* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt dies, and is ſucceeded in that office by his ſon *Joiakim*, who held that office 36 years	IV	11
3826	2519	480	About this time the *Rhodians* laid aſide the monarchic form of government, and introduced the republican form among them	III	134
3826	2519	480	*Xerxes* makes his firſt expedition into *Greece*, whoſe army, when he arrived at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow paſs that divides *Theſſaly* from *Greece*, conſiſted of 2,641,610 ſoldiers, excluſive of ſervants, eunuchs, women, ſutlers, *&c.* computed at as many more	II	118
3826	2519	480	*Leonidas* joint king of *Sparta*, and 300 *Spartans*, reſolutely reſiſt the *Perſians* at *Thermopylæ*, and are all ſlain; and is ſucceeded in the kingdom by his ſon *Cleombrotus*, who dying very ſoon, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pauſanias*, tutor to *Pliſtarchus* ſon of *Leonidas*	II	121
3826	2519	480	*Xerxes* takes *Athens*, and burns the city and all its temples down to the ground, and lays waſte and deſtroys the country all about; but being ſoon after engaged by the united confederate *Grecian* fleet, (conſiſting of 380 ſail, under the ſole command of *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian* commander) at *Salamis*), the *Perſians* and their confederates, being 2000 ſail, *Themiſtocles* took and deſtroy'd upwards of 200 ſail, with all the men and ammunition, and diſperſed the reſt, *&c.*	II	134
3826	2519	480	*Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* general, is killed by *Gelon* the *Syracuſan* tyrant, and his army intirely defeated; whereupon his ſon *Giſco* is baniſhed, and a peace concluded	VI	714
3827	2520	479	The *Spartans* decree the prize of prudence to *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian* general, honour him with a crown of olive leaves, and beſtow a moſt magnificent chariot upon him, and eſcort him home with a guard of 500 men, an honour never by them paid to any one before	II	474
3828	2521	478	*Athens* laid in aſhes by *Mardonius*, the *Perſian* general, a ſecond time, who was ſoon after killed at *Platea* in a general engagement, where the *Greeks* overcame the *Perſians* with ſo great a ſlaughter, that they left but 3000 perſons alive out of 300,000; and the ſame day the *Perſians* were alſo defeated at *Mycale* in *Ionia*, by the *Greeks*, under the command of *Xanthippus*, *&c.*	II	126
3828	2521	478	Diſputes ariſing among the *Romans* about chooſing conſuls, *S. Atratinus* is appointed chief governor, and is ſucceeded by *Sp. Lartius* a few days afterwards, by whoſe good management *C. Julius Julus*, and *Q. Fabius Vitulanus* were choſe conſuls	IV	506
3829	2522	477	The *Athenians* take *Seſtos*, and purſue and take *Oibazus*, one of the *Perſian* generals, and put him and his men to death; and alſo *Artayctes*, another *Perſian* general, who offered to ſacrifice 100 talents to *Proteſilaus*, and pay 200 talents for his own and his ſon's life, but is refuſed, he being impaled, and his ſon ſtoned before his face	II	476
3830	2523	476	*Themiſtocles* rebuilds *Athens*, and makes *Pyræum* the *Athenian* port, inſtead of *Phalerum*, it being larger and more commodious	II	478
3830	2523	476	*Anaxillas*, the tyrant of *Rhegium*, (a famous city over-againſt *Sicily* on the coaſt of *Italy*) dies		
3830	2523	476	The *Romans* with great difficulty defeat the *Hetrurians*, the conſul *Cn. Manlius, Cincinnatus*, *&c.* being ſlain	IV	508
3831	2524	475	The *Fabii* undertake the defence of the *Roman* frontiers againſt the *Veientes*, at their own expence	IV	509
3832	2525	474	*Cæſo Fabius* is made the firſt proconſul, which office gave him conſular power over the troops that he commanded	IV	509
3832	2525	474	*Pauſanias*, the *Spartan* king, behaved ſo inſolently and tyrannically towards the *Greek* confederates, that they unanimouſly choſe *Ariſtides* the *Athenian* to be their chief commander, and voluntarily tax themſelves, and acknowledge *Athens* to be the chief city of *Greece*	II	479
3834	2527	472	*Gelon*, tyrant, (king) at *Syracuſe*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his brother *Hiero*, who reigned 13 years	III	20
3834	2527	472	*Epicharmus*, a famous *Syracuſan* poet, that either invented or introduced comedy among them, flouriſh'd in the times of *Gelon* and *Hiero*, kings of *Syracuſe*. ——— *Marſhall*		
3834	2527	472	The *Roman* conſuls, *Virginius* and *Servilius*, intirely defeat the *Hetrurians*, who beſieged *Rome*, and cauſed a famine, by which overthrow, plenty, liberty, *&c.* was again reſtored to the city, and the inhabitants thereof	IV	512
3832	2529	470	The *Roman* conſul *Manlius*, without any loſs, reduces the *Veientes* to ſue for peace, and a truce of forty years is granted them: For this unbloody victory, he is granted an ovation	IV	513
3832	2529	470	*Democritus*, the ſuppoſed author of the *Atomic* ſyſtem, (vol. I. page 19.) and of *Fatal Neceſſity*, *&c.* now flouriſhed. He was a great aſtronomer and geometrician; he us'd to ridicule the *Athenians* unreaſonable purſuit after wealth, by laughing at them; he made himſelf blind, by looking upon a brazen globe when the ſun ſhone upon it: He was born at *Abdera* in *Thrace*, and called the *Abderite*	III	786

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3837	2530	469	*Pauſanias* joint king of *Sparta* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Pliſtarchus*, who reigned three years		
3837	2530	469	*Cimon* the *Athenian*, (ſon of *Miltiades* by the daughter of the king of *Thrace*) a man of conſummate wiſdom, integrity, and courage, choſe admiral of the *Grecian* fleet, and ſent againſt the *Perſians*	II	558
3837	2530	469	*Leotychides*, joint king of *Sparta*, (*Lacedæmon*) dies in exile, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon *Archidamus*, the ſon of *Zeuxidamus*, who died before his father *Leotychides*	II	482
3838	2531	468	*Diagoras* the *Greek* philoſopher, born at *Melos*, one of the iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, was the firſt that affirmed that there were no Gods, (for which he was called an atheiſt) now flouriſh'd.——*Marſhall.*	II	558
3838	2531	468	*Cimon*, the *Athenian* general, taking the city *Eion* from the *Perſians*, the *Perſian* commander burnt the palace, his gariſon, all his wealth, and himſelf	II	482
3838	2531	468	A moſt dreadful earthquake happened at *Sparta*, in which 20,000 inhabitants and all the houſes but five, were deſtroyed; upon which the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians*, *&c.* revolt	II	594
3838	2531	468	*Cimon* performs great things in *Caria*, ſails to *Cyprus*, and obtains a complete victory over the *Perſian* fleet, takes 100 of their ſhips, purſues and attacks them on land, routs them, and ſo gains two victories in one day	II	483
3838	2531	468	*Cimon*, with only four ſhips, takes 13 of the enemies gallies, reduces all *Cherſoneſus*, conquers the revolted *Thaſians*, recovers the gold mines from them, lying between the rivers *Nyſſus* and *Strymon*, upon which the *Athenians* ſend a colony to ſettle in *Amphipolis*, a famous city of *Thrace*	II	484
3838	2531	468	The *Lacedæmonians* ſolicit the *Athenians* for help againſt their revolted ſubjects, the *Helotes*, *&c.* upon which *Cimon* is ſent with an army, and does wonders	II	484
3839	2532	467	*Ariſtides*, the great *Athenian* commander, dies. (Note C)	II	488
3840	2533	466	*Arceſilaus* IV. ſucceeds *Battus* IV. in the kingdom of *Cyrene*, and reigned 35 years	VII	172
3840	2533	466	Upon the death of *Hiero*, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, his brother *Thraſybulus* ſucceeded him, but after 11 months reign, the people drove him out, and thereby enjoyed their liberty ſixty years	III	23
3840	2533	466	*Pliſtoanax* ſucceeds *Pliſtarchus* in the joint kingſhip of *Lacedæmon*, and reigned 58 years	II	558
3841	2534	465	*Appius*, now out of his conſulſhip, is cited to appear before the people of *Rome*, to anſwer the complaints exhibited againſt him; he being conſcious of his own guilt, murders himſelf	IV	517
3842	2535	464	The *Roman* conſul *Servilius*, defeats the *Sabines*, and *Quinctius*, the *Equi* and *Volſci*, and takes the city of *Antium*, and has a triumph decreed him	IV	517
3842	2535	464	*Xerxes* king of *Perſia* giving himſelf up to luxury, *&c.* *Artabanus*, the captain of his guards, conſpires againſt him, with *Mithridates* his chamberlain, and murders him upon his bed	II	129
3842	2535	464	*Artaxerxes* I. (called *Longimanus*) ſucceeds his father *Xerxes* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, after having killed his uncle *Artabanus*, who had uſurped the crown ſeven months, and reigned 41 years	II	130
3842	2535	464	*Cimon* the *Athenian* commander, after all his heroic actions, is rewarded with oſtraciſm or baniſhment for 10 years	IV	487
3843	2536	463	The *Bactrian* rebellion gives riſe to the *Libyan* rebellion of *Inarus*, and the *Egyptian* rebellion of *Amyrteus*	II	131
3846	2539	460	The *Carthaginians* war againſt the *Moors*, *Numidians*, *&c.* the ſucceſs whereof was, that they were excus'd the annual tribute they formerly paid, *&c.*	VI	714
3847	2540	459	After ten years war, the *Spartans* reduce the *Helotæ*, and expell the *Meſſenians* from *Ithome*	II	595
3847	2540	459	*Ephialtes*, one of the great ſticklers for liberty at *Athens*, having gained over a conſiderable party, became a great check upon the *Areopagite* court, for which he was murdered by *Ariſtodicus*, a *Tanagrian*, in the ſtreet	II	487
3847	2540	459	A dreadful plague broke out in *Rome*, which ſwept away the flower of their youth, the fourth part of the ſenators, the greateſt part of the tribunes, the two conſuls, and the two augurs, *&c.*	IV	518
3848	2541	458	*Ezra* the *Jew* ſent by *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, in the ſeventh year of his reign, to *Jeruſalem*, with great preſents for the temple, and full power to rectify the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate, *&c.* and alſo to have power over life and death	IV	12
3848	2541	458	The conſul *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, at the head of a large army, goes againſt the *Equi* and *Volſci*, to revenge the affronts they had given the *Romans* during the plague, engage and kill both their generals, and 13,460 men	IV	519
3849	2542	457	The *Athenians* engage the *Lacedæmonians* at *Tanagra*, and are overcome with a great ſlaughter; ſoon after they engage again, but both ſides ſuffering greatly, a truce is made for a ſhort time	II	488
3849	2542	457	The *Spartans* take the *Thebans* into their protection, and give them *Bœotia*, *&c.* upon which the *Athenians* ſend a ſmall army againſt them, under *Myronides*, who gained a compleat victory over a very great army, then marches to *Tanagra*, and took it by ſtorm, and razed it to the ground, then plunders *Bœotia*, and overthrows an army of the inhabitants; falls upon the *Locrians*, pierces into *Theſſaly*, and chaſtiſes their treachery, and then returns to *Athens*, laden with riches and glory	II	489
3850	2543	456	*Tolmides*, the *Athenian* admiral, takes *Methon*, (a ſea port in *Laconia*, belonging to the *Spartans*;) but being forced to quit it, takes *Gythium*, another ſea-port, which he burnt, with all the ſhipping and naval ſtores; then he reduced *Zacynthus*, and all the neighbouring cities, and alſo *Naupactus*, by compoſition, turns out the *Spartans*, and plants a colony of *Meſſenians* in their ſtead	II	489

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3850	2543	456	*Appius Herdonius*, a *Sabine*, attempts the reduction of *Rome* by ſurprize, puts all to the ſword he meets with, and lodges himſelf in the capitol, from whence he kills the conſul *Valerius*, who went againſt him, *&c.*	IV	525
3850	2543	456	*Quinctius Cincinnatus*, father of *Cæſo*, is ſent for from his country ſeat, where he practis'd farming, to be the *Roman* conſul: As ſoon as his time was out, he left the city, and went home to farming again	IV	525
3850	2543	456	The *Perſians*, with a great army under *Megabyzus*, go to raiſe the ſiege of *Memphis*; *Inarus* and his confederates engage him, but are overthrown with a great ſlaughter, by which *Egypt* was again reduced to the ſubjection of *Perſia*, and *Sartamus* was made governor thereof	II	130
3851	2544	455	*Pericles* the *Athenian* invades *Peloponneſus* with fifty ſhips, *&c.* and burns and ſpoils all before him; but *Cimon* being recalled from baniſhment, a peace is concluded	II	489
3851	2544	455	The *Roman* conſul *L. Cornelius Maluginenſis* intirely reduces the *Equi*, and the conſul *Fabius Vibulanus* the *Volſci*, and make both become tributaries to the *Romans*, for which the two conſuls have a triumph	IV	526
3852	2545	454	*Perdiccas* II. ſucceeds his father *Alexander* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns 41 years	III	271
3852	2545	454	*Inarus*, and the *Athenians* that eſcaped at *Memphis*, having long defended themſelves in the city of *Byblus* in the iſland of *Proſopotis*, were at laſt forced to ſurrender upon honourable terms, and were carried priſoners to *Suſa*	II	132
3853	2546	453	*Cimon* the *Athenian* commander, with 200 ſail of ſhips, attacks the *Perſians* with 300 ſail, takes 100, deſtroys many others, lands in *Cilicia*, defeats *Megabyzus*, the *Perſian* general, with 300,000 men, and concludes a peace for 51 years between the *Greeks* and *Perſians*	II	133
3854	2547	452	The *Romans* again make *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator, and ſend for him from his rural retirement: He goes with an army to the relief of the conſul *Minucius*, who was ſhut up by the *Equi*, who had revolted, overcomes them, and makes them paſs under the yoke; returns in triumph to *Rome*, with the enemies general at the head of his chariot, and a great number of the enemies officers in chains, *&c.* He abdicates his office the ſixteenth day, *&c*	IV	527
3854	2547	452	The tribunes of the people are increaſed from five to ten perſons, to be all choſe new every year	IV	528
3856	2549	450	The two books of the *Chronicles* in the *Old Teſtament* are now ſuppoſed to be wrote by *Ezra*; the two laſt verſes are the beginning of the book of *Ezra*. ——*Marſhall*——		
3857	2550	449	*Themiſtocles*, the famous *Athenian* commander, after having done abundance of noble acts for his country, was ingratefully baniſh'd; and retiring to the *Perſian* court, became a great favourite with king *Artaxerxes*, who gave him a *Perſian* wife and a large eſtate, which after enjoying ſome years, he died, and was honourably buried. (Note A.)	II	481
3857	2550	449	*Cimon* the *Athenian* general takes *Citium*, (where he died of his wounds) and *Malus* in *Cyprus*, defeats the *Phœnician* fleet, beats the *Perſian* army under *Megabyzus*, and beſieges *Cyprus*, upon which the *Perſians* conclude a peace greatly advantagious to the *Greeks*	II	490
3857	2550	449	*Inarus* the *Libyan* king, contrary to agreement, is delivered to the mother of king *Artaxerxes*, who caus'd him to be crucify'd, and all his companions be-headed; upon which *Megabyzus* the *Perſian* general revolts, raiſes a great army in his province of *Syria*, and defeats *Oſiris*, who was ſent againſt him with 200,000 men	II	134
3857	2550	449	The *Romans* make a law, to impower magiſtrates to puniſh ſuch as were wanting in reſpect to their dignity, 2 oxen and 30 ſheep	IV	532
3857	2550	449	The *Romans* ſend meſſengers to *Greece*, to collect a body of laws from all thoſe uſed in the *Greek* cities, eſpecially *Athens*	IV	532
3858	2551	448	*Megabyzus* (the rebel *Perſian* general) defeats *Menoſtanes*, the king's nephew; upon which the king ſends him his pardon, and he lays down his arms and returns to the king at *Suſa*	II	133
3858	2551	448	A great plague in *Italy* ſweeps away abundance of all ſorts of people, the conſul, and him named to ſucceed him, the high prieſt of *Jupiter*, the augur, and four of the tribunes	IV	533
3859	2552	447	*Tolmides*, the *Athenian* commander, and his army, are cut to pieces at *Cheronea* by the *Bæotians*, *&c.* To redeem their priſoners, the *Athenians* for ever quit claim of all right over them	II	492
3860	2553	446	*Pericles*, the *Athenian* general, enters the iſland of *Eubæa*, takes the city of *Heſtcia*, turns out the inhabitants, and puts a colony of *Athenians* therein; upon which the whole iſland ſubmits to the *Athenians*, and a peace is concluded between them and the *Spartans* for 30 years	II	492
3860	2553	446	The decemvirs choſe at *Rome*, to compoſe a body of *Roman* laws, and to have the execution thereof; at firſt they governed daily and alternately, *&c.*	IV	534
3861	2554	445	The *Roman* people being aſſembled, the decemvirs cauſe the laws they had collected and compoſed, wrote in ten tables, to be read; which being approved, were ordered to be tranſcribed on pillars of braſs, and ſet up in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations	IV	534
3861	2554	445	*Artaxerxes*, king of *Perſia*, in the 20th year of his reign, in the month *Niſan*, (about the 21 of our *April*) ſends *Nehemiah* (who was his cup-bearer, tho' a *Jew*) governor over the *Jews* in *Judea*, *&c.* and commands him to rebuild *Jeruſalem*, which he did with great expedition, the wall being rebuilt in 52 days, tho' ſtrongly oppoſed by *Sanballat* the *Horonite*: From this year begins the 70 prophetical weeks, or 490 years, in which time was to be accompliſhed the 7 weeks of propheſying and anointing our great high-prieſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, called alſo the cutting off the *Meſſiah*, and laſtly, the covenant with many till the ceaſing of the ſacrifice, *&c*	IV	21

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3861	2554	445	*Jehoiakim*, the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Eliaſhib*, who enjoyed that office 34 years		
3862	2555	444	The *Athenians* give the *Sybarites* (a people of *Italy*, who were a ſecond time drove out by the *Crotonians*) the aſſiſtance of ten ſhips, with a conſiderable number of men, under the command of *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*, and likewiſe proclaim free liberty for ſuch as were deſirous to go and ſettle with them, which many did: The *Sybarites* being re-eſtabliſhed, called their new built city *Thurium*, and themſelves *Thurians*	IV	26
3863	2556	443	The decemvirs appointed time being expired, inſtead of propoſing the election of new magiſtrates, propoſe adding two tables of laws more to the former ten, ſo that there was now the twelve famous tables of *Roman* laws, and continue themſelves by force	II	492
3864	2557	442	The decemvirs acting quite contrary to their inſtitution, the people and *Roman* army revolt: the ſenate aſſembles, and aboliſhes the decemvirs, and choſe *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* conſuls for the year enſuing, who, to ingratiate themſelves with the people, made many popular laws	IV	541
3864	2557	442	The *Equi*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, having revolted, are reduced by the conſuls *Valerius* and *Horatius*, for which the *Roman* people give them a triumph, in oppoſition to the ſenate, who refuſed it to them	IV	543
3866	2559	440	The *Athenians* declare war againſt the *Samians*, and having conquered them, their general *Pericles* changed their government into a democracy, which occaſioned great tumults; the *Samians* being ſupported by *Piſſuthnes*, the *Perſian* general, they revolt, and expel the *Athenian* gariſon; *Pericles* going againſt them, defeats them at ſea, *&c.* and after nine months ſiege, takes *Samos*, demoliſhes the walls, ſeizes their ſhips, *&c*	IV	545
3866	2559	440	*Pindar*, the famous *Theban* poet, dies; he was chief of all the lyric poets, and ſo valued by *Alexander*, that his houſe only remained unburnt at his taking the city of *Thebes*	II	495
3866	2559	440	The *Roman* patricians and plebeians renewing their old diſpute about ſuperiority; the *Equi* and *Volſci* revolt, and ravage the county, even to the gates of *Rome*; upon which the conſuls *Quinctius* and *Fabius* head an army of *Romans*, engage and defeat them	II	321
3867	2560	439	*Pericles*, the *Athenian* general, pronouncing an excellent oration in praiſe of the ſlain in the ſeveral engagements he had been in, for their countries ſervice, is crowned with garlands by the ladies at *Athens*	IV	516
3868	2561	438	The office of conſulſhip at *Rome* made void, and military tribunes choſe; which government laſting but a very ſhort time, *T. Quinctius* is named for the interrex, who ſummoned the people, who reſtored the conſulſhip again in the perſons of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *M. Gregamus*; the cenſorſhip was alſo revived again, conſiſting of two perſons, impowered every five years to review the eſtates and perſons of all the *Roman* people; *Papirius* and *Sempronius* were now choſe into that office	II IV	495 547
3868	2561	438	The *Corcyrians* beat the *Corinthians* and their confederates, and take *Epidamnum* by ſtorm, *&c.*	II	495
3868	2561	438	*Iſocrates*, the famous *Athenian* philoſopher, born: His panegyrick upon *Evagoras* king of *Salamis*, was ſo well received, that his ſon *Nicocles* gave him twenty talents as a reward for it. He died at 98 years of age	III	181
3869	2562	437	The *Athenians* aſſiſt the *Corcyrians*, *&c.* againſt the *Corinthians*, *&c*, they engage, and both ſides getting alternate advantages, both gain the victory	II	497
3869	2562	437	*Sp. Mælius*, a *Roman* knight, aſpires to the ſovereign power. At this time a great famine happening in *Rome*, the ſenate creates a new magiſtrate, called the *Super-intendant* of proviſions; who endeavouring to procure corn from the neighbouring countries, was diſappointed by *Sp. Mælius*'s having monopolized it before; and who, to ſtrengthen his party, diſtributed it among the meaner people *gratis*, *&c*	IV	547
3870	2563	436	*Anaxagoras*, the famous philoſopher and preceptor to *Pericles*, is baniſhed *Athens*, under pretence of introducing novelties in religion		
3870	2563	436	*Quinctius Cincinnatus* is made dictator, and having appointed *Servilius Ahala* his general of horſe, cites *Sp. Mælius* before him in the forum, who refuſing to appear, is arreſted by the lictors, but reſcued by the people, upon which *Servilius* ruſhes in among the crowd and kills *Mælius* upon the ſpot, and then his houſe was razed to the ground, and the vaſt quantities of corn he had amaſſed was ſold to the people at low rates	IV	548
3870	2563	436	*Pericles* gets *Thucydides*, his competitor, baniſh'd by oſtraciſm	II	497
3870	2563	436	The *Potideans* revolt from the *Athenians*, upon which *Callias*, with an *Athenian* army, engages and defeats them; *Callias* is killed in the battle, and *Phormis* becomes a general in his ſtead, who inveſts the city of *Potidea*, and the inhabitants obſtinately defend it	II	497
3871	2564	435	Diſputes running very high at *Rome*, three military tribunes are choſe for the officers of this year, inſtead of two conſuls	IV	548
3872	2565	434	The *Fidenæ* revolting from the *Romans*, *L. Sergius* the conſul being unſucceſsful againſt them, *Mamercus Æmilius* is made dictator, overcomes them and their allies, kills *Tolumnius*, and overcomes the united forces of the *Faliſci*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, returns in triumph, and depoſites the *Spolia Opima* in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*	IV	548
3873	2566	433	*Nehemiah* having finiſhed his work at *Jeruſalem*, dedicates the temple with great joy, and afterwards goes to give king *Artaxerxes* an account of his proceedings, *&c.* Here the *Old Teſtament* hiſtory ends	IV	23
3874	2567	432	The *Peloponneſian* war breaking out, the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* both ſolicit the friendſhip of *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, which he artfully evaded	II	133

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3874	2567	432	A grievous plague raging in *Rome*, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* revolt again, upon which *Q. Servilius Priscus* is made dictator, who engages and overcomes them, and took the city of *Fidenæ*, &c. A census this year	IV	548
3875	2568	431	The *Athenians* do infinite mischief along the *Peloponnesian* shore, infest the *Locrians*, and eject the inhabitants of *Ægina*, and people it with *Athenians*: They enter *Megara*, &c. and burn and destroy all before them, as the *Spartans* had done in *Attica*; thus the first year of the war did immense damage to all parties	II	501
3875	2568	431	The *Peloponnesian* war actually begins in the spring of this year	II	499
3875	2568	431	*Arcesilaus* IV. king of *Cyrene*, being killed by his subjects, his son endeavoured to succeed him, but being repulsed by the *Cyrenians*, was forced to retire into the *Hesperides*, where he died, and so ended the kingdom of *Cyrene*, after it had stood 200 years, under the government of 8 kings	VII	173
3876	2569	430	*Jeremiah* is supposed to write his book or prophecy about this time		
3876	2569	430	The consuls laid aside, and three military tribunes chose for this year's government of *Rome*	IV	549
3877	2570	429	Three military tribunes govern *Rome* this year	IV	549
3878	2571	428	The consulship restored again to *T. Quinctius* and *C. Julius Mento*, who go against the *Equi* and *Volsci*, who had revolted, but through disagreement between themselves are defeated, near mount *Algidus*; upon which *Posthumius Tubertus* was chose dictator, who going against the rebels, defeated them; and returning to *Rome* in triumph, laid down his commission	IV	550
3878	2571	428	*Anaxagoras* the great philosopher dies: He mended the *Ionic* philosophy, and first admitted an intelligent Being, distinct from matter; and also supposed the air to be the first principle of the universe. He was the first that wrote of the eclipse of the moon	I	19
3878	2571	428	*Pericles*, the famous *Athenian* partizan, with all his family, dies of the plague at *Athens*	II	504
3878	2571	428	*Archidamus*, king of *Sparta*, besieges *Platæa*, with a great army	II	504
3878	2571	428	The *Peloponnesian* navy wastes the island of *Zacynthus*, and does abundance of damage	II	504
3878	2571	428	The *Lacedæmonians* solicit the king of *Persia* to assist them against the *Athenians*, and also *Sytacles* king of *Thrace*; but *Sytacles* having been admitted a citizen of *Athens*, he delivers up the *Spartan* ambassadors to the *Athenians*, who put them to death	II	505
3879	2572	427	*Archidamus* invades *Attica* a third time, and wastes and destroys with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the *Athenians*, upon which *Lesbos* and *Methymne* revolt from the *Athenians*	II	505
3879	2572	427	*Agis* succeeds his father *Archidamus* as joint king of *Lacedæmon*, and reigned 27 years	II	558
3879	2572	427	A law made at *Rome* to turn the fines for disrespect to magistrates into money; the ox to be rated at 100 asses of brass, and the sheep at 10 asses	IV	450
3880	2573	426	The *Lacedæmonians*, after a siege of two years, take *Platæa*, put all the garison to the sword, and sell the women for slaves; and so put an end to one of the bravest and most generous of all the *Grecian* people; and a while after the city was razed, and so remained till rebuilt by *Alexander the Great*	II	506
3880	2573	426	The famous *Corcyrian* sedition	II	506
3081	2574	425	The plague rages extravagantly at *Athens*, and carries off great numbers of all sorts of people	II	507
3881	2574	425	An extraordinary drought occasioned a famine, which was followed by a dreadful plague in *Rome*	IV	550
3882	2575	424	*Archidamus*, king of *Sparta*, returns home from his intended invasion of *Attica* being frightened by abundance of earthquakes that now happened	II	507
3882	2575	424	Upon the death of *Artaxerxes*, his only legitimate son *Xerxes* II. succeeded him in his kingdom of *Persia*, who having drank immoderately at a great entertainment, retired to his bed-chamber to sleep, whither being followed by one of his bastard brothers, named *Sogdianus*, whom *Pharnacus* the eunuch let in, *Sogdianus* killed him there, after he had reigned 45 days, and set himself up in his stead	II	134
3882	2575	424	*Sogdianus*, (by the murder of *Darius* his lawful king, and *Bagorazus*, his father's most faithful eunuch) became so odious and hateful, that he endeavoured to murder all those he suspected, and therefore sent to *Ochus* (one of his bastard-brothers, at that time governor of *Hyrcania*) to murder him, who being appriz'd of his intent, rais'd a great army, being joined by several of the governors of the provinces: They put the *Tiara* upon the head of *Ochus*, and proclaimed him king; upon which *Sogdianus* came to an accommodation with *Ochus*, who as soon as he got hold of him, ordered him to be smothered in ashes, after a reign of 6 months and 15 days; then *Ochus* changed his own name into *Darius*, and is commonly called *Darius Nothus*, or *Darius* the bastard. He reigned 19 years as king of *Persia*	II	134
3883	2576	423	The consuls were laid aside this year, and four military tribunes governed *Rome* in their stead	IV	550
3883	2576	423	Three of the tribunes go against the *Veientes*, who had revolted; but differing among themselves, the *Veientes* defeat them; upon which *Mamercus Emilius* was again chose dictator, who entirely routed the *Veientes* and the *Fidenates*, took the city of *Fidenæ*, and the *Veientine* camp, the whole being performed in sixteen days. *Æmilius* returns to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and laid down his dictatorship	IV	551
3883	2576	423	The *Athenians* having taken the island *Pylus* from the *Lacedæmonians*, and carried away all the *Spartans* prisoners, people it with a colony of *Messenians*, whom the *Spartans* had cruelly drove out of their own country	II	508
3884	2577	422	The *Athenians* having overcome the *Corcyrians*, drew them out by 20 at a time, and put them to death with the utmost cruelty, for assisting the *Spartans* against them	II	509

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3884	2577	422	The *Athenians* ſuſpecting the *Chians* intended to revolt, ſent a fleet with orders to break down the walls of the city of *Chios*, which was done accordingly.	II	510
3884	2577	422	The conſulſhip again laid aſide, and four patrician military tribunes choſe at *Rome*	IV	551
3885	2578	421	This year the government of *Rome* was alſo by four patrician military tribunes	IV	551
3885	2578	421	The beginning of this year a great earthquake, and an eclipſe of the ſun, happened at *Athens* together	II	510
3885	2578	421	The *Lacedemonians* and *Bœotians* having engaged the *Athenians*, who beſieged *Megara*, got poſſeſſion of the city, and drove out all thoſe who ſided with the *Athenians*, and then called home the exiles, who ſeized and got put to death 100 of their opponents, and then changed the democratic form of government into an oligarchy	II	511
3886	2579	420	The *Lacedæmonians* ſurprize, engage, and kill 600 *Athenians*, and rout the reſt, with the loſs only of ſeven men: In this battle both armies loſt their generals, *Braſidas* for the *Spartans*, and *Cleon* for the *Athenians*	II	512
3886	2579	420	A peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Spartans*, which continued 50 years: This was called the *Nician* peace, from one *Nicias*, a great man of *Athens* who brought it about	II	512
3886	2579	420	The conſulſhip again reſtored at *Rome*, in the perſons of *C. Sempronius Atratinus* and *C. Fabius Vibulans*	IV	551
3887	2580	419	Upon the concluſion of the peace, the *Athenians*, at the requeſt of the *Spartans*, remove the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians* from *Pylus* to the iſland of *Cephalenia*	II	513
3888	2581	418	The *Athenians* conclude a league with the *Argives*, &c. for 100 years	II	514
3889	2582	417	*Agis* king of *Sparta* grants a truce of 4 months to the *Argives*, for which the *Ephori* mulct him a great Fine, and threaten to raze his houſe, &c.	II	599
3889	2582	417	The *Athenians* bring back the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians*, and reſettle them in *Pylus*	II	515
3889	2582	417	*Agis* king of *Sparta* and his confederates defeat the *Argives*, *Athenians*, &c. and gain a compleat victory over them	II	599
3889	2582	417	The tribunes oppoſing the election of conſuls at *Rome*, *L. Papyrius Mugellanus* is choſe inter-rex, who prevailed to have military tribunes choſe inſtead of conſuls, and two new queſtors to be added, to make up their number four	IV	552
3890	2583	416	Four military tribunes govern *Rome* this year, in which a plot for ſetting fire to the city, and ſeizing the capitol by the ſlaves, was diſcovered and prevented, &c.	IV	553
3890	2583	416	*Agis* king of *Sparta* enters *Argos*, where the confederate *Greek* army lay; and juſt as the engagement was going to begin, a truce was clapp'd up, &c.	II	515
3890	2583	416	The *Athenians* invade *Sicily*, and beſiege *Syracuſe*, which defends itſelf bravely, and after being reduced to extreme neceſſity, is relieved by *Gylippus*, general of the *Corinthians*, their confederates	III	29
3890	2583	416	The *Athenians* joining the *Argives*, &c. they break the truce concluded with the *Spartans*, the *Spartans* engage and overthrow them, and thereupon erect a trophy	I	515
3890	2583	416	The *Argives* deſert the *Athenians*, and make a league with the *Spartans* for 50 years, upon which they demoliſhed democracy (or popular government) and eſtabliſh ariſtocracy (or government by the nobles) among themſelves	II	515
3891	2584	415	The *Argives* diſliking their new ariſtocratic government aboliſh it, and return to democracy again, and fall upon the *Spartans*, and ſuch citizens as were their friends, kill ſome and baniſh others, renounce their new league with the *Spartans*, and confirm their old one with the *Athenians*	II	516
3891	2584	415	Three military tribunes govern *Rome* this year, when the city *Labicum* and the *Equi* revolt; the two tribunes who went againſt them, quarrelling, are entirely defeated by the *Equi*; upon which *Q. Servilius* is again choſe dictator, goes againſt the enemy, engages and defeats them, and takes *Labicum*, returns to *Rome* in 8 days after his departure from it, and lays down his dictatorſhip	IV	553
3891	2584	415	The *Athenians* finding themſelves betrayed by *Perdiccas* king of *Macedon*, renounce their league with him, and declare war againſt him	II	516
3892	2585	414	The *Lacedæmonians* begins the 10 years *Declean* war		
3892	2585	414	The *Athenians* take *Melos*, and put every man able to bear arms to the ſword, and carry the women and children captive to *Athens*	II	516
3892	2585	414	*Rome* enjoyed profound peace this year under four military tribunes	IV	553
3893	2586	413	Four military tribunes govern this year, when the 10 tribunes of the people create great diſputes about (the *Agrarian* law, or) the diſtribution of the lands taken from the enemy	IV	553
3893	2586	413	The *Hermæ*, or ſtatues of *Mercury*, (of which there were abundance ſet up) were all in one night defeated in *Athens*, but could not be diſcovered by whom	II	517
3893	2586	413	*Piſuthnes*, governor of *Lydia*, revolts from *Darius* king of *Perſia*, being ſupported by a great army of *Greek* mercenaries; againſt whom *Darius* ſent *Tiſaphernes*, who bought the mercenaries, and forced *Piſuthnes* to ſurrender upon promiſe of Life; which he doing, *Darius* ordered him to be ſmothered in aſhes	II	135
3893	2586	413	*Archelaus*, the ſon of *Perdiccas* king of *Macedon*, upon the reſignation of his father, ſucceeds him, and reigns 14 years	III	271
3893	2586	413	*Alcibiades*, an *Athenian* general, being wrongfully accuſed, runs away to the *Spartans*, who entertain him courteouſly	II	517
3893	2586	413	*Egypt* revolts from the *Perſians*, and *Amyrteus Saites*, being joined by the inhabitants, came out of the *Fens*, and drove the *Perſians* out of *Egypt*, and reigned over the whole country	II	137
3894	2587	412	*Demoſthenes*, the *Athenian* general, attacks *Epipolæ*, in the night, but is repulſed with a mighty ſlaughter	II	518
3894	2587	412	The *Syracuſans* attack, overthrow, and kill and take priſoners *Demoſthenes* the *Athenian* general, and his whole army;—and a few days afterward attack *Nicias*, the other *Athenian* general, who was taken priſoner, and his whole remaining army. The two generals, and many of the ſoldiers, contrary to the capitulation, were put to death at the inſtigation of the people. Thus ended the *Sicilian* war, with great diſgrace and prodigious loſs to the *Athenians*	II	521

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3894	2587	812	The four military tribunes keep all things quiet at *Rome* this year	IV	553
3895	2588	411	*P. Poſthumius*, one of the military tribunes that governed this year, going againſt the *Equi* that had revolted, promis'd his ſoldiers the ſpoil of *Bala*, if they took it, but breaking his word after the reduction of the place, for it, and other diſagreeable behaviour, was ſtoned to death by his legions, being the firſt general that was killed by his own ſoldiers ſince the foundation of *Rome*	IV	554
3895	2588	411	The *Athenian* fleet engages and overcomes the *Peloponneſian* fleet; they take a part, and a ſtorm diſperſes the reſt	II	526
3895	2548	411	The *Athenians* reduce the revolted *Leſbians*, *Clazomenians*, *&c.* to their obedience again	II	521
3895	2588	411	*Alcibiades*, *&c.* twice defeat the *Spartans*, *&c.* and in the laſt engagement gained two victories in one day, one by ſea, the other by land; took the enemies whole fleet, and more ſpoil than his and the remains of theirs could carry	II	526
3896	2589	410	The conſulſhip was again reſtored at *Rome*, in the perſons of *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*. In this and the three following years, nothing remarkable but a plague happened	IV	554
3896	2589	410	*Antiphon* (an *Athenian* of ſuch extraordinary parts and eloquence, was ſo feared, that he was prohibited ſpeaking in publick,) and *Piſander* induce the *Athenians* to aboliſh democracy, to chooſe five prytanes (or chief magiſtrates) who ſhould chooſe 100, and each of theſe 100 ſhould chooſe 3 colleagues, and that theſe 400 ſhould be a ſenate with ſupreme authority	II	523
3896	2589	410	The *Spartans* defeat the *Athenian* fleet, and take 22 ſhips out of 36, and kill moſt of them in the reſidue, upon which *Eubœa* revolts from the *Athenians*	II	524
3896	2589	410	The *Spartans* and *Athenians* engage again, the latter takes 21 of the former's fleet, which conſiſted of 73 ſail, under *Mindarus*; and the *Athenians* but of 55 under *Thraſybulus*, and of theſe 19 were ſunk or taken in the beginning of the fight; a few days after the *Athenians* took 8 *Spartan* gallies coming from *Byzantium*, which had revolted, and reduced the city, and *Alcibiades* took nine more	II	525
3896	2589	410	The *Lacedæmonians* beſiege *Pylus* by land and ſea; the *Athenians* ſend *Anytus* to relieve it, with a ſquadron of ſhips, *&c.* but the wind not proving favourable, he returned to *Athens*, where he is condemned to death for not performing his orders, and the *Spartans* take *Pylus*	II	527
3896	2589	410	*Alcibiades* takes *Byzantium*, and puts all the *Spartan* gariſon to the ſword, except 500 which he ſent priſoners to *Athens*	II	527
3896	2589	410	*Eliaſhib* high-prieſt of the *Jews* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Joiada* (or *Judas*) who officiated in that ſtation 36 years	IV	26
3896	2589	410	*Mindarus* the *Spartan* admiral defeated and killed	II	526
3897	2590	409	The expiration of the firſt ſeven weeks of the ſeventy weeks of *Daniel*'s prophecy	IV	27
3897	2590	409	*Alcibiades* and *Theramenes* return to *Athens* in triumph, with 200 ſhips, and an immenſe ſpoil	II	527
3897	2590	409	*Antiochus*, the lieutenant of *Alcibiades*, breaks his maſter's orders, and in his abſence attacks the *Spartan* fleet, is defeated and killed, and 15 of his ſhips taken by the enemy; upon which *Alcibiades* is accuſed, and depoſed by the *Athenian* ſenate, and goes into voluntary baniſhment	II	528
3898	2591	408	*Pauſanias*, the ſon of *Pliſtonax*, ſucceeds his father in the joint kingdom of *Lacedæmon*	II	599
3898	2591	408	*Hannibal* (the ſon of *Giſco* the *Carthaginian*) makes an expedition into *Sicily*, takes and razes *Selinus* aud *Himera*	VI	715
3898	2591	408	*Conon* the *Athenian* general engages *Callicratides* the *Spartan* general in a ſea-fight, is overcome, and loſes 30 ſhips, and afterwards was cloſely beſieged in *Mitylene*	II	528
3898	2591	408	The *Athenians* engage *Callicratides* a ſecond time, and overcome and kill him, take and deſtroy 79 *Spartan* ſhips, with the loſs of 19 of their own	II	528
3899	2592	407	*Lyſander*, the *Spartan* general, ſurprizes *Conon* the *Athenian* general, and intirely defeats him both by land and ſea, upon which he fled to *Cyprus*, with only eight gallies full of men: This put an end to the maritime power of *Athens* at once. *Lyſander* viſits all the neighbouring cities, and reduces them to the *Spartan* ſubjection, changes their form of government, and puts *Spartan* governors in them to keep them in ſubjection	II	602
3899	2592	407	*Darius* king of *Perſia* inveſts *Cyrus* his youngeſt ſon, though but a youth of 16 years old, with the ſupreme command of all the provinces of *Aſia Minor*	II	136
3900	2593	406	Three of the four quæſtors at *Rome* were this year, for the firſt time, choſe out of the plebeians	IV	554
3901	2594	405	This year *Rome* was governed by three patrician military tribunes; but the *Volſci*, *&c.* revolting, *P. Cornelius Rutilus* was made dictator, who gained a compleat victory over the enemy, returned to *Rome*, laid down the dictatorſhip and the military tribunes reſumed their government	II	555
3901	2594	405	*Artaxerxes* II. eldeſt ſon of *Darius* II. ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Perſia*, and reigned 46 years; before his aſcending the throne, he was called *Arſaces*, (whom the *Greeks* for his extraordinary memory called *Mnemon*, that is, *the Remember*er)	II	136
3901	2594	405	*Artaxerxes (Arſaces)* upon the death of his father *Darius*, went to *Paſargada*, to be there inaugurated after the *Perſian* cuſtom, by the prieſts of *Bellona*, where he was informed his brother *Cyrus* intended to murder him; upon which *Cyrus* was ſeized and condemned, but at the interceſſion of their mother *Paryſatis*, he was both pardoned and reſtored to his government of *Aſia Minor*	II	137
3902	2595	404	*Dionyſius Miles*, ſon-in-law to *Hermocrates* the great *Syracuſan*, began his tyranny at *Syracuſe*, having by many inſinuations got himſelf made generaliſſimo, and a guard allowed him for his own perſon, therewith ſeized the government, and held it with great cruelty 38 years	III	45
3902	2595	404	*Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* general, dies, with a great part of his army, of the plague, as they lay before *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*	VI	714

Imilcar,

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3902	2595	404	*Imilcar*, the *Carthaginian* general, after *Hannibal*'s death, takes *Agrigentum* and *Gela*, and puts an end to the war, by concluding a treaty with *Dionyſius* the *Syracuſan* tyrant	VI	715
3902	2595	404	Four patrician military tribunes govern *Rome* this year. The *Volſci* retake *Verrugo*, and put the *Roman* gariſon to the ſword; upon which the military tribunes go againſt them, ſurprize the *Volſci* while in queſt of Booty, and cut them all to pieces	IV	555
3903	2596	403	*Lyſander*, the *Spartan* general, having put *Philocles* the *Athenian* general, and 300 captives, with all their officers, to death, took *Athens*, and pulled down the walls, and eſtabliſhed an oligarchic government of 30, called the 30 tyrants, and ſo compleated the ruin of *Athens*. *Lyſander* growing inſolent, the ephori ſend him the ſcytale, or counter-tally, to recall him	II	529
3903	2596	403	*Lyſander* ſends immenſe treaſure, which he had taken from the *Athenians*, to *Sparta*, by *Gylippus*, who ſtole a part of it, but being detected, was baniſhed and branded with infamy	II	603
3903	2596	403	Four patrician military tribunes are again choſe, and revenge the affront offered to the *Roman* ambaſſadors, by taking *Anxur* by ſtorm, *&c.* This year pay was firſt given to the plebeian foot ſoldiers	IV	555
3904	2597	402	Six military tribunes choſe to govern *Rome*, *&c.* this year	IV	556
3905	2598	401	Six military tribunes choſe to govern *Rome*, *&c.* this year, who cloſely beſieged *Veii*, (one of the greateſt cities in *Italy*) and took and razed the city of *Artena*, after having defeated the *Volſci*	IV	556
3905	2598	401	*Thraſybulus*, the *Athenian* general, marches with his army into *Athens*, where laying down their arms, they ſacrifice with the citizens, and reſtore the old democratic government, and expel the 30 tyrants	II	532
3905	2598	401	*Socrates*, the great philoſopher and ſoldier, wrongfully put to death by the *Athenians*	II	533
3905	2598	401	*Plato* pleads for *Socrates* at *Athens*, but is forced to deſiſt by the people, who would not permit him to go on	II	535
3905	2598	401	*Cyrus*, the younger brother of *Artaxerxes* (*Arſaces*) king of *Perſia*, aſpires to the throne, and wars againſt him, with the help of *Xenophon*, the famous *Greek* commander, with 13,000 *Greeks*; but *Cyrus* being overcome, and killed, *Xenophon*, with his remaining *Greeks*, returned home, 2325 miles through the enemies country, though continually harraſſed by their army	II	139
3906	2599	400	The *Lacedæmonians* make war with the *Perſians*	II	140
3906	2599	400	*Conon* the *Athenian* made admiral of the *Perſian* fleet: He engages the *Lacedæmonians*, kills their admiral, and totally defeats their whole fleet, conſiſting of 90 ſail, and takes 50 of them, and 500 priſoners, and reduced many of the ſtates dependant on *Sparta* to change ſides	II	536
3906	2599	400	*Agis* king of *Lacedæmon* dies, and is ſucceeded by his brother *Ageſilaus*, who reigned 41 years	II	558
3906	2599	400	*Conon*, after defeating the *Spartans*, returns to *Attica*, and in his way brings over the *Cyclades* to join the *Athenians*, and reduces *Cythera*, and confirms the *Corinthian* league; and upon his arrival at *Athens*, ſets about rebuilding the walls, refortifying the city, *&c.* for which the *Perſian* general puts him in priſon	II	537
3906	2599	400	The ſiege of *Veii* ſtill carried on with great vigour, by the ſix military tribunes of		
3907	2600	399	this year, who are now ſaid to invent lines of circumvallation and contravallation, and kept the army in the field all winter in wooden barracks covered with ſkins.		
3908	2601	398	This year a law was made, that the *Roman* cavalry ſhould be paid out of the publick treaſure	IV	556
3907	2600	399	*Ageſilaus*, king of *Sparta*, routs the *Perſians* under *Tiſaphernes*, takes a great deal of ſpoil, and over-runs all *Lydia*; upon which *Tiſaphernes* was put to death		
3907	2600	399	*Amyntas* ſucceeds *Archelaus* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns only one year, and is then ſet aſide	III	271
3908	2601	398	*Pauſanias* ſucceeds *Amyntas* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigns only one year	III	271
3908	2601	398	*Ageſilaus*, king of *Sparta*, invades *Phrygia*, took many cities, amaſſed great ſums, marched into *Paphlagonia*, joins *Spithridates*, a revolted *Perſian* lord, then returns and takes *Daſcylium*, a ſtrong city of *Phrygia*, and winters in the palace of *Pharnabazus* the *Perſian* general	II	142
3909	2602	397	*Dionyſius*, the *Syracuſan* tyrant, having defeated his enemies, and confirmed himſelf by ſlaughter, cruelty, and bribery, in the government, addicts himſelf to poetry and other polite arts, in which he imagined himſelf a nonpareil	III	58
3909	2602	397	*Amyntas* is reſtored, and ſucceeds *Pauſanias* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, and reigned 6 years		
3909	2602	397	Six new military tribunes were choſe to govern *Rome* this year; but by the diſagreement of two that commanded at the ſiege of *Veii*, they are routed by the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, and the ſallies of the *Veientes*; which occaſioned the depoſition of all the ſix military tribunes, and the choice of ſix new ones	IV	557
3909	2602	397	*Dionyſius* the *Syracuſan* breaks his faith with the *Carthaginians*, and ſeizes the perſons, houſes, and effects of all their ſubjects, which was very large, then trading at *Syracuſe*	VI	755
3910	2603	396	*Dionyſius* the *Syracuſan* inveſts *Moyta* (a very ſtrong city, in league with the *Carthaginians*, built in a ſmall iſland about half a mile from the ſea-ſhore, where the *Carthaginians* kept their military ſtores and proviſions) and ravaged and reduced moſt of their other confederate cities and provinces; after ſome time ſpent in the ſiege, and ſeveral times attempting to ſtorm it, was as often repulſed, with great loſs on both ſides, but at laſt he takes it, and puts every perſon to the ſword, exept ſome that ſheltered themſelves in the *Greek* temples: here he got immenſe riches	VI	75[illegible]
3910	2603	396	The *Carthaginians* enter the port of *Syracuſe* in the night, with 10 gallies, and ſunk moſt of the ſhips then there, and returned without the loſs of one man	VI	[illegible]

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3910	2603	396	Five patrician and one plebeian (*P. Licinius Calvus*) military tribune chose for the government of *Rome* this year.	IV	557
3910	2603	396	*Thrasybulus* reduces *Byzantium* and *Chalibis*; then he goes to *Lesbos*, and reduces all the revolted cities to the subjection of *Athens*; after which he goes to *Rhodes*, and exacts a great sum of money; the *Rhodians*, set upon him in the night, and kill him, and drive his army on board their ships.	II	568
3911	2604	395	*Nepherens* (or *Nepherites*) of the *Mendesii*, becomes king of *Egypt*, and reigns 6 years.	I	274
3911	2604	395	*Licinius* behaved so well this last year, that five plebeians and one patrician were chose to be the military tribunes for governing *Rome* this year.	IV	557
3911	2604	395	The *Carthaginians* under *Himilco* retake *Moyta*, reduces *Lipara*, the capital of the island *Lipara*, the principal of the 7 *Æolian* islands; then they invest *Messana*, take it, and raze it; upon this the *Siculi* revolt from *Dionysius*, and join *Himilco*: *Leptines*, the *Sicilian* admiral, engages *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and is entirely defeated with great slaughter, losing 100 gallies. and more than 20,000 men. *Himilco* marches to *Syracuse*, lays all the country about it waste, takes *Acradina*, and plunders the rich temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, then besieges *Syracuse*; but a plague breaking out, carries off 150,000 of his men; *Dionysius* attacks the remainder by land and sea, and entirely routs them, killing, burning, taking and destroying, almost all their vast fleet and army; *Hamilco* is forced to pay 300 talents for leave for himself and the citizens of *Carthage* to get away in the night. Upon *Hamilco*'s return to *Carthage*, he kills himself.	VI	759 to 768
3911	2604	395	Upon *Hamilco*'s defeat, the *Africans* revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and with an army of 200,000 men they take *Tunis*, and come to *Carthage*: but mutinying among themselves, they return home again.	VI	769
3911	2604	395	The *Carthaginians* imagining all their misfortunes happened to them for violating the temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* at *Syracuse*, to appease them they dedicated temples, and set up magnificent statues to their honour, and select priests out of the greatest families to sacrifice them.	V	769
3912	2605	394	Upon a great mortality that happened in the *Roman* army, by the sudden change of the weather from extreme cold to excessive heat, the *Sybilline* books were consulted: The *Duumviri* (who were their keepers) pretended to find a new expiation, called the *Lectisternium*; *viz.* three beds were placed in a temple, round a plentiful table, and the statues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune* taken down from their niches, were laid on the beds, and served with magnificent repasts for eight days; These ceremonies were imitated in private families; open houses were kept for friends, strangers, and enemies; all law-suits, disputes, &c. were suspended, and even the prisoners released, to partake of these publick rejoicings.	IV	558
3913	2606	393	*Conon* comes to *Athens* with 80 ships, and 50 talents, and repairs the city of *Athens* and offers a sacrifice of 100 oxen.	II	144
3913	2606	393	Six military tribunes, all patricians, chose this year, out of a superstitious notion that plebeians were of too low an extract, however well qualified, for the discharge of so high a station.	IV	558
3914	2607	392	Six patricians chose military tribunes for this year, who cause (in conformity to the answer of the oracle at *Delphos*) pioneers to make a canal to carry off the waters of the lake *Albano*, and convey them all over the fields in trenches, which wonderful work subsists to this day: The auguries being not auspicious, these six tribunes lay down; and after a short interregnum six new ones are chose in their stead, all plebeians.	IV	558
3914	2607	392	*Mago* the *Carthaginian* endeavours, by popular means, to retrieve their affairs in *Sicily*, uses the inhabitants courteously, encourages all deserters from *Dionysius*, &c. but engaging with *Dionysius*, is drove out of the field, with the loss of 800 men, and retires into *Abacænum*, and *Dionysius* returns to *Syracuse*.	VI	770
3915	3608	391	*Dionysius* the *Syracusan* tyrant, and *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, conclude a peace.	VI	770
3915	2608	391	The two military tribunes that carried on the war were intirely defeated; upon which *M. Furius Camillus* was made dictator, who pushes on the siege so vigorously, that after ten years siege, *Veii* was taken by storm, and the dictator entered the city in triumph, drawn in a chariot by four milk white horses, and his own face painted with vermillion, which gave great offence, &c.	IV	559
3915	2608	391	The *Roman* ladies, for voluntarily bringing in their golden toys to make a vase to present to *Apollo*, were allowed to have funeral orations for illustrious women, like those of the men, and liberty to ride in chariots at the publick games.	IV	559
3915	2608	391	*Evagoras* king of *Cyprus* revolts from the *Persians*.		
3915	2608	391	*Amyntas* king of *Macedon* is deposed by the *Illyrians*, who brought in *Argæus*, but two years after *Amyntas* was restored again, and reigned 19 years.	III	271
3916	2609	390	Six patrician military tribunes rule this year, in which a proposal is made, that half the senators, knights, and people of *Rome* should remove to *Veii*; but after vast struggles and much arguing, 'tis over-ruled.	IV	559
3917	2610	389	*Camillus* (general of the *Roman* army, and one of the military tribunes) by an act of justice and generosity towards the children of the nobles of *Falisci*, and their tutor, so wrought upon them, that they submit voluntarily to the *Romans*.	IV	560
3917	2610	389	*Acoris* succeeds *Nepherites* as king of *Egypt*, and reigned 13 years.	I	274
3918	2511	388	The consulship at *Rome* is restored again in the persons of *L. Lucretius Flavius*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus*. This year great disputes happened between the tribunes of the people and the senate; who at last decreed that six acres of the *Veii* land should be given to every father of a family and every freeman that was single.	IV	561
3919	2612	387	*L. Valerius Potitius* and *M. Manlius Capitolinus* chose consuls at *Rome*, and begin their office with celebrating the great games in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, &c. but a contagious distemper happening, with which the consuls were affected,		

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			the people depoſed them, and an interregnum followed, during which three preſidents ruled alternately, day by day, for a ſmall time; and then ſix military tribunes were again choſe.—A cenſus being taken, the number of people fit to bear arms was reported to be 152,583.		
3919	2612	387	The *Spartans* and *Perſians* conclude the peace, called the peace of *Antalcidas*, greatly prejudicial to the *Greeks*.	IV	561
3919	2612	387	*Camillus*, the great *Roman* commander, goes into voluntary baniſhment, and reſides at *Ardea*.	II	144
3919	2612	387	*Evagoras* expels *Abdymon* the *Citian*, the *Perſian* governor for *Artaxerxes*, and takes poſſeſſion of his paternal kingdom of *Cyprus*, by the help of the *Athenians*.	IV	562
3920	2613	386	*Brennus*, king of thoſe *Gauls* called the *Senones*, ſituate between *Paris* and *Meaux*, comes into *Italy*, and beſieges *Cluſium*; the *Cluſini* beg aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, who ſend the three *Fabii* ambaſſadors to *Brennus*; who behaving haughtily, the ambaſſadors go into the town, and head the beſieged in a ſally, wherein they kill a principal *Gauliſh* officer; this enrages *Brennus*, upon which he demands of the *Roman* ſenate, that the *Fabii* ſhould be delivered up to him; but inſtead thereof, the people chuſe them military tribunes for the year enſuing; upon which *Brennus* marches towards *Rome*.	II	145
3920	2613	386	*Dionyſius*, the *Syracuſan* tyrant, fond of being thought a great poet, ſends his verſes and chariots to the *Olympic* games, where he is deſpiſed, which makes him mad, and cauſes him to break out into extravagancies, killing ſome of his friends, and baniſhing others.	IV	562
3920	2613	386	The *Lacedæmonians* fall upon the *Thebans*, and ſeize their capital; 400 principal *Thebans* fly to *Athens* for ſuccour, where they are kindly received, and by their aſſiſtance retake *Thebes*.	III	59
3920	2613	389	The *Perſians*, under the command of *Tiribazus*, invades *Cyprus* with 300,000 men, and 300 ſhips, and after an engagement with *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, obtain a great victory; upon which *Evagoras* flies to *Salamine*, whither the *Perſians* purſue, and beſiege him by land and ſea, where he is forced to yield on very hard terms.	II	539
3921	2614	385	The military tribunes aſſemble a *Roman* army of 40,000 men, and go to meet *Brennus*, king of the *Gauls*, whoſe army was 70,000: They meet and engage, upon the banks of the river *Allia*, where the *Romans* were entirely defeated; upon which the people fled from the city of *Rome* into the neighbouring cities, and 4 days after the battle *Brennus* entered *Rome*, killed all the people he met with, ravaged and burnt the city, demoliſhed the temples and publick edifices, and razed the walls to the ground, and beſieged the capitol.	II	146
3921	2614	385	The *Gauls* beſiege *Ardea*, with a conſiderable force; but thinking themſelves ſecure, neglect diſcipline; whereupon *Camillus*, the great *Roman* general, heads the *Ardean* youth, and ſallies out in the night, ſurprizes the *Gauls* drowned in wine, and makes a dreadful ſlaughter; whereupon the ſcattered *Romans* ſend deputies to beg *Camillus* to take upon him the command of all the remaining *Roman* forces, but he refuſing, the ſenate reverſe his ſentence of condemnation, and proclaim him dictator.	IV	564
3921	2614	385	The *Gauls* beſieging the capitol, find a private paſſage of very difficult aſcent, get up it undiſcovered in the night; but ſome geeſe that were kept in the court of the capitol in honour of *Juno*, and near her temple, making a noiſe at the *Gauls* approach, *Manlius* (a gallant ſoldier, who had paſs'd the conſulate) attacks them and beats them off the walls, and ſo ſaves the capitol; for which he was highly honoured, and geeſe were ever after had in honour at *Rome*, a flock of them, being always kept at the publick expence: A golden image of a gooſe was erected in memory of them, and a gooſe every year carried in triumph, upon a ſoft litter finely adorned. From this time the dogs were held in abhorrence, and every year one impaled on a branch of elder.	IV	565
3921	2614	385	*Gaus*, admiral of the *Perſian* fleet, revolts from *Artaxerxes*, is joined by the *Egyptians* and *Lacedæmonians*; but while vaſt preparations were making to ſupport him, *Gaus* was murdered by one of his officers, and the whole affair dropt.	II	146
3921	2614	385	The plague and famine rage in *Brennus*'s army, and ſo many of them died in one quarter of the city, as occaſioned it to be called *Buſta Gallica*, or the place where the dead bodies of the *Gauls* were burnt. Both ſides ſuffering extremely, 'twas agreed upon oath, that upon the *Romans* paying 1000 l. weight of gold, the *Gauls* ſhould raiſe the ſiege, and quit the *Roman* territories: When the gold was brought, the *Gauls* ſcales and weights were found to be falſe; upon which *Sulpicius*, one of the *Roman* military tribunes, complaining, *Brennus*, inſtead of excuſing it, threw his ſword and belt into the ſcales where the weights were, crying out, *Væ Victis*, or *Woe to the Conquered*. This continuing the diſpute, *Camillus* with his army comes up, and he with a few followers gets into the city, and orders the gold to be carried back to the treaſury; upon which a ſcuffle happens, and in the following night, *Brennus* and his army retires to the *Gabinian* way, eight miles from *Rome*, and encamp there; in the morning *Camillus* purſued, engaged, and totally overthrew them, with a great ſlaughter, and the remainder were cut off, as they wandered up and down the fields by the inhabitants; ſo that there was not one left to carry the news home; and *Camillus* returned to *Rome* in triumph, loaded with ſpoils, the ſoldiers in their ſongs calling him *Romulus*, father of his country, and ſecond founder of *Rome*, at which ſome of the great men being offended, the tribunes ſpeak diſreſpectfully of *Camillus*, inſinuating he aimed to make himſelf king; but the ſenate voted his continuing in the dictatorſhip for one whole year, to put their confuſions to rights, which ended in a decree for rebuilding the city, which *Brennus* had burnt down.	IV	567
3922	2615	384	*Camillus* laying down the dictatorſhip, an interregnum followed, wherein *Camillus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio* ruled alternately; and after ſome time, ſix military tri-		

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			bunes were choſe, who immediately ſet about collecting what monuments, tables, of laws, treaties with nations, &c. that could be found in the ruins, &c.	IV	567
3922	2015	384	The *Ædiles* have the care of rebuilding the city of *Rome*: The expence of building the private houſes was defrayed out of the publick treaſury; but through haſte, ignorance, and covetouſneſs, the plan was very illy projected and executed.	IV	567
3922	2615	384	*Artaxerxes*, king of *Perſia*, goes in perſon againſt the *Caduſians*, (a people inhabiting the mountain between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſea) with an army of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horſe; but the country being unable to furniſh proviſions, a famine enſues, whereby all the horſe, and abundance of the foot, &c. were loſt; but the *Caduſians*, by the artful negotiations of *Tiribazus* were brought to ſubmit to the *Perſians*.	II	147
3922	2615	384	*Achoris* king of *Egypt* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Pſammuthis* who reigned only one year.	II	147
3922	2615	384	*Sphodrias*, the *Spartan* commander at *Theſpis*, attempts in the night to ſeize the fort of *Pyræum* at *Athens*; but the ſun riſing when he came to *Eleuſina*, his men refuſed to march any farther; upon which the *Athenians* declare war againſt the *Spartans*.	II	539
3923	2616	383	The *Lacedæmonians*, under *Ageſilaus*, one of their kings, invade *Bœotia*, and brave the *Thebans* and their allies, in the neighbourhood of their own city.	II	540
3923	2616	383	The hardſhips and misfortunes of the *Romans* encourage their tributaries to revolt, upon which *Camillus* is again choſe dictator, who, at the head of an army, attacks and defeats the *Volſci* and *Latins*, takes their camp and the city of *Bola*, the capital, of the *Equi*; from whence he marches againſt the *Volſci*, whom he entirely reduced; from thence he went to *Sutrium*, (which the *Hetrurians* had taken, and turned out all the inhabitants, and in which they were revelling without guard) entered the city, put many to the ſword, took a vaſt number of priſoners, and reſtored the natives again, and then returned to *Rome* in triumph a third time. Upon his return, the captives were ſold, and with part of the amount of the ſale the *Roman* ladies were repaid for their jewels they had formerly contributed, to make a preſent to *Apollo*; and the remainder bought three gold vaſes, which, with *Camillus*'s name inſcribed on them, were put at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*	IV	569
3923	2616	383	*Nicorceon*, tyrant of *Salamis*, taking offence at a ſatyrical expreſſion of the philoſopher *Anaxarchus*, ordered him to be pounded to death with iron peſtles in a great mortar.	III	179
3923	2616	383	*Nepherotes* ſucceed *Pſammuthis* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns only four months.	I	275
3924	2617	382	*Nectanebis* (the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race) ſucceeds *Nepherotes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and reigns 12 years.	I	275
3224	2617	382	The *Romans* lay the country of the *Equi* waſte, to prevent their revolting, and demoliſh the two cities of *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra*, and repair and ſtrengthen the capitol.	IV	569
3924	2617	382	*Dionyſius*, the *Syracuſan*, makes a deſcent into *Hetruria*, plunders a rich temple in the ſuburbs of *Agylla*, from whence he carries off 1000 talents in money, and rich ſpoils that he ſold for 500 more.	III	60
3924	2617	382	The *Carthaginians* having declared war againſt *Dionyſius* king of *Syracuſe*, he engages *Mago* the *Carthaginian* general, and kills 10,000 of his men, takes 5000, and obliges the reſt to ſue for peace, which is refuſed.	VI	771
3924	2617	382	The *Carthaginians* having recruited under *Mago*'s ſon, engage and defeat the *Syracuſans* at *Cronion*, and kill *Leptines*, the king's brother, and 14,000 *Syracuſans* on the ſpot; upon which, to obtain peace, *Dionyſius* was forced to pay 1000 talents, and deliver up the city and territories of *Selinus*, and part of the territories of *Agrigentum*.	III	60
3924	2617	382	*Chabrias*, the *Athenian*, engages the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, and after a very long and doubtful battle, at laſt gained an abſolute victory, though with the loſs of 18 gallies, the *Lacedæmonians* loſing 24, beſides 8 that were taken with all their men.	II	540
3924	2617	382	*Chabrias*, the *Athenian* general, after delivering the *Abderites*, while he was ſettling the affairs of the city was aſſaſſinated.	II	540
3925	2618	381	The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* make a peace, wherein it was concluded that all the *Grecian* cities ſhould be free, which was neither long nor well kept, the *Thebans* proteſting againſt it, &c.	II	540
3925	2618	381	The *Perſian* army and fleet come upon the coaſts of *Egypt*, and attack *Peluſium*; but *Nectanebis*, king of *Egypt*, having well fortified and garriſoned it, the *Perſians* could not get any conſiderable advantage, and quarrelling among themſelves ended the war and returned home.	I	275
3925	2618	381	A temple, which in the *Gauliſh* war had been vowed to *Mars*, is now built, and conſecrated at *Rome*, and four tribes of the people beyond the *Tiber* added to make up the whole number of tribes 25, who all enjoyed the ſame common rights and privileges.	IV	569
3926	2619	380	*Camillus* choſe by the *Romans* one of the military tribunes for this year, with full power to preſide and direct in all warlike affairs; upon which he heads an army, and engages the *Antiates*, *Latins*, and *Hernici*, who had revolted, and overthrows them; after which, going to the relief of *Sutrium*. (then beſieged, and in part taken by the *Hetrurians*) he makes a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, conquers the city, and goes to *Nepet*, which had ſubmitted to the *Hetrurians*, and took it by aſſault, and put all the *Hetrurian* ſoldiers to the ſword, and condemned thoſe citizens to die by the lictors axes, that had promoted the diſaffection.	IV	516
3929	2622	377	*Manlius*, one of this year's military tribunes, endeavours by all poſſible acts of popularity to engage the peoples affections, in order to graſp the ſupreme power;		

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			upon which the *Volci* revolting, *A. Cornelius Coſſus* is choſe dictator, who marching againſt the *Volſci*, defeats them; then returning to *Rome*, cites *Manlius* before him, and condemns him for an incendiary, *&c.* after which he was honoured with a triumph; upon which the ſenate orders a colony of *Roman* citizens to be ſent to *Sutrium*; and allotted each man 2 acres and a half of arable land.		
3929	2622	377	The *Carthaginians* land an army in *Italy*, and reſtore the inhabitants of *Hippo* (built by the *Locri*) to their city, from whence they had been expelled for being the allies of *Carthage*.	IV	572
3930	2623	376	A moſt terrible plague breaks out at *Carthage*, which ſwept away an infinite number of people, and almoſt depopulated the whole country; this diſtemper made the people ſo mad as to cauſe the afflicted to ſally out of their houſes, ſword in hand, and kill all they met with: Upon this the *Africans* and *Sardi* revolt, and are reduced with difficulty: This diſtemper is ſaid to afflict the *Carthaginians* ſeveral years.	VI	772
3930	2623	376	*Ageſilaus*, king of *Sparta*, comes ambaſſador to *Nectanebis* king of *Egypt*, to ſollicit ſuccours for the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Thebans*.	VI	773
3930	2623	376	*Camillus* again choſe one of this year's military tribunes, and *Manlius* condemned for aſpiring to the regal dignity, and thrown headlong from the capitol; but a plague happening ſoon after, the populace aſcribe it to be a judgment, for unjuſtly puniſhing *Manlius*.	I	272
3931	2624	375	The plague ſweeping away great numbers of the *Romans*, the *Volſci*, *&c.* revolt, the military tribunes aſſemble an army, but cannot go againſt them, through the violence of the plague; upon which the *Volſci*, *&c.* commit great ravages upon the *Roman* allies.	IV	574
3932	2625	374	Six military tribunes govern *Rome* this year; and the plague being ceaſed, they reduce part of the revolters to their obedience again.	IV	574
3932	2625	374	*Nicocles* killed *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and reigned in his ſtead.		
3933	2626	373	*Camillus* is a 6th time choſe military tribune, much againſt his will, and with *L. Furius*, his colleague, goes againſt the revolted *Volſci*, who overcome *Furius*, but are entirely defeated by *Camillus*.	IV	575
3933	2626	373	*Johanan* (or *John*) ſucceeds his father *Joiada* in the *Jewiſh* high-prieſthood; but *Bagoſes*, governor of *Syria*, *&c.* having promiſed it to *Jeſhua*, (or *Jeſus* his brother) upon his coming to act, *Johanan* raiſed his paſſion ſo high, that he killed him in the inner court of the temple; for which *Bagoſes* (the *Perſian* general) ſeverely mulcted the temple ſeven years.	IV	28
3934	2627	372	The *Roman* patricians oppoſe the choice of cenſors, which occaſions ſo great a diſturbance, that the *Præneſtines* revolt, and come up to the very gates of *Rome*; upon which *Titus Quinctius* was choſe dictator, and the *Præneſtines* retire from the city to the banks of the *Allia*, whither the dictator followed, and overthrew them: Afterwards he purſued them, and overtook them before they reached *Præneſte*, and overthrew them a ſecond time, took all their ſtrong holds, and appearing before *Præneſte*, it capitulated. The dictator returned to *Rome* in triumph, bringing from *Præneſte* the ſtatue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which was placed in the capitol between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*, and then laid down his dictatorſhip, which laſted but 25 days; upon which three patricians and three plebeians are choſe military tribunes.	IV	576
3934	2627	372	The *Volſci* draw the *Roman* generals into an ambuſcade, and kill many of their men, and take their camps.	IV	577
3934	2627	372	The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* make peace again, proclaiming all the *Grecian* cities free, againſt which the *Thebans* again proteſt, *&c.*	II	541
3934	2627	372	The *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians* being at war, the *Thebans* demand help of the *Athenians*, who ſend *Iphicrates* to their aſſiſtance, who ſucceeds but badly.	II	41
3935	2628	371	The *Spartans* having made a truce with the *Thebans*, *&c*, in their return home meeting *Archidamus* coming to their aſſiſtance with a great reinforcement, return, break the truce, engage, and are totally overthrown in the battle of *Leuctra*, whereby they loſt the empire of *Greece*, which they had held for 500 years. This fatal news coming to *Sparta*, while the *Ephori* were ſuperintending the *Gymnic* ſolemnities, they went on without taking any notice of the calamity.	II	616
3935	2628	371	The *Volſci* entering the *Roman* territories, lay them waſte; upon which the *Romans* enter the enemies country with two armies at once, and lay it waſte, and return to *Rome* with great booty. Two cenſors are this year choſe, but ſuſpend their office upon account of their publick troubles.	IV	577
3935	2628	371	*Cleombrotus*, king of *Lacedæmon*, is killed in battle at *Leuctra*, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Ageſipolis*.	II	558
3936	2629	370	The *Latins* and *Volſci* join againſt the *Romans*, but are overthrown by the military tribunes *P. Valerius* and *L. Æmilius*.	IV	578
3936	2629	370	The *Latins* remaining obſtinate againſt the *Romans*, enter the country of the *Tuſculans*, and put many to the ſword, and take their city: The *Romans* come to their relief, take the place by aſſault, and put every *Latin* to the ſword, and return back to *Rome*, having reinſtated the *Tuſculans*.	IV	578
3936	2629	370	*Ageſipolis* king of *Lacedæmon* dies, and is ſucceeded by his brother *Cleomenes*, who reigned about two years.	II	558
3936	2629	370	*Ageſilaus* is made dictator at *Sparta*. with power even over the laws: He raiſes an army, marches into the *Arcadian* territories, ravages the country, takes ſome towns, and returns home.	II	617
3936	2629	370	The *Mantineans* rebuild their city, and fortify themſelves therein; and the *Arcadians* rebuild *Megalopolis*, to which they repair from all their villages: The *Lacedæmonians* go againſt them, kill *Lycomedes*, the *Mantinean* general, and 200 men; upon which the *Thebans* ſend them aſſiſtance, under *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*; the *Spartans* being retired, they invade *Laconia*, and come even to		

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			Sparta; but by the wiſe management of *Ageſilaus*, are forced to retire; and in their return laid waſte the country as they marched off	II	617
3936	2629	370	Two hundred *Spartan* rebels ſeize the temple of *Diana* at *Iſſorion*; but *Ageſilaus* having artfully diſperſed them, all were taken and put to death, without any trouble	II	617
3936	2629	370	*Epaminondas*, the *Theban* general, upon his leaving *Sparta* rebuilt the city of *Meſſena*, and recalled and replaced the ancient inhabitants, after they had been diſpoſſeſſed 300 years	II	617
3937	2630	369	*Epaminondas*, the *Theban* general, attacks and forces the lines of the *Spartans* and their confederates, and waſtes the country of *Peloponneſus*, reduces *Sicyon*, and attacked *Corinth*	II	618
3937	2630	369	*Tachos*, king of *Egypt*, (the ſucceſſor to *Nectanebis*) while he was gone to oppoſe the *Perſians* in *Phœnicia*, was depoſed at home, and *Nectanebus* his kinſman ſet up in his ſtead	I	275
3937	2630	369	The *Roman* ſtate fall into a ſort of anarchy for four years, by the contentions of the tribunes, there being only tribunes and ædiles choſe governors during that time	IV	579
3938	2631	368	The *Lacedæmonians* kill 10,000 *Arcadians*, without the loſs of one man	II	618
3938	2631	368	*Ageſilaus* defeats the *Mendeſian* that oppoſed *Nectanebus*, being king of *Egypt*, and thereby ſettles him upon the throne	I	276
3938	2631	368	*Dionyſius* the *Syracuſan* breaks the peace, and falls upon the *Carthaginians*, takes ſeveral cities from them in *Sicily*, *&c.* but growing ſecure and negligent, the *Carthaginians* ſurprize his gallies in the port of *Eryx*, and take and deſtroy moſt of them, upon which a peace enſues	VI	773
3938	2631	368	*Cleomenes* ſucceeds his brother *Ageſipolis* as joint king of *Sparta*, which he held only one year	II	618
3939	2632	367	*Cleomenes* acts as firſt magiſtrate of *Sparta*, and *Archidamus* (ſon of *Ageſilaus*) has the command of the army: He goes into *Arcadia*, takes *Caryæ*, and puts all to the ſword. *Ciſſidas*, general of *Dionyſius*, declaring his time was out, and that he muſt return home, which attempting, he was in part ſurrounded by the *Meſſenians*; hereupon he ſends to acquaint *Archidamus* with it, who comes to his aſſiſtance, falls upon the *Arcadians*, and utterly defeats them, and kills 10,000 upon the ſpot, without loſing one *Spartan*; which for that reaſon was called the tearleſs battle	II	618
3941	2634	365	The *Velitræ* declaring war againſt *Rome*, and over-running the *Roman* territories beſiege *Tuſculum*, whoſe inhabitants were now admitted as *Roman* citizens. Six military tribunes are choſe, who raiſe an army, defeat the enemy, relieve *Tuſculum*, and inveſt *Velitræ*	IV	579
3942	2635	364	The diſputes between the patricians and plebeians at *Rome* ariſe to ſo great a heighth, that *Camillus* is choſe a fourth time dictator; but the faction for the people was ſo ſtrong, that he could do but little good, and therefore laid down his office; upon which, after a ſhort inter-regnum, *P. Manlius* ſucceeded	VI	581
3943	2636	363	Six military tribunes govern *Rome* this year; but upon an information that the *Gauls* were in full march againſt *Rome*, *Camillus* was a fifth time made dictator, though now 80 years of age; he goes againſt the *Gauls*, encamped upon the banks of the *Anio*, and by ſtratagem puts them into confuſion, and entirely routs them; then goes againſt *Velitræ*, which immediately ſubmits; then returns to *Rome*, where he is decreed a triumph both by ſenate and people. *Rome* being now delivered from publick danger, the private diſputes riſing too high to be allay'd, the ſenate is forced to enact the three following laws, the 1ſt. for ſuppreſſing the military tribuneſhip and reſtoring the conſulate, one of which was to be a plebeian, the other a patrician; the 2d. that what intereſt any perſon in debt had paid, ſhould be eſteemed as ſo much principal, and his debts ſo much reduced, and the remainder to be paid by equal payments; the 3d. that no *Roman* ſhould hold more than 500 acres of land; the ſurplus to be divided among the poorer citizens	IV	582
3944	2637	362	The conſulate reſtored in the perſons of *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, a patrician, and *L. Sextus*, a plebeian. The ſenate orders the great games, and a new officer, called a *Prætor*, is choſe out of the patricians, to be a judge in all civil matters: Likewiſe two patrician *Ædiles* are choſe to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of juſtice, *&c.*	IV	583
3944	2637	362	New commotions break out in *Peloponneſus*, between the *Tegetæans* and *Mantineans*, which draw in the *Athenians* and *Spartans*	II	619
3945	2638	361	*Epaminondas*, in a very obſtinate battle with the *Lacedæmonians*, *&c.* is killed, and a great number of men on both ſides	II	542
3945	2638	361	*Dionyſius*, the *Syracuſan* tyrant, having cauſed a tragedy compoſed by himſelf to be acted at *Athens*, for the prize of poetry at the feaſt of *Bacchus*, was proclaimed victor, upon which he treated all *Syracuſe* for ſeveral days, and drinking exceſſively, contracted a violent diſorder, for the cure of which requiring an opiate, his phyſicians gave him one from which he never awoke	III	61
3945	2638	361	*Perdiccas*, king of *Macedon*, goes againſt the *Illyrians*; they engage, and the *Macedonians* are routed with a great ſlaughter; among the ſlain was *Perdiccas* himſelf, with many of the officers; his ſon *Amyntas*, then a child, was declared his ſucceſſor	III	287
3945	2638	361	*L. Genucius*, a plebeian, and *Servilius Ahala*, a patrician, being conſuls this year at *Rome*, a dreadful plague broke out, which carried off great numbers of the people, one cenſor, three tribunes of the people, and one *Curule* ædile, and the great *Camillus*, whoſe character was, that he never fought a battle without getting a complete victory, never beſieged a city without taking it, nor ever led an army into the field which he did not bring back loaded with glory, honour, ſpoil, and booty, *&c.*		

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3946	2639	360	*Dionyſius* II. (the ſon of the late *Dionyſius*, by his wife *Doris*, the *Locrian*) ſucceeds his father in *Syracuſe*, and ſends to *Athens* for *Plato* the philoſopher, to inſtruct him in polite literature, who came accordingly	III	63
3946	2639	360	*Dion*, a great man in *Syracuſe*, being baniſhed, conſpires againſt *Dionyſius*, and comes with 800 well diſciplined troops, who were immediately joined by a vaſt multitude of malecontents; they enter *Syracuſe* without oppoſition, take *Epipolæ* by ſtorm, and ſet all the citizens at liberty who were priſoners in the fort, and then block up all the tyrant's friends	III	67
3946	2639	360	*Dionyſius* returns from *Caulonia* in *Italy*, and finding his affairs deſperate, offers the *Syracuſans* to reſtore the government of the democracy	III	67
3946	2639	360	The parties of *Dion* and *Dionyſius* engage, wherein many being killed on both ſides, *Dion* at length prevails; upon which *Dion* is preſented with a gold crown, *&c.* Soon after *Dionyſius* offers to ſurrender the citadel, all the troops in gariſon, and money to pay them five months, and to retire into *Italy*; but this not being granted, he eſcaped in a ſingle veſſel, with his treaſure, *&c.* into *Italy*, leaving his ſon *Apollocrates* governor in the citadel.	III	69
3946	2639	360	The *Macedonians*, under their king *Philip*, defeat *Mantius*, the *Athenian* general, who was aſſiſting *Argæus*, *Philip*'s competitor for the crown of *Macedon*	II	542
3946	2639	360	*Philip*, brother of the deceaſed *Perdiccas*, returns from *Thebes*, and (though at firſt he pretended to act as guardian to his nephew) preſently takes upon him the kingdom of *Macedon*, with the free conſent of all parties; and to ſtrengthen his intereſt, declares *Amphipolis* a free city, makes large preſents to the great men of *Peonia*, and to *Pauſanias* king of *Sparta*	III	288
3946	2639	360	*C. Sulpitius*, a patrician, and *C. Licinius Stola*, a plebeian, are choſe conſuls at *Rome*: The plague continuing, to appeaſe the Gods they uſe the *Lectiſternium*, and conſtitute new ſports, called the *Scenici*, or pantomime dances, and revive the ceremony of driving a nail by the dictator *T. Manlius*, who was now named for that purpoſe) into that part of the wall of *Jupiter Capitolinus*'s temple which divided it from the chappel of *Minerva*, under the ſame roof; which being performed, he offers to raiſe an army to go againſt the *Hernici*, but is oppoſed by the tribunes, who compel him to lay down his office, then impeach him for his ill conduct.	IV	586
3947	2640	359	*Ageſilaus*, one of the famous *Spartan* kings, dies in his return from *Perſia*, and is ſucceeded in the joint kingdom of *Sparta* by *Archidamus* the 2d. who reigned 23 years	II	620
3947	2640	359	*Dion* is ſhamefully and ingratefully forced to fly, with his adherents, from *Syracuſe*	II	69
3947	2640	359	*Ochus*, ſon of *Artaxerxes*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Perſia*, the moſt cruel and wicked prince that ever reigned in *Perſia*, cauſing all of the blood royal of all ages and ſexes to be murdered	II	150
3947	2640	359	*Argæus* (a pretender to the crown of *Macedon*) comes with an army as far as *Ægæ*; the inhabitants oblige him to retire, upon which *Philip* purſues him, engages and defeats him, with great ſlaughter	III	289
3947	2640	359	*Philip*, king of *Macedon*, concludes a peace with the *Athenians*, invades the *Peonians*, takes their city, and reduces them to become his tributaries; then marches againſt the *Illyrians*, engages, totally routs, and kills 7000 upon the ſpot, and conſtrains them to buy a peace, at the expence of all their former conqueſts in *Macedonia*	III	290
3947	2640	359	A terrible earthquake making a chaſm that could not be ſtopped up at *Rome*, the augurs declared it could not be done till what the ſtrength and power of the *Roman* people conſiſted in was thrown into it, and that ſuch victim would ſecure the eternal duration of the *Roman* ſtate: *M. Curtius*, a brave young patrician, explained this anſwer by arms and valour, puts on his habiliments of war, and riding upon a fine horſe, richly capariſoned, jumped into the gulph. Upon this, *Genucius* the plebeian conſul goes againſt the *Hernici*, but falls into an ambuſcade, and the legions flying, he is killed; upon which *Appius Claudius* is made dictator, who with great loſs and difficulty beat the *Hernici*, but is refuſed a triumph	IV	586
3948	2641	358	*Nypſæus* comes to the port of *Arætuſa*, with a reinforcement of men and ſupply of corn, encourages the tyrants friends to hold out to the laſt extremity: The *Syracuſans* ſet upon his ſhips, taking ſome, ſink others, and diſperſe the reſt; then give themſelves up to debauchery; upon which the army of *Nypſæus* falls upon them in the night, takes the city, and kills all they meet with, *&c.* and then retires into the citadel; upon which the citizens that were left ſend deputies to *Dion*, who makes all the haſte poſſible to their relief: The next night *Dionyſius*'s ſoldiers ſally out of the citadel, murder all they meet with, and ſet fire to the city; in the midſt of this confuſion *Dion* comes with what *Peloponneſian* troops he had, and marching through fire, blood, and dead bodies, attacked the enemy with the greateſt fury imaginable; after many hours fight with a much ſuperior number, the *Peloponneſians* forced the *Dionyſians* into the citadel, after great loſs on both ſides: After ſome time, *Apollocrates* is allowed to retire, with all his friends and relations, to his father in *Italy*. Then *Dionyſius*, having nobly rewarded thoſe who had aſſiſted him, diſmiſſed his guards, lived like a private citizen, and ſoon after is murdered by one *Calippus*, an *Athenian*	III	72
3948	2641	358	*Aſia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and many other provinces, revolt from *Ochus*, now king of *Perſia*, through their hatred of his cruelty	II	150
3948	2641	358	*Philip* king of *Macedon* beſieges and takes the city of *Amphipolis* by ſtorm, puts all the partizans againſt his intereſt to death, and uſes all the common inhabitants kindly: Then he reduced *Pydna*, and *Potidæa*, which laſt having an *Athenian* gariſon, he diſmiſſed with all the marks of military honour, and delivers up the city to the *Olynthians*	III	290
3948	2641	358	*C. Licinius Stolo*, a plebeian, and *C. Sulpitius* (ſirnamed *Peticus*) being choſe conſuls at *Rome*, beſiege and take *Terentinum* from the *Hernici*: In their return to *Rome*, the gates of *Tybur* are ſhut againſt them, the *Tyburtes* being in alliance with the		

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			Gauls, who were in motion again; upon which *T. Quinctius Pennus* is made dictator; the *Gauls* advance, and encamp upon the banks of the *Anio*, within three miles of *Rome*, and the *Romans* oppoſite to them. A *Gaul* of gigantic ſize and ſtrength, challenging all the *Romans* to a ſingle combat, *Manlius* accepts the challenge, engages and kills him; and tearing off a gold collar from his neck, put it on his own all bloody; from whence he was ſirnamed *Torquatus*. The following night the *Gauls* abandoned their camp, and retired into *Campania*	IV	583
3949	2642	357	*Orontes*, governor of *Myſia*, being choſe general of all the provinces of *Aſia Minor*, and upon his receiving money ſufficient to raiſe troops, to maintain them in their revolt, makes his peace with *Ochus*, by delivering up thoſe who had brought it; and *Rheomitres*, another chief, inſtead of uſing the help from *Egypt*, where he had collected 500 talents and 50 ſhips of war, aſſembles the ring-leaders, and delivers them into the hands of *Ochus* king of *Perſia*	II	151
3949	2642	357	*Philip* king of *Macedon* takes *Crenides*, the capital city of the country, lying between the river *Strymon* and *Neſſus*, famous for its gold mines; makes great alterations in the city, and new names it *Philippi*, directs the working the mines, more advantagiouſly than heretofore, and gets 10,000 talents a year from them	III	291
3949	2642	357	*C. Petilius Libo* and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, the two *Roman* conſuls, having each an army, *Libo* goes againſt the *Tyburtes*, and *Ambuſtus* againſt the *Hernici*, who continued their revolt upon the *Gauls* coming into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and block up the gate *Collina*; upon which *Servilius Ahala* is made dictator, who engaged the *Gauls* under the walls of *Rome*, from whence, after much blood ſhed on both ſides, the *Gauls* are forced to run away, *&c.* *Fabius* overthrows the *Hernici* in a general battle. *Libo* has a triumph, *Fabius* an ovation; and *Servilius* lays down the dictatorſhip	IV	588
3950	2643	356	The *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, revolt from *Athens*, and form the ſocial war	II	542
3950	2643	356	The *Rhodians* join in the ſocial war againſt the *Athenians*, ravage the iſlands of *Imbros* and *Leſbos*, take many ſhips, and raiſes contributions ſufficient to pay their fleet and army	III	135
3950	2643	356	*Chares*, the *Athenian* general, accuſes *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, his colleagues, for neglect of duty; upon which they are recalled, fined, and caſhiered; *Timotheus* unable to pay the mulct laid on him, retired to *Chelos*, and there broke his heart with grief at his diſgrace	II	543
3950	2643	356	Advice is brought to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, then in the field, that his wife *Olympias* (daughter of *Neoptolemus* king of *Epirus*) was brought to bed of a ſon at *Pella*, whom he named *Alexander*, and who was afterwards ſirnamed *the Great*; at the ſame time he received alſo advice, that his chariot had gained the prize at the *Olympick* games, and that *Parmenio* his general had beaten the *Illyrians*	III	291
3950	2643	356	The *Tyburtes* come in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*; in the morning the two conſuls march out at two different gates of the city againſt them, and drove them away immediately	IV	588
3950	2643	356	The *Phocian*, or ſacred war breaks out, about the temple of *Apollo*, and the things therein dedicated to his uſe	II	543
3951	2644	355	*C. Fabius Ambuſtus* the conſul goes againſt the *Tarquinenſes*, and is defeated, they taking 307 *Romans* priſoners, firſt treat them barbarouſly, and then cut their throats. *C. Plautius Proculus*, the other conſul, goes againſt and entirely ſubdues the *Hernici*	IV	588
3951	2644	355	The *Boii* (or *Gauls*) advance to *Pedum*, ten miles from *Rome*; *Sulpitius* is made dictator, who with his allies the *Latins* go againſt the *Gauls*, and after an obſtinate fight obtain a complete victory, and kill and drive all away, for which he is honoured with a triumph, and lays down his dictatorſhip	IV	590
3952	2645	354	*Philip* king of *Macedon* beſieges *Ithome*, which makes a ſtout defence, but at laſt ſurrendered, with leave to depart the place; which being done, *Philip* razed the city and divided the land among the ſoldiers: He is ſaid to loſe an eye in this ſiege	III	291
3952	2645	354	Intereſt of money is now ſettled at *Rome*, at one per cent, which heretofore had been arbitrary, according to the avarice of the lender, and neceſſity of the borrower. *Licinus Stolo*, the late plebeian conſul, is fined 10,000 aſſes of braſs, for having more than 500 acres of land. The *Privernates* having revolted, are defeated, and their city taken by the conſul *Marius*. The tribunes get a law paſſed, prohibiting any magiiſtrate upon pain of death, to aſſemble the *Comitia* any where but at *Rome*	IV	590
3953	2646	353	Upon the death of *Dion*, the deliverer of *Syracuſe*, *Calippus* (or *Gylippus*) got into the ſupremacy of that territory, and practiſed all manner of cruelties, even greater than the former tyrants had done	III	73
3953	2646	353	*Gylippus* marching his forces againſt *Catana*, *Syracuſe* revolts, and going to *Meſſana*, the inhabitants ſhut their gates, and take up arms againſt him, and in a ſally cut off the *Zacynthian* troops that had murdered *Dion*; and all the *Syracuſan* cities refuſing him admittance, he retired to *Rhegium*, where he was ſlain by *Leptines* and *Polyperchon*.	III	73
3953	2646	353	*Philip* king of *Macedon*, having partly by fraud, and partly by force, gained poſſeſſion of the *Straits* of *Thermopylæ*, *Demoſthenes*, to rouſe the *Athenians*, compoſed the firſt of thoſe inimitable orations, ſtill in being, called the *Philipics*	II	545
3953	2646	353	*Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Aſiatic* provinces, revolts from *Perſia*, and gets *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him with a fleet and body of troops: *Ochus*, king of *Perſia*, ſends an army of 70,000 men againſt the rebels, which *Chares* cut all to pieces; for which ſervice *Artabazus* gives him large gifts, *&c.* *Ochus* threatens the *Athenians* to join the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *&c.* with whom they were at war, if they did not recall *Chares*; for fear whereof they recall him, his army and fleet, with which he returns home	II	151

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3953	2646	353	At the requeſt of the *Aleuadæ*, or chiefs, *Philip* marches his *Macedonians* againſt *Lycophron*, the tyrant of *Theſſaly*, and engages him and the *Phocians*, his allies, who were defeated by *Philip*, and the *Phocians* driven out of *Theſſaly*, but *Onomarchus* (the *Phocian* general) coming with his whole army to the aſſiſtance of *Lycophron*, diſcomfits *Philip* in two general battles, and forces him to retire out of *Theſſaly* in great diſtreſs		
3953	2646	353	*Philip* again engages *Lycophon*, and his allies the *Phocians*, obtains a compleat victory, kills the *Phocian* general, and 6000 men, obliges *Lycophron* and his brother *Pitholaus* to ſurrender the capital city *Phærea* into his hands, and ſwear to be quiet; then he reſtores all the cities to their liberty	III	292
3953	2646	353	All the *Hetrurians* taking up arms, the *Romans* chuſe the plebeian *C. Marius Rutilus* dictator, and he named *C. Plautius Proculus*, a plebeian, for his general of horſe; which ſo enraged the patricians, that they uſed their utmoſt intereſt to hinder his having neceſſaries for the war; but the people being pleaſed with this promotion (it being the firſt time a plebeian had been made dictator) haſten the levies and ſtores, which being ſoon ready, he marches againſt the enemy, ſurprizes and forces their camp, kills a great number, and takes 5000 priſoners; for which, in ſpite of all oppoſition, he entered *Rome* in triumph	III	293
3953	2646	353	The *Athenians* conclude the ſocial war, upon very advantagious terms to the revolters, leaving *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Cos*, and *Byzantium*, entirely freed from any dependancy upon them	IV	591
3953	2646	353	*Mauſolus* king of *Caria*, who had aſſiſted the *Rhodians* and *Coans* againſt *Athens*, declares for an ariſtocratic government, and makes himſelf maſter of the two iſlands *Rhodes* and *Cos*	III	136
3954	2647	352	*Hipparinus*, brother of *Dionyſius*, arriving at *Syracuſe*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the city, and held it for the ſpace of two years	III	136
3954	2647	352	*Artabazus*, the revolted *Perſian*, gets 5000 *Thebans*, under the command of *Pammenes*, to aſſiſt him, by whoſe help he gained two victories over the king's forces; upon which *Ochus* bribes *Pammenes*, with 300 talents, to return home; which they doing, *Artabazus* is forced to fly to *Philip* king of *Macedon* for refuge	III	273
3954	2647	352	*Philip* king of *Macedon* being angry with the *Athenians*, arms a great number of light veſſels, which continually harraſſed their trade, and took large prizes	II	151
3954	2647	352	After great ſtruggles and an interregnum, two patricians are choſe conſuls at *Rome* this year, after having for 11 ſucceſſive years one of them plebeians	III	293
3955	2648	351	*Nectanebus*, king of *Egypt*, and the *Phœnicians*, revolt from *Perſia*, and drive the *Perſians* ſent againſt *Phœnice* out of their territories	IV	591
3955	2648	351	The *Sidonians* being betrayed by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Tennes* their king, to *Ochus* king of *Perſia*, as ſoon as they ſaw the *Perſians* within their walls, ſhut up themſelves in their houſes, to the number of 40,000, and burnt them and themſelves together; upon which *Ochus* ordered *Tennes* throat to be cut, and marched into *Judea*, took *Jericho*, and ſent many *Jews* captive, ſome into *Egypt*, and others into *Hyrcania*, along the *Caſpian* ſea	II	152
3955	2648	351	*Ochus* makes peace with the *Cyprians*, redreſſes their grievances, and ſettles their 9 kings in their reſpective governments	II	28
3955	2648	351	After great oppoſition, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *T. Quinctius Penmus*, both patricians, are choſe conſuls to govern *Rome* this year. *Fabius* totally ſubdues the *Tyburtes*; and *Quinctius* in a bloody battle defeats the *Tarquinenſes*, who put all the priſoners to the ſword (to revenge the death of the 307 *Romans* they had murdered) except 358 which he ſent to *Rome*, where, after they had been ſcourged with rods, were beheaded: Upon this the *Samnites* (a people of *Italy*) enter into alliance with the *Romans*, who promiſe them protection, *&c.*	II	152
3955	2648	351	*Mauſolus* king of *Caria* dying, the nobility and people of *Rhodes* drive out the *Carian* gariſons, and recover their former liberty and government	IV	591
3955	2648	351	The *Rhodians* make a deſcent upon *Caria*; *Q. Artemiſia* (widow of *Mauſolus*) orders the *Halicarnaſſians* to expreſs a readineſs to ſurrender by clapping of hands, *&c.* upon which the *Rhodians* leave their ſhips, and go unguarded into the city; the queen ſeizes the *Rhodian* fleet, mans it with *Carians*, ſails to *Rhodes*, gets poſſeſſion of the city, and puts the chief magiſtrates to death: But *Artemiſia* dying ſoon after, they recovered their city and liberty again	III	136
3956	2649	350	*Dionyſius* comes with foreign troops, and defeats *Nypſæus*, governor of *Syracuſe*, reinſtates himſelf in the government, and acts with the utmoſt revenge and cruelty towards the people, who apply themſelves to *Icetas*, a *Syracuſan* by birth, and at that time tyrant of *Leontini*	III	137
3956	2649	350	*Ochus*, with his *Greek* aſſiſtants, overcome *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*, who is forced to fly into *Ethiopia*, ſo that henceforward *Egypt* became a province of *Perſia*. *Ochus* having now quelled all diſturbances in his great empire, gives himſelf up to eaſe and luxury, and the direction of publick affairs to his two favourites, *Bagoas* and *Mentor*	III	73
3956	2649	350	*Philip* king of *Macedon* wars againſt the *Olynthians*, takes *Zeira*, a town in *Chalcidia*, and razed it to the ground; then takes *Mycalerna* and *Torone*, defeats the *Olynthians* twice in the field, and ſhuts them up in their city of *Olynthus*	II	153
3956	2649	350	The patricians keep the conſulate, and promote *T. Manlius Torquatus* to the dictatorſhip, though he had never been conſul, contrary to law; he goes againſt the *Cærites*, who had revolted, who immediately ſubmit, and for former kindneſſes to the *Romans* were forgiven, and a truce made with them for 100 years	III	294
3957	2650	349	The diſputes run ſo high, that to avoid a civil war, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, a patrician, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a plebeian, are choſe conſuls at *Rome* this year, who choſe five perſons, called bankers, to regulate they payment of debts	IV	592
3958	2651	348	Almoſt all the cities of *Chalcidia*, fell into the hands of *Philip* king of *Macedon*	IV II	592 546
3958	2651	348	Two patricians are choſe conſuls at *Rome* this year, during which the *Tarquinenſes* and *Faliſci* ſubmit to the republick, and obtain a truce for 40 years; and *Marcius*		

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			Rutilus, a plebian, and *Cn. Manlius*, a patrician, are chose censors; and a law is passed to deprive the consuls of the power of filling up the senate, and giving it to the censors	IV	592
3959	2652	347	*Demosthenes* pronounces three most excellent orations, still in being, to persuade the *Athenians* to assist the *Olynthians* against the *Macedonians*	II	546
3959	2652	347	*Olynthus* is betrayed to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, by *Euthycrates* and *Lasthenes*: *Philip* plunders the citizens houses, and sells the citizens, and celebrates *Olympic* games for joy of this victory, exhibiting splendid shews, making magnificent feasts, and bestowing great largesses upon those who had behaved gallantly in the siege	III	294
3959	2652	347	*L. Cornelius Scipio*, one of the consuls, falling sick, *M. Popilius Lænas* his colleague, being a plebeian, to the great mortification of the patricians, became sole general of the *Roman* troops: The *Gauls* having entered *Latium*, and laid the country waste, were advancing towards *Rome*; *Popilius* marches against them. and tho' desperately wounded himself, after a bloody battle overthrew them, forced them to retire with precipitation, takes and plunders their camp, and returns to *Rome* loaded with booty, for which he is decreed a triumph	IV	593
3960	2653	346	A peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Macedonians* for seven years	III	295
3960	2653	346	*L. Furius Camillus* (son of the great *Camillus*) and *Appius Claudius*, both patricians, are chose consuls to govern *Rome* this year; but *Appius* dying, and the *Gauls* invading *Latium*, plundered it from the mouth of the *Tyber* to *Antium*. *Camillus* raises a great army, and encamps in the *Pomptin* territory, in sight of them; a fierce *Gaul*, cloathed in very rich armour, challenges any *Roman* to single combat, which is accepted by *M. Valerius*, a legionary tribune; they engage, but an eagle flying in the face of the *Gaul*, *Valerius* killed him; and to prevent his being stripped of his arms, the *Gauls* surround and defend him; this occasions a general engagement, wherein the *Gauls* were entirely defeated. *Valerius* was rewarded by *Camillus* with a crown of gold and two oxen, and sirnamed *Corvus*	IV	594
3961	2654	345	*Philip* king of *Macedon* subdues the *Phocians*, and so puts an end to the sacred war, orders the walls of their city to be demolished, and the people to live only in villages, and to pay 60 talents as a yearly tribute, their arms are taken from them, and their double voices in the council given to the *Macedonians*, by the *Amphyctions*, or great council of *Greece*, who had no voice before now	III	296
3961	2654	345	*Popilius Lænas*, and *M. Valerius Corvus*, (though but 23 years of age, and even too young to sit in the senate) are chose consuls to govern *Rome* this year, in which the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* make a treaty of commerce and navigation	IV	595
3962	2655	344	The *Syracusans* send to *Corinth* to beg assistance against *Dionysius* and the *Carthaginians*, who send *Timoleon* with an army to their assistance	III	74
3962	2655	344	*Dopethes*, the *Athenian* governor in *Thrace*, enters king *Philip* of *Macedon*'s adjacent territories, and lays all waste with fire and sword	III	297
3962	2655	344	*C. Plautius Hypsæus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus* being chose consuls to govern *Rome* this year, peace being abroad, the consuls set about regulating the civil government at home, and reduce interest from one per cent to one half per cent, and allow the debtors, upon paying one quarter of their debts down, three years to pay the remainder by annual equal payments	IV	595
3963	2656	343	*Dionysius* surrenders the citadel of *Syracuse* into the hands of *Timoleon*, with all his treasure, arms, *&c.* and escapes to *Corinth* in a single vessel	III	76
3963	2656	343	*Timoleon* attacks and takes the city of *Syracuse* from *Icetas*, then assembles the citizens, who demolish the citadel, *&c.* and causes several edifices to be rebuilt, and proclamations to be made over all *Greece*, *Asia*, *&c.* to recall all the *Syracusans* that had fled from the cruelties of the several tyrants, promising the restoration of their lands, *&c.* these repair to *Corinth*, and with some *Corinthians*, *&c.* come and repeople *Syracuse*, *&c.*	III	77
3963	2656	343	*Timoleon* goes against *Icetas*, tyrant of *Leontini*, and compels him to renounce his alliance with *Carthage*, demolish his forts, and resign the sovereignty	III	78
3963	2656	343	The *Illyrians* harrass the frontiers of *Macedon*, but are soon quelled by *Philip*	III	298
3963	2656	343	The *Volsci* revolting from the *Romans*, *Valerius Corvus*, now a second time consul, goes against them, defeats them, takes and burns *Satricum*, sparing only the goddess of *Mantua*; for which he was honoured with a triumph, in which 4,000 captives marched before his chariot, and the secular games were for the 2d time celebrated	IV	595
3964	2657	342	*Dionysius*, from a wealthy powerful prince becomes so poor, as to be necessitated to keep a school at *Corinth* to get a maintenance	III	76
3964	2657	342	*Phocion*, the *Atnenian* general, arriving at *Megara*, rebuilds the long walls, and joined that city to its port *Nicæa*, and so secures it to the *Athenians*	II	547
3964	2657	342	*L. Furius Camillus* is a second time chose dictator at *Rome*, upon account of the *Arunci* becoming enemies to *Rome*, (a petty nation on the confines of *Latium*, on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea.) *Furius* overthrew them in battle, and at his return to *Rome* built a temple, (which, during the action, he had vowed to *Juno Moneta*) on the capitol, in the place where the house of the rebellious *Manlius* formerly stood, and which afterwards became a publick mint, from whence the medals stamped for trade were called money	IV	595
3965	2658	341	*Philip* king of *Macedon* sends his forces into the *Negropont*, and demolishes *Porthmos*, the strongest city of those parts, leaving the country to the government of three lords, or tyrants: He likewise takes *Orchus*, and puts it under the direction of 5 magistrates, called also tyrants	III	299
3965	2658	341	*Jaddua* succeeds his father *Johanan* in the *Jewish* high-priesthood	IV	28
3966	2659	340	*Philip* king of *Macedon* marches with 30,000 men into *Thessaly*, and invests *Perinthus*, one of the most considerable cities in *Propontis*	III	300
3966	2659	340	*P. Valerius* is appointed dictator at *Rome*, to solemnize the festival called *Feriæ Latinæ*	IV	595

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3967	2660	339	*Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, returns with his troops to *Carthage*, and there murders himſelf, to prevent being called to an account for his return without leave or command	III	77
3967	2660	339	*Philip* endeavours to ſtorm the city of *Perinthus*, but after a vaſt effuſion of blood on both ſides, is obliged to raiſe the ſiege both of it and alſo of *Byzantium*	III	304
3967	2660	339	*Phocion*, the *Athenian* general, takes ſeveral of *Philip*'s ſhips, and retakes ſeveral towns, and raiſes contributions throughout the maritime provinces of *Macedonia*	III	305
3968	2661	338	The *Athenians* very much harraſs and diſtreſs the *Macedonians* by ſea, permitting none of their ſhips to ſtir out of their ports, by keeping large ſquadrons always cruiſing to take all they met with	III	305
3968	2661	338	The enmity between the *Romans* and *Samnites* breaking out, upon account of the *Campanians*, who threw themſelves into the protection of the *Romans*, by ſurrendering wholly up to them, upon which the *Romans*, under their conſul *Valerius*, and the *Samnites* engage, and after a moſt deſperate battle the *Samnites* retire in the night, and leave the *Romans* maſters of the field and their camp	IV	596
3968	2661	338	*Cornelius Coſſus*, (ſirnamed *Arvina*) the other conſul, being ſurrounded, and much harraſſed and endangered by the *Samnites*, was delivered by *P. Decius Mus*, a legionary, and by a very bold ſtratagem ſurprized the *Samnites*, took and plundered their camp, after having cut 30,000 of them to pieces; upon which the conſul honours *Decius* with a gold crown, 100 oxen, and a white bull with gilt horns, and to his men he aſſigned a double quantity of corn during their life, and gave them two *Saga*, or military habits; the legions crown *Decius* with an obſidional crown, made of the graſs growing on the ſpot, and his own men crowned him with a crown of oak leaves, called the civic crown; thus crowned with three crowns, he offered up the white bull to *Mars*, and diſtributed the 100 oxen among his companions that ſhared the danger and glory with him	IV	597
3968	2661	338	The *Samnites* recruit, and *Valerius* goes againſt them at *Sueſſula*, a town ſituate between *Nola* and *Capua*, where engaging, the *Romans* are conquerors; 40,000 bucklers are taken from the enemy, and 120 ſtandards, and both conſuls are honoured with a triumph, and the *Carthaginians* preſent a crown of gold of 20 pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, as a thankſgiving for this victory. This year ended with a cenſus that ſhewed 160,000 perſons fit to bear arms were in the city of *Rome*, and the whole cloſed with a *Luſtrum*	IV	598
3968	2661	338	*Ochus* having diſpleaſed *Bagoas* by robbing the *Egyptian* temples, and killing their god *Apis*, and carrying away the ſacred records from thence, 12 years afterwards kills him, cauſes his fleſh to be cut to pieces and given to the cats and made handles of knives of his bones, then puts *Arſes*, *Ochus*'s youngeſt ſon, on the throne, and murders all the reſt, ſo gives *Arſes* the name of king, and himſelf all the power	II	154
3969	2662	337	The *Macedonians* engage and defeat the *Athenians* and *Thebans* in the neighbourhood of *Cheronæa*, with great ſlaughter, and thereby obtained the ſovereignty of *Greece*; after which they made a peace with the *Athenians*, and put a good gariſon into *Thebes*, and then left the reſt of the *Bæotians* unhurt		
3969	2662	337	A rebellion breaking out at *Rome*, the rebels ſeize *T. Quinctius* (an excellent commander that had retired to his country ſeat to die in peace) in his bed, and compel him to be their captain. *Valerius Corvus* is choſe dictator, and goes againſt them, and pacifies them, and the ſenate not only pardons them all, but conſents to paſs the following laws: 1ſt. That no perſon who was a legionary tribune one year, ſhould be a centurion next; 2. That no *Roman* ſhould lend money upon intereſt, and uſury abſolutely forbidden at *Rome*; 3d. That both the conſuls ſhould be plebeians; 4th. That no man ſhould bear the ſame office twice in ten years, or hold two different employments the ſame year	IV	599
3970	2663	336	*Philip* king of *Macedon* convokes a general aſſembly of the *Greeks*, wherein he was recognized generaliſſimo of all the *Greeks*, is endued with power to go againſt the *Perſians*; and after appointing each ſtate its quota, diſmiſſes them	III	308
3970	2663	336	*Philip* king of *Macedon* repudiates his wife *Olympias*, mother of *Alexander the Great*, and eſpouſes *Cleopatra*, the niece of *Attalus*; upon which *Alexander* quarrels with his father, and retires with his mother into *Epirus*, the kingdom of his grandfather	III	310
3970	2663	336	*Philip* king of *Macedon* calls home his ſon *Alexander* from *Epirus*, and is friends with him, and alſo marries *Cleopatra* (the daughter of his wife *Olympias*) to *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, her brother	III	312
3970	2663	336	*Philip* king of *Macedon* murdered by *Pauſanias*, captain of his guard, at a publick feſtival made for the celebration of the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, and is ſucceeded in his kingdom of *Macedon* by his ſon *Alexander* by his wife *Olympias*, ſirnamed *the Great*, from his great natural, and acquired parts, and from his extraordinary exploits and conqueſts in war	III	314
3970	2663	336	Upon the death of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the *Grecian* cities and ſtates revolt from his ſon *Alexander*	II	549
3970	2663	336	*Bagoas*, to prevent *Arſes* bringing him to an account for his father's death, murders him, and all his family, and then puts *Darius* the third upon the throne, before called *Codomanus*, governor of *Armenia*	II	154
3970	2663	336	*Darius* not being ſo tractable as *Bagoas* wiſhed him to be, purpoſed to poiſon him, of which *Darius* having notice, when he came with the poiſoned potion, he compelled *Bagoas* to drink it, and ſo ſettled himſelf upon the throne	II	154
3970	2663	336	The *Privernates* revolt from the *Romans*, but are reduced by the conſul *Plautius*; and the *Samnites* are ſo harraſſed, by *Æmilius* his colleague, that they ſue for peace and an alliance with *Rome*, which was granted	IV	599
3971	2664	335	*Alexander*, now king of *Macedon*, rejects the *Athenian* ambaſſadors with ſcorn, but upon their ſending *Phocion*; he was ſo influenced as to make a favourable peace		

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			with him for the *Athenians*: At the ſame time *Alexander* contracts a great intimacy with and friendſhip for *Phocion*	II	549
3971	2664	335	*Attalus*, general of the *Macedonian* army in *Aſia*, is killed by order of king *Alexander* for aſpiring to the crown of *Macedon*	III	318
3971	2664	335	*Alexander* king of *Macedon* engages and defeats the *Triballians*, *Thracians*, *&c.* upon which all the neighbouring nations make peace with him	III	319
3971	2664	335	*Alexander* king of *Macedon* defeats *Clytus* king of *Illyria*, that had revolted, and *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, who was come to his aſſiſtance, twice, and forces them to fly into the mountains for ſhelter	III	320
3971	2664	335	*Alexander* king of *Macedon* takes *Thebes* by ſtorm, kills all he meets for ſeveral hours, without regard to age or ſex, and razes all the city but the houſe of *Pindar* the poet; the lands he ſhared among his ſoldiers, and the priſoners he ſold for ſlaves, whereby he put 440 talents into his treaſury; this ſeverity was uſed towards the *Thebans* under pretence they were the allies of the *Perſians*, and ſo enemies to *Greece*. As an attonement for razing *Thebes*, he orders the cities *Orchemenus* and *Platea* to be rebuilt; upon which all the ſtates of *Greece* ſubmit to him, and he is made generaliſſimo of all *Greece*, *&c.*	III	321
3971	2664	335	*Manlius Torquatus*, a patrician, and *Decius Mus*, a plebeian, are choſen conſuls at *Rome*, when *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, uncle to *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy*, being invited by the *Tarentines* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Brutians*, and concludes an alliance of friendſhip with the *Romans*	IV	599
3971	2664	335	The conſuls ſummon 10 of the chiefs among the *Latins* to declare their reaſon for their warlike preparations: The *Latins* demand, that one of the conſuls and half the ſenate be choſen from among them; which being rejected, both ſides fly to arms. *Titus Manlius*, the ſon of one of the reigning conſuls, having engaged one *Gemenius Metius*, a *Latin*, and overcome him in ſingle combat, is puniſhed with death by the conſul his father, for fighting without leave, *&c.*	IV	601
3971	2664	335	The *Latins* and *Romans* engage, and the conſul *Decius Mus* devoting himſelf to the *Dii Manes*, is ſlain in the midſt of the *Latins*: The *Romans* having made a prodigious ſlaughter of the *Latins*, at length gain the victory over them at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*; after which *Numicius* their general recruits, and again engages the conſul *Manlius* at a village called *Triſana*, where he is a ſecond time overthrown; upon which *Manlius* lays all *Latium* waſte; and all the *Latin* cities ſurrender at diſcretion, likewiſe *Privernum* among the *Volſci*, and all *Campania*, with *Capua* its capital; the conſul takes their lands from them, and diſtributes them among the *Romans*, except the lands of the *Laurentini* and the *Campanian* knights, who were not concerned in the revolt	IV	602
3971	2664	335	The *Campanian* knights, to the number of 1800, for their faithfulneſs to the *Romans*, were made citizens of *Rome*, but without right of ſuffrage; and this privilege was engraved on braſs, and fixed up in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and an annual portion of 45 denarii aſſigned each of them out of the public revenues of *Campania*. *Manlius* falling ſick, *L. Papirius Craſſus* is made dictator, and goes with his troops into the country of the *Antiates*, who had revolted, where he ſtays ſome months, living at free quarter, and then returns to *Rome*, to chuſe conſuls.	IV	603
3972	2665	334	*Anaximenes*, the great hiſtorian, comes to meet *Alexander*, and to intercede for *Lampſacus*, a city that *Alexander* had determined to deſtroy, for ſiding with the *Perſians*. Upon ſeeing him, *Alexander* ſwears he would not grant him what he ſhould require; whereupon *Anaximenes* begs him to burn *Lampſacus*, and ſo ſaved it	III	325
3972	2665	334	*Alexander* croſſing the river *Granicus* in *Aſia*, engages the *Perſian* army, and defeats them with great ſlaughter, and the taking many priſoners.—Then marching to *Sardis*, it immediately ſurrenders, and with it all *Lydia*. Then he goes to *Epheſus*, and reſtores the democracy, and orders the tribute heretofore paid to the *Perſians*, to be applied to the rebuilding the temple of *Diana*; and by another edict, he ordered the reſtoration of the popular government in all the *Greek* cities, and ſent *Alcimalus* with a body of troops to ſee it executed	III	326
3972	2665	334	*Miletus* is taken by the *Macedon* troops by ſtorm; *Alexander* treats the citizens with great humanity, and ſells all the ſtrangers for ſlaves	III	327
3972	2665	334	*Alexander* beſieges, takes, and demoliſhes *Halicarnaſſus*, and makes *Ada* governeſs of all *Caria*. Upon this, moſt of the *Aſiatic* princes revolt from *Darius*, and ſubmit to *Alexander*; among whom was *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*	III	330
3972	2665	334	The *Marmarians* harraſs *Alexander*'s army, upon which he purſues and beſieges them; and after defending themſelves ſome time, the young men murder the old men, women and children, burn their houſes, and cut their way through *Alexander*'s guards, and fly to the mountains	III	330
3972	2665	334	*Alexander*, ſon of *Æropus*, general of the *Theſſalian* horſe, correſponds with *Amyntas*, who was in the ſervice of *Darius*. *Amyntas* promiſes him, in *Darius*'s name, 1000 talents of ſilver, and the kingdom of *Macedon*, to murder the king. *Parmenio*, the *Macedonian* general, communicates it to the king; upon which *Alexander* is ſeized and put to death	III	331
3972	2665	334	Q. *Publius*, a plebeian conſul, goes againſt an army of the *Latins*, that had revolted; overcomes them, and is honoured with a triumph: but *Æmilius* the patrician, his colleague, gaining only ſome ſmaller advantages againſt another *Latin* army, is denied that honour, which makes him exclaim extremely againſt the *Patricians*: They order him to name a dictator, and he chooſes *Publius*, a plebeian, who alſo choſe *Brutus Scævola*, a plebeian, for his general of the horſe	IV	603
3973	2666	333	The *Macedonians* take the city of *Aſpendius*, receive 100 talents, a great number of horſes, and a conſtant tribute, for its redemption, and *Alexander* marches through *Phrygia*, to meet the reſt of his troops at *Gordium*	III	332

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3973	2666	333	*Darius*, by the perſuaſion of the *Perſian* Lords puts *Charidemus* to death, who had long been a famous *Athenian* officer under *Philip* king of *Macedon*, for upbraiding them with cowardice, *&c.*	III	332
3973	2666	333	*Alexander* king of *Macedon*, waiting at *Gordium* for the arrival of the reſt of his troops, undoes the knot in their cord, by which *Gordius*'s chariot hung in the palace of *Midas* their king; concerning which the oracle is ſaid to have declared, that he that could undo it, ſhould reign over all *Aſia*.	III	333
3973	2666	333	*L. Furius Camillus*, a patrician, and *C. Mænius*, a plebeian, being conſuls at *Rome* this year, overcome the united forces of the *Latins*, take the town of *Pedum* by aſſault, and bring all *Latium* into ſubjection; having finiſhed the war, the conſuls return to *Rome*, have a triumph, and two *Equeſtrian* ſtatues in the forum	IV	603
3973	2666	333	Upon *Alexander*'s arriving at *Ancyra*, a city of *Galatia*, the province of *Paphlagonia* ſubmits; he then proceeds to reduce *Cappadocia*, and poſſeſs himſelf of *Cilicia*; ſoon after is taken with a violent illneſs, of which he is cured by *Philip* his phyſician, who was accuſed with deſigning to poiſon him	III	333
3973	2666	333	*Harpalus*, one of *Alexander*'s commanders, having miſbehaved, flies from *Aſia*, where he was governor, with prodigious wealth to *Athens*, from whence he is baniſhed by the ſenate	II	550
3973	2666	333	The *Latins*, from allies, become ſubjects to the *Romans*, and are indifferently treated, according as their cities had been more or leſs vigorous in the late revolt, *&c.*	IV	604
3974	2667	332	*Alexander* totally defeats *Darius*, with an army of 600,000 men, at the battle of *Iſſus*, in which about 100,000 were killed, and the tent of *Darius* taken, wherein was his mother, wife, two daughters, and his little ſon, whom *Alexander* ordered to be treated with the utmoſt tenderneſs and reſpect, and by his univerſal good uſage wrought upon all the provinces of *Cælo-Syria* to ſubmit: *Parmenio*, one of *Alexander*'s generals, takes all *Darius*'s baggage, treaſure, and equipage, left at *Damaſcus*	III	337
3974	2667	332	*Alexander* takes *Tyre* by ſtorm, after a long ſiege, kills about 8,000, ſells 30,000 for ſlaves, and pardons king *Azelmicus*, and ſuch *Tyrian* lords as were taken with him in the temple of *Hercules*, where *Alexander*, aſſiſted with his whole army, offered ſacrifice	III	341
3974	2667	332	*Darius* offers 10,000 talents of ſilver for the ranſom of his mother, wife, and children, that he would conſent to the marriage of his daughter with *Alexander*, and would acknowledge him both for his friend and confederate	III	343
3974	2667	332	*Alexander* goes with anger towards *Jeruſalem*, where he is met by *Jaddua* the high-prieſt, and all the other prieſts in their veſtments, at *Sapha*, or *Tzaphah*, an eminence that commanded a proſpect of the whole city and temple, where *Alexander* pays them great reſpect, remits that year's tribute, and confirms them in all their privileges granted them by the kings of *Perſia*, upon which many of the *Jews* liſt themſelves in his army, *&c.*	II	28
3974	2667	332	*Gaza* (about five miles from the ſea) a large and ſtrong town at the entrance into *Egypt*, and the bridle of *Paleſtine*, after a ſtout reſiſtance and great ſlaughter, is taken by *Alexander*, and thereby all *Syria* was loſt from *Darius*	III	344
3974	2667	332	*Alexander* goes into *Egypt*, *Peleſium* is ſurrendered by the *Perſians*, without any oppoſition; from thence he ſails up the *Nile*, lands and marches through the deſarts to *Heliopolis*, croſſes the river and comes to *Memphis*, and there offers ſacrifice to all the *Grecian* deities, and to the *Egyptian Apis*, and celebrates magnificent games, ſails down the river to the ſea, paſſes round the city *Canopus*, and wherever he came, orders the erection of publick temples and ſtructures	III	345
3974	2667	332	*Demoſthenes* the *Athenian* orator being convicted of bribery by the court of *Areopagus*, was fined 50 talents, and to avoid impriſonment flew to *Ægina*	II	550
3974	2667	332	The *Rhodians* ſubmit voluntarily to *Alexander the Great*, which pleaſed him ſo much, that he ſhewed them upon all occaſions marks of his eſteem and friendſhip, and is ſaid to have depoſited his laſt will in their archives	III	137
3974	2667	332	*Publius*, a plebeian, is choſe prætor at *Rome*, which is the firſt time any of that order had been admitted into that dignity, which reconciled the people and nobility	IV	604
3975	2668	331	*Alexander* goes to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and ſacrifices, then returns to *Memphis*, and ſettles the government of *Egypt*	III	348
3975	2668	331	The *Samaritans* having killed *Andromachus*, governor of *Samaria* under *Alexander*, by burning his palace and him in it, and his attendants, *Alexander* revenged it by putting to death all who had any manner of concern in it, and drove out the reſt, and then peopled the city with *Macedonians*, and granted the reſt of their territories to the *Jews*	II	30
3975	2668	331	*Alexander* engages *Darius* at the village of *Guagamela*, and routs his army conſiſting of 1,000,000 horſe and foot, with great ſlaughter, and many priſoners, and purſues *Darius* himſelf 10 miles; *Parmenio* taking the enemies baggage, elephants, and camels, and ſo abſolutely decided the fate of *Aſia*	III	351
3975	2668	331	*Alexander* marches againſt *Babylon*, upon whoſe arrival *Mazæus* the *Perſian* governor retires, and the *Babylonians* come out joyfully to ſubmit to *Alexander*	III	353
3975	2668	331	*Agis*, king of *Sparta*, having revolted from *Alexander*'s authority, is engaged by *Antipater* the *Macedonian* general, and killed, with 5,500 of his men, and the reſt diſperſed; which confirmed *Alexander* in his ſupremacy over all *Greece*	III	354
3975	2668	331	*Alexander* marches to *Suſa*, where was *Darius*'s palace and treaſure, which had been delivered into the hands of his general *Philoxenes*; here he received 50,000 talents, being upwards of 9,000,000 ſterling, and furniture and curioſities of immenſe value; then he reduces all the provinces as he paſſes	III	354
3975	2668	331	*Beſſus*, governor of *Bactria*, *Barzaentes*, preſident of *Aracoſia*, and *Nabarzanes*, a general of horſe, ſeeing *Darius*'s misfortunes, revolt from and ſeize him, with intent to ſet up themſelves: Upon *Alexander*'s hearing of it, he purſues the rebels, and upon his coming up to them, they ſtab and kill *Darius*, and then fly	III	359

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3975	2668	331	The *Sidicini* and *Auſones*, who had infeſted the country of the *Arunci*, at this time in alliance with *Rome*, are defeated by the conſuls, *&c.*	IV	604
3976	2669	330	A conſpiracy is formed againſt the life of *Alexander*, which being diſcovered, *Dymnus*, the perſon who was to have killed the king, upon his being apprehended ſtabs himſelf.	III	364
3976	2669	330	*Alexander*, after vaſt marches in a very rigorous ſeaſon, and through difficult ways, comes into *Media*, and orders a city to be built, which he called *Alexandria.*	III	368
3976	2669	330	*Beſſus*, the *Perſian* rebel, having changed his name into *Artaxerxes*, upon hearing of *Alexander*'s march againſt him, waſtes all the country as he paſſes, and burns his ſhips, then retires to *Nautaca*, a city of *Sogdia*: *Alexander* continuing his march, reduces all *Bactria*, and *Beſſus* is delivered into his hands.	III	370
3976	2669	330	The *Abii*, a people of *Scythia*, having revolted, and taken many cities, *Alexander* goes againſt them at *Gaza*, takes it by ſtorm, burns the city, kills all the males, and gives all the plunder and women to his ſoldiers, and went ſo on from place to place, deſtroying and conquering all where-ever he came.	III	371
3976	2669	330	*Pharnaces*, one of *Alexander*'s generals, with 2,300 men, horſe and foot, is cut off by *Spitamenes*, all but 340; upon which *Alexander* goes againſt him in perſon, but he flying, *Alexander* waſtes and deſtroys all the country, and puts the people to death; then he marched to *Zariaſpa*, and went into winter quarters; here he ordered *Beſſus* to be brought into court, to have his noſe and ears cut off, and then ſent him to *Ecbatana*, to be tried according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, for the murder of *Darius* late king of *Perſia*.	III	373
3976	2669	330	*M. Valerius Corvus*, now a fourth time conſul, takes *Cale*, the metropolis of the *Auſones*, by means of covered galleries and moveable towers, which he invented to ſcreen his men from their darts and ſtones.	IV	604
3977	2670	329	*Alexander* changes the anniverſary feſtival of *Bacchus* into the feſtival of the *Dioſcuri*, *i. e. Caſtor* and *Pollux*; here at a ſumptuous feaſt were preſent all the principal commanders, and particularly *Clytus*, the king's favourite, whom the king, in a fit of drunken madneſs, killed.	III	376
3977	2670	329	*Alexander* king of *Macedon*, now called *the Great King*, receives divine honours, with which being much elated, a conſpiracy is formed to kill him, by ſeveral young noblemen; but being diſcovered, the conſpirators are ſtoned to death.	III	381
3977	2670	329	The king of *Scythia* offers an alliance to *Alexander*, which he declines, but accepts of the offer of *Pharaimanes* king of the *Choraſmeni*, a people bordering on the *Euxine* ſea, and makes an alliance with him.	III	381
3977	2670	329	The new *Roman* conſuls enter the enemy's country, and lay it waſte, and then return to *Rome*; when it being reported the *Samnites* had joined the *Sidicini*, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was appointed dictator; but the augurs declaring his nomination defective, he was obliged to abdicate. A plague being now at *Rome*, they declared the inauguration of the conſuls was faulty, upon which they were diſplaced, and an interregnum followed.	IV	604
3978	2671	328	*Alexander* marches into *Sogdia*, beſieges and takes a fortreſs built on a rock, and thereby cuts off the retiring place of the revolters, wherein was *Roxana*, the wife of *Oxycrates*, the greateſt beauty in the world, whom *Alexander* married; upon which *Oxycrates* ſurrenders, and with him all *Sogdia*, and is received with all the marks of eſteem and friendſhip.	III	384
3978	2671	328	*Alexander* coming to the river *Cophenes*, ſends a herald to *Taxiles*, and all the other princes on this ſide of the river *Indus*, to come and meet him, which *Taxiles* does, with great preſents; from thence *Alexander* goes to the river *Choe*, beſieges and takes a city double walled with ſome difficulty, and razes it; then proceeds to *Andaca*, which was ſurrendered on terms; he goes on, and at laſt engages a great army of the natives, which he entirely conquered, killing 40,000 upon the ſpot, and taking 230,000 head of cattle, part of which, for their extraordinary ſize, goodneſs, and beauty, he ſent to *Macedon*, to mend the *Grecian* breed, and to perpetuate the memory of this great victory.	III	387
3979	2672	327	*Alexander* paſſes the river *Indus*, and from thence goes to the rive. *Hydaſpes*, where his paſſage is long hindered by king *Porus*; but having by a ſtratagem croſſed the river, engages, overthrows, and kills 20,000 foot, and 3,000 horſe, hacked 300 chariots to pieces, killed and took all the elephants and two of *Porus*'s ſons, and moſt of the officers of rank were alſo killed; *Porus* ſubmits, and is received with the utmoſt civility by *Alexander*, who not only returned him his own kingdom, but added very large provinces and kingdoms to it, *&c.* To perpetuate the memory of this victory, *Alexander* ordered two cities to be built, one on the field of battle, called *Nicæa*, and the other on this ſide of the river where he encamped, called *Bucephala*, in honour of his horſe, which died here of age, being 30 years old.	III	392
3979	2672	327	Several *Indian* princes confederate together; *Alexander* engages them before the city *Sangala*, ſeated on the top of a hill, defeats them with great ſlaughter, and takes the city by ſtorm, kills 17,000, and takes 70,000 priſoners, 300 chariots, and 500 horſe, razes the city, and goes to the river *Hyphaſis*.	III	394
3979	2672	327	*Alexander*'s army mutiny, and inſiſt upon returning home, to which he conſents, and having made proper preparations, embarks his troops, *&c.* In his paſſage he reduces the *Malli*, by taking their city by ſtorm, and putting all to the ſword he finds in it; he then paſſes the river *Hydraotis*, and engages a large army, which defeating, he beſieges and ſtorms the city where they had retired, and being deſperately wounded, is with great difficulty preſerved alive; the ſoldiers in revenge put all they meet with to the ſword; the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ* ſubmit, and make great preſents, whoſe example ſeveral other kingdoms and provinces follow and do the like.	III	399
3979	2672	327	It being groundleſly reported the *Gauls* were coming againſt *Rome*, *Papirius Craſſus* is named dictator, the *City*, now greatly encreaſed, two new tribes, *viz.* the *Mæcian* and *Scaptian*, are added to thoſe that were already in being.	IV	604

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3980	2673	326	A great number of *Roman* ladies conſpire and poiſon their huſbands, which being diſcovered by a woman ſlave, the ladies drink the poiſon they were preparing, and ſo kill themſelves.	IV	605
3981	2674	325	The *Privernates* and *Fundi* revolt from *Rome*, but after a long ſiege *Privernum* ſurrenders, and *Vitrius*, the author of the revolt, being delivered up, was firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The two conſuls upon their return to *Rome* have a triumph, and *Æmilius* is ſirnamed *Privernas:* After puniſhing ſome of the ringleaders, *Privernum* was declared a *Municipium*, and incorporated into the *Roman* ſtate.	IV	606
3981	2674	325	*Alexander* loſes a vaſt number of his troops, *&c.* as he is paſſing through *Gedroſia*, by drought and famine, *&c.* Upon his coming into *Cameranía*, puts *Clitander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon* to death, for male adminiſtration during his abſence: *Orſines* the *Perſian* governor is crucified, and *Peuceſtas* appointed in his ſtead. *Atropas*, governor of *Media*, is put to death, for aſſuming the regal title and wearing the royal tiara.	III	404
3981	2674	325	*Calanus* the *Indian* philoſopher, tutor of *Lyſimachus*, obtains leave of *Alexander* to have a funeral pile, on which laying himſelf at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midſt of the flames till he was conſumed.	III	405
3981	2674	325	*Alexander* goes to *Suſſa*, where *Abulites* and his ſon *Oxathres* being proved guilty of male adminiſtration, are put to death; and then he gives a looſe to luxury, pleaſure and eaſe, takes *Barſine*, or *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, and *Pariſatis*, the daughter of *Ochus*, for his wives: To *Hepheſtion*, *Craterus*, *&c.* he gave the greateſt *Perſian* ladies, to the number of 80, all which marriages were ſolemnized at once: Next, he ordered all his troops to make their demand, which coming to 20,000 talents, he pays them, and orders a crown of gold to be given to each of his favourites.	III	406
3981	2674	325	*Alexander* being returned to *Opis*, a city on the *Tygris*, he makes proclamation for ſuch as were infirm, or deſirous to have leave, to lay down their arms, *&c.* A mutiny ariſing, he orders 13 of the ringleaders to be put to death on the ſpot, and ſo prevented its ſpreading further.	III	406
3981	2674	325	The *Macedonians* come to the king's palace, and lay down their arms, proteſting they would remain there day and night till he had compaſſion on them; which ſo melted him, that he came and kiſſed them, and ordered a publick feaſt, at which 9000 perſons were preſent; the *Macedonians* ſat next the king, next them the *Perſians*, and next them people of all nations.	III	407
3982	2675	324	*Harpalus* having again robbed the king's treaſury of 5000 talents, for fear of puniſhment, raiſes 6000 mercenaries, leaves them at *Tenarus*, and goes himſelf to *Athens*; but being forced away from thence, returns to his troops, where he is killed by *Thimbro*, his intimate friend.	III	407
3982	2675	324	*Alexander*, upon *Harpalus*'s revolt, marches immediately to *Ecbatana*, where he offered ſacrifice, and exhibited ſolemn ſports; but *Hepheſtion* dying, makes him melancholy; he honours him with great marks of his eſteem, and orders him a monument at the expence of 1000 talents.	III	408
3982	2675	324	Near *Ecbatana* was a rude and barbarous people, called the *Coſſeans*, who had never been conquered by the *Perſians*, and who continually made incurſions, and committed robberies upon the neighbouring countries; theſe *Alexander*, after ſeveral encounters, forces to ſubmit to his mercy.	III	408
3982	2675	324	*Ambaſſadors* come from all parts of *Greece* to *Babylon*, with garlands on their heads, preſenting golden crowns to *Alexander*, thereby intending him divine honours.	III	410
3982	2675	324	*Alexander* quitting his throne to quench his thirſt. a mean fellow a priſoner ruſhes through the eunuchs, and ſeats himſelf thereon, for which preſumption he is put to death.	III	410
3983	2676	323	The *Palæpolitans*, who were originally *Eubæans*, coming into *Italy*, built *Cumæ*, and *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, make an irruption into the *Roman* territories: The *Samnites* alſo break the peace; *Publius* the late conſul, a plebeian, is made *Proconſul*, and by ſtratagem takes *Palæopolis*, and diſperſes the *Samnites*, and in ſpite of the nobles enters *Rome* in triumph, which is denied the two conſuls, though they alſo had gained great advantages over the *Samnites*.	IV	607
3983	2676	323	*Alexander* dies at *Babylon* of a raging fever, ſaid to be occaſioned by poiſon given him by *Antipater*, *&c.* He left behind him a ſon named *Hercules*, by his wife *Barſina*, daughter of *Artabazus*, and widow of *Memnon*, who was afterward murdered; by *Roxana* daughter of *Oxycrates* the *Bactrian*, a poſthumous ſon named *Alexander*, who for a time had the title of king; by *Cleophes* queen of part of *India*, a ſon named *Alexander*, who ſucceeded his mother in her kingdom. He died lord of a multitude of fair provinces, ſovereign of many large kingdoms, and held empire more extenſive than any before him: *Macedon* was his hereditary kingdom; great part of *Thrace* and *Illyria* he ſubdued, and all *Greece* was under his protection: In *Aſia* his conqueſts reached from the *Helleſpont* to the *Indian* ocean, and *Egypt* and *Libya* were his.	III	414
3983	2676	323	Upon the death of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, (called *the Great King*) all the great men, having various intereſts to promote, are much divided about a ſucceſſor; at laſt name *Aridæus*, brother to *Alexander*, and change his name to *Philip*.	III	415
3983	2676	323	*Perdiccas*, maſter of the horſe, cauſes a luſtration of the army, takes 300 out of the phalanx of foot, and throws them to the elephants, who were openly devoured and deſtroyed; then purſues *Meleager* into a temple, whither he had fled for ſafety, and orders him to be murdered, and ſo eſtabliſhes himſelf in the power he aim'd at for a time.	III	416
3983	2676	323	*Alexander*, the new-born ſon of *Roxana*, (the late king *Alexander*'s wife) is joined with *Aridæus* (now *Philip*) in the regal authority; and the ſeveral kingdoms and provinces diſtributed to the late king *Alexander*'s favourites, generals, *&c.*	III	417

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3983	2676	323	*Perdiccas* and *Roxana* (for her ſon) govern without controul. *Roxana* ſends letters under *Alexander*'s ſeal for *Statira*, and *Drypatis* the daughter of *Darius*, wives to the late king *Alexander*, and *Hepheſtion*, to come to *Babylon* immediately, where being arrived, they are murdered.	III	418
3983	2676	323	The mercenary *Greeks* aſſemble themſelves under one *Philip*, to the number of 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, and endeavour to march home. *Perdiccas* ſends one *Pithon* againſt them, with orders to deſtroy them all, and to give their effects to the ſoldiers under him; which was accordingly executed.	III	419
3983	2676	323	The *Rhodians* revolt from *Macedon*, drive out all the *Macedonian* gariſons, and become a free people.	III	137
3984	2677	322	Violent ſtorms of rain, hail, thunder, *&c.* happen at *Rhodes*, whereby abundance of the inhabitants are killed and drowned, and the wall of the city broke down, which gives vent to the waters, and ſaves the city and people from intire deſtruction.	III	137
3984	2677	322	*Seuthes*, deſcended of the antient race of the *Odryſſian* kings, comes againſt *Lyſimachus*, governor of *Thrace*, with 20,000 foot and 8000 horſe; which *Lyſimachus* is forced to engage, with 4000 foot and 2000 horſe, and behaved ſo gallantly, that he kept the field, and preſerved his government.	III	419
3984	2677	322	*Jaddua* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt dies, and is ſucceeded in that office by his ſon *Onias*, who enjoyed that dignity about 21 years.	IV	30
3984	2677	322	Upon the death of *Alexander the Great*, the *Athenians* and their allies, under *Leoſthenes*, go againſt the *Macedonians* with a great army; they engage *Antipater*, who, being much inferior in number, is beaten, and forced to fly to *Lamia* (a city of *Theſſaly*,) whither *Leoſthenes* follows, and beſieges him; where *Leoſthenes* being killed by a ſtone, *Antiphalus* is choſen general in his ſtead; who engaging the *Macedonians* under the command of *Leonatus*, overthrew them; upon which growing careleſs and ſecure, *Leonatus*, being joined by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, they engage and overthrow *Antiphalus* and *Memnon*, which ſo diſpirited the confederate *Greeks*, that they ſued to *Antipater* for peace, which he granted them ſeparately, and thereby reduced the power of *Athens* ſo much, as to force them to conſent to the delivering up of *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides*, and that the old method of taxing in the city ſhould be reſtored, that they ſhould receive a *Macedonian* gariſon into *Munichia*, defray the charges of the war, *&c.* This being agreed to *Demoſthenes* poiſoned himſelf.	II	551
3984	2677	322	*Timoleon*, full of age and poſſeſſed of the love of all the people, dies, and is buried with great pomp at the public expence, 200 *Minas* being decreed for that purpoſe: 'Twas likewiſe enacted, that the day of his death ſhould annually be honoured with publick ſports, horſe-races and *Gymnaſtic* games; and whenever the *Syracuſans* were engaged in a war with the *Barbarians*, they ſhould ſend to *Corinth* for a general.	III	79
3984	2677	322	*Perdiccas* goes againſt *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*; upon the frontiers they engage, and *Perdiccas* kills 1000, takes *Ariarathes* and 6000 more priſoners, and diſperſes the reſt; crucifies *Ariarathes*, and ſettles *Eumenes* governor under the two kings of *Macedon*, *&c.*	III	420
3984	2677	322	*Perdiccas*, to revenge the death of *Balacrus*, the governor of *Lauranda*, and *Iſſaurus*, whom the people had killed, aſſaults and takes *Lauranda* by ſtorm, puts all able to bear arms to the ſword, and ſells the youth, women, and children, for ſlaves, then beſieging *Iſſaurus*, a ſtrong and populous city, which was long defended with great bravery, but at laſt, rather than be taken, the *Iſſaurians* burnt the city, with their parents, wives, and children.	III	420
3984	2677	322	The *Lucanians* are drawn, by a ſtratagem, to declare for the *Samnites* againſt *Rome*.	IV	608
3984	2677	322	The *Roman* ſenate make a law to abrogate the power of creditors over their debtors, appointing, that no citizen's perſon ſhould be impriſoned for debt, but only for criminal matters.	IV	608
3985	2678	321	*Agathocles*, a potter by trade, being firſt a common ſoldier, for his beauty, ſtrength, and activity, was by *Demas* the *Agrigentine* general made a *Chiliarch* (or commander of 1000 men) and upon *Demas*'s dying, married his widow, and ſo became the richeſt citizen of *Syracuſe*: But *Soſiſtratus* having uſurped the ſupreme authority, drove him out of *Syracuſe*; from whence he retired to *Italy*, and ſettling at *Crotona*, attempted the ſovereignty thereof, but was forced to fly from the rage of the multitude to *Tarentum*, from whence he was likewiſe driven for the like practices, and now all cities refuſing him, he collected a body of exiles, and lived by robbery and plunder. *Soſiſtratus* coming into *Italy* beſieged *Rhegium*; *Agathocles* and his band unexpectedly fell upon him, and obliged him to return home, where he was ſoon after forced to abdicate the ſovereignty, and quit *Syracuſe*, with about 600 citizens ſuſpected of deſigning to demoliſh *Democracy*, and ſet up *Oligarchy*; upon which they apply to the *Carthaginians*, who eſpouſe their cauſe; and the *Syracuſans* call home *Agathocles*, and make him their commander in chief, who overthrows *Soſiſtratus* and the *Carthaginians* in a pitch'd battle, wherein he received ſeven wounds: Upon this beginning to exerciſe ſovereign power, the *Syracuſans* have recourſe to *Corinth*, who ſent *Aceſtorides* to command their army, who commanded *Agathocles* to go out of the city; but he got a young man that reſembled him to go in his ſtead, who was ſeized, murdered, and buried, as ſoon as he came without the city, thinking him to be *Agathocles*, but were ſoon undeceived by *Agathocles* making his eſcape privately, and raiſing troops in the heart of *Sicily*; upon which the *Syracuſans* offered to recal him home, if he would diſband his troops, which he agreed to, and being conducted to the temple of *Ceres*, ſwore to do nothing prejudicial to the eſtabliſhed *Democracy*, then conſiſting of 600 of the chief citizens: He was again made commander in chief of the forces going againſt the revolted *Erbitans*; he employs his army to ſeize *Syracuſe*, under pretence of ridding them of the 600 tyrants, and their abettors, and murders all they		

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			meet with, without regard to age, ſex, or rank, plundered the houſes, and committed all manner of cruelties; ſo that a few hours ſtrewed the ſtreets with upwards of 4000 dead carcaſes. This horrid work continued two days; the third day *Agathocles* ſummons thoſe citizens that were left alive, tells them his deſign was only to eſtabliſh the *Democracy* free, and that he would live a private life: This ſaid, his adherents proclaimed him king, with an abſolute power. His firſt law was, that all the lands ſhould be equally divided between the rich and the poor, which gained him the populace, and then behaved very mildly, freely, and equitably; and thus, in about two years time, he made himſelf maſter of all *Sicily*, when he behaved as cruelly and inhumanly as ever any before him had done.		
3985	2678	321	*Perdiccas* firſt murders *Cynane*, the daughter of *Philip* late king of *Macedon*, and promotes her daughter *Ada* (or *Eurydice*) to be the wife of king *Aridæus* (or *Philip*;) upon which *Antigonus*, governor of *Pamphilia*, *&c.* retires to *Greece*, to accuſe *Perdiccas* to *Antipater* and *Craterus*.	III	82
3985	2678	321	*Ptolemy*, governor of *Egypt*, ſends *Ophellas* againſt *Thimbro*; who conquers, takes, and crucifies *Thimbro*, and ſo adds *Cyrene* to *Egypt*.	III	421
3985	2678	321	*Aridæus* (one of *Alexander the Great*'s commanders) after two years preparation for the burial of *Alexander*, late king of *Macedon*, *&c.* carries his body from *Babylon* into *Egypt*: *Ptolemy* goes as far as *Syria* in perſon, to meet and do honour to his dead maſter; and conducting his corps to *Alexandria*, buries him in a rich temple, built there on purpoſe.	III	421
3985	2678	321	*Perdiccas* hearing that *Ptolemy*, *Craterus*, and *Antipater* deſigned to unite and take his power from him, (which he exerciſed to the diſlike of every body) raiſes a great army, takes the two kings with him, and goes into *Egypt*; where, after loſing a great many of his men, by death and deſertion, *&c.* he is murdered by the remainder in his tent; upon which *Ptolemy* comes and treats the army with great tenderneſs; and *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were choſe protectors of the kings perſons and chief miniſter of ſtate.	III	421
3985	2678	321	*Eumenes* obtains two victories over *Craterus* and *Antipater* for *Perdiccas*, in which *Craterus*, and *Neoptolemus*, the revolted governor of *Armenia*, were ſlain; upon hearing whereof, in two days after *Perdiccas*'s death, the ſoldiers put all the friends of *Perdiccas* to death, proſcribed *Eumenes* and 50 men of quality with him, and then left *Egypt* and returned into *Cælo-Syria*, under the command of *Aridæus* and *Pithon*. At their arrival at *Tryparadiſus*, *Antipater*, governor of *Greece*, *&c.* join them. *Aridæus* and *Pithon* lay down their office, and *Antipater* is choſen protector, with ſovereign power: But *Eurydice*, wife of king *Philip*, behaving imperiouſly, is check'd by *Antipater*; upon which, in a ſet oration, ſhe accuſed him to the army, which occaſions great diſorders; but after ſome days matters were ſettled, and *Antipater* continued in the adminiſtration; upon which he made a new diviſion of the provinces, and declared *Eumenes* a publick enemy, and ordered *Antigonus*, general of the houſhold troops, to proſecute the war againſt him; then returns with the two kings into his own province, highly commended and admired by all the *Macedonians*.	III	423
3985	2678	321	The *Veſtini* (a people on the *Adriatick* ſea) take arms againſt *Rome*: The conſul *D. Junius Brutus* goes againſt them, defeats them, and takes the cities *Cutina* and *Cingalia* from them,	IV	608
3985	2678	321	The other *Roman* conſul *L. Furius Camillus* falling ſick, names *L. Papirius Curſor* to be dictator, and to act againſt the *Samnites*. He took the field, but was obliged to return home upon account of the auſpices being reported unfavourable, and ordered *Fabius*, his general of horſe, not to engage the enemy in his abſence: He diſobeys, and overthrows the *Samnites*, and kills 20000 of them on the ſpot; then burns the ſpoil, inſtead of lodging it in the hands of the *Quæſtor*, that they might not encreaſe the pomp of the dictator's triumph. The dictator commands *Fabius* to be ſtripped, *&c.* which while the lictors are doing, he eſcapes, and great commotions and mutinies are in the army. *Fabius* goes to *Rome*, and appeals to the people; but the dictator gets the better of him; but all the orders of the people joining with *Fabius*'s ſubmiſſion, the dictator pardons him, and ſo all is quiet again.	IV	609
3986	2679	320	*Eumenes* collects the beſt army he can, but when engaged with *Antigonus*, is betrayed by *Apollodorus* his general of horſe, loſes 8000 men, and is totally routed, but with the remains of his army returns into the field of battle, burns the bodies of the ſlain, makes two heaps of their aſhes, and covers them with earth; then diſmiſſes his army, all but 600 men, takes poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Nora*, (exceedingly ſtrong, ſituate on the top of an inacceſſible rock, which *Antigonus* not able to take, builds a ſtrong wall round the bottom, leaves men to defend it, and goes againſt *Alcetas* and *Attalus*, who ſided with *Eumenes*.	III	424
3986	2679	320	*Antigonus* marches into *Piſidia*, engages and overcomes *Alcetas*, who flying to *Trenneſſus* with 6000 troops, is there murdered, and his carcaſs delivered to *Antigonus*. *Attalus*, *Decimus*, and *Polemon* were taken priſoners, *&c.* Upon this *Antigonus* endeavours to make himſelf ſupreme in *Aſia*.	III	425
3986	2679	320	*Papirius* being continued dictator, engages the *Samnites*, totally overthrows them, and then over-run *Samnium*, and forced the enemy to ſue for peace, which was granted them upon hard terms: Upon his return to *Rome* he is decreed and honoured with a triumph.	IV	610
3987	2680	319	The *Samnites* being joined by the *Apulians*, declare war againſt *Rome*: The conſuls go againſt them, but they ſhutting themſelves up in their ſtrong holds, little could be done with them this year.	IV	610
3987	2680	319	The *Carthaginians* ſend *Imilcar* with a great fleet and army againſt *Agathocles*, which is much ſhattered by a violent ſtorm, and the remainder *Agathocles* attacks near *Himera*, forces his trenches, and cuts moſt of his troops to pieces:		

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			But while his men were greedy after plunder, an unexpected reinforcement comes from *Carthage*; they fall upon and rout *Agathocles*, who was forced to fly into his metropolis, whither they follow and beſiege him — —	III	83
3987	2680	319	*Agathocles* engages the *Carthaginian* fleet, beats and diſperſes them, then lands his men in *Carthage*, and burns his own ſhips, to make his men reſolutely deſperate, takes and plunders a place called the *Great City*, and likewiſe *Tunis*, which he razed to the ground; then advanced towards *Carthage*, and engaged *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, kills *Hanno*, and defeats *Bomilear* — —	III	84
3987	2680	319	*Æacides* king of *Epirus* is depoſed, by a decree of the ſtate; *Pyrrhus* his ſon, an infant, was conveyed to *Glaucias* king of *Illyrium*, by ſome *Epirote* lords, and by him brought up and protected againſt *Caſſander*, who offered 200 talents for him. The *Epirots* enter into an alliance with *Caſſander*, governor of *Macedon*, who ſent *Lyciſcus* his general to take the government in his name; but the *Epirots*, being ſoon weary of the *Macedonian* yoke, recal their king again, who is ſlain in a battle with *Philip*, brother to *Caſſander* — —	III	803
3988	2681	318	The *Romans* and *Samnites* engage; the *Romans* by ſtratagem defeat and cut off almoſt all the *Samnites*, both horſe and foot, and their general. Upon this the *Samnites* ſubmit to the *Romans*, and order *Erutulus Papius*, the ringleader of the revolt, to be delivered up to the *Romans*, to avoid which he killed himſelf. For this eminent ſervice the *Romans* honour the conſuls with a triumph — —	IV	611
3988	2681	318	*A. Cornelius* is made dictator at *Rome*, to preſide at the games, in the abſence of the conſul and ſickneſs of the prætor — —	IV	611
3988	2681	318	*Caſſander*, ſon of *Antipater*, puts *Nicanor* in as governor of the gariſon in *Athens*, who being oppoſed by *Polyſperchon*, *Caſſander* enters the port of *Athens*, with a great fleet; upon which the *Athenians* ſubmit to have the gariſon, and *Caſſander* appoints *Demetrius Phalereus*, an *Athenian*, to be governor of the city; which office he diſcharged ſo well, that the citizens ſet up 300 ſtatues in honour of him in the ſeveral parts of the city and publick buildings — —	II	554
3988	2681	318	*Antandrus*, governor of *Syracuſe*, ſallies out upon *Hamilcar* ſuddenly, and routs his army of 120,000 men, which had long beſieged *Syracuſe*, and took *Hamilcar* priſoner, whom after torturing terribly, they cut off his head — —	III	85
3988	2681	318	*Polyſperchon* and *Olympias* create *Eumenes* general in *Aſia*, for the two kings; but to avoid contention and take away ſedition, he propoſed all the commanders ſhould be equal, and conſult in common upon the publick buſineſs — —	III	426
3989	2682	317	*Jeruſalem* being beſieged by the *Egyptians*, through a ſuperſtitious fear of breaking the *Sabbath-day*, ſuffer the city to be taken by ſtorm on that day, without reſiſtance, and 100,000 *Jews* are carried into *Egypt* captive, *&c.* — —	IV	31
3989	2682	317	*Agathocles* having greatly encreaſed his army, by a large addition of *Cyreneans*, calls himſelf king of *Africa*, and beſieges *Carthage*, the conduct whereof he leaves to his ſon *Archagathus*, and returns into *Sicily* to quell and conquer the revolters there, which he ſoon did, and moſt places acknowledged his ſovereignty — —	III	86
3989	2682	317	The *Romans* refuſing the *Samnites* peace, each ſide raiſe an army; the *Samnites* by ſtratagem bring the *Romans* into great diſtreſs, and oblige them to deliver up 600 *Roman* knights as hoſtages for performing a very advantagious peace for the *Samnites*; then the conſuls and ſoldiers paſs under the yoke, man by man; and if any *Roman* but returned a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed. This ſo diſpirited the conſuls and ſoldiers, that at their arrival at *Rome*, each man as it were baniſhed himſelf, by ſhutting themſelves up in their houſes. The conſuls name *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus* dictator, but ſome defect being found in his nomination, *Æmilius Papus* was ſubſtituted in his room; but the people being highly diſſatisfied, an interregnum follows; and *Papirius Curſor* a ſecond time, and *Publius Philo* a third time, are choſen conſuls, who refuſe to perform the *Samnian* peace, *&c.* — —	IV	612
3990	2683	316	*Agathocles* makes his eſcape from before *Carthage*, with a few friends. His two ſons are murdered, and his army capitulate for themſelves. Upon *Agathocles*'s return to *Sicily*, he reduces *Egeſtæ*, that had revolted in his abſence, and put every perſon in it to the ſword; and at *Syracuſe* put all the relations of thoſe he left in *Africa* to death; and even in *Sicily*, all that were related to the *African* army, from the great-grandfather to the ſuckling child, were killed — —	III	87
3990	2683	316	*Antigonus* marching to *Suſa*, and finding the caſtle held by *Xenophilus*, he left *Seleucus* with a corps of troops to beſiege it, and marched to engage *Eumenes*; but having a part of his army cut off before his face, which had croſſed the river, he retired and marched toward *Media*, but ſuffers greatly by the harraſſments of the *Coſſeans*, through whoſe country he choſe to paſs for the ſake of nearneſs — —	III	426
3990	2683	316	*Eumenes* and his army at *Perſepolis* are all magnificently feaſted, by *Peuceſtas*; and to prevent any defection, contrives a letter to be wrote to *Peuceſtas*, as from *Orontes* governor of *Armenia*, acquainting him that the intereſts of the kings encreaſed every where, and that a great army of *Macedonians* were marching into *Aſia*: This confirmed *Eumenes* in his authority — —	III	427
3990	2683	316	*Eumenes* and *Antigonus* engage; *Eumenes* is conqueror, killing 8000 of *Antigonus*'s army, with the loſs of only 1500 of his own men — —	III	428
3990	2683	316	*Aridæus* (called *Philip*) joint king of *Macedon*, *&c.* is murdered by *Olympias* and *Alexander Ægus*, ſon of *Alexander the Great*, bears the royal title alone —	III	435
3990	2683	316	*Alcetas*, brother of *Æacides*, ſucceeds his brother in the kingdom of *Epirus*, from whence after two battles with *Lyciſcus*, general under *Caſſander*, he is driven out, and the city of *Eurymenas* is taken, plundered and razed: After ſome time, peace being concluded with *Caſſander*, *Alcetas* gets the government again —	III	803
3990	2683	316	*Satricum* revolts from the *Romans*, and joins the *Samnites*, who ſurprize *Fregellæ*, a *Roman* colony, where the women and children fight in their own defence; upon which the *Samnites* offer quarters to all thoſe who ſubmitted, which many do, but		

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			are burnt alive; a few only eſcaped, that with great deſperation cut their way through the enemies troops		
3990	2683	316	The *Capuans* endeavours to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke; *C. Mænius* is named dictator, with orders only to examine and puniſh crimes againſt the ſtate, which ſo frightened the *Capuans*, that the chief conſpirators killed themſelves. Then all being quiet, *Mænius* lays down his dictatorſhip	IV	615
3990	2683	316	*Cornelius Lentulus* is declared dictator, and leads his army againſt the *Samnites*; the *Romans* fall upon them with ſo much fury, that they rout them at the firſt onſet, take and plunder the *Samnian* camp, and put all to the ſword they meet with	IV	615
3990	2683	316	*Papirius*, general of the horſe to *Lentulus*, beſieging *Luceria*, where the 600 *Roman* knights delivered as hoſtages were kept by the *Samnites*, *Lentulus* comes to his aſſiſtance; the *Samnites* keep themſelves intrenched in their camp; the *Romans* force it, and put all they get hold of to the ſword: The *Lucerians* diſtreſſed for food, offered to capitulate, and to releaſe the 600 hoſtages; but *Papirius* inſiſted that all the ſoldiers ſhould paſs unarmed under the yoke, with *Pontius* their general at their head; all which was complied with	IV	616
3991	2684	315	*Q. Aulius Cerretanus*, now conſul a ſecond time, defeats the *Samnites* in *Apulia*, and takes *Ferentum*. And *Papirius*, now a third time conſul, reduced *Satricum* and put the *Samnite* gariſon to the ſword: The authors of the revolt were firſt whipped and then beheaded. At his return home he enters *Rome* in triumph	IV	616
3991	2684	315	*Agathocles* engages *Dinocrates*, puts him to flight, and obtains a complete victory. The remains of *Dinocrates*'s army capitulate; but no ſooner was their arms laid down, but their throats were cut to a man	IV	617
3991	2684	315	*Eumenes* is treacherouſly delivered to *Antigonus*, who after keeping him priſoner ſome time puts him to death. Likewiſe *Pithon*, governor of *Media*, depoſes *Peuceſtas* governor of *Perſia*, and takes 5000 talents out of the treaſury of *Suſa*, and 10,000 out of other places	III	87
3992	2685	314	Many *Samnite* cities deſire peace, but are only granted two years truce. *Plautius* the conſul ſo frightened the cities of *Teanum* and *Canuſium*, that they ſurrendered and gave hoſtages. The *Capuans* beg of the *Romans* to give them a governor, and new laws: Upon this *Campania* becomes a *Roman* præfecture. Two new tribunes are added to the *Roman* ſtate, being now made 31. A cenſus being taken this year, 250,000 men fit to bear arms are found in *Rome*	III	430
3992	2685	314	The conſuls reduce all *Apulia* to the obedience of *Rome*. *Antium* deſires a *Roman* governor and laws, which is granted	IV	617
3992	2685	314	*Agathocles* goes into *Italy*, and ſubdues the *Brutii*; from thence goes to the *Lipari* iſlands, and compels the inhabitants to pay him 100 talents, and afterwards plunders and ſtrips the temples, lading 11 ſhips with their gold and ſpoil, and returns to *Syracuſe*; but in his paſſage 10 of them are loſt by ſhipwreck	IV	617
3992	2685	314	*Antigonus* marches with a great army to *Babylon*, where he pretends to call *Seleucus* the governor to account; upon which *Seleucus* flies to *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, raiſes a great army, engages *Demetrius*, *Antigonus*'s ſon, defeats him at *Gaza*, and kills and takes abundance of his men. They then take *Tyre*, and recover *Babylon*, *Media*, and *Suſiana*	III	87
3993	2686	313	*L. Æmilus* being dictator, he beſieges *Saticula*, a city of *Campania*. The *Samnites* their allies come with a numerous army to its relief; the dictator engages and defeats them; upon which they retire in the night, and leave their camp to the *Romans*	III	432
3993	2686	313	*Cilles*, *Ptolemy*'s general, being negligent, *Demetrius* ſets upon him, overthrew and took *Cilles*, and 7000 men priſoners, and conquers *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*	IV	617
3994	2687	312	*Q. Fabius Maximus* being dictator, continues the ſiege of *Saticula*; the *Samnites* come again to relieve it: The two armies engage; the *Samnites* loſe their general, and the *Romans* their general of horſe; the *Samnites* are defeated, and *Saticula* capitulates. From thence he goes to beſiege *Sora*, that had revolted and maſſacred a *Roman* colony, and in his way engages the *Samnites*, overthrows them, and takes and plunders their camp, and then forms the ſiege of *Sora*	III	433
3994	2687	312	The king of *Egypt* by great largeſſes, privileges, and immunities, prevails with abundance of *Jews* to come and reſide at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*	IV	618
3995	2688	311	*Sora* is taken by ſtratagem, and abundance put to the ſword. The conſuls ſend 250 conſpirators to *Rome*, where they are firſt whipped and then beheaded	VI	35
3995	2688	311	The *Auſones* being accuſed of deſigning to revolt from *Rome*, the conſular army takes *Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Veſcia* in one day, and put all to the ſword; *Luceria* was alſo taken by aſſault, and all the defendants, whether inhabitants or *Samnites*, killed; and a colony of 25,000 *Romans* put in it	IV	619
3995	2688	311	*Antigonus* ſends *Athenæus* his general to ſeize *Petra*, (a chief city of the *Arabs*) while the men were gone to a fair, from whence he carries away a prodigious booty, and 5000 talents in ready money. The *Arabs* being informed of it, purſue, ſurround, and cut off all *Athenæus*'s army, and recover the booty, *&c.*	IV	619
3996	2689	310	The *Campanians* revolt, and *C. Mænius* the dictator goes againſt them, now joined by the *Samnites*; they engage, the *Samnites* are defeated, with the loſs of 30,000 men, by the conſul *Sulpitius*, for which he is honoured with a triumph at his return to *Rome*	III	434
3997	2690	309	A peace is concluded between *Antigonus* and *Ptolemy*, *&c.* wherein it was agreed, that *Caſſander* ſhould hold *Macedonia*; *Lyſimachus*, *Thrace*; *Ptolemy*, *Egypt*; and *Antigonus*, *Aſia*; and that all the *Greek* cities ſhould be free. Soon after this, *Caſſander* puts the young king and his mother to death	IV	619
3997	2690	309	*C. Pætilius Libo* (ſirnamed *Viſolus*) is choſe dictator, and reduces *Fregellæ*, *Nola*, and the cities of *Atina* and *Calatia*, and keeps *Bovinum* blocked up	III	435

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3998	2691	308	*C Sulpicius Longus* is choſen dictator, upon a report that all *Hetruria* would revolt; but they keeping quiet, the dictator did not think fit to meddle with them —	IV	620
3998	2691	308	*Claudius Appius*, the *Roman* cenſor, introduces into the ſenate the ſons of freed ſlaves, and ſlaves into the *Potitii*, or prieſts of *Hercules*, whoſe rites till now were only executed by noblemen, for which he was much hated. He made the famous aquæduct at *Rome*, ſeven miles long, which ſupplied *Rome* with conſtant freſh water; and the famous road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which laſted 800 years; the remains whereof are the admiration of all nations to this day —	IV	620
3999	2692	307	*Antigonus* (one of *Alexander*'s greateſt captains) in oppoſition to *Caſſander*, ſends his ſon *Demetrius* with a great fleet to *Athens*, where he proclaims the city free, then takes the fortreſs of *Munichia* by ſtorm, *&c.* for which the *Athenians* honour him and his father with the title of king, and pay them divine honours, and appoint them a prieſt, and call the year by the name of this prieſt, and put the figures of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* his ſon among the gods, *&c.* adjudge *Demetrius Phalereus* (their former governor, who had deſerved ſo well of them) to death, *&c.* order all his ſtatues to be thrown down, and him to be way-laid and murdered, and democracy again reſtored —	II	555
3999	2692	307	*Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander the Great*, is put to death, by order of *Antigonus* governor of *Aſia*, (now called king) for her endeavouring to make her eſcape from the confinement he had put her under —	III	436
3999	2692	307	*Alcetas* governing tyrannically and cruelly, the *Epirots* make a general inſurrection, and murder both him and his two young ſons, *Heſioneas* and *Niſus*; but *Alexander* and *Teucer* made their eſcape, upon which *Glaucias* king of *Illyria* ſends *Pyrrhus* at the head of a great army, and ſets him upon the throne —	III	804
3999	2692	307	The new ſenators at *Rome* introduced by *Appius* laſt year, are turned out, and the ſenate put upon its old footing: A law is likewiſe made, impowering the people to chooſe 16 legionary tribunes out of the 24; likewiſe two officers, called *Duumviri Navales*, are choſen, to take care of ſea affairs —	IV	621
3999	2692	307	*Q. Emilius Barbula*, the *Roman* conſul, goes againſt the *Hetrurians*, who had revolted; whom he engaged, and after a very obſtinate fight the *Hetrurians* retire in the night, and leave *Æmilius* the field and their camp, for which he is honoured with a triumph. *Brutus* the other conſul took from the *Samnites* firſt *Clavia*, and put all able to bear arms to the ſword; then *Bovianum* was plundered by the ſoldiers, but the citizens lives are ſpared: The *Samnites* endeavoured to draw the *Romans* into an ambuſcade, but the bravery and fury of the *Romans* cut their way through all difficulties, and killed 20,000 of them upon the ſpot, for which *Brutus* had alſo a triumph at his return to *Rome* —	IV	621
4000	2693	306	*Demetrius* (ſon of *Antigonus* governor of *Syria*) makes a deſcent into *Cyprus*, takes *Urania* and *Carpaſia*, engages *Menelaus* brother of *Ptolemy* (now king of *Egypt*) defeats him, kills 1000 of his men, and takes 3000, and beſieges *Salamis*, defeats *Ptolomy*'s fleet and army coming to relieve it, took 40 ſhips of war, and ſunk 80, alſo 100 tranſports with 8000 ſoldiers on board; alſo the city, *&c.* *Antigonus* upon receipt of this news puts a crown of gold upon his own head, and aſſumes the title of king, and gave the ſame to his ſon, and they reign jointly; upon which the *Egyptians* alſo give the title of king to *Ptolemy*, and *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus* do the ſame in *Thrace* and *Babylon*; *Caſſander* at *Corinth* received the title of king, but did not uſe it in his writing —	III	437
4000	2693	306	The *Athenians* make a law, that no philoſopher ſhould teach, unleſs licenſed by the ſenate and people; upon which *Theophraſtus* the ſucceſſor of *Ariſtotle* ſhut up his ſchool. This law being ſoon found hurtful was repealed, and the philoſophers recalled, *&c.* —	II	555
4000	2693	306	*Fabius*, now conſul at *Rome* a ſecond time, engages the *Hetrurians* near *Sutrium*, totally overthrows them, takes 58 ſtandards, their camp and all their baggage: The remains of them took refuge in the *Ciminian* foreſt, whither he followed them, and got great advantages over them: But ſome time after he again engages them near *Sutrium*, ſurprizes and defeats them, kills and takes 60,000, and ſeizes and plunders their camp: Upon this, three *Lucumonies* immediately ſend deputies to *Rome*, who obtain a ſuſpenſion of arms for 30 years —	IV	623
4000	2693	306	A *Roman* fleet (the firſt they had ever ſent out) under the command of *P. Cornelius*, making a deſcent beyond cape *Palinurus*, ſuffering his troops to go too far up the country, had his retreat cut off; ſeveral of the *Romans* being ſlain, were forced to quit their booty, and were driven to their ſhips. Upon this the *Samnites* engage the conſul *Marcius*; the battle was extremely obſtinate and doubtful, abundance of *Roman* knights and ſeveral legionary tribunes were killed, and a lieutenant-general, and the conſul much wounded. Upon this *Papirius* is made dictator, goes with an army to the aſſiſtance of *Marcius*, engages the *Samnites*, intirely overthrows them, takes and burns their camp, and upon his return to *Rome* has a triumph —	IV	624
4001	2694	305	*Caſſander* (now king of *Macedon*) beſieges *Athens*; *Demetrius* (joint king of *Syria*) relieves it, and beſtows ſeveral cities that he recovered from *Caſſander* upon them, for which they honour him with lodgings behind the temple of *Minerva*, and thereby proſtitute the virgins devoted to her ſervice to his luſt —	II	555
4001	2694	305	*Damocles*, the moſt beautiful youth in all *Greece*, jumps into a very large cauldron of boiling water, and was drowned, to avoid the unnatural luſt of *Demetrius* —	II	555
4001	2694	305	The *Roman* conſul *Q. Fabius* takes *Nuceria*, a city in alliance with the *Samnites*, and defeats them in a battle; and *Decius Mus*, the other conſul, gained ſuch advantages over the *Hetrurians*, that they all offered to be allies; but he only grants them a truce for a year, upon the condition of paying his troops, and finding every ſoldier with two ſuits of cloaths —	IV	624
4001	2694	305	The *Umbrians* arm all their youth, with a deſign to march directly to *Rome*; *Decius* marches into the *Pupinian* field between *Umbria* and *Rome*, and *Fabius* marches and encamps near *Mevania*, a city on the banks of the *Clitumnus*		

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			in the heart of *Umbria*, where he ſubdued them without ſcarce drawing blood, making their whole army priſoners; upon which the reſt of the nation ſubmitted		
4002	2695	304	The time of *Fabius*'s conſulate being expired, he is appointed proconſul, and ſo continued general of the army. He engages the *Samnites* at *Allifæ* on the banks of the *Vulturnus*, and gains ſo compleat a victory, that to ſave their lives and have the liberty of going home, they paſſed under the yoke with only one garment on: Their allies, to the number of 7000, were made ſlaves, and ſold by auction, *&c.*	IV	625
4002	2695	304	*Antigonus* (now king of *Syria*) beſieges *Rhodes* by his ſon *Demetrius*, for its attachment to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; but after a year's time, and the loſs of abundance of ſhips and men, is forced to raiſe the ſiege and make peace: upon which the *Rhodians* dedicate a grove to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, where they offer him divine honours, and call it *Ptolemeum*, and him *Soter*, (our ſaviour) for the great aſſiſtance and relief he gave them during the ſiege	IV III	625 143
4002	2695	304	*Antigonus* and *Demetrius* (now kings of *Syria* in *Aſia*) invade *Egypt* by land and ſea with a great fleet and army, but are forced to retire with great loſs and ſhame	III	439
4003	2696	303	*Marcius* the *Roman* conſul, in a few days, took three different camps from the *Hernici*, and obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion	IV	625
4003	2696	303	*Marcius* and *P. Cornelius Arvina*, the two *Roman* conſuls, engage and defeat the *Samnites*, and kill 30,000 of them, take and burn their camp; and while this is doing a freſh body of recruits arrives, which are alſo diſperſed with great ſlaughter: Upon this they ſue for peace; the conſuls firſt oblige them to pay the ſoldiers of both armies one year, to furniſh 13 months proviſions, and give each ſoldier one habit, and then referred them to the ſenate at *Rome*	IV	626
4003	2696	303	*Demetrius* and the *Rhodians* conclude a peace	III	144
4003	2696	303	*Demetrius* ſails for *Attica* with 330 gallies and a great army againſt *Caſſander*, whom he overthrew, and has 6000 *Macedonians* revolt to him; elated with ſucceſs, *Demetrius* grows proud, lives voluptuouſly, and very wickedly, and will be called a god	III	439
4003	2696	303	*Demetrius* is admitted into the fraternity of the prieſts of *Ceres*, for which purpoſe the *Athenians* change the month of *March* firſt into the month of *November*, and then into *Auguſt*	II	555
4004	2697	302	The cities of *Alatrium*, *Ferentinum*, and *Verulum*, belonging to the *Heruſci*, which had remained faithful to *Rome*, had the liberty either to remain under their own laws (which they choſe) or have the rights of *Roman* citizens: The other cities were governed by the laws of *Rome*, and the people declared *Roman* citizens, but without right of ſuffrage	IV	626
4004	2697	302	Deputies come to *Rome* from *Carthage*, with a compliment and preſents, which the *Romans* accept, and return others	IV	626
4004	2697	302	The *Romans* engage the *Samnites*, and overthrow them with a dreadful ſlaughter, and took one and twenty enſigns. Soon after they engage again, where the battle being very bloody and obſtinate, the *Roman* conſul *Minucius* was killed, and *Statius Gellius* the *Samnite* general was taken; but the *Romans* got the day, and took twenty-ſix enſigns from the enemy. *Fulvius Corvus* being made conſul in the room of *Minucius*, takes *Bovianum* and other cities, and has a triumph	IV	626
4004	2697	302	*Caſſander*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, *&c.* confederate themſelves againſt *Antigonus*, *&c.* and take ſeveral provinces from him in *Aſia*	III	439
4004	2697	302	*Pyrrhus*, king of *Epirus*, goes to *Illyria*, to be preſent at the nuptials of one of *Glaucias*'s ſons, when the *Moloſſians* revolt, drive all his friends out of the kingdom, and crown *Neoptolemus* his great uncle; upon which *Pyrrhus* retired to *Demetrius* joint king of *Syria*	III	804
4005	2698	301	*Onias* the high prieſt and governor of the *Jews* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Simon*, who for his extraordinary virtues was ſirnamed the *Juſt*	IV	36
4005	2698	301	*Antigonus* and *Demetrius* are ſo puffed up with pride, that all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* confederate againſt them, and drive them out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, where *Antigonus* in one battle loſt both his life and kingdom		
4005	2698	301	*Demetrius* after his defeat in *Aſia*, ſailing from *Epheſus* towards *Athens* with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, is met by ambaſſadors from the *Athenians* in the *Cycladian* iſlands, acquainting him, that, for all his extraordinary ſervices, they had juſt made a law that prohibited all crowned heads entering their city; upon which he only deſired his ſhips and queen *Deidamia*, which he had left with them, ſhould be delivered to him; which they comply'd with, and he ſailed to *Cherſoneſus*	II	556
4005	2698	301	*Lacharis*, an obſcure citizen, ſeizes the ſovereignty of *Athens*, and forces them to ſubmit	II	556
4005	2698	301	*Antigonus* engages *Seleucus* king of *Babylon*, *&c.* at *Ipſus*, a town and river ſo called in *Aſia*, where *Antigonus* is killed, his army cut to pieces, and his kingdom loſt, which was divided among the confederate princes, his ſon *Demetrius* retaining little more than the title	III	441
4005	2698	301	The *Samnites* deſire to be admitted into their antient alliance with *Rome*, which the ſenate agrees to conditionally	IV	627
4005	2698	301	The *Equi* having revolted, the *Romans* under their conſuls go againſt them; but they retire into their city, which being inveſted, the conſuls over-run all their country, and in 55 days become maſters of 41 towns, moſt of which they razed or burnt, and ſo almoſt exterminated the whole nation. The conſuls had a triumph, and the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini* demand an alliance with *Rome*, which is granted	IV	627
4006	2699	300	*Seleucus* king of *Babylon* builds the famous city of *Antioch*, upon the river *Orontes*, equally diſtant from *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*	III	441

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4006	2699	300	*Seleucus* king of *Babylon* demands *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Demetrius*, in marriage; upon which he fits out a fleet to convey her to him, and in his paſſage ſeized and took away 200 talents at *Quinda*, then went to *Roſſus*, where *Seleucus* and *Stratonice* were eſpouſed	III	441
4008	2701	298	The art of painting was introduced this year at *Rome*, by *C. Fabius*, afterward conſul, who painted the wall of a new temple dedicated to the goddeſs of health; from whence he was ſurnamed *Pictor*	IV	627
4008	2701	298	*Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, being at the court of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* an hoſtage for *Demetrius*, ſo far ingratiates himſelf into his queen *Berenice*'s favours, as to marry her daughter by a former huſband; upon which he is furniſhed with troops, and recovers his kingdom	III	804
4009	2702	297	*Rome* had no conſuls this year, but was governed by two dictators created ſucceſſively, *viz.* Q *Fabius* and *Valerius Corvus*. *Fabius* marched againſt the *Marſi*, who had revolted, and reduced them to obedience in one ſingle battle; and *Valerius* againſt the *Hetrurians*, who had beat *Sompronius Sophus* his general of the horſe, and taken ſome ſtandards, but are ſo mauled by *Valerius*, that they ſue for peace, but can only obtain a truce for two years	IV	627
4010	2703	296	Conſuls choſen at *Rome* this year, where great conteſts are agitated about chooſing pontifices and augurs, but at laſt 'twas agreed, four new pontifices ſhould be choſen out of the plebeians, to make their number eight, and five new augurs to encreaſe their number to nine	IV	628
4011	2704	295	The conſul *Fulvius* goes to carry on the ſiege of *Nequinum*, built on the edge of a ſteep rock, almoſt ſurrounded by the river *Nar*, and deemed almoſt impregnable, but by the treachery of the *Nequinians*, the conſul took it by ſurprize: The name of this city was changed into *Narina*. For this exploit the conſul had a triumph	IV	628
4011	2704	295	The conſul *Manlius* being killed by a fall from his horſe, *Valerius Corvus* was a ſixth time made conſul, who goes againſt the revolted *Hetrurians*, who fly to their cities, while he ravages their country, not daring to meet him in the field	IV	629
4011	2704	295	*Demetrius* beſieges *Athens*, and forces them through famine to ſurrender at diſcretion, when entering with his forces commands all the *Athenians* to be aſſembled in the publick theatre, which ſurrounding with his army, when they expected to be put all to the ſword, *Demetrius*, after upbraiding them with their ingratitude, gave them 100,000 buſhels of corn, and named magiſtrates agreeable to them	II	556
4012	2705	294	Upon the death of *Caſſander* king of *Macedon*, his two ſons *Antipater* and *Alexander* get the kingdom between them	III	442
4012	2705	294	*Alexander* king of (part of) *Macedon*, endeavours to murder *Demetrius*, but falls into the ſnare himſelf, and is diſpatched by *Demetrius*, who ſucceeds him in the whole kingdom of *Macedon*, his brother *Antipater* being depoſed by the people	III	442
4012	2705	294	*Antipater* and *Alexander*, two of *Caſſander*'s ſons, conteſting for the whole crown of *Macedon*, *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* comes to the aſſiſtance of *Alexander*, and has a great part of the country and abundance of money for his reward	III	465
4012	2705	294	*Demetrius* king of *Macedon* beſieges and makes *Thebes* ſurrender at diſcretion, after a very obſtinate reſiſtance: He only puniſhes 13 of the principal revolters	III	466
4012	2705	294	The *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, having revolted from *Rome*, were both overthrown by *Fulvius* the plebeian conſul, for which he had a triumph	IV	629
4013	2706	293	*Mænon* having dipped a tooth-picker that *Agathocles* cleaned his teeth with after meals into poiſon, his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body was tortured with moſt racking pains, in the heighth of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile, and burnt while he was yet alive; and *Mænon* uſurped the ſupreme authority, under the name of *Prætor* of *Syracuſe*	III	88
4013	2706	293	The conſul *Fabius* by ſtratagem beats the *Samnites*; they fly, and he takes 23 ſtandards; and *Decius*, the other conſul, gains a conſiderable victory over the *Apuleians*, as they were marching to join the *Samnites*; then both conſuls laid *Samnium* waſte; *Fabius* took the city of *Cimetra*, and razed it, and put all that bore arms to the ſword	IV	629
4013	2706	293	*Seleucus* king of *Macedon* builds 16 cities in *Leſſer Aſia*, in which large colonies of the *Jews* ſettled, with great privileges. eſpecially at *Antioch*	IV	35
4014	2707	292	The *Mamertini* being diſbanded the ſervice of *Syracuſe*, are received into the city of *Meſſana*: After a ſmall time they unexpectedly fell upon the inhabitants, killed all the men, and married the women, and not only defended themſelves, but reduced the neighbouring country to their obedience	III	88
4014	2707	292	*Decius*, being proconſul, ſo haraſſed the *Samnites* army, that he made them diſband, and retire into the neighbouring countries: Then he took *Murgantia*, where he made 1110 priſoners: In *Romulea* he put 2300 to death, and took 6000 priſoners; and at *Ferentinum* 3000 that defended it deſperately were killed on the ramparts	IV	630
4014	2707	292	The two conſuls engage the revolted *Hetrurians*, and overthrow them with great ſlaughter, the enemy leaving 7300 dead in the field; their camp was taken and plundered, and 2000 taken priſoners; and as *Volumnius* was returning into *Samnium*, he ſurprized tbe *Samnites* as they were ravaging *Campania*, engaged them, ſlew 600, and retook all the ſpoil they had taken	IV	631
4015	2708	291	*Decius* the conſul ſeeing the enemy very numerous and bold, devoted himſelf to the *Dii Manes*, as his father had done before, and riding into the midſt of the enemies troops, was there cut to pieces: Upon this the pontifex *Livius* cries out, *We have conquered, &c.* and renews the battle with great fury, and at laſt obtained a compleat victory, killing 25,000, and taking 8000, *&c.* for which the conſul *Fabius* had a triumph	IV	634

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4015	2708	291	*Fabius* returns again into *Hetruria*, attacks them, killed 4500 upon the ſpot, and took 1740 priſoners: This quelled them a while		
4015	2708	291	The *Samnites* ſtill remained very troubleſome, ſo that the proconſul *Volumnius* and the prætor *Appius* having engaged them, kill 16,300	IV	634
4016	2709	290	The *Samnites* retire upon *Poſthumius* the conſul's coming to his colleague *Attilius*'s aſſiſtance, upon which the *Romans* pillage and lay waſte the whole country, and take *Milionia* by aſſault, and kill 3200 *Samnites* upon the ramparts, and make 4200 priſoners; then they take *Triventum* without ſtriking a blow, the inhabitants having deſerted it. A few days after, *Attilius* again engages the *Samnites*, and after loſing 7300 *Romans*, overthrows them, kills 4800, and takes 7000 priſoners, which he made paſs under the yoke: Afterwards, in his return to *Rome*, he falls upon another body of *Samnites*, that had been ravaging the *Volſci*, cuts them to pieces, recovers the booty, and releaſes many *Roman* priſoners, whom they had taken	IV	634
4016	2709	290	*Poſthumius* marches into *Hetruria* without orders from the ſenate, took *Ruſſellæ*, and obliged the three *Lucumonies* of *Volſinii*, *Perüſia*, and *Arretium* to ſue for peace. The ſenate refuſes him a triumph, but the people give him one in ſpite of all oppoſition	IV	635
4017	2710	289	The *Samnites* make a law, that all perſons capable of bearing arms that did not appear at *Aquilonia* (a city of *Hirpinia*) upon the firſt ſummons of the general of their nation, ſhould be put to death immediately: 40,000 were aſſembled, out of which 16,000 bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to do extraordinary matters under a linen canopy, and were therefore called the linen legion, *&c.* The *Roman* conſul *Corvilius* enters *Samnium*, takes *Amiternum*, (a city in *Sabinia*) cuts 2800 men to pieces, and takes 4270 priſoners. *Papirius*, the other conſul, takes *Furconia*, and both lay the country waſte where-e'er they come. *Papirius* engages the *Samnites*, kills 12,000, and diſperſes the reſt. *Corvilius* obliged *Cominium* to ſurrender at diſcretion, in which remained 15400 perſons after 4380 had been killed in its defence. Afterwards, to complete the utter deſtruction of the *Samnites*, *Corvilius* took *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*; and *Papirius* took *Sepinum*, deemed impregnable. *Corvilius* returns to *Rome*, which he enters in triumph	IV	636
4017	2710	289	The *Hetrurians* being again in arms, *Corvilius* goes againſt them, take *Troſſulum* by aſſault, forces the *Faliſci* to ſue for peace, but grants them only a year's truce, for which they pay 390,000 aſſes of braſs, and then returns to *Rome*, whither alſo *Papirius* was come from *Samnium*, and has a triumph, graced with the ſpoils of the linen legion	IV	637
4018	2711	288	*Pyrrhus* and *Lyſimachus* divide the kingdom of *Macedon* between them, by conſent, to avoid a war	IV	637
4018	2711	288	A plague raging in *Rome*, and two conſuls not well qualified for military affairs being choſe governors this year, encourage the *Faliſci* to break their truce, and the remaining *Samnites* to take arms, and enter *Campania*: The conſul *Brutus* over-ran *Hetruria*, defeated the *Faliſci*, and returned to *Rome* loaded with ſpoils: But the other conſul *Fabius* attacking the *Samnites*, is defeated, has 3000 of his men killed on the ſpot, and more wounded, who died ſoon after: Upon this, *Fabius* the father of the conſul goes with his ſon, and again engages and kills 20,000 *Samnites* upon the ſpot, and takes their general *Pontius* and 4000 priſoners	III	468
4018	2711	288	*Demetrius* preparing to recover his kingdom of *Syria*, is attacked by *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pyrrhus*; *Demetrius* is forced by his own army to fly to *Caſſandria*, and ſo abdicate *Macedon*: Upon this his wife *Philla* poiſoned herſelf	IV	638
4019	2712	287	*Demetrius* goes to *Thebes*, raiſes an army, aſſumes the regal authority, and reſtores democracy. The *Athenians* inſulting him, he beſieges *Athens*, and reduces them to the neceſſity of begging his pardon, *&c.*	III	443
4019	2712	287	*Pyrrhus* wars againſt *Demetrius*, and takes *Athens*, *&c.* from him, uſes the inhabitants extremely well, and ſacrifices in their city with them, *&c.*	III	443
4019	2712	287	*Pyrrhus* drives *Demetrius* out of *Macedon*, and becomes king thereof, but is forced to admit *Lyſimachus* a partner with him in that kingdom	III	468
4019	2712	287	The *Sibyline* books having been conſulted upon account of the plague, the anſwer was, that the God *Æſculapius* muſt be fetched from *Epidaurus* in *Peloponneſus*, where he was worſhipped under the figure of a ſerpent, which being done, the plague is ſaid to ceaſe	III	468
4019	2712	287	*Poſthumius* the *Roman* conſul deſpiſes the commands of the ſenate, and forces himſelf into the ſiege of *Cominium*, which *Fabius*, for the publick good, ſubmits to; it is taken, and alſo *Venuſium*, *Lucania*, and *Samnium*. Young *Fabius* is allowed a triumph, but *Poſthumius* is refuſed, *&c.*	IV	638
4020	2713	286	*Demetrius* going into *Aſia*, marries *Ptolemaida* at *Sardis*; many of *Lyſimachus*'s forces revolt to him, and bring a large ſum of money with them: He takes the city, *&c.* but a plague breaking out ſweeps away moſt of his army, and he is relieved by *Seleucus*, *&c.*	IV	639
4020	2713	286	*Seleucus* being influenced by his miniſter *Patrocles*, not only withdraws his kindneſs from *Demetrius*, but actually endeavours to take him by force, and by various ſucceſſes at laſt compels *Demetrius* to ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion	III	444
402-	2713	286	*Poſthumius*'s conſulate being out, he is brought to a trial before the *Comitia*, by tribes, and accuſed of employing part of his troops in grubbing up a foreſt in his own eſtate, for which he is condemned to pay a conſiderable fine	III	446
4021	2714	285	*Lyſimachus* drives *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon*, and reigns king there alone	IV	639
4021	2714	285	The *Romans* having ravaged the country, and taken the city of the *Samnites*, obliges them to ſue for peace, which being granted, put an end to a war that had laſted 49 years. The conſul *Manius Curius Dentatus* returned to *Rome*, in triumph	III	468
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4021	2714	285	The conſul *Curius* goes againſt the *Sabines*, who had joined the *Samnites*, reduces them intirely, and returns to *Rome*, where he has a ſecond triumph — — — —	IV	641
4022	2715	284	The *Romans* ſend colonies into *Adria*, a maritime town that gave name to the *Adriatick* ſea, to *Caſtrum* in *Picenum*, and to *Seno* at the mouth of the *Sene* —	IV	641
4022	2715	284	*Mænon* the *Syracuſan* governor going againſt the *Agrigentines*, who had revolted, as ſoon as he was out of the city of *Syracuſe*, one *Tænion* poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power, in which he was oppoſed by one *Soſiſtrates*, between whom a civil war was raiſed and carried on — — —	III	88
4022	2715	284	Three new judges, called *Triumviri Capitales*, were added to the *Roman* prætor, who had only the power of inflicting pecuniary fines, as likewiſe the care of the priſons where the greateſt criminals were, and the direction of their execution; they were choſen annually in the *Comitia* by tribes, and from their ſentence lay no appeal. This year a cenſus being made, the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms was found to be 273,000 — —	IV	641
4022	2715	284	*Ptolemy*, being by his father admitted joint king of *Egypt*, was ſirnamed *Philadelphus*, by many favours beſtowed upon the *Jews* in general, and great largeſſes to the prieſts and learned men in particular, obtained from them the *Greek* verſion of the *Old Teſtament* called the *Septuagint* — —	IV	37
4022	2715	284	The famous watch-tower in the iſland of *Pharos*, eſteemed one of the wonders of the world, is now finiſhed — —	III	626
4022	2715	284	*Demetrius* being the priſoner of *Seleucus* in the *Syrian Cherſoneſus*, dies, upon which *Seleucus* makes one empire of all *Demetrius* held in *Syria* and *Aſia* —	III	51[illegible]
4023	2716	283	The ſtatue of *Serapis* is brought from *Sinope* (a city of *Pontus*) to *Alexandria*, and ſet up in a magnificent temple on purpoſe — —	III	628
4023	2716	283	A great diſpute and commotion happens at *Rome* about repealing the debtors law, which cauſes all the common people to leave the city; whereupon *Q. Hortenſius* is named dictator to compoſe their differences, but dying before the matter was compleated, *Q. Fabius Maximus* was raiſed to that dignity, who ſettled all things to the people's intire ſatisfaction, and laid the foundation of *Rome*'s future greatneſs — — —	IV	642
4023	2716	283	*Demetrius* being dead in captivity, his aſhes are carried into *Greece*, where being put into a golden urn by his ſon *Antigonus*, all the honours of royalty were paid to them — — — —	III	447
4023	2716	283	*Simon*, the juſt high-prieſt of the *Jews*, dies, in the 19th year of his pontificate, much regretted by all for his repairing and fortifying the temple and city, and finiſhing the canon of the *Old Teſtament*: He was ſucceeded by his brother *Eleazer* in the prieſthood, and in the civil government by *Antigonus* of *Socho*, the chief of the *Sadducean* ſect — — —	IV	36
4024	2717	282	*Ptolomy Soter*, joint king of *Egypt*, dies, (and leaves his ſon ſirnamed *Philadelphus*, abſolute king) after having reigned 39 years alone, and two years in partnerſhip, being 84 years of age — — —	III	631
4024	2717	282	The *Tarentines*, originally a colony of *Spartans* that ſettled in the ſouth part of *Italy*, ſtirs up the *Boii*, *Senones*, and *Hetrurians*, againſt *Rome*; the *Senones* go againſt the *Aretini*, the allies of *Rome*, upon which the *Romans* ſend ambaſſadors to diſſuade them from their enterprize; but they murder them, and immediately march their troops before *Aretium*; the conſul *Lucius Cæcilius* engages them, is killed in the battle, and ſeven legionary tribunes, moſt of the *Roman* knights, and 13,000 private men: The ſenate immediately ſends the famous *Curius Dentatus* againſt them, who goes into the country of the *Senones*, where he plundered and burnt their houſes, put all able to bear arms to the ſword, and carried the women and children away captive, and ſo rendered the whole country quite deſolate — — —	IV	643
4024	2717	282	*Lyſimachus* engages *Seleucus* at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia*, where himſelf and children are ſlain, and *Seleucus* becomes king of *Macedon*, *&c.* — —	III	469
4025	2718	281	The *Romans*, under the conſul *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, meet and engage the *Senones* in their march towards *Rome*, and entirely overthrow them, ſo that only a few eſcapēd into the country of the *Boii*, who together with the *Hetrurians* raiſed another large army, whom the other conſul *P. Cornelius Dolabella* meets in their march towards *Rome*, engages them on the bank of the lake *Vademonis*, now *Il Lago di Baſſano*, kills moſt of the *Hetrurians* and *Boii*, and almoſt entirely takes away the very name of the *Senones* as a nation — —	IV	643
4025	2718	281	Several ſtates of *Italy* having confederated together againſt *Rome*, the conſul *C. Fabricius* goes into *Lucania*, and engages them, kills their general *Statilius*, and 25,000 ſoldiers, and makes himſelf maſter of their camp, for which the *Romans* return the God *Mars* publick thanks, *&c.* — —	IV	643
4025	2718	281	The *Tarentines* fall upon *Valerius* the *Roman* admiral and his fleet, now at the mouth of their harbour, with ten ſhips, ſunk one and took four, all the priſoners fit to bear arms they put to the ſword, and ſold the others for ſlaves. The *Romans* ſend to demand ſatisfaction, but the ambaſſadors are treated with the utmoſt contempt and diſreſpect, and then beſiege and take *Thurium*, defended by a *Roman* gariſon, and ſend and invite *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to aſſiſt them — —	IV	644
4026	2719	280	*Antiochus* (ſirnamed *Soter*) ſucceeds his father *Seleucus* in his kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and reigned 19 years — — —	III	522
4026	2719	280	*Ptolomy Ceraunius* ſtabs *Seleucus*, and flying to *Lyſimachia*, raiſes a company, and proclaims himſelf king of *Macedon*, *&c*, — — —	III	469
4026	2719	280	*Ptolomy Ceraunus* applies to his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, (widow of *Lyſimachus*, who was fled to the ſtrong caſtle in the rich city of *Caſſandria*) promiſes her marriage, to adopt her children, and make her the partner of his kingdom. She accepts the offer, puts *Caſſandria* into his poſſeſſion, and the day he celebrated the nuptials he murders her children, and turns her out, with only two ſervants, to lead		

a ſolitary

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			a ſolitary life in *Samo-Thrace*, from whence ſhe went into *Egypt*, where ſhe married her other brother, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* — — —	III	
4026	2719	280	The *Boii* being defeated by the *Romans*, are forced to ſue for peace —	IV	469
4026	2719	280	The *Achæans* having rendered themſelves famous for their regularity, juſtice, and impartial behaviour, induced moſt of the *Greek* cities to join their democracy, and firſt *Patra* and *Dyma* ſhewed the example — — —	II	643
4026	7219	280	The inhabitants of *Patra* and *Dyma* begin the *Achæan* league — — —	II	642
4026	2719	280	*Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace*, and *Seleucus* king of *Macedon*, *&c.* engage, and after a long and bloody battle, *Lyſimachus* is killed at the head of his troops —	III	632
4026	2719	280	*Seleucus* is murdered by *Ptolemy Caraunus*, whom the ſoldiers proclaim king of *Macedon*, and *Antiochus Soter*, ſon of *Seleucus*, enjoys his empire of *Aſia* 19 years — — — —	III	521
4026	2719	280	The *Romans*, under the conſul *L. Æmilius Barbula*, take cities, ſtorm caſtles, and lay the country of *Tarentum* waſte, force their army out of the field to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of their city, *&c.* The *Tarentines* admit *Cyneas*, general of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, with 3000 *Epirots* into their citadel, and depoſe their governor *Agis* for his ſuppoſed attachment to *Rome* — —	III	522
4027	2720	279	*Nicomedes* ſucceeds his father *Zipætes* in the kingdom of *Bythinia*, and puts two of his brothers to death; *Zipætes* the younger brother flies, and ſeizing part of the kingdom, wars with his brother, who calls in the *Gauls*, and by their aſſiſtance gets the whole kingdom, and beſtows part of *Aſia Minor* upon them, as a reward for their help: This part of the country was afterward called *Galatia*, and the inhabitants *Galatians* — — —	IV	645
4027	2720	279	*Ptolomy Ceraunus*, king of *Macedon* and *Syria*, engages the *Gauls* under the command of *Belgius*, is taken priſoner, and had his head cut off, *&c.* — —	III	522
4027	2720	279	The *Macedonians* chooſe *Meleager*, the brother of *Ptolemy*, king; but finding him unfit for government, after two months, depoſe him, and chooſe *Antipater* the ſon of *Philip*, the brother of *Caſſander*, who held it only 45 days —	III	470
4027	2720	279	*Patrocles*, general of *Antiochus Soter* king of *Syria*, entering into the country of the *Bythinians*, and committing great hoſtilities, is engaged by *Zipætes*, who drew him into an ambuſh, and cut off both himſelf and his whole army, for joy whereof *Zipætes*, being 76 years old, died in a tranſport, in the 41ſt year of his reign — — — —	III	470
4027	2720	279	*Q. Marcius Philippus* the *Roman* conſul has a triumph, for vanquiſhing the *Hetrurians*; and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* comes to *Tarentum*, where he is received with great joy: He ſets himſelf to reform the *Tarentines*, and inure them to the uſe of arms, and proclaims thoſe guilty of death, who either abandoned their country or abſented from the common muſters — —	III	522
4027	2720	279	The *Proletarii*, or meaneſt of the people, who till now had never been inliſted in the *Roman* army, nor ſuffered to bear arms, were inrolled in the army along with the other *Roman* people — — —	IV	646
4027	2720	279	The *Roman* conſul *P. Valerius Lævinus* ravaging the *Lucanians*, *&c.* is engaged by *Pyrrhus*, and after a ſtubborn fight the *Romans* are forced to quit the field, with the ſlaughter of many thouſands on both ſides, and 1800 *Roman* knights taken priſoners. Then *Pyrrhus* plunders and ravages the *Roman* territories, and poſſeſſes himſelf of *Campania* — — —	IV	646
4027	2720	279	*Pyrrhus* ſurprizes *Fregellæ*, ſits down before *Præneſte*, and views *Rome*; but *Coruncanius* the other conſul returning victorious over the *Hetrurians*, *Pyrrhus* returns into *Campania*, where he is met by *Lævinus*, who being recruited, again offers to engage him, but he declines it, and retires to *Tarentum* — —	III	810
4027	2720	279	*Ptolomy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, repudiates his wife *Arſinoe*, for a conſpiracy, and marries his half ſiſter *Arſinoe*, though paſt child bearing —	III	811
4028	2721	278	*Soſthenes*, a young *Macedonian* nobleman, aſſembles a body of able youths, and diſciplines them, and by degrees drives away the *Gauls*. He refuſed the royal honours, contenting himſelf with the name of general — —	III	633
4028	2721	278	The *Romans* and *Pyrrhus*, *&c.* engage near *Aſculum*, where the *Roman* conſul *Decius Mus* is killed, but at length the *Romans* got the day, and both armies parting, they go into winter quarters — — —	III	470
4029	2722	277	*Nicias*, phyſician to *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, writes a letter to the *Roman* conſuls *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, wherein for a large reward he offers to poiſon the king; they abhorring the action, inform the king of it, without naming the perſon — — —	III	813
4030	2723	276	*Brennus* king of the *Gauls* comes into *Macedonia*, with 140,000 foot and 10,000 horſe, againſt whom *Soſthenes* makes a vigorous defence, but is at laſt killed, and moſt of his army, and then *Brennus* gluts himſelf and army with ſpoil —	III	814
4031	2724	275	The inhabitants of *Eginum* having driven out the *Macedonian* gariſon, acceded to the *Achæan* alliance; and the inhabitants of *Bura* did the ſame, and alſo the *Ceraunians* — — —	III	470
4033	2726	273	The *Romans* under their conſul *Curius Dentatus* engage *Pyrrhus*, and finally overthrow him, killing 30,000 upon the ſpot, and take 12000 priſoners and eight elephants, the camp and all the baggage, *&c.* for which the conſul has the moſt magnificent triumph that had ever yet been ſeen — —	II	470
4033	2726	273	The conſul *Lentulus* having entirely defeated the *Samnites*, *&c.* was alſo honoured with a triumph, and the year ended with a cenſus and luſtrum, when 271,224 citizens were found in *Rome* fit to bear arms — —	II	642
4034	2727	272	*Pyrrhus* returning to *Epirus* from *Italy*, recruits his army, and engages *Antigonus Gonatus*, king of *Macedon*, overcomes and takes all *Macedonia* from him, particularly *Ægæ*, the royal ſeat of the late kings of *Macedon*, where he is again proclaimed king, and uſes the people with great ſeverity: The gariſon of *Gauls* which he left in it break open the tombs of the kings, take out the riches buried with them, and ſcatter their bones about the ſtreets, which gave great offence —	III	815
4033	2726	273	The conſul *Lentulus* having entirely defeated the *Samnites*, *&c.* was alſo honoured with a triumph, and the year ended with a cenſus and luſtrum, when 271,224 citizens were found in *Rome* fit to bear arms — —	IV	647
4034	2727	272	*Pyrrhus* returning to *Epirus* from *Italy*, recruits his army, and engages *Antigonus Gonatus*, king of *Macedon*, overcomes and takes all *Macedonia* from him, particularly *Ægæ*, the royal ſeat of the late kings of *Macedon*, where he is again proclaimed king, and uſes the people with great ſeverity: The gariſon of *Gauls* which he left in it break open the tombs of the kings, take out the riches buried with them, and ſcatter their bones about the ſtreets, which gave great offence —	III	816

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4034	2727	272	*Ptolemy Philadelphus* ſends ambaſſadors for the firſt time to *Rome*, to conclude an alliance with that republick. The *Romans* return the compliment, and ſend four ambaſſadors to *Ptolomy*, and conclude an alliance — — —	III	634
4034	2727	272	*Ptolemy*, ſon of *Pyrrhus*, reigns in *Macedon* as vicegerent of his father; *Antigonus Gonatus* attacks him, but is entirely routed, flying only with ſeven attendants — — — — — —	III	472
4034	2727	272	*Pyrrhus* warring againſt the *Lacedemonians*, has the rear of his army cut off by *Areus* king of *Sparta*, together with his ſon *Ptolemy*, *&c.* — — —	III	817
4034	2727	272	*Pyrrhus*, contrary to his word, having entered *Argos* with his army, an engagement enſues, wherein *Pyrrhus* was killed, and ſo *Antigonus* recovered the kingdom of *Macedon* again. — — — —	III	473
4034	2727	272	Upon the death of *Pyrrhus*, *Milo* the *Epirot* general ſurrenders the citadel of *Tarentum* into the hands of *Papyrius Curſo*, the *Roman* conſul, and the inhabitants alſo ſurrender themſelves. — — — —	III	820
4034	2727	272	*Alexander*, the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Epirus*, invades *Macedon*, and engaging *Antigonus*, defeats him, and takes away his kingdom from him; upon which *Antigonus* is forced to fly into *Greece* for ſhelter.	III	820
4035	2728	271	*Demetrius*, ſon of *Antigonus*, raiſes an army, engages *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, and not only drives him out of *Macedon*, but alſo out of *Epirus*, and forces him to fly to the *Acarnanians*, from whence coming with a large army into *Epirus*, *Demetrius* retires into *Macedon* — — — —	III	820
4036	2729	270	*Alexander* reigned ſeveral years in peace, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Ptolemy*, and grandſon *Pyrrhus*, who both died young, and alſo by his great grand-daughter *Deidamia*, who being murdered, the kingdom became a republick, *&c.*	III	821
4036	2729	270	*Claudius Carina*, the *Roman* conſul, defeats the *Samnites*, *&c.* and has a triumph given him at his return to *Rome* — — —	IV	647
4037	2730	269	*Antigonus Gonatus*, king of *Macedon*, firſt waſtes the territories of the *Athenians*, and then beſieges and takes *Athens*, and makes them accept a *Macedonian* garriſon, *&c.* — — — — —	II	557
4039	2732	267	News coming to *Samnium*, *&c.* of the death of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*, in deſpair engage *L. Papirius Curſor* and *Sp. Corvilius* (ſirnamed *Maximus*) the two *Roman* conſuls, and their armies, and are totally overthrown and ſubdued: Thus ended this bloody war, which had laſted 72 years, and produced the *Roman* generals 31 triumphs — — —	IV	647
4039	2732	267	*Molo* the *Epirot* general ſurrenders *Tarentum* to the conſul *Papirius*, who diſarmed all the inhabitants, took their ſhips from them, diſmantled the city, and made it tributary to *Rome* — — — —	IV	648
4040	2733	266	The *Roman* conſul *L. Genucius Clepſina* goes againſt the *Roman* garriſon at *Rhegium*, where they had, under falſe pretences, maſſacred all the chief men of the city at a banquet, and either put the reſt to the ſword, or elſe forced them to fly the city; and obliged the women to marry the murderers of their huſbands and fathers: The rebels ſtood out vigorouſly, till their number from 4000 was reduced to 300, who were brought priſoners to *Rome*, and put to death by fifties. — — — — — —	IV	648
4041	2734	265	*Acrotatus* king of *Sparta* engages *Ariſtodemus* prince of *Megalopolis*, is ſlain, and his army routed: His young ſon *Areæus* ſucceeds him in his kingdom, who dies in the 8th year of his reign, under the government of *Leonidas* — —	II	625
4041	2734	265	*C. Genucius* being conſul, led the *Romans* againſt the *Sarcinates*, (a people of *Umbria*) whom he conquered, and had a triumph — — —	IV	648
4042	2735	264	The conſuls *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pictor*, go againſt one *Lollius*, a *Samnite* hoſtage who had made his eſcape from *Rome*, and being joined by the *Caracini*, laid the country under contribution; but at laſt, after an obſtinate ſtruggle, they take the city of the *Caracini*, *&c.* — — — —	IV	649
4042	2735	264	The *Romans* for the firſt time coin ſilver money, in the temple of *Juno Moneta*, for the uſe of commerce, which heretofore were only pieces of braſs, with the figures of a bull, a ram, and a boar ſtamped on them — — — —	IV	649
4043	2736	263	*Margas*, half brother to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, being governor of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, revolts and makes himſelf king in thoſe provinces — — —	III	635
4043	2736	263	*Antigonus Gonatus* king of *Macedon* beſieges and takes *Athens*, through the miſunderſtanding between the *Spartans* and *Egyptians* that come to its relief — —	III	634
4043	2736	263	*Patroclus* the *Egyptian* general orders the poet *Sotades* to be wrapped up in a ſheet of lead, and caſt into the ſea, for writing invectives againſt his maſter *Ptolemy Philadelphus* — — — — — — —	III	634
4043	2736	263	The conſul *Appius* with his *Roman* legions entering the country of the *Umbrians*, made himſelf maſter of the city of *Camerinum*, the people whereof, contrary to his agreement, he ſold for ſlaves, and put the money into the publick treaſury, and ſeized their lands; but the ſenate cauſed the people to be ſought out, gave them the privileges of *Roman* citizens, granted them part of *Mount Aventine* for an habitation, and allotted each man as much land as they loſt in *Umbria*. — —	IV	649
4043	2736	263	The *Roman* conſul *Sempronius Sophus* takes *Aſculum*, the capital of *Picenum*, and the whole nation of the *Piccntes* gave themſelves up to *Rome*; this added to the ſtrength of *Rome* 360,000 men fit to bear arms — —	IV	649
4043	2736	263	The *Romans* to ſecure their conqueſts ſend two colonies of their own people, one into *Arminium* in the country of the *Picentes*, the other into *Beneventum* among the *Samnites* — — — — —	IV	649
4043	2736	263	The *Sabines* are this year admitted to the right of ſuffrage, and made entirely *Romans*, enjoying before only the right of incorporation into the *Roman* army, inſtead of ſerving as auxiliaries. — — — — —	IV	649
4043	2736	263	*Antiochus*, king of *Syria* engaging and entirely overthrowing the *Gauls* that were ſettled in *Aſia*, by *Nicomedes* king of *Bythinia*, thereby delivered the neighbouring princes from their frequent incurſions; for which he is ſirnamed *Soter*, or *the Saviour* — — — — —	III	523

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4044	2737	262	*Antiochus Soter*, upon the death of *Philæterus* prince of *Pergamus*, invades his dominions, designing to add them to his own; but *Eumenes*, nephew and succeſſor to the deceaſed, engages and overthrows him, and not only ſettles himſelf in his own country, but adds ſeveral provinces to it — — —	III	523
4045	2738	261	The conſuls, *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, compleated the conqueſt of the *Salentines* and *Sarcinates*, and were each honoured with two triumphs at their return to *Rome*, for the conqueſt of two nations which made *Rome* miſtreſs of all the countries in *Italy*, from the remoteſt part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* ſea, and from the *Tyrrhenian* ſea to the *Adriatick* — — — —	IV	649
4045	2738	261	*Apolonia*, a city in *Macedon*, ſends ambaſſadors to *Rome* to deſire her protection: *Fabricius* and *Apronius* (two young patricians, *Ædiles* for this year) having inſulted the ambaſſadors, are degraded, and delivered into the hands of the ambaſſadors, to be carried into *Macedon* to be tried there; and a law was made, that if any perſon whatever inſulted a foreign ambaſſador, he ſhould be delivered up to that people, to be puniſhed at their pleaſure — — — —	III	523
4045	2738	261	*Antiochus Soter* upon his return to *Antioch* puts one of his ſons to death, for attempting to raiſe a rebellion in his abſence, and proclaims his ſon *Antiochus* king with himſelf — — — — — —	III	523
4045	2738	261	*Antiochus Soter*, king of *Syria*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *Theos*, ſo called by the *Mileſians* for delivering them from the tyranny of *Timarchus*, governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy*; who having revolted, choſe *Miletus* for the ſeat of his government; *Antiochus* engaged, defeated, and ſlew him — —	III	523
4046	2739	260	Now flouriſhed *Beroſus*, the famous *Babylonian* hiſtorian, and dedicated his hiſtory to *Antiochus Theos*, which contained the aſtronomical obſervations of 480 years: While he taught at *Athens*, his reputation for aſtrological predictions was ſo great, that the *Athenians* erected a ſtatue to him in the *Gymnaſium*, with a golden tongue — — — — — —	III	523
4046	2739	260	*Rome* having divided her conqueſts into four provinces, four new officers, called provincial *Quæſtors*, are created, to take care of the publick revenues —	IV	650
4046	2739	260	A plague breaking out at *Rome*, and the *Sybiline* books being conſulted, the anſwer was, ſome ſecret crimes had drawn the wrath of heaven upon the commonwealth. Upon ſearch, a veſtal named *Carparania* was charged with incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive, to avoid which ſhe ſtrangled herſelf. Upon a cenſus being taken, and a luſtrum made, notwithſtanding the havock the plague had made, there were found in the city 292,224 men fit to bear arms — — — — — —	IV	650
4046	2739	260	The *Volſinienſes*, one of the twelve *Leucomonies* of the *Hetrurians*, beg the aſſiſtance of *Rome*, to free them from the tyrannical and abominable government of their magiſtrates; upon which the conſul *Fabius Gurges* goes againſt them with a ſmall army, and is killed in a battle with them — — — —	IV	651
4047	2740	259	*M. Fulvius Flaccus*, the *Roman* conſul, forces the *Volſinienſes* to ſurrender at diſcretion, and puts all that had been guilty to death: The antient citizens not concerned in the revolt were tranſplanted to another place, and the city razed. *Flaccus* at his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph — — —	IV	651
4047	2740	259	The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* declare war againſt each other, called the firſt punic war. In the beginning the *Roman* general *Claudius* going to the aſſiſtance of the *Mamertines* at *Meſſana*, over-reaches *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* general, and gets the town and citadel from him; for which *Hanno* was crucified at his return to *Carthage* — — — — — — —	IV	653
4047	2740	259	Another *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral comes into *Sicily*, and beſieges *Claudius* and his *Romans*; and upon his refuſing to ſurrender *Meſſana*, orders all the *Italians* in his army to be maſſacred. The conſul *Appius* coming to *Rhegium*, ſends from thence to *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe* to deſire him to withdraw his forces that he had joined *Hanno* with; but *Hiero*, inſtead of complying, reproaches the *Romans* with encouraging tyrants and treachery, rebellion, *&c.* but *Claudius* having overthrown *Hiero* in an engagement with him, thinking himſelf betrayed by the *Carthaginians*, returns with his troops to *Syracuſe*; upon which *Claudius* ſallying out upon the *Carthaginians*, routed them with great ſlaughter, and ſo raiſed the ſiege of *Meſſana*, then over-run and laid waſte the country of the *Syracuſans* to the gates of *Syracuſe*, for which he is ſaid to have a triumph at his return to *Rome* — —	IV	654
4048	2741	258	War breaks out between the *Rhodians* and *Byzantines*, upon account of the latter's laying a tax upon all ſhips trading to the *Pontic* ſea, but is ſoon after compoſed by the mediation of *Cavarus* king of the *Thracian Gauls* — —	III	145
4048	2741	258	The two *Roman* conſuls, with each a large army under his command, go into *Sicily*, where 68 cities and towns heretofore ſubject to the *Carthaginians* ſubmit to them; then beſiege *Syracuſe*, upon which *Hiero* deſires peace, which the conſuls grant, upon condition that he releaſe all the *Roman* priſoners without ranſom, and pay the republick 100 talents of ſilver; this *Hiero* performing, the *Romans* contract to acknowledge *Hiero* for a friend, and to protect his dominions from all hoſtilities — — — — — — —		
4048	2741	258	The inhabitants of *Segeſta* and *Aliena* maſſacre the *African* gariſon, and open their gates to the *Roman* conſuls. The cities of *Hilara*, *Tyrita*, and *Aſcela* are beſieged, taken by aſſault, and treated with great rigour. Upon *Valerius*'s return to *Rome*, he has a triumph. This year *Cn. Fulvius Centumales* was made dictator, to drive a nail into the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to ſtop the plague now raging at *Rome* — — — — —	IV	655
4049	2742	257	*Leonidas* becomes king of *Sparta*, and, after a reign of 13 years, was outed by his ſon-in-law *Cleombrotus*, who reigned in his ſtead; upon which his daughter fled with him, leaving her huſband for the ſake of her father — —	II	627
4049	2742	257	The conſuls *L. Poſthumius Magellus* and *Q. Manlius Vitulus* go into *Sicily*, and beſiege *Agrigentum*, which the *Carthaginians* had made their magazine for arms		

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			and proviſions, a place rendered almoſt impregnable by art and nature, defended by a numerous gariſon under the command of *Hannibal*, beſides 50,000 inhabitants: After five months ſiege comes *Hanno* from *Carthage*, with an army of 50,000 ſoldiers, *&c.* to whom *Erbeſſa* (a city where the *Romans* had their magazine) ſurrenders: After the city had been beſieged ſeven months, both armies engage, and the *Romans* defeat the *Carthaginians*, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; upon which *Hannibal* in the night ſallies out, and cuts his way through the *Roman* camp, and eſcapes; upon which the *Agrigentines* maſſacre all the remaining *Carthaginians*, and the conſuls deliver up the city to be plundered, which had not ſurrendered at diſcretion, and 25,000 free perſons are made ſlaves: This important ſiege, battle, *&c.* coſt the *Romans* and their allies upwards of 30,000 men — — — — —	IV	656
4050	2743	256	About this time a dreadful earthquake happened at *Rhodes*, which threw down the great *Coloſſus*, the arſenal, and moſt part of the walls of *Rhodes*, towards repairing which, all the *Grecian* ſtates and other princes ſent them very large preſents, which enabled them in a ſmall time to appear in their former ſplendor — — — — —	III	146
4051	2744	255	The *Roman* conſul *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with a ſquadron of 17 galleys full of men, are drawn into a ſnare by *Hannibal*, and are all taken priſoners; but 103 more *Roman* gallies ſoon after fall upon, ſink, take, and diſperſe *Hannibal*'s fleet, himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty: Quickly after the *Romans*, under the conſul *Duilius*, attacked the *Carthaginian* fleet again, and by help of an engine called the *Corvus*, they grappled the *Carthaginians*, and boarding them, overcame and took 80 of them, and 7000 priſoners, and killed 7000 men in the two engagements, and ſunk 13 ſhips or galleys; *Hannibal* a ſecond time eſcaped with difficulty, and is degraded by the *Carthaginian* ſenate; then the conſul going on ſhore, relieves *Segeſta*, beſieged by *Hamilcar*, takes *Marcella*, and returns to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a triumph, in the moſt magnificent and extraordinary manner, by medals, *&c.* — — —	IV	657
4051	2744	255	During the abſence of *Duilius* the *Romans* and *Sicilians* quarrel, and part from one another; whereupon *Hamilcar* attacks the *Sicilians*, and puts 4000 of them to the ſword, drove the *Romans* from their poſts, took ſeveral cities, and over-run great part of the country — — — — —		
4052	2745	254	The *Roman* ſlaves form a conſpiracy to burn *Rome*, *&c.* and are joined by 4000 *Samnites*; but the plot is diſcovered by *Erius Potitius*, the commander of the confederates: The ſlaves were put in irons, and the *Samnites* impriſoned — —	IV	650
4052	2745	254	The conſul *C. Aquilius Florus* having the command of the *Roman* navy, ſails to *Corſica*, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the iſland: Afterwards going to *Sardinia*, he beſieged *Olbia*, where *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* general was killed, whom *Aquilius*, after taking the city, honoured with magnificent obſequies, attending his burial in perſon; after which he took moſt of the maritime cities, driving the *Carthaginians* away where-ever he came — — —	IV	660
4053	2746	253	The *Carthaginians* deſiring aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians* againſt the *Romans*, are denied by *Ptolemy* — — — — —	III	634
4053	2746	253	*Aquilius* being made proconſul, and going into *Sicily*, recovers what *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* general had taken, and drove him quite out of the field; and beſieging *Myſiſtratum*, reduced it to ſuch ſtraits, that it ſurrendered to the conſul *Attilius* ſoon after his arrival; and both *Aquilius* and his colleague *Cornelius* are honoured with triumphs upon their return to *Rome*, for their extraordinary ſervices — — — — —	IV	660
4053	2746	253	The conſul *Attilius* falls into an ambuſcade, from which *M. Calpurnius Flamma*, with only 300 men, relieved him, but with the loſs of all his men, and himſelf extremely wounded, for which he was rewarded with a crown of gramen. *Attilius* takes *Camerina*, and ſells all the *Carthaginians* for ſlaves; then he goes to *Enna*, where the people open their gates to him, and deliver up all the *Carthaginians*, whom he puts to the ſword. *Sittana* he took by aſſault, and put the army ſent to relieve it to flight. Then he went into *Agrigentum*, and drove the *Carthaginians* quite out of the country. — — — —	IV	661
4053	2746	253	*Sulpicius*, the *Roman* conſul and admiral, engages *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* admiral, but they are parted by a ſtorm, which drove both of them into the *Sardinian* harbours; the ſtorm abating, *Sulpicius* ſurprizes, ſinks, and takes moſt of the *Carthaginian* ſhips, for which the remainder crucify their admiral. *Sulpicius* returns to *Rome*, and is honoured with a triumph — — —	IV	661
4054	2747	252	*Aratus* comes to *Athens*, and prevails upon *Diogenes* the *Macedonian* governor to give up the three fortreſſes, *Pyræum*, *Munichia*, and *Muſæum*, for 150 talents, towards which he paid 20 out of his own fortune, and then left the *Athenians* abſolutely free, under the protection of the *Achæans* to guard their freedom — —	II	557
4054	2747	252	*C. Attilius Regulus*, conſul for this year, having the command of the *Roman* fleet, goes with 10 gallies to reconnoitre the *Carthaginian* fleet, is ſurrounded, and moſt of them taken, but with great difficulty he eſcapes to the remainder of his fleet, with which he attacks the enemy, and routs them, taking 10 gallies and ſinking eight, with all their crews, forces the reſt to fly to the port of *Lipara*. Both conſuls at their return to *Rome* are honoured with a triumph; and *Q. Ogulinus* is created dictator to preſide at the *Feriæ Latinæ*, now revived upon account of ſome prodigies that had appeared during the campaign — — — — —	IV	662
4055	2748	251	The conſuls *L. Manlius Vulſo* and *Maras Attilius Regulus*, with a fleet of 330 *Roman* gallies, each manned with 120 ſoldiers and 300 rowers, engage the *Carthaginian* fleet, conſiſting of 360 ſail, (and better manned than the *Romans*) near *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, and after an obſtinate and very bloody battle the *Carthaginians* were entirely routed, 30 of their ſhips being deſtroyed, and 63 taken		

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			with their crews, and the *Romans* had 24 ſunk. After this the *Romans* ſailed for *Carthage*, and took *Clupea* (or *Apis*) which they fortified, and made a key to *Africa*, ravaged the country, and returned with immenſe booty and 20,000 priſoners		
4055	2748	251	*Arſaces*, in revenge for an affront upon the modeſty of his brother, by *Agathocles* governor of *Parthia*, &c. gets ſome friends and murders him, and at laſt he drove out the *Macedonians*, and made himſelf king, &c.	IV	663
4055	2748	251	*Theodotus* governor of *Bactria* revolts from *Antiochus*, and makes himſelf king, &c.	III	525
4055	2748	251	*Eleazer* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt dies, and is ſucceeded by *Manaſſes*, uncle of *Simon the Juſt*	III	525
4056	2749	250	*Sicyon*, by the perſuaſion of *Aratus* becomes a member of the *Achæan* league	IV	41
4056	2749	250	*Attilius*, now proconſul of the *Roman* army, beſieges *Adis*, or *Adda*, not far from *Carthage*, and engages the *Carthaginian* army, kills 17,000, takes 5000 and 18 elephants: This victory brought the ſubmiſſion of 80 towns to the *Romans*, of which *Utica* was one. Then *Regulus* (*Attilius*) beſieged *Tunis*, but nine miles from *Carthage*, and took it; upon which the *Numidians* entered the territories of the *Carthaginians*, laid all the country waſte, which ſoon brought a famine in *Carthage*, the metropolis of the whole country, which *Attilius* had now inveſted, and offering conditions of peace too hard for the ſenate to accept, they put their army under the command of *Xantippus*, a *Lacedæmonian* auxiliary, who engaging the *Romans*, routs them intirely, cuts off about 30,000, and takes *Attilius* priſoner, with whom he enters *Carthage* in triumph, who was treated with all the ſcorn, &c. that an enraged enemy could invent, and ſoon after *Xantippus* himſelf was forced to retire to *Lacedæmon* in diſgrace privately.	II	643
4057	2750	249	*Manaſſes* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt dies, and is ſucceeded by *Onias*, the ſon of *Simon the Juſt*, who, by his avaricious ſordid way of behaving himſelf, had well nigh ruined the whole nation of the *Jews*	IV	666
4057	2750	249	The *Roman* fleet under the conſuls *Fulvius* and *Æmilius* engage the *Carthaginian* fleet of cape *Hermea*, or cape *Mercury*, and ſunk 104 of their ſhips, took 30, and killed 15,000 men; then proceed to *Clupea*, where, as ſoon as landed, they are engaged by the two *Hannos*, father and ſon, whom they defeat, and kill 9000 of their men, but for want of proviſions are forced to quit *Clupea* and *Utica*, and inſtead of returning home, they go to the northern coaſt of *Sicily*, where the fleet is almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a prodigious ſtorm, ſaving but 80 (and they much ſhattered) out of 370 ſail, loſing the crews, army, and riches of *Africa* which they had taken: This was the greateſt loſs that *Rome* had ever yet met with	IV	41
4058	2751	248	The *Romans*, after recruiting their fleet and army, ſend their conſuls and proconſuls into *Sicily*, where the city of *Cephalædium*, near the mouth of the *Himera*, was delivered to them by the inhabitants; then beſieging *Panormus*, they reduced the inhabitants to ſuch extremities, as to give 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d. per* head for their ranſom; and thoſe who could not do it, to the number of 30,000, were ſold for ſlaves; but in their return to *Rome*, the tranſports that carried the money and ſpoils were taken by the *Carthaginians*	IV	666
4059	2752	247	The *Romans* make deſcents upon the eaſtern coaſts of *Africa*, where they ſurprize and plunder ſeveral towns and villages, and returning with great booty, were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, and loſt 160 galleys and a great number of tranſports; upon which the ſenate enact, that no more than 50 veſſels ſhould be equipped at a time for the future	IV	667
4060	2753	246	*Antiochus*, king of *Syria* and *Macedon*, makes peace with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, and contracts to put away his wife *Laodicea*, and marry *Berenice*, *Ptolemy*'s daughter, and ſettle the crown upon her children	III	525
4060	2753	246	The *Romans* take *Himera* in *Sicily*, and afterwards *Lipara*, by ſtorm, and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword	IV	668
4060	2753	246	*Tib. Coruncanius* was this year made *Pontifex Maximus*, though a plebeian, who concurred with the conſuls and the cenſors to puniſh the profane, irreligious, and diſobedient; 13 ſenators were ignominiouſly ſtruck off the liſt, and 400 knights degraded. By the cenſus 297,797 men fit to bear arms were found in *Rome*	IV	668
4062	2755	244	The *Roman* conſul *Metellus* artfully draws *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian* general into a diſadvantagious piece of ground, near *Panormus* in *Sicily*, then ſets upon him, kills 20,000 upon the ſpot, and many elephants, and takes ſeveral, which made his triumph at *Rome* very remarkably magnificent; but *Aſdrubal* upon his return to *Carthage* is crucified for his misfortunes.	IV	669
4062	2755	244	*Ptolemy Euergetes* (or *the Beneficent*) ſucceeds his father *Ptolemy Philadelphus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, who is ſuppoſed to have died of grief at the death of his beloved wife *Arſinoe*	III	637
4062	2755	244	*Ptolemy Euergetes* king of *Egypt* takes *Seleucia*, a famous city 15 miles from *Antioch*, from the *Syrians* near the mouth of the *Orontes*, and puts a ſtrong *Egyptian* garriſon into it	III	635
4062	2755	244	*Conon* the mathematician, to appeaſe *Ptolomy*'s wrath againſt the prieſts of the *Zephyrian Venus*, for loſing the hair his queen *Berenice* cut off from her own head as a token of joy for his *Syrian* victory, points out to him ſeven ſtars, near the tail of the lion, declaring them to be *Berenice*'s hair, and which ſtill remain a conſtellation under that name	III	639
4062	2755	244	*Antiochus Theos*, as ſoon as he heard *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was dead, removed his daughter *Berenice* from his bed, and recalled *Laodicea* and her children, *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*. *Laodicea* firſt poiſons her huſband, and then gets her ſon *Seleucus Callinicus* proclaimed king of *Syria*; ſhe then endeavoured to murder *Berenice* and her ſon, who fled to *Antioch*, where ſhe was beſieged, taken, and murdered, with all the *Egyptians* that attended her, before her bro-		

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			ther could come with his army to her relief: But the *Asians* joining the *Egyptians*, severely revenge the murder, by conquering most of the provinces, and carrying away 40,000 talents of silver, a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and 2500 statues, *&c.*	III	527
4063	2756	243	*Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus Gonatus*, succeeds his father in the kingdom of *Macedon*, which he enjoyed 10 years, full of much trouble and many wars. *&c.*	III	474
4063	2756	243	The *Carthaginians* send the consul *Regulus* (their prisoner, having sworn him to return) to *Rome*, with other ambassadors, to treat of a peace; *Regulus* persuades the *Romans* to continue the war, for which the *Carthaginians* put him to death with extreme torments, and the *Romans* severely revenge his death upon the *Carthaginian* prisoners	IV	669
4063	2756	243	*Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, in his return from *Syria* comes through *Jerusalem*, and offers sacrifice to the God of *Israel*	III	640
4063	2756	243	*Agis* and *Cleombrotus*, kings of *Sparta*, go where the *Ephori* were sitting, remove them from their seats, and put others in their stead, and then propose a cancelling of debts, and an equal distribution of lands; upon which the bonds and obligations for debt were brought in and burnt, *&c.*	II	627
4063	2756	243	The *Carthaginians* sally out of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, where the *Romans* had long besieged them, and burn all the *Roman* engines, and destroy all their works, *&c.* which disaster raised such high disputes in the *Roman* senate, that they come to blows, and one senator was killed for zealously persuading the rest to conclude a peace	IV	672
4064	2757	242	The *Roman* consul *Claudius Pulcher*, upon hearing the sacred chickens refuse feeding, takes up the coop and throws it and them into the sea, saying, *If they won't eat, let them drink*; and then engaging *Adherbal*, is defeated, with the loss of 90 vessels, 8000 men killed, and 20,000 taken prisoners, without the loss of one *Carthaginian: Claudius* escaping with 30 gallies, the senate order him to name a dictator; he names *Claudius Glycias*, (a very mean person, a viator or tipstaff of his own;) this highly affronts all, but *Glycias* laying down, *M. Attilius Calatinus* was chosen. The consul *Junius Pullus* goes with a great fleet towards *Lilybæum*, but by a mighty storm the whole is intirely destroyed by being shipwreck'd	IV	674
4064	2757	242	*Aratus* takes *Acro-Corinth* by surprize, and *Megara*, from the *Macedonians*, and unites them to the *Achæans*. *Træzene*, *Epidaurus*, and *Megalopolis*, by his persuasion, also join the league, and the *Argives*, *&c.*	II	643
4064	2757	242	The consul *Junius* takes *Eryx* (a strong city situate on the declivity of the mountain *Eryx*, the highest in *Sicily* except *Ætna*:) To secure it he built a fort at the foot of the mountain, and put a garison of 800 men in it; but *Carthalo* soon after took it by assault, and put the garison to the sword, and killed *Junius* in the defence of it, *&c.*	IV	674
4065	2758	241	*Carthalo*, the *Carthaginian* general, being forced out of *Italy*, his mercenaries murmured for want of pay, for which he punished some by transporting them to desolate islands, and others he sent to *Carthage*, where they were executed, *&c.* but this severity begat a general hatred, so that *Carthalo* was recalled, and *Hamilcar* (surnamed *Barcas*) sent into *Italy* in his stead, who first appeased the discontent in the army, and took an immense booty from the *Locrians* and *Bruttians*, *&c.*	IV	675
4066	2759	240	Private persons in *Rome* build and fit out ships that make descents upon the *African* coasts, and do great mischiefs by ravaging the country, entering into the port of *Hippo*, firing the ships and houses, and bringing off great booty	IV	675
4066	2759	240	The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* exchange prisoners, and the difference in number is made up by money to the *Romans*. The *Roman* citizens appear to be but 251,220 by this year's census	IV	675
4067	2760	239	*Leonidas* is restored to his kingdom of *Sparta* again, and *Cleombrotus* sentenced to perpetual banishment; and *Agis* the other king is strangled by order of the *Ephori*, together with his mother and grandmother, and *Leonidas* reigned alone	II	628
4068	2761	238	*Leonidas* dies, and is succeeded by his son *Cleomenes* III. in the whole kingdom of *Sparta*, who enjoyed it 16 years, when he was outed by *Antigonus*	II	629
4068	2761	238	*Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, having built a fortress in the territories of the *Megalopolitans*, occasioned the war called the *Cleomenic* war	II	645
4068	2761	238	*Claudia*, a *Roman* lady, is forced to appear before the tribes, and fined 25,000 asses of brass, for speaking contemptibly of the *Roman* populace, with which a chappel was built on the hill *Aventinus*, dedicated to liberty	IV	675
4068	2761	238	The *Roman* privateers gain a considerable victory over the *Carthaginian* fleet, and are afterwards dashed in pieces by a storm	IV	676
4068	2761	238	*Hamilcar* takes the strong city and forts of *Eryx* from the *Romans* by surprize, and puts all in arms to the sword, and sends the others prisoners to *Drepanum*	VI	849
4069	2762	237	The *Achæans* under *Aratus*, and *Spartans* under *Cleomenes*, engage, and the *Achæans* are defeated; but *Aratus* rallying part of his troops, goes to *Mantinea*, and takes that important place belonging to *Sparta*; but the two armies meeting again, the *Achæans* are again terribly beaten under *Lysiades*	II	645
4069	2762	237	The *Gauls* deliver a fort in *Eryx* to the *Romans*, and are admitted into the *Roman* service, being the first time the republick took foreign forces into their pay	IV	676
4070	2763	236	The *Romans* having chose *C. Lutatius Catulus* one of this year's consuls, the *Pontifex Maximus* would not let him exercise the office of a general, because he was high-priest of *Mars*, upon which a second prætor was chose, one to command in the army, and the other to distribute justice in the city	IV	677
4070	2763	236	The *Romans* having by a voluntary contribution built 200 quinqueremes, hired the most skilful of all nations to help to man them; with this fleet the prætor *Valerius Falto* embarked for *Sicily*, where, in conjunction with the consul *Lutatius*,		

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			they beſieged *Drepanum*; but *Lutatius* being much wounded as he was entering a breach, was carried back to the camp, and the attack given over		
4070	2763	236	The *Romans* attack the *Carthaginian* fleet, conſiſting of 400 ſail, overcome and defeat it, take 73 ſhips and their crews, and ſink 125, and diſperſe the reſt, then advance to *Eryx*, and cut off 2000 *Carthaginians*, and ſo put an end to the firſt punic war. The conſul propoſed a peace upon the following terms: 1ſt, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould intirely evacuate *Sicily*: 2d. That they ſhould pay 110 talents of ſilver yearly for 20 years: 3d. That they ſhould reſtore all the *Roman* captives and deſerters without ranſom, and redeem their own with money: 4. That they ſhould not make war upon *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, or his allies. But the *Roman* ſenate would have two new articles added, *viz.* 1000 talents down, and 220 talents yearly for 10 years, and that the *Carthaginians* ſhould quit all the little iſlands about *Italy* and *Sicily*, and never come near them with ſhips of war, or raiſe mercenaries there. *Hamlicar* was forced to comply, but went home with a ſettled hatred of the *Romans*. The peace was ratified by the ſolemn ſacrifice of a ſow, and the mutual oaths of both nations. In this war the *Romans* loſt 700 ſhips, and the *Carthaginians* 500 — —	IV	677
4070	2763	236	The diſbanded mercenaries of the *Carthaginian* army revolt for want of their pay, and encamp before *Tunis*, invite all the city to accede to them, and throw off the *Carthaginian* yoke, by which means their number is increaſed to 72000. *Guiſco*, their former general, coming to appeaſe them, is ſeized and put in chains, and the military cheſt broke open and divided, the women of the ſeveral *African* cities furniſh *Mathos* and *Spendius* (the rebels generals) with all their toys and ornaments to make money, *&c.* beſiege *Utica* and *Hippacra*, and treat every *Carthaginian* with great cruelty, *&c.* that falls into their hands. *Hanno* goes againſt them at *Utica*, engages and defeats them; but being negligent, they rally and fall unexpectedly upon him, take his camp, and all the proviſion brought for the relief of the city, *&c.* the like he was guilty of at *Gaza*, where he twice defeated the enemy, for which he is depoſed, and *Hamilcar* put in his ſtead, who with only 10000 horſe and foot, and 70 elephants, engages *Mathos*, defeats him, kills 8000 upon the ſpot, and takes 2000 priſoners: A while after, 2000 *Numidians* revolting to *Hamilcar*, he engages the rebels again, and after an obſtinate battle intirely routs them, with the ſlaughter of 10,000 and 4000 priſoners, of whom *Hamilcar* took ſo many into his own army as were willing to enter, and the reſt he ſet at liberty. Upon this the rebels put *Guiſco* and 700 *Carthaginians* to death, *&c.* *Utica* and *Hippacra* join the rebels, and put the *Carthaginian* gariſon to death, conſiſting of 500 men, and then the rebels went to *Carthage*, and beſieged it: The *Carthaginians* recal *Hanno*, and ſend *Hannibal* in his ſtead, into their army under *Hamilcar*, who ſo haraſſed the rebels, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and ſoon after *Hamilcar* ſurrounded them upon a mountain, and reduced them to eat one another, when a peace was concluded, that ten of the rebel ringleaders ſhould be delivered to *Hamilcar*, and that the whole army ſhould be diſbanded, every man retiring with a ſingle coat: This agreed to, *Hamilcar* ſeized the negotiators, *&c.* the army not knowing the agreement, fly to arms; *Hamilcar* ſurrounds them, and cuts 40,000 of them to pieces; after which ſcouring the country, moſt of the revolted cities return to their duty: But *Mathos* with the remains of the army got into *Tunis*, where *Hannibal* and *Hamilcar* beſieged them, and crucified *Spendius* and the reſt of the priſoners near the walls in open view: *Mathos* makes a ſudden ſally into *Hannibal*'s quarter, routs them, kills many, and takes many priſoners, and among them *Hanninal*, whom, after having taken *Spendius* down from the croſs, he put on it in his ſtead, and thirty *Carthaginians* round him, who all died in exquiſite torture. Many ſkirmiſhes afterwards happened, in which the rebels generally were defeated; but at laſt coming to a general battle, moſt of them were killed upon the ſpot, and *Mathos* and his attendants purſued and taken alive. Upon this the reſt of the revolted towns ſubmitted, except *Utica* and *Hippo*, which *Hamilcar* ſoon reduced, and ſo put an end to this bloody and deſtructive war, called the *Libyan* war, after it had laſted three years and a half. *Mathos*, firſt adorning the publick triumph, was afterwards put to moſt exquiſite torments, and ſo died — — — —	I	679
4070	2763	236	The mercenaries in *Sardinia* revolt from the *Carthaginians*, ſeize upon *Boſtar*, and the gariſon in *Olbia*, and maſſacre them. *Hanno* goes againſt them, and is deſerted by his men, who crucify him, and put all the *Carthaginians* they can get to death: But the inhabitants having drove them out, the *Romans* aſſiſt them, and replace them, forcing the *Carthaginians* to pay the expence, and a fine of 1200 talents — — — — — —	VI	864
4070	2763	236	The *Faliſci* having revolted from the *Romans*, the conſuls go againſt them, and in ſix days have two pitch'd battles; in the firſt both ſides were equal, but in the ſecond the *Romans* entirely defeat the *Faliſci*, kill 1500 on the ſpot, force them to lay down their arms, and ſurrender theie capital, built on a mountain, which was razed, but they are allowed to build another in the plain; their arms, horſes, and half their lands were confiſcated; for which the conſuls had a triumph at their return to *Rome* — — — — —	VI	864
4070	2763	236	The whole iſland of *Sicily*, except the kingdom of *Syracuſe*, is declared a *Roman* province, and a prætor is ſent annually to govern in civil cauſes, and a quæſtor to receive the revenues — — — — —	IV	679
4070	2763	236	The *Tyber* at *Rome* ſuddenly overflowed with ſuch violence, as to overturn a great many houſes in the lower grounds; and the water ſtagnated ſo long in the forum, as to damage the foundations of the houſes there; and then a fire broke out in the upper city, and ſpread to the forum, in both which diſaſters a prodigious number of people are ſuppoſed to have loſt their lives; for by this year's cenſus the inhabitants are ſaid to be but 160,000 fit to bear arms — — —	IV	680

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4071	2764	235	*Livius* and *Andronicus* reform the *Roman* ſtage, by introducing the *Grecian* manner of acting at *Rome* — — — — — —	IV	680
4071	2764	235	*Archidamus*, brother to *Agis* late king of *Sparta*, is recalled; but upon his arrival at *Sparta* is murdered — — — — — —	II	629
4071	2764	235	*Cleomenes* returns with part of his army to *Sparta*, ſeizes the *Ephori* at ſupper, kills four of them, proſcribes 80 citizens of the greateſt rank, then makes proclamation for an equal diſtribution of lands, *&c.* raiſes a great army, and diſciplines them in a new method, then aſſociates his brother *Euclidas* in the kingdom, and ordains that there ſhall be two kings for the future, as uſed to be heretofore; prohibites all luxury, both of furniture and living, in his own court, and throughout the kingdom, and reigns with the greateſt oeconomy, juſtice, and affability — — — — — — — —	II	630
4072	2765	234	*Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* being attacked by *Aratus* the *Achæan* general, marches into the territories of *Achaia*, and takes many cities from them, but treats the inhabitants with great mildneſs, *&c.* — — — — —	II	631
4072	2765	234	*Ennius* the poet born at *Rudes*, a city in *Calabria* near *Tarentum*, the inventor of hexameter verſe among the *Latins*, though himſelf a *Greek*; the life of *Scipio Africanus* was his maſter-piece; he alſo wrote the hiſtory of *Rome* in 18 books in verſe — — — — — — —	IV	680
4072	2765	234	*Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* general ſwears his ſon *Hannibal*, a boy of but nine years old, by laying his hand upon the altar, that he would be an eternal enemy to *Rome* — — — — — — —	VI	685
4073	2766	233	The *Italic Gauls*, called the *Boii*, join the *Faliſci*, and defeat the conſul *Q. Valerius Falto*, and kill and take 3500 of his men; but *Valerius* falls upon the enemy again, and kills 14,000, and takes 2000 priſoners; and *Sempronius* the other conſul gains a victory over the *Ligurians*: Then *Sempronius* goes into *Sardinia*, obliges the *Carthaginians* to reſign that iſland, pay the expence of this expedition, and a fine of 1200 talents — — — — —	IV	682
4073	2766	233	*Antigonus*, ſirnamed *Doſon*, brother of *Demetrius* late king of *Macedon*, being appointed tutor and guardian to *Philip* the ſon of *Antigonus*, now but two years old, ſo ingratiates himſelf with the people, and the widow, whom he married, that he is ſoon after ſaluted by the name of king, in which character he performed many extraordinary actions, as appears by his life — — — —	III	477
4074	2767	232	The conſul *Cornelius* engages the *Ligurians*, kills 24,000 of them, and takes 5000 priſoners, for which he is honoured with a triumph upon his return to *Rome* —	IV	682
4075	2768	231	The *Boii* make a truce with the *Romans*, and engage their countrymen the *Tranſalpine Gauls*, who came in great numbers to join them, kill their two generals or kings, *Atys* and *Galatius*, and a vaſt number of men, and put the reſt to flight, for fear they ſhould diſpoſſeſs them of their *Italian* habitations; upon which *Lentulus* the *Roman* conſul ſubdues both the *Boii* and *Ligurians*, *&c.* — —	IV	682
4075	2768	231	The *Corſicans* being inſtigated by the *Carthaginians* revolt, and *Claudius Glycias* being ſent with a *Roman* ſquadron, makes a peace; but the conſul *Lentulus* refuſes to confirm it, and reduces the iſland by force of arms: *Claudius* is delivered to the *Corſicans*, who ſend him to *Rome*, where he is put to death, and then dragged by an iron hook from the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, and then thrown into the *Tiber* — — — — —	IV	682
4075	2768	231	*Arſaces* having eſtabliſhed himſelf king of *Parthia*, engages, overthrows, and takes *Seleucus* king of *Syria* his maſter priſoner. The day of this victory was annually obſerved by the *Parthians* for many ages afterwards with great ſolemnity — — — — — —	III	529
4076	2769	230	*T. Manlius Torquatus* the *Roman* conſul recovered *Sardinia* that had revolted, and made it tributary. *Rome* being now univerſally at peace, the temple of *Janus* was ſhut — — — — — —	IV	683
4077	2770	229	The *Sardinians*, *Corſicans*, and *Ligurians* league together, and revolt from *Rome*. The conſul *Carvilius* firſt reduces the *Corſicans*, and then defeats and ſubdues the *Sardinians*, *&c.* The cenſors finding the number of *Rome*'s inhabitants decreaſe, obliged all the citizens to ſwear they would marry only with a view of getting children: This occaſioned *Corvilius Ruga*, a man of diſtinction to divorce his his wife, whom he paſſionately loved, upon account of her being barren, and marry another: This is the firſt inſtance of a divorce ſince the foundation of *Rome*; which introduced marriage contracts, to ſecure the womens portions in caſe of a divorce, *&c.* This year the poet *Nævius* introduced the firſt regular comedy after the *Greek* manner on the *Latin* ſtage — — — — —	IV	683
4077	2770	229	*Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* general goes with an army into *Spain*, and fixes his head-quarters at *Gades*, (now *Cadiz*) where he continued nine years, and gained great advantages, and took abundance of ſpoil, which he divided among his troops and the great men at *Carthage*; but at laſt was ſlain in battle, with abundance of his men; upon which *Aſdrubal* his ſon-in-law is choſen general in his ſtead — — — — — — —	VI	867
4077	2770	229	*Seleucus Callinicus*, fits up a mighty fleet, and goes to recover what *Ptolemy* had taken from him in *Syria*; but a violent ſtorm deſtroys almoſt all of it, himſelf and few more eſcaping with great difficulty; however, the *Syrians* pitying him, many of them voluntarily ſubmit: He raiſes a great army, and engages *Ptolemy*, but is intirely defeated, and flies to *Antioch*, where promiſing his brother *Antiochus* the *Leſſer Aſia*, he prepares an army to aſſiſt him, upon which *Ptolemy* makes a truce for ten years — — — — — —	III	528
4078	2771	228	The conſul *Fabius* drove the revolted *Ligurians* out of the plain country, and forced them to ſhelter themſelves among the *Alps*; and *Pomponius* the other conſul gaining conſiderable advantages over the *Sardinians*, was honoured with a triumph ——	IV	684
4078	2771	228	A new tribunal of juſtice eſtabliſhed among the *Romans*, called the *Centum Viri*, though their true number was 105, who were divided into four courts or chambers, under whoſe cognizance came proſcriptions, guardianſhips, laſt-wills, inheritances.		

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			heritances, &c. In future times theſe courts conſiſted of 180 perſons, but ſtill bore the name of *Centum Viri*	IV	684
4079	2772	227	*Seleucus* king of *Syria*, having been priſoner in *Parthia* four years, dies by a fall from his horſe, as he was riding to take the air	III	529
4079	2772	227	*Seleucus* (ſirnamed *Ceraunus*, or the thunderer) ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Syria*, who after a diſagreeable reign of three years was poiſoned	III	530
4080	2773	226	The conſuls *M. Pomponius Matho* and *C. Papirius Maſo* finiſhed the conqueſt of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and reduced them to a *Roman* province. *Papirius* being refuſed a triumph, marched at the head of his victorious army, crowned with myrtle inſtead of laurel, to the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, on the hill of *Alba*, in a triumphant manner, which method was afterwards followed by many others	IV	685
4081	2774	225	*Teuta*, queen of *Illyricum*, having commiſſioned her ſubjects to pirate upon all ſhips that came upon her coaſts, the *Romans* ſend ambaſſadors to her to demand ſatisfaction for themſelves and allies; the queen anſwers haughtily, they reply, and ſhe orders them to be put to death; which being done, the *Romans* order a fleet and army to go and revenge the affront: upon which the queen ſubmits, denies the fact, and offers to deliver up the murderers; but in the mean time her fleet having got an advantage over the *Achæans*, and taken *Corſica*, &c. ſhe forgets to perform her promiſe	IV	685
4082	2775	224	The *Romans* equip a fleet of 100 gallies, and raiſe an army of 20,000 foot, beſides a body of horſe, and ſend them under the command of the conſuls *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *P. Poſthumius Albinus*: Upon *Fulvius*'s coming with his fleet to *Corcyra*, *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, governor for queen *Teuta*, puts the city and iſland into his hands, and perſuades the inhabitants of *Appollonia* to drive out the *Illyrian* gariſon, and ſubmit to the *Romans*. Upon this *Poſthumius* penetrates into the heart of the queen's dominions, while the fleet cruiſed along the coaſt, and the *Andyæans*, *Parthini*, and *Atintanes* ſubmit to the *Romans*; after which, *Poſthumius* takes *Nutria*, a place of great ſtrength, though with great loſs, and 40 *Illyrian* veſſels laden with booty in their return home	IV	686
4082	2775	224	Upon the death of *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, the army and ſeveral provinces offer the crown of *Syria* to *Achæus*, but he generouſly refuſes it for *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, a youth of 15 years of age, who, for his illuſtrious actions, was ſirnamed *the Great*	III	530
4083	2776	223	*Molo* and *Alexander* (two brothers, governors of *Media* and *Perſia*) revolt, and ſet up for themſelves. They firſt defeat *Zeno* and *Theodotus*, *Antiochus*'s generals, and afterwards in a ſecond engagement cut off *Xenætus* and his whole army, and thereby acquire the province of *Babylonia* and all *Meſopotamia* without oppoſition	III	531
4083	2776	223	*Epigenes*, general of *Antiochus*, is treacherouſly accuſed, and falſly put to death, by *Hermias* the king's prime miniſter	III	532
4083	2776	223	Queen *Teuta* ſues for peace, but the *Romans* refuſe to treat with her; but make peace with the young king upon ſevere terms. She lays down the regency, and *Demetrius* ſucceeds her in it	IV	686
4083	2776	223	*Rome* growing jealous of her rival *Carthage*, upon account of her great acquiſitions in *Spain* by *Aſdrubal* their general, and his building the famous city of *Carthage*, to ſecure his conqueſts they agree, that *Carthage* ſhould not extend her conqueſts beyond the river *Iberus*, and that *Saguntum* (a colony of *Zacynthians*) ſhould remain free	IV	686
4083	2776	223	*Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* invades *Achæa*, takes *Pellene* by ſurprize, then maſters *Phenæon* and *Penteleon*, and *Argos*, and by this means raiſes *Sparta* to greater power than it ever had	II	631
4084	2777	222	*Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* engages *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, &c. at *Sellaſia*, where, through the ſuperiority of the enemies troops and the treachery of *Damoteles*, he is defeated, with a vaſt ſlaughter of his mercenaries, and almoſt all his own troops, having but 200 left out of 6000; after which he retires to *Egypt*, where *Ptolemy Euergetes* entertains him kindly: In him ended the *Herculean* race of *Spartan* kings, and *Sparta* fell under the government of *Antigonus*	II	632
4084	2777	222	*Antiochus* king of *Syria* goes againſt the rebel *Molo*, governor of *Media*, overcomes his army, and purſues him; *Molo* for fear of falling into the king's hands kills himſelf, as do alſo ſeveral of his attendants: *Neolaus*, or *Nicholas* his brother, eſcaping, fled to his other brother *Alexander*, the rebel governor of *Perſia*, who, upon hearing of the defeat, &c. of his brother *Molo*, they firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and then diſpatched themſelves. The rebel provinces returned to their dury, and the king was eſtabliſhed in his authority	III	534
4085	2778	221	Two *Greeks*, a man and a woman, and two *Gauls*, a man and a woman, are buried alive at the *Ox-market* in *Rome*, by command of the conſuls, to appeaſe the ſuperſtition of the commonalty	IV	687
4085	2778	221	*Aſdrubal*, the famous *Carthaginian* general, after having done his country the greateſt ſervices for eight years ſucceſſively with extraordinary ſucceſs, was publickly murdered by a *Gaul*, whoſe maſter he had put to death; and *Hannibal* ſucceeded him as general of the *Carthaginian* army in *Spain*, with univerſal applauſe	VI	686
4085	2778	221	*Antigonus* king of *Macedon* having engaged the *Illyrians*, &c. who had in his abſence invaded *Macedon*, behaved with ſo much wiſdom and valour as gained him a complete victory; but overſtraining himſelf in the fight, died ſoon after of a ſpitting of blood	III	477
4085	2778	221	*Philip* ſon of *Antigonus*, ſucceeds his uncle in the kingdom of *Macedon*, where he reigned more than 30 years; but behaving diſagreeably at laſt fell into the hared of his people, and a ſlave to *Rome*, who obliged him to ſend his ſon *Deme-*		

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			trius a hoſtage, to deliver up his ſhips of war, pay 1000 talents, and ſuffer many provinces to be clipped from his kingdom —	III	478
4086	2779	220	*Hannibal* conquers the *Olcades*, a people near the *Iberus*, and taking *Althæa* their capital, the reſt ſubmit: *Hannibal* divides the ſpoil among his ſoldiers, and pays them all their arrears, which fixed him immoveably in their affections —	VI	869
4086	2779	220	The *Romans* having raiſed an army of 274,000 *Romans*, and 526,000 auxiliaries, the conſul *Attilius Regulus* was ſent with a part of it into *Sardinia*, and the other conſul *L. Æmilius Papus* againſt the *Gauls*, who invaded the *Roman* territories with an army of 200,000 men, commanded by the two kings *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*, who haraſſed the country terribly in their paſſage, and took great ſpoil; and then engaging an army commanded by a *Roman* prætor, killed 6000 of his men, and obliged the reſt to fly in confuſion to a neighbouring hill, which the *Gauls* inveſted, and reduce them to great ſtraits. The conſul *Attilius* engaging the enemy, was killed, and his head was carried through the enemies files ſtuck upon a launce; but at laſt the *Gauls* were defeated, with the ſlaughter of 40,000, and 10,000 taken priſoners, among whom was *Concolitanus*: *Aneroeſtus* eſcaped to a neighbouring village, where he killed himſelf, and moſt of his officers did the ſame: Then *Æmilius* plundered the country of the *Boii*, and when his ſoldiers were loaded with plunder, he marched to *Rome*, where his triumph was as pompous as his victory was great —	IV	688
4086	2779	220	*Achæus* being falſely accuſed of entertaining treacherous deſigns againſt king *Antiochus*, after he had taken from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* what he had wreſted from *Syria*, in his own defence proclaims himſelf king of *Aſia*, *&c.* where he was governor —	III	535
4086	2779	220	*Antiochus* beſieges and takes *Seleucia* from *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, reſtores the inhabitants to their antient privileges, and uſes them with great humanity —	III	536
4087	2780	219	*Theodotus*, general for *Ptolemy*, having been ill uſed, out of revenge delivers up the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, the magazines, and 40 ſail of ſhips to *Antiochus* —	III	536
4087	2780	219	*Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* is ſhut up in priſon at *Alexandria*, and failing in an attempt to get his liberty, *&c.* himſelf and friends kill one another; upon which *Ptolemy* ordered his body to be flead, and hung up on a croſs, and ſentences his mother *Cratiſclea*, his children, *&c.* to death —	III	644
4087	2780	219	The *Spartans* revolt from the *Macedonians*; but upon the arrival of an army under *Philip* the ſon of *Antigonus*, they ſubmit —	II	634
4087	2780	219	The *Romnn* conſuls are hindered from paſſing the *Po*, and following the *Gauls* into their own country, by a great plague that raged in *Rome* and in the army —	IV	688
4087	2780	219	*Hannibal* beſieges and takes *Salmantica*, and after a very reſolute defence *Arbucala*: The *Olcades* and *Carpetani*, to the number of 10,000, endeavour to fall upon him; but he croſſing the *Tagus* in the night, they purſue him irregularly, and are moſt of them deſtroyed in the water, *&c.* Then *Hannibal* lays the country of the *Carpetani* waſte, upon which they all ſubmit —	VI	870
4087	2780	219	The *Carthaginians* beſiege *Saguntum*, with 150,000 foot and 20,000 horſe, which the inhabitants defend with incredible bravery, by frequent ſallies, and drive the *Carthaginians* away with prodigious ſlaughter, when they attempted the place by ſtorm; but a ſmall time after they take the city by ſtorm, and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, *&c.* —	VII	5
4088	2781	218	The *Ephori* murdered by the *Spartans*, who chooſe *Ageſipolis* and *Lycurgus* to be their kings: *Lycurgus* drives out *Ageſipolis*; *Chilo* conſpires againſt him, murders the *Ephori*, and forces *Lycurgus* to fly; but *Chilo* not being beloved, was obliged to retire to *Macedon*, and *Lycurgus* returned and reigned many years —	II	635
4088	2781	218	*Antiochus* defeats *Nicholaus* the *Egyptian* general, takes many cities, and ſome provinces, and then winters in *Ptolemais* with his army —	III	538
4089	2782	217	*Theodotus* the *Ætolian* going in the night into *Ptolemy*'s camp, went to his tent and killed his phyſician, thinking it was the king, but *Ptolemy* that night lay elſewhere, and ſo eſcaped —	III	538
4089	2782	217	*Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* come to engagement, wherein *Antiochus* is defeated, with the loſs of 10,000 killed and 4000 taken priſoners; upon which he is forced to withdraw to *Antioch*, and quit all his conqueſts —	III	538
4089	2782	217	*Ptolemy* being addreſſed and congratulated by all the cities of *Cœle-Syria*, that through force had ſubmitted to *Antiochus*, goes a progreſs through them, reſtoring all to their former privileges, comes to *Jeruſalem*, offers ſacrifice to the God of *Iſrael*, and beſtows great gifts upon the temple, but attempts to enter the holy of holies, and is ſtruck with a ſort of madneſs and terror, upon which he reſents it highly, and uſes the *Jews* ill, *&c.* —	III	539
4089	2782	217	The *Romans* deny peace to the *Inſubres*, croſs the *Po*, and beſiege *Acerræ*, whereupon the *Gauls* croſs the *Po*, and with an army of 90,000 men inveſt *Claſtidium*; upon which *Marcellus* the conſul comes with a detachment to reiieve the place; they offer to attack him; both armies are ready, when *Viridomarus*, the *Gauliſh* king, challenges *Marcellus* to a ſingle combat, which he accepts, and kills him, und afterwards routs the whole army. While this was doing, *Scipio* the other conſul took *Acerræ*, *Mediolanum*, *&c.* and ſo all *Italy* from the *Alps* to the *Ionian* ſea became *Roman* provinces. *Marcellus* is decreed an extraordinary triumph at his return to *Rome*, and carries the rich armour and ſpoils of *Viridomarus*, and dedicated the 3d and laſt *Opima Spolia* to *Jupiter Feretrius*; a gold cup was ſent to *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and great preſents to *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe* —	IV	690
4089	2782	217	The *Romans* having croſſed the *Po*, engage the *Gauls*, kill 9000, and take 17000 priſoners, and thereby obtain a compleat victory —	IV	689
4089	2782	217	*Ptolemy Philopator* ſucceeds his father *Euergetes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, murders his brother *Magos*, and then gives himſelf up to all manner of vicious living, *&c.*	III	642

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4089	2782	217	*Antiochus* king of *Syria* beſieges and carries by aſſault the city of *Seleucia*, (then held by the *Egyptians*) treats the inhabitants with the utmoſt humanity, and reſtored them to their antient privileges	III	536
4090	2783	216	*Antiochus* cedes *Cæle-Syria* to *Ptolemy*, and concludes a peace with him	III	535
4090	2783	216	The *Iſtrians* having taken ſome *Roman* ſhips, the conſuls *M. Minutius Rufus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina* go againſt them, and reduce all *Iſtria*, but with the loſs of much blood on both ſides	IV	690
4091	2784	215	A cenſus being taken at *Rome*, the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms are found to be 272,213	IV	691
4091	2784	215	*Demetrius* of *Pharos*, whom the *Romans* had appointed governor of *Illyricum*, acts againſt their orders, and ſets up for himſelf, perſuading the *Atintanes* alſo to revolt, and alſo ſent 50 ſhips of war to pillage the *Cyclades*. The *Romans* ſend an army againſt him, who take *Dimalum*, a city he imagined impregnable, in ſeven days: They then go to *Pharos* with a large fleet, which they take, plunder, and raze, and *Demetrius* eſcapes to *Macedon*. The conſuls at their return to *Rome* are accuſed of keeping the ſpoil for their own uſe, *&c.* *L. Æmilius Paulus* is acquitted; but *M. Livius Salinator* is condemned; upon which he retires to his country houſe, and lives private	IV	691
4091	2784	215	This year the art of ſurgery was introduced into *Rome*, by one *Archagathus* a *Peloponneſian*	IV	691
4092	2785	214	The ſecond punic or *Carthaginian* war breaks out. The *Roman* and *Syracuſan* fleet engage the *Carthaginian* fleet, and defeat them; take ſeven ſhips, kill abundance of men, and take 1700 priſoners, with a very ſmall loſs	IV	693
4092	2785	214	*Hannibal* marching from *Spain* to *Italy*, went about 1000 *Engliſh* miles in five months and a half, and loſt by ſickneſs, deſertion, fatigue, and various engagements 30,000 foot, and 3000 horſe, having upon a review in the fruitful plains of *Inſubria* no more than 26,000 effective men. The *Taurini* refuſing to conclude a treaty with him, he enters their territories, and takes their capital by ſtorm, and puts all to the ſword that made any reſiſtance; upon which all the *Gauls* ſurrender at diſcretion. Soon after *Hannibal* and *Scipio* engage, and after a very ſtubborn fight the *Romans* are routed, the conſul being wounded, and the greateſt part of the army cut off; the reſt fly precipitately. Upon this the *Gauls* join *Hannibal*, recruit his army, and give him all manner of neceſſaries	IV	694
4092	2785	214	The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* engage on the banks of the *Trebia*, where the *Romans* are beaten with great ſlaughter, *&c.* A ſmall time after *Hannibal* takes a ſmall city of *Inſubria*, called *Victumviæ*, and commits moſt monſtrous cruelties upon the gariſon and inhabitants	IV	702
4092	2785	214	*Hannibal* marches his army through marſhy ground, where for the ſpace of four days and nights they were in mud and water up to the thighs, during which time many of his men and moſt of his horſes die with cold, and himſelf loſes one of his eyes, but at laſt gets into *Hetruria*	IV	703
4092	2785	214	*Cneius Scipio* brother to the conſul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, goes into *Spain* with an army of *Romans*, *&c.* and reduces all the country from the *Pyrenees* to the *Iberus*, then engages and entirely routs the *Carthaginians* under the command of *Hanno*, whom he takes priſoner, together with *Indibilis*, a *Spaniſh* prince intirely devoted to the *Carthaginians*; their camp was forced, 6000 ſlain, and 2000 taken priſoners; all the heavy baggage was taken, and many of the *Spaniſh* nations conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Scipio*	VII	20
4092	2785	214	*Achæus*, after having ſuſtained the ſiege of *Antiochus* and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* above a year in *Sardis*, was betrayed into the hands of *Antiochus*, by the treachery of two *Cretans*. *Achæus* is put to death, and all *Aſia* ſubmits to *Antiochus*	III	541
4092	2785	214	*Antiochus* drives *Arſaces* out of *Media*, which he had taken from *Antiochus* while he was employed in *Egypt*	III	541
4092	2785	214	*Philip* king of *Macedon* forces the *Ætolians* to make peace upon very diſadvantagious terms	II	707
4093	2786	213	*Antiochus* gains great advantages over *Arſaces* in *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, but at laſt peace is made between them, upon condition that *Arſaces* ſhall aſſiſt *Antiochus* in reducing all the revolted provinces, except *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*	III	542
4093	2786	213	The *Romans* under the raſh conduct of the conſul *Flaminius* are drawn into an ambuſh, where 15,000 are killed, and *Flaminius* himſelf, and 6000 taken priſoners; and of thoſe that eſcaped moſt of them died of their wounds	IV	705
4093	2786	213	*Hannibal* ſends *Adherbal* after 6000 *Romans* that had eſcaped from the late defeat, who ſurrender upon condition of giving them their lives and liberty; but *Hannibal* orders all the *Romans* to be put in chains, and ſets the auxiliaries at liberty, declaring he fought only againſt *Rome*. The conſul *Servilius* having ſent a detachment of 4000 *Romans* to reinforce his colleague, they come too late, and 2000 are killed and the reſt ſurrender	IV	705
4093	2786	213	The *Romans* raiſe *Fabius Maximus* (ſirnamed *Verrucoſus*) to the power of dictator, but call him pro-dictator, as not being choſe in the ordinary way; and alſo named *Minucius Rufus* for his general of the horſe. *Fabius* conſulting the *Sybiline* books, is told the preſent calamities are for the non-performance of a vow of *Aulus Cornelius* to *Mars*, to ſacrifice all the pigs, lambs, kids, and calves that ſhould be brought forth in one ſpring, *viz.* from 1ſt *March* to 1ſt *May*, called *Ver Sacrum*: This vow being renewed, and others made, he goes to head the army *Servilius* had commanded, to which he added two new legions, and appoints the city of *Tybur* for the rendezvous, from whence he ſent orders to the country people to burn their houſes, *&c.* He only watched and followed *Hannibal*, haraſſed his rear, and took all advantages. The ſenate call him home, and make his general of the horſe his equal, who venturing upon a battle, is defeated and ſurrounded by *Hannibal*; *Fabius* ſaves him from being cut to pieces, and drives away the enemy with great ſlaughter	IV	708

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4093	2786	213	The *Ilergetes* in *Spain*, notwithſtanding they had given *Scipio* hoſtages for their fidelity, declare for the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* inveſts their capital city *Athanagia*, and takes it, pardons the people, and takes freſh hoſtages, after exacting a good ſum of money from them. While this was doing he cut off 12,000 *Auſenaians*, who came to their aſſiſtance: Soon after the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* fleets engage; the *Romans* forced the *Carthaginians* in the mouth of the *Iberus*, killed abundance of ſeamen and marines, and carried off 35 gallies — —	VI.	27
4093	2786	213	After the naval defeat, *Scipio* advancing to *Honoſca* took it by ſtorm, and razed it; then makes a deſcent into *Africa*, ravages all about *Carthage*, burning houſes up to the walls and haven, and returned loaded with ſpoil; then landed in the iſland *Ebuſus*, now *Yvica*, plundered it, and burnt ſome ſtreets in the capital city; upon this 120 different cantons of the *Spaniards* ſubmit to *Rome*, who afterwards overthrow *Aſdrubal* twice, kill him 15,000 men, and take 4000 priſoners, and three fortreſſes by aſſault	VII	27
4093	2786	213	*Philip* king of *Macedon* beſieges and takes *Thebes*, or *Phthiotis*, and after having plundered the town, and ſold the inhabitants, repeopled it with a colony of *Macedonians*, changing its name into *Philippopolis* —	II	662
4094	2787	212	*Hannibal* having fixed a price upon his priſoners, which the *Romans* refuſing to pay, part he ſent to *Carthage*, and the remainder he made gladiators of, forcing even relations to fight together for the diverſion of his army. *Capua* ſurrenders to *Hannibal*; they kill the *Roman* gariſon, *&c.* — —	IV	714
4094	2787	212	*Hannibal* ſends his brother *Mago* to acquaint the ſenate at *Carthage*, that in ſix pitched battles he had killed 200,000 *Romans*, and taken 50,000 priſoners; and that *Apulia*, *Brutia*, *Lucania*, and *Campania* had ſubmitted to *Carthage*, and preſented them with three buſhels of rings taken from the *Roman* knights —	IV	715
4094	2787	212	The two *Scipios* in *Spain* engage and entirely defeat *Aſdrubal*, and thereby prevent the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* joining *Hannibal* in *Italy*	IV	715
4094	2787	212	The dictator *Marcellus* ſallies out upon *Hannibal*, now beſieging *Nola*, and cuts off 5000 of his men, and drives all away in confuſion —	IV	716
4094	2787	212	*Hannibal* after a long ſiege takes *Caſilinum*, and obliges each freeman to pay ſeven ounces of gold for his redemption, and then takes *Petilia*, after an obſtinate defence	IV	717
4094	2787	212	*M. Fabius Buteo* is made dictator at *Rome*, to name new ſenators to ſupply the place of thoſe killed, *&c.* and names 177 to the people's ſatisfaction, and then lays down his dictatorſhip	IV	718
4094	2787	212	The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* engage at *Cannæ*, a ſmall city in *Apulia* on the banks of the *Auſidus*; the *Romans* are entirely routed, and the conſul *Æmilius*, the two proconſuls *Servilius* and *Attilius*, two military quæſtors, 29 legionary tribunes, 80 ſenators, and 45000 ſoldiers are killed, and about 34.000 eſcaped in the night to *Canuſium*. *Hannibal* is ſaid to loſe but 4000 *Gauls*, 1500 *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and 2000 horſe	IV	711
4094	2787	212	*Aratus* the *Achæan* prætor is poiſoned by order of *Philip* king of *Macedon* —	II	665
4094	2787	212	*Ptolemy Philopator*, king of *Egypt*, reverſes the former decrees that gave great privileges to the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, and uſes them cruelly, putting many to death, and expoſing a great number of them to be deſtroyed by 500 elephants, from which they are miraculouſly preſerved, which ſo affected *Ptolemy*, that he ordered all in chains and priſon to be releaſed, and reſtored them to all their former privileges, and reverſed all his ſevere decrees	III	685
4095	2788	211	The conſul *Poſthumius Albinus* and all his army are cut off by the *Boii*, in a vaſt foreſt through which he was obliged to paſs —	IV	718
4095	2788	211	The conſul *Sempronius* engages the revolted *Campanians*, kills their general *Alfius* with 2000 ſoldiers, and puts the reſt to flight, and then retires to *Cumæ*, where *Hannibal* beſieges him, but after loſing 1300 men, is forced to raiſe the ſiege. The other conſul *Marcellus* engages *Hannibal*, kills him 5000 men, takes 600 priſoners, 19 ſtandards, and two elephants: Upon this 1270 horſe revolt from *Hannibal* to *Marcellus*	IV	719
4095	2788	211	The *Roman* prætor *Manlius Torquatus* defeats the *Sardinians*, who had revolted, and a *Carthaginian* army under *Aſdrubal*, killed 12,000, took *Aſdrubal*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, his chief officers, priſoners, with many ſoldiers	IV	720
4095	2788	211	The *Romans* and *Ætolians* ſign a peace, which was concluded two years before	II	703
4095	2788	211	*Philip* king of *Macedon* twice defeats the *Ætolians*, under the command of *Pyrrhus* in conjunction with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* —	II	666
4096	2789	210	*Sempronius* with an army of *Volones* (or ſlaves) engages *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, overthrows him, and out of 18,200 horſe and foot, only 2200 eſcaped; and *Marcellus* defeated *Hannibal*, killing him 2000 men with the loſs of only 400 *Romans*. Then *Marcellus* beſieges and takes *Caſilinum*, and puts all to the ſword that made any reſiſtance: Then *Fabius* lays waſte great part of *Campania*, and killed and took 25,000 men —	IV	722
4096	2789	210	*Hiero* king of *Syracuſe* by will bequeaths the kingdom to his grandſon *Hieronymus*, who being but 15 years old, he appointed him 15 guardians; and now, being 90 years old, he dies in the 54th year of his reign, exceedingly bewailed and beloved by all his ſubjects, who honoured him with a pompous funeral —	III	100
4096	2789	210	*Hieronymus* king of *Syracuſe* becomes vain, debauched, cruel, and exceedingly vicious, joins the *Carthaginians*, and breaks from the *Romans*: His ſubjects hate him, conſpire againſt and kill him in the ſtreet, where they leave his mangled carcaſs to rot; and ſoon after all the royal race were alſo diſpatched	III	106
4096	2789	210	*Marcellus* the *Roman* conſul goes againſt the revolted *Leontines*, and takes the city by aſſault, and puts 2000 *Roman* deſerters to death, but reſtores the inhabitants both their goods and their liberty.	III	109

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4096	2789	210	*Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* (two *Carthaginian* generals) ingratiate themſelves into the *Syracuſan* mercenaries, get into *Syracuſe*, put the ſenators to the ſword, and reign arbitrarily — — —	III	111
4096	2789	216	*Marcellus* the *Roman* conſul beſieges *Syracuſe* (a city in *Sicily* 22 miles in circumference) which is defended by the engines contrived by the famous mathematician *Archimedes* 3 years, againſt the whole art, courage, and induſtry of *Rome*, with ſuch deſtructive methods and engines as were never heard of before —	III	112
4096	2789	210	*Hamilco* coming from *Carthage* into *Syracuſe*, with 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, and 12 elephants, takes many cities that had ſubmitted to *Marcellas*. *Hippocrates* breaks out of *Syracuſe* with 10,000 foot and 1500 horſe to join *Hamilco*; *Marcellus* meets, engages, and kills 8000 of them, and then returns to the ſiege of *Syracuſe* — — — —	III	114
4097	2790	209	The conſuls having laid the country round *Capua* waſte, *Hanno* goes to their relief, and is intirely routed by the *Romans* under *Fulvius*, who killed him 6000 men, and took 7000 priſoners, with an exceeding great booty of corn, forage, waggons, horſes, *Hanno*'s baggage, *&c.* *Hanno* himſelf eſcaping to *Brutium*, attended only with a ſmall body of horſe — — —	IV	724
4097	2790	209	The proconſul *Sempronius* is deceived by one *Fulvius* a *Capuan*, ſurrounded and killed, with moſt of his men. *Hannibal* pays his corps all the military honours due to a great commander — — —	IV	724
4097	2790	209	The *Romans* in *Spain* having hired 30,000 *Celtiberians* into their ſervice, *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian* bribes them, and they deſert. *Scipio* is engaged by a conjunct army of *Numidians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Spaniards*, is killed, and his army almoſt cut to pieces: Soon after his brother *Cneius* was likewiſe killed, and moſt of his men; thoſe who eſcaped retired under *T. Fonteius* into a neighbouring tower, where they all periſhed by fire — —	IV	726
4097	2790	209	*Marcius*, a young *Roman* nobleman, collected the ſcattered troops of the *Romans* in *Spain* together, *&c.* and being attacked by *Aſdrubal*, repulſed him, and the next night ſet *Aſdrubal*'s camp on fire, and killed him 37,000 men, and took 1830 priſoners — — —	IV	727
4097	2790	209	*Hannibal* takes *Metapontum*, and the inhabitants put all the *Romans* to the ſword; *Heraclea* did the ſame, and ſubmitted to the *Carthaginians*; and *Thurium* treacherouſly ſhut the gates, and denied the *Romans* entrance at their retreat from a ſally, whereby they were all cut to pieces by *Hanno*, except *Atinus* the commandant, and a few with him — —	VII	54
4098	2791	208	The *Romans* now at war with the *Carthaginians*, ſend ambaſſadors to *Egypt* to deſire a renewal of their old alliance of friendſhip, with great preſents —	III	646
4098	2791	208	As the *Romans* were irregularly ſtraggling about *Capua*, and ravaging the country, *Mago* overtakes them, and kills 1500 of them, and recovers all the booty, takes many priſoners, and diſperſes the reſt. Soon after *Hannibal* meets with *M. Centenius Penula* with 16,000 men, and cuts off *Centenius* and 15,000 of his men: Quickly after *Hannibal* engages *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor with 18,000 men, cut off 16,000, ſo that only the prætor and 2000 eſcaped —	VII	55
4098	2791	208	The *Romans* and *Ætolians* join, and lay waſte all the fertile country between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*; but upon *Philip* king of *Macedon*'s coming againſt them, they retire with great precipitation — —	II	706
4098	2791	208	*Hannibal* attempts the relief of *Capua*, and the gariſon ſallies out at the ſame time; but both are defeated, *Hannibal* having 8000 men killed, and the *Capuans* 3000; 15 colours taken from the firſt, and 18 from the laſt —	IV	727
4098	2791	208	*Hannibal* marches up to the gates of *Rome*, but durſt not attempt to ſtorm it, or run the hazard of a battle, but ſuddenly marches back to *Capua*, and fell upon *Appius*'s camp, and kills a great many of his men, and then marches off: Soon after *Capua* ſubmitted, the *Carthaginian* gariſon were made priſoners of war, but the ſenators were tried by the proconſuls, out of whom 25 were ſent to *Galo*, and 28 to *Teanum*, to be confined till their fate ſhould be determined; but *Fulvius* went and put them all to death. *Rome* kept the fruitful plains as its own property, and tranſplanted freed-men thither to manure the land, and annually ſent a præfect for their governor — — —	IV	729
4098	2791	208	*Philip* king of *Macedon* and the *Achæans* beſiege *Elis*, into which the *Romans* had flung 4000 men under *Sulpitius*: A bloody conflict happens, *Philip* is unhorſed and near being taken, but eſcapes, and after much bloodſhed is obliged to retire, but next day takes a ſtrong hold of the *Eleans*, with 20,000 head of cattle and 4000 *Eleans*, whom he ſold for ſlaves — —	II	667
4099	2792	207	*Scipio* the ſon of the deceaſed proconſul, beſieges and takes *New Carthage*, where he kills abundance of *Carthaginians*, *&c.* and takes 10,000 freemen and a prodigious number of women, children, and ſlaves priſoners, 120 great and 281 leſſer *Catapultas*, 23 large and 52 ſmaller *Baliſtæ*, 74 enſigns, an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver both in money and plate, *&c.* —	VII	60
4099	2792	207	The plague rages extravagantly in and about *Syracuſe*, of which *Hamilcar*, *Hippocrates*, and almoſt all the *Carthaginian* army die. The ſenate ſends *Bomilcar* with 130 gallies, 7000 tranſports, and a large army into *Sicily*, againſt *Marcellus*, who goes with the *Roman* fleet againſt him, upon which *Bomilcar* runs home, and *Syracuſe* ſubmits to *Marcellus*, after a ſiege of three years		
4099	2792	207	*Marcellus* takes *Salapia* in *Apulia*, and cuts off all the *Carthaginian* gariſon but 50 who ſurrender themſelves: Then he goes into *Samnium*, takes upwards of 3000 *Carthaginians* priſoners, and reduces abundance of towns to the obedience of *Rome* — —	IV	730
4099	2792	207	The *Tarentine* fleet intirely defeat a *Roman* ſquadron of ſhips that were coming to ſupply the citadel with proviſions; and *Hannibal* ſurprizes and kills the proconſul *Fulvius Centumalus*, and cuts off 11 legionary tribunes, with 13,000 men, upon which *Marcellus* comes up and gives him battle; but the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal, and the night obliged them to part —	IV	730

After

Y. of world.	Y. of Flood	Before Chrift		Vol.	Pag.
4099	2792	207	After the taking of *Syracuſe*, *Marcellus* engages *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, who puts them to flight at the firſt onſet, and purſues them to *Agrigentum*, killing many thouſands, and takes eight elephants, and then goes to *Rome*.	III	125
4099	2792	207	*Sulpitius* the *Roman* general, and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* firſt ſail to *Lemnos*, and then go to *Orcum*, a chief city in *Eubæa*, which *Plator* the *Macedonian* commander treacherouſly delivers up to them.	II	667
4099	2792	207	*Attalus* king of *Pergamus* beſieges and takes the city of *Opus* in *Achaia*; *Philip* king of *Macedon* preſently after comes to its relief, upon whoſe approach *Attalus* quits it, and retires with precipitation to his ſhips.	II	667
4100	2793	206	*Marcellus* being choſe conſul at *Rome*, gets the *Syracuſans* an edict of the ſenate to reinſtate them in their antient laws and liberties; in return for which the *Syracuſan* ſenate make a decree, that whenever *Marcellus* or any of his poſterity ſhould come to *Sicily*, the people ſhould walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate the day with ſacrifices.	III	126
4100	2973	206	The conſul *Lævinus*, with an army of *Romans* coming into *Sicily*, is invited by *Mutines* to *Agrigentum*, whither *Hanno*, *Epicydes*, and the *Carthaginians* were retired, takes it, and puts all the *Carthaginians* to the ſword; the chiefs of the *Agrigentines* he firſt beat with rods, and then beheaded, and the common people were made ſlaves and ſold; and all *Sicily* was reduced to the ſubjection of *Rome*, and became one of its provinces.	III	127
4101	2794	205	*Lævinus* being ordered to name a dictator refuſes it; upon which the tribunes of the people take upon them that office, and named *Fulvius Flaccus* the proconſul. *Lælius* arriving at *Rome* from *Spain*, with *Mago*, the ſenators of *New Carthage*, and the rich booty taken there, *Scipio* is continued proconſul, not as uſual for one year, but till an order ſhould be made for recalling him	IV	732
4101	2794	205	*Hannibal* engages *Marcellus*, and routs him, and kills 2700 of his men on the ſpot, four centurions, two military tribunes, and takes ſix ſtandards. The next day they engage again, when *Hannibal* is defeated, with the loſs of 8000 of his beſt troops; but *Marcellus* having 3000 of his legionaries killed, and almoſt all wounded, could not purſue him. *Fulvius* recovers *Lucania*, *Hirpinia*, and great part of *Brutium*, without loſs of blood.	IV	733
4101	2794	205	*Fabius* takes *Tarentum*, out of which the quæſtors are ſaid to have received for the publick treaſury 87,000 *l.* of gold, and 3000 talents of ſilver, 30,000 inhabitants that eſcaped the maſſacre were ſold for ſlaves, *&c.*	IV	733
4101	2794	205	*Scipio* engages *Aſdrubal*, kills him 8000 men, and takes 10,000 foot and 2000 horſe, gives the *Carthaginian* camp to the *Roman* ſoldiers to plunder, releaſed all the *Spaniſh* priſoners without ranſom, but ſells the *Carthaginians* for ſlaves.	VII	63
4102	2795	204	*Marcellus* (now a fifth time conſul) projects the taking of *Locri* a ſtrong city in the intereſt of *Hannibal:* The troops encamped before *Tarentum* go to beſiege it; *Hannibal* falls upon them, kills 2000, and takes 1200 priſoners. Soon after *Marcellus* falls into an ambuſh, as he was viewing an eminence with hi scolleague, and is killed; *Hannibal* firſt takes his ring off his finger, then burns the body, puts the aſhes into a ſilver urn, and puts a crown of gold and a crown of laurel on it, and ſo ſent it to his ſon, honoured with the higheſt marks of reſpect: *Quinctius* alſo, the other conſul, was mortally wounded.	IV	735
4102	2795	204	*Hannibal*, now maſter of *Marcellus*'s ring, ſends a feigned letter to *Apuleia* ſealed therewith by a *Roman* deſerter, ſignifying that he would be with them as on the morrow, when he ſent a detachment to ſurprize the town, moſt of them *Roman* deſerters; the *Salapians* admit about 600 of them within the gates, draw up the bridge, fall on and kill them, and from the walls diſperſe the reſt, *Quinctius* having ſent them and the country round word of the death of *Marcellus*, for fear of ſuch accidents, and ſo they eſcaped being ſurprized.	IV	735
4102	2795	204	*Lævinus* the *Roman* admiral makes a deſcent on *Africa* with 100 ſail of ſhips, and brings away immenſe booty, after having defeated the *Carthaginian* fleet, conſiſting of 83 ſail, and taking 18 of them. About the ſame time the *Romans* having beſieged *Locri*, *Hannibal* marches to its aſſiſtance, upon whoſe arrival *Mago* ſallies out, ſo that the *Romans* were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and leave all the military engines, *&c.* behind them.	VII	64
4102	2795	204	The *Ætolians* conclude a very diſadvantageous peace with the *Macedonians* and *Achæans*.	II	669
4102	2795	204	*Ptolemy Philopater* dying, is ſucceeded by his ſon *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child between four and five years old; upon which *Antiochus* the great king of *Syria*, and *Philip* king of *Macedon* join, in order to take and divide his kingdom: The *Jews* ſide with *Antiochus*, who obliged them in every thing they requeſted, and preſented them with 20,000 pieces of ſilver, 1400 meaſures of fine wheat, and 375 meaſures of ſalt, *&c.*	IV	45
4103	2796	203	*Claudius Nero* being conſul with *M. Livius Salinator*, engages *Hannibal*, defeats him, kills 8000 of his men, and takes 7000 priſoners; then purſues him, in his retreat; they engage again near *Venuſia*, and he kills 2000 more, when *Hannibal* makes the beſt of his way to *Metapontus* to join *Hanno*.	IV	736
4103	2796	203	*Aſdrubal* having paſſed the *Alps* in order to join *Hannibal*, is met by the two conſul,, and forced to fight in *Umbria* upon the banks of the *Metaurus*, where he has 56,000 men killed, and himſelf and abundance of priſoners are taken: *Nero* cuts off his head, and carries it with him to his camp at *Canuſium*, from whence he ſent ſome of the *Carthaginian* priſoners in chains to *Hannibal*'s camp, to inform him of the matter: Afterwards *Hanno* and *Mago* joining their forces, many of which being new raiſed troops, were attacked by the *Romans* and diſperſed; and *Hanno* and *Mago*, coming to their aſſiſtance, were likewiſe defeated and *Hanno* taken priſoner.	VII	68
4103	2796	203	The *Rhodians* join *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*, and declare war againſt *Philip* king of *Macedon*. who gains ſome advantages over them.	III	146

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4104	2797	202	*Philip* king of *Macedon* engages *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* at ſea, over againſt *Chios*, but is defeated, with the loſs of 300 *Macedonians* and 600 allies, and 2700 taken priſoners, while the *Rhodians* loſe but 60 and *Attalus* 70 men.		
4104	2797	202	*Machanidas* having ſome how got the ſovereignty, was called the tyrant of *Sparta*, who with a great army went to *Mantinæa* in *Achaia*, where he was engaged by *Philopæmen*, who intirely routed his army and killed himſelf: To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the *Achæans* caſt a brazen ſtatue of *Philopæmen*, in the ſame attitude he killed *Machanidas*, and ſet it up in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.	III	146
4104	2797	202	*Scipio* engages the united force of *Carthage* in *Spain*, under the command of *Mago*, *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, and *Maſſiniſſa* king of *Numidia*, and intirely deſtroys their army, conſiſting of 70,000 foot and 4500 horſe, ſcarce 6000 eſcaping.	II	669
4105	2798	201	*Scipio* engages *Syphax* king of the *Maſæſyli* to abandon the *Carthaginians*, and enter into an alliance with *Rome*; took *Elliturgi* by ſtorm, that had revolted, and levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. *Caſtulo* is ſurrendered, and a *Carthaginian* garriſon made priſoners of war, &c. *Ataſpa* being beſieged by *Marcius*, the inhabitants ſally out, and all die fighting except 50, who were left in the city to guard their wives, children, and effects, who upon hearing what had happened, ſet fire to a great pile, upon which they had put the women and children and moſt valuable effects, and then jumped into the flames themſelves, and ſo all periſhed, and left the *Romans* an empty city.	IV	737
4105	2798	201	*Scipio* being taken very ill, a report was ſpread that he was dead; upon which *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* (two petty *Spaniſh* kings that had come over to the *Romans*) revolted, and raiſed an army of 20,000 foot and 2500 horſe; and 8000 legionary troops alſo revolt, and chooſe themſelves commanders: *Scipio* ſoon recovering, gets the two chiefs of his own men that had rebelled, and cuts off their heads, upon which the reſt ſubmit. He goes againſt the princes, engages them, and obtains a complete victory by killing 17,000. Soon after he took *Gades*, and ſo became maſter of all *Spain*.	VII	71
4106	2799	200	*Scipio* is recalled from *Spain* to *Rome*, where with *P. Licinius Craſſus* he is choſe conſul, and ſent to *Sicily*, from whence he ſent *Lælius* to *Africa*, where he greatly incommoded the *Carthaginians*, and returned to *Sicily*, and *Scipio* took *Locri* by ſurprize.	IV	738
4106	2799	200	*Scipio* being recalled from *Spain*, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* revolt; the proconſuls go againſt them, kill 17,000, and *Indibilis*, and take 8000 priſoners. Soon after the *Spaniards* take and ſurrender *Mandonius* to obtain their own pardon. In *Italy* the plague made dreadful havock in both armies.	IV	739
4107	2800	199	*Hannibal* attacks the conſul *Sempronius*, kills 1200 *Romans*, and obliges the reſt to retire in diſorder; A few days after they engage again, when 4000 *Carthaginians* are ſlain, and 300 taken priſoners, with 11 ſtandards, and then *Sempronius* returned to *Rome* to erect a temple to *Fortune*, which he had vowed before the laſt battle.	IV	740
4107	2800	199	*Scipio* lands in *Africa*, where he firſt encounters *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* nobleman, and cut him off, with moſt of the troops under his command, and lays waſte the country to the very gates of *Carthage*, and took an opulent city in its neighbourhood, which he pillaged, and made 8000 inhabitants priſoners; then defeats another *Hanno* with a body of 4000 men, and kills and takes 3000 of them.	IV	740
4108	2801	198	*Scipio* in the night-time ſets fire to the barracks of the armies under *Syphax* king of *Numidia*, and *Aſdrubal*, by which means he deſtroyed men, beaſts of burthen, and elephants, by the fire and by the ſword, to the number of 40,000, and took 5000 priſoners; but *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* eſcaped with 2000 foot and 500 horſe, who ſoon after recruited to the number of 30,000 men, whom *Scipio* again engages and intirely overthrows; *Lælius* and *Maſſiniſſa* purſue *Syphax* into the heart of *Numidia*, where they engage him alone, defeat his army, and take himſelf and his ſon *Vermina* priſoners; upon which *Cyrtha* his capital city ſurrenders, where his queen *Sophonisba* is taken priſoner, and *Maſſiniſſa* marries her, but ſhe is poiſoned by order of *Scipio*, who honours *Maſſiniſſa* with the title of king and robes of royalty.	VII	76
4109	2802	197	The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* engage, and after a very obſtinate battle, *Mago* being mortally wounded, the *Romans* became maſters of the field, killed 5000, and took 18 ſtandards. *Mago* embarked his troops for *Africa*, but died of his wounds on the coaſt of *Sardinia*.	IV	744
4110	2803	196	*Hannibal* being recalled to *Carthage*, has an interview with *Scipio* about a peace; but differing about the conditions, they come to a battle at *Zama*, where the *Carthaginians* were entirely routed, 20,000 being killed, and as many taken priſoners, among whom was many *Macedonians*, and *Soſipater* their commander: *Hannibal* eſcaped with a few attendants, and agrees with *Scipio* to conclude a peace, which was confirmed by both ſenates on the following terms, *viz.* 1. The *Carthaginians* ſhall live according to their own laws, and enjoy all the cities and provinces which they had in *Africa* before the war; but the *Romans* ſhould hold *Spain*, with all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*. 2d. The *Carthaginians* ſhall deliver up all the *Roman* deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the *Italians Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. That they ſhould deliver to *Scipio* all their ſhips of war, except 10 trirems (which being done, *Scipio* burnt to the number of 500) and all their tamed elephants, and tame no more; (theſe *Scipio* ſent part to *Rome*, and gave part to king *Maſſiniſſa*.) 4. *Carthage* ſhould enter into no war without the conſent of *Rome*. 5. That they ſhould reſtore to *Maſſiniſſa* all they had taken from him or his anceſtors, and enter into an alliance with him. 6. That they ſhould ſupply the *Romans* with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till their ambaſſadors returned from *Rome*. 7. That they ſhould poy the *Romans* 200 talents a year for 50 years. 8. That	VII	80

they

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			they ſhould deliver up 100 ſuch hoſtages as *Scipio* ſhould chooſe, the youngeſt not under 14, and the oldeſt not more than 30 years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor the truce ſhould take place, 'till the *Carthaginians* had reſtored the ſhips and effects they had taken from the *Romans* at their breaking the laſt truce, (for which they paid 25,000 pounds weight of ſilver.) 10. That the *Roman* army ſhould leave *Africa* within 50 days after the concluſion of the treaty, *Scipio* treated the *Latin* and *Roman* deſerters with extreme ſeverity, beheading the former and crucifying the latter. Thus in the 18th year ended the ſecond punic war, one of the moſt remarkable in hiſtory for its wonderful viciſſitudes and prodigious expence of blood and treaſure.	VII	84
4110	2803	196	Upon *Scipio*'s return to *Rome*, he brought into the publick treaſury 120,000 pounds weight of ſilver; his triumph was the moſt magnificent that had ever yet been at *Rome*; the ſenate offered him the perpetual dictatorſhip, but he refuſed it, contenting himſelf with the glorious name of *Africanus*.	IV	749
4110	2803	196	The conſul *Ælius Petus* ſends *Oppius* againſt the *Boii*, who ſurprized him, and killed 7000 of his men: But the conſul forces the *Ingauni* to make an alliance with *Rome*; and the ſenate ſends *Lævinus* with a fleet into *Macedon*, *&c.*	IV	751
4110	2803	196	*Nabis* ſucceeds *Machanidas* in the government of *Sparta*, in which he behaved ſo monſtrouſly cruel, as no tyrant ever before him had done.	II	636
4111	2804	195	The *Boii*, *&c.* ſpirited up by *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* captain, make a ſudden irruption, and ſeize *Placentia*, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; the *Romans* under the prætor *Furius Purpureo* march againſt them, and at *Cremona* engage and intirely defeat them, by killing *Hamilcar* and 30,000 of them upon the ſpot, for which at his return to *Rome* he is honoured with a triumph.	IV	750
4111	2804	195	*Maſſiniſſa* makes himſelf maſter of part of the *Carthaginian* territories in *Africa*, which the *Romans* oblige them to cede to him, and to enter into an alliance with him by the 5th article of the peace.	VII	85
4111	2804	195	*Simon* II. high-prieſt of the *Jews* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Onias* III. a perſon of great piety and clemency.	IV	45
4112	2805	194	The *Carthaginians* ſending 50 *Euboic* talents to pay their annual fine, upon examination they are found too light by one fourth part, which the ambaſſadors are forced to borrow and make up the full ſum.	VII	85
4112	2805	194	*Hannibal* has the command of the *Carthaginian* forces taken from him, and is made prætor, in which office he reformed abundance of abuſes that had crept into the ſtate, and got a law paſſed, that the civil judges ſhould be choſe annually, who before had thoſe places for life, and acted very cruelly and unjuſtly: Theſe reformations drew the hatred of the nobility upon him, ſo that he was forced to fly to *Epheſus* to king *Antiochus*, who received him very graciouſly.	VII	86
4113	2806	193	The *Achæans* joins the *Romans* and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* againſt *Philip* king of *Macedon* in the ſiege of *Corinth*, but are forced to raiſe the ſiege.	II	671
4113	2806	193	The *Ætolians* join the *Romans* againſt the *Macedonians*, and with king *Aminander* make an irruption into *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, committing great ravages; but lying careleſly without encamping, are ſurprized by king *Philip*, who cuts moſt of them to pieces.	II	708
4114	2807	192	*Philocles* the *Macedonian* general, joined by *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, marches into the heart of *Achaia*, and takes *Argos*, which being ceded by *Philip* to *Nabis*, he plundered it of all its wealth, and then obliged the ſenate to paſs two decrees, 1. That all old debts ſhould be cancelled; 2. That there ſhould be an equal diſtribution of lands, *&c.*	II	672
4114	2807	192	The *Ætolians* enter *Theſſaly*, take and plunder many cities, deſtroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and kill many of the inhabitants, and ſell the reſt for ſlaves.	II	700
4114	2807	192	The *Achaians* attack *Androſthenes*, *Philip*'s general over 6000 men, in his camp, after he had detached a good part of them into the country to ravage it, overthrew him, and kill the greateſt part of the moroders, and thereby delivered *Achaia* from all fear of *Macedon*.	II	672
4114	2807	192	*Flaminius* the *Roman* conſul engages *Philip* king of *Macedon* in *Theſſaly*, upon the plains of *Cynocephalæ*, and entirely defeats him, killing 8000 of his men, and taking 5000 priſoners: Upon this a peace is concluded between *Rome* and *Macedon*, obliging *Philip* to evacuate all the places he poſſeſſed in *Greece*, and withdraw his garriſons before the celebration of the *Iſthmian* games: Upon commencement of the games, freedom was declared to all *Greece*, by the publick herald, for which the *Achæans* voluntarily purchaſed the redemption of all the *Roman* ſlaves that had been ſold by *Hannibal*, to the number of 12,000, for 100 talents, and preſented them to the *Roman* proconſul *Flaminius*, who upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph that laſted three days.	II	674
4114	2807	192	*Cethegus* the *Roman* conſul engages the revolted *Gauls* in *Italy*, and gains a complete victory over them on the banks of the *Mincius*, and kills 30,000 on the ſpot, and takes 57,000 priſoners: And *Minucius* the other conſul over-run the country of the *Ligures* and *Boii*, and laid it waſte; the ſenate orders publick thankſgivings for theſe ſucceſſes in all the temples at *Rome* for four days, and increaſe the number of prætors to ſix, appointed two for *Spain*, having divided it into two provinces, *Hither Spain* and *Further Spain*. The *Spaniards* revolt, and cut off *Sempronius*, prætor of *Hither Spain*, with moſt of his troops, and almoſt a total defection prevails in *Further Spain*.	IV	751
4115	2808	191	The *Roman* conſuls deſtroy two *Gauliſh* armies in *Italy*, plunder their country, and return to *Rome* loaded with booty. A new ſacerdotal college is erected at *Rome*, called *Epulones*, whoſe office was only about religious feaſts.	IV	749
4115	2808	191	*Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta* beſieges *Gythium*, a ſea-port now belonging to the *Achæans*; *Philopæmen* the *Achæan* prætor raiſes an army, and fits out a fleet to relieve it; *Nabis* defeats him by ſea, at the firſt onſet taking ſome of his ſhips and ſink-		

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			ing others, escaping with great difficulty himself; but soon after he sets upon *Nabis*, in the night-time, fires his camp, and destroys all his forces then at *Pleiæ*; nevertheless *Nabis* took *Gythium*, upon which *Philopæmen* goes towards *Lacedæmon*; *Nabis* pursues him, a battle follows, and *Nabis* is intirely defeated; and almost all his troops cut off; the *Ætolians* send him a reinforcement, who instead of assisting, murdered him, and the *Spartans* cut off all the *Ætolians*, and join themselves to the *Achæans*.		
4116	2809	190	The *Appian* law, whereby the *Roman* women were forbid wearing more than half an ounce of gold in their cloaths, or about their persons, *&c.* repealed.	II	639
4116	2809	190	The consul *M. Porcius Cato* engages the revolted *Spaniards*, and drives them out of the field; upon which all the neighbouring cities send their submissions: He orders all the fortifications of *Hither Spain* to he demolished, and then goes into *Further Spain*, taking several towns and prodigious booty in his passage; he bestows a pound weight of silver on each soldier, then returns to *Rome*, and is honoured with a triumph, and then retired to a private life, spending his time in study, and writing the origin of the cities in *Italy*, and several books of *Agriculture*.	IV	752
4117	2810	189	The consul *Tib. Sempronius Longus* engages the *Cisalpine Gauls*, and gains a victory over them, killing 11,000 at the expence of 5000 *Romans*.	IV	752
4117	2810	189	The *Lacedæmonians* endeavour to revolt from the *Achæans*, but are discovered, and severely punished, and have their walls demolished, their mercenaries disbanded, *&c.*	IV	753
4118	2811	188	Three ambassadors come to *Rome* from *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, to propose an alliance; but the senate requiring his renunciation to *Thrace*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, they return dissatisfied.	IV	679
4118	2811	188	*P. Cornelius Scipio* (sirnamed *Nasica*) gained a considerable victory over the *Lusitanians*, (now called *Portugal*) and *Fulvius* defeated the united forces of the *Vaccæi*, *Vectones*, and *Celtiberians*, (in *Further Spain*) and took *Hilermus*, one of their kings, prisoner. In *Hither Spain Flaminius* took *Illucia*, a strong town, and cleared the country of banditti. In *Cisalpine Gaul* the consul *Merula* defeated the *Boii* near *Mutina*, killed 14,000 upon the spot, took 2000 prisoners, three generals, 212 colours, and 36 *Gallic* carts loaded with baggage.	IV	753
4119	2812	187	The *Ligurians* are engaged by the proconsul *Thermus*, and defeated with the loss of 9000 men, and their camp taken and plundered.	IV	753
4119	2812	187	*Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* presents the *Achæans* with 6000 shields and 200 talents, and renews an alliance with them: *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* offers 120 talents to them for an alliance, but they refused him; and *Seleucus* king of *Syria* offers them 10 ships of war completely equipped, which they accept.	II	679
4119	2812	187	*Antiochus* king of *Syria* goes into *Greece* with 10,000 foot, 500 horse, and 6 elephants, having first sacrificed to *Minerva* at *Ilium*, takes *Chalcis* and winters there, where he married *Cleoptolemus*, a beautiful woman about twenty years old, in whose house he lodged.	III	554
4119	2812	187	The *Romans* coming into *Greece*, engage *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ*, and entirely defeat him there with a great slaughter, *Antiochus* himself escaping with great difficulty to *Ephesus*.	III	554
4119	2812	187	The *Syrian* and *Roman* fleet engage near *Cyssus*, where the *Romans* are conquerors, sinking ten and taking thirty of *Antiochus*'s ships.	III	555
4119	2812	187	*Scipio Nasica* having reduced the *Boii* absolutely, their lands were divided among the *Roman* colonies sent thither, and he honoured with a triumph, adorned with all sorts of spoils, chariots made after the *Gallic* fashion, standards, vases of brass, 1470 collars of gold, 1220 horses, 2340 pounds weight of gold, and many captives. At the same time *Fulvius* had an ovation for his victory in *Spain*, adorned with spoils of great value, 130.000 pieces of silver money, 1000 pounds of silver in bars, and 125 pounds of gold in ingots, *&c.*	IV	754
4120	2813	186	*Polyxenidas*, admiral of the *Syrian* fleet, deceives *Pausistratus* admiral of the *Rhodian* fleet, kills him, and takes and destroys his fleet. *Antiochus* and his son *Seleucus* invade the kingdom of *Pergamus*, but are drove out again.	III	557
4121	2814	185	*Scipio* the *Roman* consul engages *Antiochus* king of *Syria* at *Magnesia*, totally overthrows him, kills 50,000 foot, 4000 horse, and takes 1500 prisoners, and 15 elephants; the spoil of the camp was inexpressible; the *Romans* lost but 300 foot and 25 horse: All the neighbouring country submitted, and the consul was sirnamed *Asiaticus*. *Antiochus* sues for peace, which is granted upon the following conditions; 1. That he should quit all pretensions to *Europe*, and confine himself to *Asia* beyond mount *Taurus*, pay 15,000 *Euboic* talents, 500 down, 2500 upon the senate's confirming the articles, and 1000 a year for 12 years successively. 2. That he should satisfy *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, by paying 400 talents due to him, and that he should deliver up *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Moresicholus* the *Acarnanian*, and *Philo* and *Eubulus*, (two *Caledonians*) and 20 hostages, such as *Scipio* should choose, his son *Seleucus* to be one: *Antiochus* sends the hostages, strangers, *&c.* to *Rome*, all but *Hannibal* and *Thoas*, who had retired: *Hannibal* poisoned himself,	III	565
4121	2814	185	*Antiochus* dies, and is succeeded by his son *Seleucus* in the kingdom of *Syria*, where he reigned upwards of 11 years, being extremely reduced by the annual sum of 1000 talents he was forced to pay the *Romans*.	III	569
4122	2815	184	The consul *Cn. Manlius Vulso* goes into *Asia*, and attacks the *Gallo-Grecians*, or *Galatians*, for their past services to *Antiochus*: He first goes against the *Toliostobii*, who had posted themselves upon mount *Olympus*, forced their intrenchments, killed great numbers, and took 40,000 prisoners; then went against the *Tectosagi* and *Trocmi*, and had the like success, and so forced the whole nation to sue for peace upon his terms.	IV	756

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4123	2816	183	The *Meſſenians* having revolted from the *Achæans* by the inſtigation of one *Dinocrates*, *Philopœmen* marches againſt them, but is defeated, taken priſoner, and poiſoned. The *Achæans* to revenge his death ſend *Lycortas*, their moſt able general againſt them; the people frighted, immediately ſubmit, and ſurrender up the ringleaders of the rebellion, and thoſe concerned in *Philopœmen*'s death, bound in chains, who were afterwards carried to *Megalopolis* to be ſacrificed on the deceaſed heroe's tomb; but *Dinocrates* became his own executioner. *Philopœmen* after being burnt as uſual, had his aſhes carried to *Megalopolis*, his native city, with all imaginable funeral pomp, attended by the whole army. Statues were erected for him in moſt of the *Grecian* cities, and the magiſtrates of *Megalopolis* paſſed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly ſacrificed at his tomb, when a panegyrick was pronounced and hymns ſung by young children	II	683
4124	2817	182	The *Roman* conſuls go againſt and reduce the revolted *Ligurians*, and ſo made all quiet between *Hetruria* and the *Alps*	IV	756
4124	2817	182	The proconſul *L. Fulvius Nobilior* having reduced *Ætolia*, upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, adorned with a great number of golden crowns, a vaſt quantity of gold in ingots, ſilver in bars, and immenſe ſums of *Attic* and *Macedonian* money, *&c.* He exhibited publick games, among which were the *Athletæ*, for the firſt time, and the hunting of lions and panthers	IV	758
4126	2819	180	Three commiſſioners are ſent into *Greece*, to terminate the diſpute of *Greece* and *Philip* king of *Macedon*; they appoint the vale of *Tempe* and *Cite*, the contending parties to appear there before them; the ſeats were ſo diſpoſed that the judges ſat uppermoſt, the accuſers next, and the king loweſt, as a criminal. After the pleadings of both ſides were heard, the commiſſioners declared, *Our Will and Pleaſure is, That the* Macedonian *Garriſons immediately, evacuate all the places in diſpute, and that the Kingdom of* Macedon *be reduced to its antient Limits.* Thus *Rome* began to determine the fate of monarchs, and treat them as vaſſals to their commonwealth	IV	758
4126	2819	180	The *Roman* prætors in *Spain*, *Quinctius* and *Calpurnius*, engage the *Luſitanians*, and are defeated with the loſs of 5000 men; but ſoon after engaging again, they obtained a complete victory, killing and taking 30,000 of the enemy, which quieted the country ſome time	IV	758
4126	2819	180	The two conſuls going againſt the revolted *Ligurians*, *Sempronius* attacks the *Apuans* in the eaſt of *Liguria*, ravaging the fields, pillaging the villages, and burning the woods, and thereby opens a way into the heart of the country, while *Calpurnius* fights ſeveral ſucceſsful battles with the *Ingauni*, takes ſix of their cities, makes many priſoners, and puts 43 of the principal ringleaders to death	IV	758
4127	2820	179	The *Roman* cenſors, *Cato* and *Valerius Flaccus*, degrade ſeven ſenators; *Quinctius*, for killing with his own hands a *Boian* nobleman; *Manlius*, or *Manilius* for having ſaluted his wife in the preſence of his daughters; and five others. Then fine moveables, jewels, *&c.* were greatly taxed	IV	759
4127	2820	179	*Callicrates*, *Lyſiades*, and *Aratus*, being ſent ambaſſadors from the *Achæans* to *Rome*, *Callicrates* having betrayed his country by ſubtle ſpeeches, brought back an anſwer, that the *Achæans* ſhould reſtore the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, and ſubmit abſolutely to the ſenate's orders, *&c.*	II	685
4127	2820	179	*Heliodorus* is ſent by *Seleucus* king of *Syria* to fetch away all the treaſure that was in the temple at *Jeruſalem*; the high-prieſt and people oppoſe his entry, upon which the gates were ordered to be thrown down, *&c.*	IV	46
4127	2820	179	*Philip* king of *Macedon* dies with grief, for having credulouſly conſented to put his ſon *Demetrius* to death, and by other great misfortunes ſubjecting himſelf to the *Romans*, and is ſucceeded by his natural ſon *Perſes*, notwithſtanding he had recommended his couſin *Antigonus* to the *Macedonians*, who ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to deſire their acknowledgment of his title, and to renew the alliance they had made with his father, for which he promiſed to be their faithful ally, to let his neighbours live in peace, and to make no war without their permiſſion; and at home ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf by all manner of popular artifices, by which means *Antigonus* was rejected, and *Perſes* eſtabliſhed	III	482
4127	2820	179	*Orcius*, a tribune of the people, got the *Roman* ſenate to make a law, that no man ſhould ſpend more than 100 aſſes of braſs, or 6*s.* 5*d.* at one feaſt	IV	759
4130	2823	176	*Seleucus* is poiſoned by *Heliodorus*, his treaſurer, who places the crown upon his own head, but is engaged by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, brother to the deceaſed *Seleucus*, overthrown and drove out of the kingdom, and *Antiochus* crowned in his ſtead, who conquered *Egypt*, and twice ravaged *Jeruſalem*, murdering the people by thouſands, and ſelling as many for ſlaves, profaned the temple, *&c.*	III	571
4130	2823	176	*Jaſon* the brother of *Onias* high prieſt of the *Jews*, taking advantage of king *Antiochus* neceſſity, goes to *Antioch*, and buys the high-prieſthood of him for 350 talents, with an order that *Onias* ſhould be ſent to and confined in *Antioch*; he likewiſe purchaſes for 150 talents more liberty to build at *Jeruſalem* a *Gymnaſium*, to train and exerciſe the *Jewiſh* youth in the *Grecian* manner, and to make them free of *Antioch*; which doing, the *Jewiſh* religion and cuſtoms were ſet aſide by theſe heatheniſh practices	IV	47
4131	2824	175	The proconſul *Paulus Æmilius* defeats the revolted *Ligurians*, and reduces the whole country to obedience: And *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, prætor of *Hither Spain*, engages the *Celtiberians*, and kills 25,000, makes 4800 priſoners, and takes alſo 500 horſes and 98 ſtandards: *Gentius*, one of the *Illyrian* kings, having committed piracies in the *Adriatick*, ſubmits and is pardoned	IV	760
4131	2824	175	*Jaſon* the apoſtate *Jewiſh* high-prieſt ſends a great number of his partizans to *Antioch*, whom he had made free to aſſiſt at the *Olympick* games, with a great ſum of money to be ſpent in ſacrifices to the *Tyrian Hercules*. *Antigonus* going againſt *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, calls at *Jeruſalem* in his way, and is magnificently treated by *Jaſon*	IV	48

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4132	2825	174	*Vilius Tappulus* got the famous plebiſcitum paſſed, whereby it was enacted, that no man ſhould be quæſtor before he was 31 years of age, curule edile under 37, prætor under 40, conſul under 43; which law continued in force till the fall of the republick	IV	760
4133	2826	173	*Jaſon* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt ſending his brother *Menelaus* to *Antioch*, to negotiate ſomething with king *Antiochus*, he, inſtead of doing his brother's buſineſs, offers the king 300 talents more, and was by him granted the high-prieſthood; upon which each ſide ſtruggle with their friends to keep the poſt; but *Menelaus* having promiſed to renounce *Judaiſm*, is aſſiſted by *Antiochus*, and drives *Jaſon* away	IV	48
4134	2827	172	*Menelaus*, high-prieſt of the *Jews*, being ſent for to *Antioch* upon account of not paying the money he had promiſed the king, orders his brother *Lyſimachus* to ſtrip the temple of *Jeruſalem* of its golden veſſels, &c. with which he raiſes money, both to pay his arrears and to bribe the courtiers into his favour; but *Onias* making a great out-cry againſt him, flies to *Daphne*, an aſylum near *Antioch*; *Menelaus* having bribed *Andronicus* the king's lieutenant, he went and murdered *Onias*, notwithſtanding he ſolemnly ſwore the contrary	IV	49
4134	2827	172	The *Egyptians* demand *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* of *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, upon which, the requeſt not being comply'd with, war was proclaimed between the two nations, and carried on very vigorouſly	III	572
4134	2827	172	*Claudius* the conſul, by taking *Neſſatium*, *Mutila*, and *Faveria*, and the loſſes they had met with in the preceding years, brought all the *Iſtrian* nation under the *Roman* ſubjection: *Sempronius* took and killed 20,000 of the *Corſican* and *Sardinian* rebels, for which at his return to *Rome* he was honoured with a triumph. The conſul *Claudius* going againſt the *Ligurians*, kills and takes 15,000 of them	IV	760
4135	2828	171	*Antiochus* being returned from the reduction of *Cilicia* to *Antioch*, great complaints were exhibited againſt *Andronicus* the governor, upon hearing whereof the king ordered him to be carried to the place where he had murdered *Onias*, and to be put to death for ſo flagrant a villainy	IV	49
4136	2829	170	The *Jews* enraged at the great oppreſſion and wicked apoſtacy of *Menelaus* and his brother *Lyſimachus*, mutiny and kill *Lyſimachus*, and great part of the 3000 men he had for his guard. *Menelaus* corrupts *Antiochus*'s courtiers with ſuch large bribes, that the three *Jewiſh* deputies are condemned and executed	IV	50
4136	2829	170	The conſul *Petilius* attempting to force the *Ligurian* camp, was killed by a javelin's being run through him, notwithſtanding which the *Romans* gained a conſiderable victory, and killed above 5000 of the enemy	IV	760
4137	2830	169	*Antiochus* enraged againſt the *Jews*, takes *Jeruſalem* after a ſtout defence, kills 40,000 of them, and carries away as many of them priſoners. He ſtripped the temple of all its golden veſſels, &c. and 1800 talents of gold and ſilver	IV	50
4137	2830	169	The *Achæans* declare war againſt *Perſes*, in conjunction with the *Romans*, by the perſuaſion of *Archon* their prætor	IV	86
4138	2831	168	*Antiochus* king of *Syria* iſſued out a decree, that all nations ſubject to him ſhould forſake their old religion and gods, and worſhip the kings, under the ſevereſt penalties: This was principally levelled againſt the *Jews*, now under a moſt violent perſecution	IV	52
4138	2831	168	The ſtreets of *Rome* are paved for the firſt time, having not been ſo yet ſince the building the city	IV	760
4139	2832	167	*M. Popilius Lænas* the conſul goes againſt the *Stelliates* (a people in *Liguria*, bordering on the river *Tenarus*) kills 10,000, and takes 7000 priſoners, and 82 ſtandards, with the loſs of 3000 *Romans* killed, and a vaſt number wounded; upon which the *Stelliates* ſurrender at diſcretion: *Popilius* takes away their arms, diſmantles their cities, and ſells the people for ſlaves; but the ſenate thinking this procedure too ſevere, decrees them to be redeemed, returns their effects, and allows them money to purchaſe new arms, cloſing their decree with ſaying, *Victory is glorious when confined to the ſubduing an untractable enemy, but ſhameful when uſed to oppreſs the unfortunate*	IV	761
4139	2832	167	The *Samaritans* diſown all right to the *Jewiſh* religion, and deſire *Antiochus* to let them dedicate their temple to *Jupiter*, which is granted them	IV	52
4139	2832	167	*Atheneas* perſecutes the *Jews* moſt cruelly, all over *Judea*, and dedicates the temple at *Jeruſalem* to *Jupiter Olympus*, and ſets up his ſtatue upon the altar of burnt offerings, &c. All who were known any way to favour or practice any of the *Jewiſh* rites, were cruelly tortured and put to death, unleſs they immediately became heathens, and ſacrificed to their idols, &c.	IV	52
4139	2832	167	*Mattathias* (an old *Jewiſh* prieſt, father of the *Maccabees*) reſolutely denies to obey the king's command by refuſing to ſacrifice to idols, draws a large number to him, eſpecially the ſect called the *Aſſideans*, and retires into the deſarts of *Judea*, where they come to a reſolution to act offenſively or defenſively, as well on the *Sabbath*, as any other day, having heretofore ſuffered themſelves to be killed on that day, &c. In theſe deſarts the people practiſed the pure worſhip of God according to the law of *Moſes*. But ſoon becoming very numerous, he marched out from city to city, overturned the idolatrous altars, opened the *Jewiſh* ſynagogues, collected the ſacred books, &c. all which he effected in one year's time, and then died	IV	56
4139	2832	167	*Perſes* engages *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* general, is ſo totally overthrown that all *Macedonia* ſubmits to *Rome*, upon which *Æmilius* turns the kingdom into a commonwealth, &c.	III	493
4139	2832	167	The *Romans* having defeated *Perſes*, they appoint a commiſſion, and order the chiefs of all the *Greek* cities to appear, and condemn to death and confiſcation all thoſe who had in any capacity whatever aſſiſted *Perſes*; in conſequence whereof a thouſand *Achæans* were impriſoned, &c.	VII	686

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4139	2832	167	*Antiochus* king of *Syria* goes into *Egypt* with his army, and engages *Ptolemy*'s troops between mount *Caſſius* and *Peluſium*, on the frontiers of *Egypt*; and routs them at the firſt onſet	III	575
4140	2833	166	*Judas Maccabeus* ſucceeded his father *Mattathias* in the command of the *Jews*; and with an army of but 6000 drove their enemies out of their cities, towns villages, *&c.* *Apollonius*, governor of *Jeruſalem* for *Antiochus*, raiſes a great army, and goes againſt *Judas*, who encreaſed daily; they engage, *Apollonius* is killed, and abundance of his men; and *Judas* takes a rich ſpoil, after having routed the whole army. *Antiochus* ſwore the intire deſtruction of all the *Jews*, and *Simon* (deputy-governor of *Cœle-Syria*) marches againſt them, is killed, with 800 of his men, *&c.* *Lyſias* ſends 40,000 men to the governor to ſee the king's commands fulfilled; and to raiſe money he publiſhes that he would ſell 90 *Jewiſh* captives for a talent. *Gorgias* coming with a detachment of 5000 men to ſurprize *Judas*'s camp, *Judas* falls on him, kills 3000, and diſperſes the reſt, then burns *Gorgias*'s camp, takes his baggage, *&c.* which ſo diſpirited his men, that they fled, and *Judas* in the purſuit killed 6000 more of them. Soon after *Timotheus*, governor beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides* come againſt *Judas*, who by this time was grown numerous; they engage, *Judas* entirely overthrows them, and kills 20,000, gets much ſpoil, takes ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes, which he manned and armed, *&c.*	IV	60
4140	2833	166	Two plebeians, for the firſt time, are advanced to the conſulate, *viz.* *P. Acilines Ligus* and *C. Popilius Lænas*, though afterwards it was common	IV	761
4140	2833	166	*Perſes* king of *Macedon*, hires ruffians to murder *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, (for being in alliance with *Rome*) as he was going to *Delphos*	IV	761
4140	2833	166	The commiſſioners ſent from the *Roman* ſenate into *Achaia*, to enquire who had favoured *Perſes* king of *Macedon*, cities more than a 1000 great men to *Rome* to anſwer the information given againſt them by *Callicrates*: Upon their arrival at *Rome*, they were all baniſhed into different cities of *Italy*, and there kept cloſe priſoners	II	689
4140	2833	166	*Antiochus* goes again into *Egypt*, engages and routs the *Egyptians* with great ſlaughter; to prevent an utter extirpation he rode about from place to place to forbid the ſlaughter, and ſo gained the love of the *Egyptians*; and takes *Peluſium*, and leads his army into the very heart of the kingdom, when all ſubmitted to him; ſo that he was maſter of *Memphis* and all *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*: He got *Ptolemy Philopator* into his hands, and pretended to act as his friend and guardian; but *Antiochus* ſeized all that was valuable for himſelf, pillaging the cities, and cauſing unheard of deſolations and cruelties to be committed, inriching himſelf and ſoldiers with the ſpoil	III	576
4140	2833	166	The *Alexandrians* proclaim the brother of *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, who took the name of *Ptolemy Euergetes the Second*, which was afterwards changed into *Phyſcon* (or the great bellied;) but *Antiochus* a while after ſets up *Ptolemy Philometor* againſt him, but by the mediation of *Cleopatra* their ſiſter, and the *Roman* deputies, 'twas agreed they ſhould reign jointly	III	650
4140	2833	166	*Phyſcon* having drove his brother *Philometor* out of *Egypt*, *Philometor* goes on foot to *Rome*, in a very mean garb and ſmall attendance; but the ſenate ordered him lodgings, *&c.* ſuitable to his condition, and the quæſtor to allow him every thing he wanted at the publick expence: Appearing before the ſenate, he made his ill uſage appear in ſuch a light to them, that they decreed him his crown, and ſent *Quinctius* and *Canuleius*, two of their own members, to attend him to *Alexandria*, to ſee their decree put in execution, ſo great was the power of *Rome* now become. Accordingly, upon their arrival an accommodation was brought about, and *Phyſcon* was put in poſſeſſion of *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, and *Philometor* of all *Egypt* and the iſland of *Cyprus*, and each prince was declared independent of the other	III	651
4141	2834	165	*Lyſias* came from *Antioch* into *Judea*, with an army of 60,000 foot and 500 horſe, *Judas* meets and engages him at *Bethzura*, with only 10,000 men, defeats him, and kills 5000. *Lyſias* returns home, and *Judas* goes to *Jeruſalem*, cleanſes and purifies the temple and city, and having made new altars, veſſels, and veſtments, out of the ſpoils taken from the *Syrians*, he began the divine worſhip with the dedication of the new altar, utenſils, *&c.* on the 25th of *Ciſleu*, having lain three years polluted and demoliſhed, *&c.* This feaſt laſted eight days with great joy and devotion, and was annually obſerved by the name of the feaſt of dedication by the whole nation, till the deſtruction of the temple by the *Romans*	IV	61
4141	2834	165	*Antiochus Epiphanes* being greatly bruiſed by a fall from his chariot as it was driveing furiouſly along, mortified, and bred ſuch a large number of worms that made the ſtench intolerable, the pain whereof threw him into a frenzy, in which condition he died, but before his departure ſends for *Philip*, his chief favourite, and appoints him guardian of his ſon, regent of the *Syrian* empire, during his ſon *Antiochus*'s minority, and delivers him the ſeal of the empire, and the other enſigns of royalty; but this office was ſeized upon and uſurped by *Lyſias*, who had proclaimed the young *Antiochus Eupator*; the ſenate of *Rome*, thought fit to ſend three perſons into *Syria* to perform that office, with the cruel inſtructions, that as ſoon as they ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the guardianſhip, to burn all the ſhips with decks, that the king of *Syria* had, to hamſtring all his elephants, and to weaken by all means poſſible the ſtrength of that powerful kingdom	III	583
4141	2834	165	*Phyſcon* diſſatisfied with his ſhare, petitions the ſenate to add *Cyprus* to his part, which they do, but *Philometor* refuſes to comply. The *Cyrenians* diſliking *Phyſcon*'s government, revolt; he goes againſt them and is defeated. *Phyſcon* ſends ambaſſadors to *Rome*; the ſenate confirms their former decree, orders *Phi-*		

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			lometor's ambaſſadors to be gone in five days, and renounces all friendſhip and alliance with him: *Phyſcon* receiving this news, and having quelled the rebellion, behaved ſo diſagreeably to the *Cyrenians*, that they ſet upon and wounded him in ſeveral places, leaving him for dead; but recovering, he goes to *Rome*, ſhews his ſcars, and charges his brother with the aſſaſſination: The ſenate angry with *Philometor* for not ſubmitting to their decree about *Cyprus*, refuſe to hear his ambaſſadors, and ſend five ambaſſadors along with *Phyſcon* to ſettle him in *Cyprus*, requiring all their allies in thoſe parts to furniſh him with forces for that purpoſe. *Philometor* comes againſt him in perſon, engages and routs his forces: *Phyſcon* ſhuts himſelf up in *Lanitho* a city of *Cyprus*, where he is beſieged, taken, and delivered to *Philometor*, who forgave him, reſtored *Lybia* and *Cyrene* to him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and other lands in lieu of *Cyprus*, and ſo ended the war between the two brothers	III	653
4141	2834	165	The ſenate make two laws, *viz.* That all under 46 years of age ſhould appear in order to be incorporated in the legions; and, That all come from *Macedon* within three years laſt paſt ſhould return to their duty	IV	762
4142	2835	164	*Judas* the *Jewiſh* captain falls on the *Idumeans*, *&c.* at *Acrabatene*, and kills 20,000, then drove the children of *Bean* into their two ſtrong towers, where he beſieged them; but ſome of the officers having received 70,000 drachms to let part of them eſcape, he put them to death for it, and took the fortreſſes by aſſault, put both gariſons (conſiſting of 20,000) to death, and burnt the towers to the ground	IV	63
4142	2835	164	*Timotheus* the *Syrian* general comes into *Judea* with a great army; *Judas* meets him, kills 30,500 foot, and 600 horſe, and forced him to retreat to *Gazara*, whither he follows and beſieges him, takes the place, and ſlays him, his brother, and *Apollophanes* another *Syrian* general. The ſucceſſes of *Judas* made the *Jews* every where hated and perſecuted, to relieve whom *Judas* firſt fell on the city *Baſſora*, took it, deſtroyed all the males, delivered his brethren, and ſet fire to the city; then engages another *Syrian* general, named *Timotheus*, ſlew 8000 of his men, and diſperſed the reſt; then went to the other *Gileaditiſh* cities, and ſerved them as he had done *Baſſora*, and then returned to *Jeruſalem* loaden with ſpoil and a vaſt number of delivered *Jews*. *Simon*, *Judas*'s brother, was as ſucceſsful in *Galilee*; but *Joſeph* and his brother going againſt *Jamnia*, were defeated by *Gorgias*, having 2000 men killed. *Judas* goes againſt *Hebron*, the metropolis of *Idumea*, takes and demoliſhes it, with all the neighbouring towns, from whence he carried off great plunder; he then went through the land of the *Philiſtines*, deſtroyed their fortreſſes, and all their altars and groves dedicated to idolatry	IV	66
4143	2836	163	*Perſes* is intirely routed at *Pydna* by the *Roman* conſul *Paulus Æmilius*, who killing 20,000 of his troops, *&c.* then ſhips himſelf and money (amounting to 2000 talents) for *Samo-Thrace*: *Æmilius* gives the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent country to the horſe, but would not ſuffer the city to be meddled with; and all the royal treaſure he carried to *Rome*. In two days all *Macedon*, except *Pydna*, ſubmitted to *Rome*. *Perſes* is taken priſoner by the *Roman* admiral. *Æmilius* at *Amphipolis* changes the *Macedonian* government into a number of republicks, then ſtript the kingdom of its wealth, and returned to *Italy* with the two kings, *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, priſoners, who graced the conſul's triumph	III	498
4143	2836	163	*Demetrius*, ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, who was kept as a hoſtage at *Rome*, making his eſcape from thence, upon his arrival in *Syria*, is univerſally acknowledged king; and *Lyſias* and his ward *Antiochus Eupator* being delivered to him, he orders them both to be put to death. He is honoured by the *Babylonians* with the ſirname of *Soter*, and is alſo acknowledged king by the ſenate of *Rome*	III	590
4143	2836	163	*Demetrius* ſets up and ſupports one *Holofernes*, a pretended child of the queen of *Cappadocia*, in oppoſition to *Ariarathes*, the true heir	III	592
4143	2836	163	*Lyſias* the *Syrian*, who had uſurped the regency, comes into *Judea* with an army of 80,000 men, all the cavalry of the kingdom, and 80 elephants, and beſieged *Bethſura*; but being defeated by *Judas*, with the loſs of 11,000 foot and 1600 horſe, ſtrikes up a peace with him, by which the *Jews* were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion every where; but the other neighbouring countries being diſſatisfied with it, enter *Judea* with 120,000 foot and 5000 horſe, under the command of *Timotheus*, and put all to fire and ſword; but *Judas* attacked him, and killed 30,000 of them, and purſuing them comes up with them again at the city of *Carnion*, many of them taking ſanctuary in the temple of *Atargatis*, he conſumed it and them with fire, and put all in the town to the ſword, to the number of 25,000, and razed the city to the ground; after which he made himſelf maſter of *Idumea*, and the *Philiſtines* country, and took *Azotus*, or *Aſhdod*; then returning to *Jeruſalem*, he beſieged the *Syrian* gariſon in the fortreſs there, to whoſe relief came 100,000 foot, 20,000 horſe, 32 elephants, and 300 chariots of war, the king in perſon, with *Lyſias* the regent: They firſt beſieged *Bethſura*, where *Judas* attacks them in the night, kills 4000, and puts the whole in confuſion, and retires without the loſs of one man; but after another engagement, *Judas* having but a ſmall army, was obliged to retire to *Jeruſalem*, and *Bethſura* forced to ſurrender, from whence *Antiochus* marches to *Jeruſalem*. In the mean time *Philip*, whom the late king had appointed regent and guardian of his ſon, raiſed a great army, and ſeized *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, and took upon him the government of the kingdom; upon this *Lyſias* makes peace with the *Jews*, and goes againſt *Philip*	III	588
4143	2836	163	*Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*, offers the *Roman* ambaſſadors an army to protect their perſons, and to ſupport them in their pretended regencies, but they refuſe		

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			it, and go unarmed in the ſenate's name to *Laodicea* (a ſea-port town) and cauſed the *Syrian* ſhips to be burnt, and the elephants diſabled, for which *Octavius* was killed in the *Gymnaſium* there by an *African*. *Demetrius*, now at *Rome*, petitions the ſenate a ſecond time, but is refuſed; upon which the ſenate ſends three ambaſſadors into *Syria* to watch the event there. Upon *Demetrius*'s landing in *Tripolis*, he is acknowledged and proclaimed king; and he gave out that the *Roman* ſenate had ſent him, and that they would ſupport him; upon which all the army and officers came over to him; the city and ſtrong holds ſtrive who ſhall firſt ſubmit; ſo that in a few days the whole kingdom was his: *Antioch* threw open her gates to him, and joyfully invited him to the palace of his anceſtors. *Lyſias* and *Eupator* are ſeized and delivered to him, and both put to death. *Demetrius* immediately delivers the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*, by putting the firſt to death and baniſhing the laſt, for which he is called *Soter*.	III	591
4143	2836	163	This year *Terence* the famous dramatick poet was in his higheſt reputation at *Rome*.	IV	765
4143	2836	163	*Paulus Æmilius* being one of this year's cenſors, by the cenſus taken 337,522 citizens are found in *Rome* fit to bear arms. Soon after he died in a private ſtation, very poor, notwithſtanding the large ſums he had taken from the enemy and brought into the publick treaſury.	IV	765
4143	2836	163	The conſul *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* goes with an army againſt the revolted *Ligurians*; and the conſul *M. Juventus Thalna* ſails into *Corſica*, to quell a rebellion there, both which were eaſily effected.	IV	765
4144	2837	162	The *Rhodians* having taken *Calynda*, a famous city of *Caria*, ſend to offer it to the *Roman* ſenate, and ſo made up all differences between them.	III	157
4144	2837	162	The *Roman* ſenate, inſtead of making *Illyricum* and *Macedon* two *Roman* provinces, change them into two republicks, and ſend 10 commiſſioners to ſettle them. *Æmilius* plunders *Epirus*: When *Anicius*, *Octavius*, and *Æmilius* returned to *Rome*, they were all honoured with triumphs, of which *Æmilius*'s was by much the fineſt that *Rome* had ever ſeen. *Rome* was ſo enriched by the ſpoils brought from *Macedon*, that ſhe had no occaſion to tax the people from this time to the time of *Auguſtus*.	II	157
4144	2837	162	*Demetrius* (now king of *Syria*) ſends preſents to *Rome*, which are accepted, and gets himſelf acknowledged king of *Syria* by the ſenate.	III	592
4145	2838	161	*Demetrius* king of *Syria* by the wicked miſrepreſentations of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, who went to *Antioch* on purpoſe to make *Demetrius* large preſents, and to complain of *Nicanor* the *Syrian* general, who had concluded a peace with the *Jews*, ſends poſitive commands for his general *Nicanor* to break the peace he had concluded with *Judas*, and not to ſheath his ſword till he had killed him.	IV	72
4146	2839	160	*Nicanor* marches into the neighbourhood of *Bethoron* with an army of 35,000 men to attack *Judas*, where they engage; *Nicanor* is killed, and his army routed, and the *Jews* kill them all in their flight, ſo that not one returned to *Antioch*: This victory was obtained on the 13th day of *Adar* (*February*) which is kept as a feſtival annually ever ſince by the name of *the Day of Nicar*.		
4146	2839	160	*Alcimus*, a *Jewiſh* apoſtate, being general of the *Syrian* army and governor of *Jeruſalem*, was ſtruck with the dead palſy, and died immediately, after he had blaſphamed the *Jewiſh* religion, and ordered the wall of the temple to be demoliſhed.	IV	76
4146	2839	160	*Judas*, general of the *Jews* in *Judea*, ſends *Eupolemus* ſon of *John*, and *Jaſon* the ſon of *Eleazer* to *Rome*, with propoſals of an alliance, *&c.* which being accepted, the ſenate made a decree, and ſent it ingraven upon copper to *Jeruſalem*, importing, that the *Jews* were thenceforth acknowledged as friends and allies of the *Romans*, that both nations ſhould ſuccour each other, and their allies, *&c.* and they ſent a letter to *Demetrius* king of *Syria*, enjoining him to forbear hoſtilities againſt the *Jews*, threatning him with an invaſion by land and ſea if he did not comply with their orders.	IV	74
4146	2839	160	*Demetrius* ſends *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* into *Gallilee*, with an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe, and kills a great many *Jews*; then goes to *Eleaſa*, where *Judas* had only 3000 men, who all deſerted him but 800, with which he was forced to engage *Bacchides*, but being overcome with numbers he was ſlain, in the 6th year of his generalſhip and the 3d year of his high prieſthood, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Jonathan* (ſirnamed *Apphus*) but the people through fear and famine ſubmitted to *Bacchides* as their governor, upon which broke out a terrible perſecution.	IV	75
4147	2840	159	*Demetrius* king of *Syria* having offered his ſiſter *Laodicea* to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* for his wife, which he not accepting, *Demetrius* ſets up one *Holofernes* as the right heir to the crown of *Cappadocia*: He goes with his army and drives *Ariarathes* out of *Cappadocia*, and ſet *Holofernes* on the throne, notwithſtanding he was aſſiſted by *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* by expreſs order of the ſenate. *Ariarathes* flew to *Rome* for ſafety, whither *Holofernes* having ſent preſents and ambaſſadors, they are ordered to reign jointly; but *Attalus* aſſiſting *Ariarathes*, drives *Holofernes* out of the kingdom, and *Ariarathes* reigns alone, and *Holofernes* retires to *Antioch* to his patron *Demetrius*,	III	766
4148	2841	158	*Jonathan* the *Jewiſh* general diſcovers a plot laid againſt him and his friends, to ſeize and deliver them into the hands of *Bacchides*; he gets the chief of the conſpirators and puts 50 of them to death. *Bacchides* beſieges him in *Bethbaſi*, with a very numerous army: *Jonathan* and his brother *Simon* by frequent ſallies cut off great part of it, and at laſt routed him. *Bacchides* puts many of thoſe to death who had invited him out of *Syria*. Upon this a peace is concluded, and *Bacchides* returns to *Antioch*, and *Jonathan* is appointed governor of		

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			Judea, and settled in *Mickmash*, and made very ſevere examples of the apoſtate *Jews*.		
4149	2842	157	The *Dalmatians* bordering upon *Illyricum* made incurſions and committed great robberies there, though tributary to *Rome*: *Famnius* being ſent ambaſſador from the ſenate, they would ſcarce give him audience.	IV	77
4149	2842	157	*Maſſiniſſa* having invaded *Tyſca*, a rich province of *Carthage*, ten commiſſioners are ſent by the ſenate to ſettle the diſpute; but the *Carthaginians* appealing to the ſettlement formerly made, *Cato* becomes their enemy, and always prompted the ſenate to a war.	IV	766
4150	2843	156	The conſul *C. Marcius Figulus* having influenced the ſenate to proclaim war againſt the *Dalmatians*, goes againſt them, and is defeated.	IV	766
4151	2844	155	The conſul *Scipio Naſica* beſieges and takes *Delminium*, the metropolis of *Dalmatia*, and then brought the whole country under ſubjection, all in one campaign.	IV	766
4152	2845	154	The conſul *L. Poſthumius Albinus* goes into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to aſſiſt the inhabitants of *Marſeilles* againſt the *Ligurians*, defeats them and the *Deceatæ*, and reduces their whole country, comprehending the preſent territory of *Antibes* and *Graſſe*: This was the firſt *Roman* conqueſt beyond the *Alps*	IV	766
4153	2846	153	*Demetrius* having given himſelf up to pleaſure, particularly drunkenneſs, neglects the government, and gains the ill-will of his people; upon which one *Alexander Balas* is ſet up by the *Romans*, *Egyptians*, *&c.* to be the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who lays claim to the crown at the head of a great army, upon which *Demetrius* engages him, is overcome, and loſes his life and kingdom.	IV	767
4153	2846	153	*Q. Fulvius Nobilior* and *T. Annius Lucus* being choſe conſuls, the exigencies of ſtate requiring it, they enter upon their office the 1ſt of *January*, which from this time forward was obſerved inſtead of the 15th of *March*, which uſed to be the day. *Fulvius* was ſent into *Spain*, where all things were in an uproar, where being arrived, he marched againſt the *Segedani* and *Aravacæ*; their general *Carus* with 25,000 men lay in ambuſh for the conſul in a wood, ſurprized him, and killed 6000 legionaries; but purſuing them too eagerly, the *Roman* horſe attacked him and killed him, and killed 6000 of his men. The *Spaniards* having choſe two new generals, are again attacked near *Numantia*, and overthrown by the elephants ſent by *Maſſiniſſa*; the conſul endeavoured to ſcale the walls, but one of the elephants being wounded, made ſuch a hideous noiſe, that the reſt turned upon the *Roman* army and put them in diſorder; the *Numantians* ſally out at the ſame time, and defeat the conſul's troops, and kill 4000 of them: After this defeat great numbers of his men periſhed with cold, want and fatigue, he keeping them encamped all the winter.	III	596
4153	2846	153	The *Roman* prætor *Mummius* engaging the *Luſitanians*, puts them to the rout; but purſuing them diſorderly they rally, kill 9000 of his men, and take and plunder his camp: Being now reduced to 5000, the *Romans* wait in an advantageous poſt to retrieve their honour, from whence they cut off a *Luſitanian* detachment, and recover the *Roman* ſtandards.	IV	767
4153	2846	153	*Demetrius* king of *Perſia*, to prevent *Jonathan* the *Jewiſh* general's ſiding with *Alexander Balas* againſt him, offers him by letter great preſents to accept him as his friend and ally, to give the *Jews* liberty all over his dominions to exerciſe their own religion unmoleſted, to ſet free what hoſtages and captives he had, *&c.* upon which *Jonathan* repairs to *Jeruſalem*, repairs both the city and temple, *&c.* *Balas* writes to him, offers him the high-prieſthood, and ſends him a purple robe and golden crown, which he accepted and joined him.	IV	767
4154	2847	152	*Andriſcus*, a native of *Adramytium*, pretends ſo be *Philip*, one of the late *Perſes*'s ſons, ſets up, and is acknowledged king of *Macedon*; but after various battles and ſucceſſes, is at laſt led captive to *Rome*, where he was a principal trophy in *Metellus* the conſul's triumph.	IV	78
4154	2847	152	*M. Claudius Marcellus*, goes into *Spain* with 8000 foot and 500 horſe, was attacked, but put the *Spaniards* to flight, and made dreadful havock of the fugitives, *&c.* They ſue for peace, which he grants, but the ſenate refuſes to confirm it.	III	501
4154	2847	152	A war breaks out in *Africa* between *Maſſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, and *Archobarzanes*, king of part of *Numidia*, joins the *Carthaginians*. The *Roman* ſenate ſend *Scipio Naſica* to compoſe the differences, which he does, and *Maſſiniſſa* was ordered to reſtore the lands that occaſioned the quarrel; but *Guiſco*, a *Carthaginian* ſenator, ſtirs up the multitude, ſo that *Naſica* was forced to fly to *Rome*, and 40 *Carthaginian* ſenators that approved the peace were put to death.	IV	768
4155	2848	151	The tribunes of the people of *Rome* went ſo far as to impriſon the two conſuls *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *R Poſthumius Albinus*, for forcing ſome *Roman* youths to ſerve in the army deſigned for *Spain*; but *Scipio Æmilianus*, ſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, offering his ſervice, the reſt followed: But both the conſuls in their ſeveral provinces acted moſt ſhamefully, covetous, mercenary, and vile.	IV	768
4156	2849	150	*Alexander Balas* (now king of *Syria*) invites *Jonathan* the *Jewiſh* chief to his marriage, where he was received with great reſpect at *Ptolemais*, when the king cloathed him in purple, ſet him by him, and declared him generaliſſimo of *Judea*, confirmed his former grants, *&c.* The *Jews* now had reſpite every where, and in *Egypt Onias* and *Doſitheus* were the king's chief favourites, ſo that *Onias* built a temple, and was high prieſt thereof, *&c.*	IV	769
4156	2849	150	A bloody war breaks out between *Maſſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*; a battle is fought, wherein the *Carthaginians* loſe 50,000 men, *&c.*	IV	79
4156	2849	150	*P. Juventus Thalna* and *C. Cælius* are ſent by the *Roman* ſenate againſt the new king of *Macedon*; they engage, and the *Romans* are entirely routed, and *Juventus* and *Cælius* ſlain; and thus *Macedon* was again freed, and a paſſage opened into *Theſſaly*, which he united to *Macedon*.	IV III	770 504

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4156	2849	150	Three hundred of the exiles of *Achaia* return home from *Rome*, out of a thouſand, after ſeventeen years impriſonment.	II	690
4157	2850	149	The *Carthaginians* careſs *Philip*, now king of *Macedon*, and deſire his aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, which he promiſes, but neglects to perform it, and gives himſelf up to cruelty and vice, plundering his people, and murdering all that diſliked him or that he diſliked.	III	504
4157	2850	149	The *Romans* take the advantage of the *Carthaginians*, diſtreſs and declare war againſt them: *Utica*, the ſecond city in *Africa* ſubmits; the conſuls *M. Manilius Nepos* and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* go againſt them with 80,000 foot, 4000 horſe, and a fleet of 50 quinquerems, *&c.*	VII	97
4157	2850	149	The *Carthaginians* ſend ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion to *Rome*, who firſt require 300 young noblemen for hoſtages, which being delivered to the conſuls at *Lilybæum*, were told, when they came to *Utica* they ſhould know what was further required of them; accordingly, when they come there, the *Romans* demanded, 1. A ſupply of corn for their troops. 2. To ſurrender all their trirems, and military machines, and bring in all their arms to the *Roman* camp, which were all comply'd with; and then *Cenſorinus* ordered them to demoliſh their city, but they reſolved rather to die than yield to this. *Manilius* attacks *Carthage* by land, and *Marcius* by ſea, but *Aſdrubal* with an army of 20,000 men, annoyed *Manilius* very much, ſo that the ſiege went on ſlowly; but *Manilius* took the ſtrong city of *Tezaga*, killed 12,000, and took 6000 priſoners.	VII	110
4147	2850	149	*Maſſiniſſa* approaching his end, deſires *Æmilianus* to aſſiſt his three ſons, *Micipſa*, *Guluſſa*, and *Maſtanabal*, with his advice, and to divide his dominions among them, which he performed in the moſt prudent and equitable manner.	VII	126
4157	2850	149	*Æmilianus* by his addreſs gained *Phameas*, the general of the *Carthaginian* horſe, to come over to the *Romans*, with 2200 horſe under his command.	VII	101
4157	2850	149	The *Achæans* quarrelling with the *Lacedæmonians*, ſend *Dinocrites*, their prætor, againſt them, who defeats them, and kills 1000 of their men.	II	692
4158	2851	148	*Apollonius*, governor of *Cælo-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, revolts to *Demetrius*, ſon of the late king of *Syria*, in oppoſition to *Alexander Balas*, now king: *Jonathan* the *Jewiſh* chief goes againſt him; but *Joppa* ſhutting its gates againſt him, he took it in ſight of the enemy: He then engaged the army and routed it; the foot fled to *Azotus*, and took ſanctuary in the temple of *Dagon*; the *Jews* purſue them, take the town, and deſtroy it and the temple by fire. Thus he killed 8000.	IV	80
4158	2851	148	*Metellus* is ſent by the ſenate againſt *Philip* king of *Macedon*; they engage ſeveral times with various ſucceſs, but at laſt *Metellus* routed him, and he flies to the *Thracians*, where he raiſes another army and engages *Metellus* again, and is again overthrown with great ſlaughter, then he flew to *Byzas*, a *Thracian* prince, who delivered him up to *Metellus*, who was honoured with a triumph at his return to *Rome*, at which *Philip* was led. *Metellus* appointed new magiſtrates, and wholly changed the *Macedonian* government.	III	505
4158	2851	148	Soon after the taking *Philip* priſoner, one *Alexander* ſets himſelf up, pretending to be another of *Perſeus*'s ſons, but is quickly defeated, and *Macedonia* declared a *Roman* province.	III	505
4158	2851	148	*Diæus* the *Achean* prætor, at the requeſt of *Metellus*, makes a truce with the *Lacedæmonians*, which *Menalcidas* their general breaks; the *Spartans* would have puniſhed him for it, but he killed himſelf to prevent it.	II	692
4158	2851	148	The *Roman* deputies or commiſſioners landing at *Corinth*, orders *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Heraclea*, and *Orchomenes* to be ſeparated from the general or *Achæan* league, and to be governed by their own laws independently of the confederacy. The populace enraged, fall upon all the *Lacedæmonians* they could find, and either ſtript them or put them to death; thoſe who flew to the commiſſioners for refuge were dragged out from thence, though the deputies threatned them with the higheſt reſentment of *Rome*. Upon their return they did all they could to inſtigate the ſenate againſt them, who thought fit only to ſend three new deputies for the preſent.	II	693
4158	2851	148	The conſul *Calpurnius Piſo* inveſts *Clupea*, but is obliged to abandon it with ſhame and diſgrace, the inhabitants by frequent ſallies having killed great numbers of his men. He then went to *Neapolis*, which, though a neutral town, and even under the protection of *Rome*, he plundered, *&c.*	IV	774
4159	2852	147	*Metellus* ſends deputies to *Corinth*, to prevail with the *Achæans* to be quiet with *Lacedæmon*, who are ill treated and drove away with all manner of affronts, and *Critolaus* their prætor declares open war with the *Lacedæmonians*, and conſequently with *Rome*, under whoſe protection they are. *Metellus* engages *Critolaus*, kills him and many others, takes 1000 priſoners, and diſperſes the reſt, then cuts 1000 *Arcadians* to pieces. *Diæus* the prætor ſucceeding *Critolaus*, orders 12,000 ſlaves to be freed and armed, all the jewels, and gold and ſilver ornaments to be brought in to raiſe money, *&c.*	II	696
4159	2852	147	The *Roman* prætor *Metellus* coming to *Thebes*, found *Pythias* the governor and moſt of the inhabitants were fled, ſo that he entered without oppoſition, uſed the people with great clemency, and ſaved the temples and houſes from deſtruction. The people of *Megara* opened their gates to him, and put him in full poſſeſſion of *Achaia*. *Metellus* ſends three deputies to *Corinth* to treat of peace, but *Diæus* impriſoned them and condemned them to die.	II	697
4159	2852	147	The conſul *Scipio Æmilianus* takes *Megalia*, a part of *Carthage*, which ſo enraged *Aſdrubal* the governor, that he cauſed all the *Roman* priſoners which he had to be thrown headlong from the ramparts, in the ſight of the *Roman* army, after having cut off their hands and feet, and pulled out their eyes and tongues.	IV	776

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4159	2852	147	*Lælius*, lieutenant of *Æmilius*, engages *Diogenes* the *Carthaginian* general at *Nepherus*, overcomes, kills and takes 80,000 of his men: Upon this the *Africans* revolt to the *Romans*, who take the city of *Nepheris*, and soon after *Carthage* was taken by storm. *Asdrubal* and many others submitted to the *Romans*, but his wife and 900 deserters committed themselves to the flames, and thereby destroyed themselves, the citadel, and the famous temple of *Æsculapius*: The plunder and spoil was past all belief.		
4159	2852	147	A new pretended *Philip* sets up for the throne of *Macedon*, and makes a great progress, many of the people and cities joining him. *Junius Tremelius* is sent against him with a great *Roman* army; they engage, and *Philip* is defeated and slain, and *Macedonia* made a *Roman* province, which *D. Junius Syllanus* governing with great severity and injustice, the *Macedonians* accuse him to the senate, who cite him to appear; but *Titus Manlius Torquatus* his father got the matter to be referred to him, and to be heard at his own house; the deputies appear, and the father condemns the son, who soon after hanged himself.	VII	104
4160	2853	146	*Ptolemy Philometor* gives his daughter *Cleopatra* to wife to *Demetrius*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*, and goes against *Balas* near *Antioch*; they engage, where *Balas* is entirely overthrown, and escaping with only 500 horse, goes into *Arabia*, where he is murdered by *Zabdiel*. *Ptolemy* died of his wounds, and *Demetrius* ascended the throne of *Syria*, and called himself *Nicanor*, or the conqueror. *Jonathan* the *Jewish* chief being cited by *Demetrius* to *Ptolemais*, went, and there so answered the complaints exhibited against him, that the king annexed to *Judea* the three governments of *Apherama*, *Lydda*, and *Ramatha*, and freed the country from all future taxes for 300 talents ready money.	III	507
4160	2853	146	The consul *Mummius* comes before *Corinth* with a *Roman* army, consisting of 23,000 foot and 3500 horse, besides a large number of *Cretan* archers. *Dæus* comes out, is coaxed into a snare, and is entirely defeated; upon which he runs full speed to his house in *Megalopolis*, sets it on fire, throws his wife and children into the flames, and poisons himself; the inhabitants fly out of the city, the *Romans* enter it, put what men they find in it to the sword, and sell the women and children for slaves; then the city was ransacked by the soldiers, and fire being put to all the corners of the city at the same time, reduced it all to ashes, and afterwards the walls were demolished: Thus *Corinth* was destroyed 950 years after its foundation by *Aletes* the son of *Hippotes*. Soon after commissioners came from *Rome*, who abolished popular government in all the cities of *Greece*, and appointed governors under the *Roman* prætor, who was sent annually. Thus *Greece* was reduced to a *Roman* province. *Mummius* at his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, adorned with the finest paintings, statues, *&c.* of *Greece*, to an immense value.	III	601
4161	2854	145	*Demetrius* king of *Syria* being angry with the *Antiochians*, demanded their arms, upon which the inhabitants revolt, and besiege the king in his palace with an army of 120,000 men. *Jonathan* comes with 3000 men to assist *Demetrius*; they sally out, and kill 100,000, and set fire to the city; upon which the rest submit, and a pardon is granted them, notwithstanding which *Demetrius* put many to death, confiscated their estates, and oppressed them with all manner of cruelty, and then breaks with *Jonathan*, demanding taxes, *&c.*	II	700
4162	2855	144	*Viriathus* the *Lusitanian* general had gained great advantages for seven years together in *Spain*, over the several prætors, in three pitched battles and several skirmishes; but this year *Q. Fabius Æmilianus* gained two victories over him, but the senate did not grant him a triumph, it being customary not to allow that honour unless the general had killed at least 5000 of the enemy in one battle.	III	602
4162	2855	144	*Tryphon* comes into *Syria*, with *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander Balas*, and claims the crown, stiling himself guardian and protector of the young king. *Demetrius* being hated, is deserted by many, and forced to come to a battle, is entirely routed, all his elephants taken, and he forced within the walls of *Seleucia* for shelter. *Antiochus* goes strait to *Antioch*, whose gates being opened to him, he mounts the throne of *Syria*, and has the firname of *Theos* given him.	IV	780
4163	2855	144	*Antiochus Theos* king of *Syria* confirms to *Jonathan* the *Jewish* chief all the former grants of favour, and adds several others to them; he made *Simon* his brother general of all his forces, and governor of all the sea coasts. *Jonathan* and his brother crossed the *Jordan* at the head of their troops, and defeated *Demetrius*'s forces, killing 3000, *&c.* They sent an embassy to *Rome* to renew their alliance with the senate, ordering them at their return to do the same with *Lacedæmon* and all *Greece*.	III	603
4163	2856	143	*Tryphon* prevails upon *Jonathan* to disband his troops, and wheedled him to *Ptolemais* with only 1000 men, which being done, *Tryphon* murders all his retinue, and seizes him, demands a large ransom for him and his two sons hostages, upon the receipt whereof he murdered him and his sons also. *Simon* his brother is declared commander and high priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*: Immediately he raised a considerable army, and finished the walls of the city; then sends to renew the alliance with *Rome*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Greece*, which was readily complied with; then sends to *Demetrius*, offers to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, and presents him with a gold crown; *Demetrius* accepts the conditions, ratifies all his dignities, and stiled him prince and high-priest of the *Jews*, which the *Sanhedrim* also confirmed to him, and his children after him.	IV	82
4164	2857	142	The *Syrian* garrison in the strong fortress of *Acra*, after two years siege, capitulates and marches out; *Simon* and his men enter, with palms in their hands, trumpets and other instruments sounding, accompanied with songs, *&c.* he first ordered it to be lustrated and cleansed from all idols, but afterwards he resolved	IV	83

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			to demoliſh it, and the hill upon which it ſtood, which took up three years to compleat.	IV	86
4164	2857	142	*Metellus* gained ſo vaſt a reputation by his ſtrict adherence to military diſcipline and generoſity to captives, that many places ſubmit voluntarily to him; and he admits the *Nertobrigians* in *Hither Spain* into an alliance with *Rome*; but at the ſame time the conſul *Servilianus* was defeated in *Further Spain*, by *Viriathus*, with the loſs of 3000 men.	IV	781
4164	2857	142	*Metellus* goes into *Further Spain* in the winter, and recovers *Eſcadia*, *Gemella*, *Obolcula*, &c. put ſome of the head revolters to death, and ſold 9000 for ſlaves; but hearing his ſucceſſor was near at hand, was ſo exaſperated with not having the command till the war was finiſhed, that he disbanded the beſt part of his troops, exhauſted the magazines, let the elephants die, and broke and threw into the river the arrows deſigned for the *Cretan* archers.	IV	782
4165	2858	141	The conſul *Pompeius Rufus* ſucceeding *Metellus* in the command of the army, was offered very advantageous terms by the *Termantians* and *Numantines*; but he inſiſting upon their delivering up their arms, a new war was begun: He beſieges *Numantia*, but is forced to raiſe it, and then goes towards *Termantia*, where his ſucceſs is worſe, loſing abundance of his men. In *Further Spain Viriathus* overcame the conſul *Servilianus*, and concludes a peace with him.	IV	783
4165	2858	141	Upon the death of *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, his brother *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, king of *Cyrene*, &c. marries *Cleopatra*, widow of the deceaſed, and immediately puts her ſon *Philometor* to death, in his mother's arms, on the marriage day, and continues murdering all thoſe who diſapproved of the fact, and ever after behaved in the moſt cruel and wicked manner of any of his predeceſſors.	III	546
4166	2859	140	*Simon* renews his alliance with *Rome*, and ſends a preſent of a golden ſhield weighing 1000 *Minæ*, (about 60,000 *l.* of our money;) the ſenate writes to the kings of *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, and *Cappadocia* in their favour, &c.	IV	87
4166	2859	140	*Q. Servilius Cæpio* breaks the peace with *Viriathus*, and at firſt reduces him to extream difficulties, and then influences with large promiſes *Audax*, *Ditalio*, and *Minur*, his favourites, to murder him; which they performing, he denies them their reward. One *Tantalus* ſucceeds him, who beſieging *Saguntum*, was ſurprized by *Cæpio*, defeated, and forced to ſurrender at diſcretion; which put an end to this troubleſome war, after it had continued 14 years.	IV	784
4167	2860	139	The *Roman* ſenate unjuſtly breaks the peace that *Pompey* had made, notwithſtanding they had delivered up the deſerters, haſtages, and money agreed upon; but *Popilius* who came with the *Roman* army againſt them, is ſo weakened by the defeat they give him, that he could not attempt any thing further this campaign.	IV	784
4867	2860	139	*Cendebeus*, governor of all the coaſts of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*, comes with a great army, commits depredations in *Judea*; but *John* and *Judas*, the ſons of *Simon*, going againſt him, engage and rout him with a great ſlaughter.	IV	88
4167	2860	139	*Cleopatra* brings forth a ſon while his father *Phyſcon* was performing certain religious *Egyptian* rites at *Memphis*, and he called his name *Memphites*. At his return to *Alexandria*, he gave his guards (conſiſting of *Greek* and *Aſiatick* mercenaries) leave to plunder and murder the inhabitants of that city at their pleaſure, who accordingly uſed them with inexpreſſible cruelties; thoſe who eſcaped death fled away; ſo that the city was uninhabited; to ſupply it with people he invited ſtrangers from all parts to come and live there, and gave them the former citizens houſes to dwell in; and endowed them with large privileges: But ſoon after he uſed theſe new inhabitants as ill as he had done the former. He fell in love with his wife's daughter, named alſo *Cleopatra*, firſt debauched her, then divorced her mother and married her. Hated by all, the murmurs of the people made him dread an inſurrection; to prevent which, as the young people were aſſembled in the *Gymnaſium* to ſee and perform the publick exerciſes, he cauſed it to be ſet on fire, and placed his mercenaries at the avenues, ſo that what eſcaped the fire fell by the ſword: The inhabitants run to the palace ſet it on fire, and reduced it to aſhes; but *Phyſcon*, his young wife, and *Memphitis* his ſon eſcaped to the iſland of *Cyprus*; and the *Alexandrians* ſet his divorced wife *Cleopatra* upon the throne: He ſends for his ſon, who was governor of *Cyrene*, and when he came to *Cyprus* to him, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated; upon which the people pull down and daſh to pieces all the ſtatues that had been erected to him, and he in requital cauſed his young ſon to be killed, cut to pieces and put in a box, and ſo ſent to *Alexandria* to his mother for a preſent on her birth-day, which ſtill greatly heightened the reſentment of the people.	III	657
3168	2861	138	*Attalus Philometor*, ſon of *Eumenes*, ſucceeds his uncle *Attalus* in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and gives himſelf up to all manner of cruelties, cauſing moſt of his relations and beſt friends to be murdered, &c. He became melancholly, and ſhut himſelf up, and after a reign of five years died, and left the *Romans* heirs of all his goods, in conſequence of which they ſeized his kingdom, &c. and made it a province under the name of *Aſia Propria*.	III	782
4168	2861	138	The rebellion of the ſlaves in *Sicily* breaks out, who chooſe one *Eunus* for their king (who took the name of *Antiochus*) under whom they commit extravagant cruelties, &c. and defeat *Manlius* the governor of *Sicily*, and take and plunder his camp: The like happened to *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Caius Calpurnius Piſo* the two following years, by which means the rebels grew very ſtrong, and were reinforced by one *Cleon*, a native of *Cilicia*, with 5000 men, ſo that when the prætor *L. Plautius Hypſæus* landed in *Sicily*, he found 200,000 of them in arms, under ſundry leaders. *Hypſæus* no ſooner appeared in the field with his 8000 men, but he was attacked and defeated; and ſo they went on continually for many years, taking and ſubduing all before them.	IV	796
4169	2862	137	*Brutus* paſſes the *Minius* in *Further Spain*, enters the country of the *Bracarini*, and though oppoſed with the utmoſt bravery, both by men and women, yet he		

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			at laſt conquers the whole country. But *Mancinus* the *Roman* conſul decamping from *Numantia*, is purſued but by 4000 *Numantians*, and has 20,0000 men killed, his camp taken, and the reſt diſperſed. A peace is concluded, to which the conſul, quæſtor, and all the chief officers ſwear for the inviolable performance.		
4170	2863	136	*Simon*, with his two ſons *John* and *Judas* being invited to an entertainment by his ſon-in-law *Ptolemy*, (whom he had made governor of *Jericho*) the ſon of *Abadus*, they going, after eating and drinking very friendly and chearfully, are treacherouſly murdered by ſome ruffians *Ptolemy* had hired for that purpoſe: *Hyrcan*, another ſon of *Simon*'s, was immediately proclaimed prince and high-prieſt of the *Jews*, who fortified the city and raiſed a good army.	IV	387
4171	2864	135	*Antiochus* comes with a great army, and drives *Hyrcan* into the city of *Jeruſalem* which he beſieged, and compelled the *Jews* to accept of a peace upon the conditions of ſurrendering up their arms; demoliſhing their city wall, paying a tribute for *Joppa*, *&c.* that the fortreſs of *Acra* ſhould be rebuilt, and that they ſhould receive a *Syrian* gariſon: To get off the laſt, *Hyrcan* paid 500 talents. 300 down, 200 ſome time after. Hoſtages are given for the due performance of this peace.	IV	89
4171	2864	135	*Brutus* makes great conqueſts in *Luſitania*, and penetrates into the country of the *Callaici*, engages an army of 60,000 *Spaniards*, kills 50,000, takes 6000 priſoners, and almoſt extirpates the whole nation. The *Vardæi*, a people of *Illyricum*, revolt, and refuſe all amicable meaſures; upon which the conſul *Flaccus* goes againſt and effectually reduces them, and has the honour of a triumph for his ſervices.	IV	90
4172	2865	134	*Jugurtha* is ſent by *Mitipſal* with an army of *Numidians* to the aſſiſtance of the conſul *Scipio* into *Spain*, where he contracts an intimacy with *Marius*.	IV	786
4173	2866	133	*Scipio* beſieges *Numantia* (a city difficult of acceſs, ſituate on a hill, with large fields within its walls, and about three miles in compaſs) with 60,000 men. The *Numantines* ſue for peace; *Scipio* requires them to deliver up the city, themſelves and arms, at diſcretion; the *Lutians* would have come to their aſſiſtance, but *Scipio* being informed of it, demanded the ringleaders, who to the number of 400 young men were delivered up, whoſe right-hands he cut off: The city reduced by famine ſurrenders, and all *Spain* ſoon after ſubmits.	IV	786
4173	2866	133	*Tib. Gracchus*, tribune of the people, endeavouring to put the *Licinian* law in execution, which forbids any one holding more than 500 acres of land) a great ſtruggle and riot being ſeveral times raiſed, he was at laſt killed, and 300 of his friends, and their bodies thrown into the *Tiber*: *Caius Lilius* was ſhut up in a caſk with ſnakes and vipers, and ſo periſhed.	IV	788
4173	2866	133	*L. Calpurnius Piſo* the *Roman* conſul goes againſt the rebel-ſlaves in *Sicily*, and attacks them under the walls of *Meſſana*, which they had inveſted, put them to the rout, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and killed 6000 of them upon the ſpot.	IV	793
4174	2867	132	The conſul *P. Rupilius* goes into *Sicily*, beſieges the ſlaves in *Tauromínium*, which being of a difficult acceſs on all ſides, he reduced it to ſuch ſtraits by famine that they eat one another: At laſt, the city being betrayed by a *Syrian* ſlave named *Serapion*, the conſul ordered the governor and all his gariſon to be thrown headlong from the top of the rock. From hence the conſul went to *Euna* where king *Eunus* was, which after an obſtinate defence was treacherouſly delivered up to the conſul, who put all the ſlaves to the ſword: In theſe two places 20,000 rebels were killed; *Eunus* eſcaping with 600 guards, being ſurrounded by the *Romans*, kill one another; but *Eunus* was taken alive, who ſoon after died of ſickneſs in priſon.	IV	796
4174	2867	132	Upon the death of *Attalus Philometor*, *Ariſtonicus* (the ſon of *Eumenes* brother to the deceaſed king by an *Epheſian* courtezan) claims the crown of *Pergamus*, and with a great army ſettles himſelf in the kingdom.	III	783
4175	2868	131	*Rupilius* continuing in *Sicily* in the quality of proconſul, retook all the cities from the rebels, delivered up the ſlaves to their maſters, and drew up a new code of laws for the *Sicilians*, that were ever after obſerved: Thus having ſettled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*.	III	784
4175	2868	131	*P. Licinius Craſſus*, who was *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Valerius Flaccus*, who was *Flamen Martialis*, (or the high-prieſt of *Mars*) two perſons devoted to religion, were for the firſt time choſe conſuls; and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſirnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius*, both plebeians, were alſo for the firſt time choſe cenſors, which for 220 years before, were one a patrician and the other a plebeian: They found 317,823 men in *Rome* able to bear arms. Theſe cenſors got a law paſſed obliging all *Romans* to marry at a certain age.	IV	796
4175	2868	131	*Craſſus* the *Roman* conſul, with the united forces of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bythinia* and *Paphlagonia*, goes againſt *Ariſtonicus*, who had ſeized the crown of *Pergamus*, and having laid the country waſte, and taken immenſe ſpoil, was attacked by *Ariſtonicus*, defeated and entirely routed; *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* was killed, and the conſul in his flight was taken and killed, and all the ſpoil recovered.	III	784
4176	2869	130	*M. Perperna* being choſe conſul, comes againſt *Ariſtonicus*, defeats him, and afterwards beſieged him in *Stratonice*, where the gariſon and people being reduced to great ſtraits, ſubmit to the conſul, and deliver up *Ariſtonicus*, who afterwards having graced his triumph, was murdered by order of the ſenate.	III	784
4176	2869	130	*Antiochus* king of *Syria* being killed, *Demetrius*, who had been nine years driven out, reaſſumes the crown, and reigns three years; but behaving diſagreeably to his ſubjects, was oppoſed by an impoſtor ſet up by *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, called *Alexander Zebina*, who engaging him at *Damaſcus*, intirely routed him; and he flying to *Ptolemais*, they ſhut the gates againſt him, from whence he went to *Tyre*, where he was murdered.	III	611

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4176	2869	130	*Antiochus* being slain and his army defeated, *John* (*Hircan*) threw off the *Syrian* yoke, and the *Jews* continued free from it ever after, taking several cities suitable for him, and also takes *Shechem* and mount *Gerizim* from the *Samaritans*, and the temple built by *Sanballat*, and destroyed it, after it had stood 200 years.	IV	92
4177	2870	129	*John*, captain of the *Jews*, takes all *Idumea*, and makes proclamation that all should depart, unless they submitted to be circumcised, which they doing, are incorporated into the *Jewish* commonwealth.	IV	92
4177	2870	129	*Scipio Africanus* (one of the greatest men *Rome* ever bred) is found dead in his bed, supposed to be murdered by the treachery of his wife *Sempronia* and the *Triumvirs* appointed to divide the lands among the people.	IV	798
4177	2870	129	The consul *Tuditanus* goes against the revolted *Japidians*, whom he intirely reduced, and made all quiet; for which he was honoured with a triumph.	IV	799
4177	2870	129	The consul *Aquilius* having reduced all *Pergamus* to the subjection of *Rome*; the senate appoints ten commissioners, with *Aquilius* at their head, to settle *Pergamus* into a *Roman* province, and to make the proper subdivisions; each to depend on the metropolis, where the *Roman* prætor resided.	III	786
4177	2870	129	*Laodice*, wife of *Ariarathes* 6th king of *Cappadocia*, poisons five of her six children; but the youngest escaping, she is put to death by her subjects, who set up her son *Ariarathes* VII. who marries *Laodice*, the daughter of *Mithridates* the great king of *Pontus*, who got him poisoned, and seized the kingdom under pretence of being guardian to his children; but having held the kingdom till the children were grown up; the *Cappadocians* drove him out, and set up *Ariarathes* VIII.	III	766
4178	2871	128	*Hyrcan* governor of the *Jews* sends an embassy to renew the alliance with *Rome*, with large presents, which are accepted, and the senate gives him *Joppa* and *Gazara*.	IV	92
4178	2871	128	*Marsyas*, general for queen *Cleopatra*, engages *Physcon*'s army under *Hagelochus*, is entirely defeated and taken prisoner, most of their army being cut to pieces.	III	657
4179	2172	127	*Cleopatra* sends to her son-in-law *Demetrius*, now king of *Syria*, for help, and promises him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward: He comes with a great army and besieges *Pelusium*, but being forced to raise the siege, and return into *Syria* to quell a rebellion there, *Cleopatra* puts all her valuables aboard a ship, and flies to her daughter at *Ptolemais*, and so *Physcon* was resettled in *Alexandria*, and reigned over all *Egypt*.	III	658
4179	2172	127	*Hyrcan* sends another embassy with fresh presents to the *Roman* senate, with thanks for their last favours, and to beg their ratification, which the senate grants.	IV	93
4180	2873	126	Upon the death of *Demetrius*, *Alexander Zebina* gets possession of the greatest part of the kingdom of *Syria*, and concludes an alliance with *Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*.	III	611
4181	2874	125	*Seleucus*, eldest son of the late *Demetrius*, sets up for the kingdom of *Syria*; and goes by the title of king in those parts his mother *Cleopatra* held; for which she, haveing invited him to a feast, killed him with her own hands, after he had bore that character one year.	III	612
4181	2874	125	*M. Fulvius Flaccus* the *Roman* consul goes against the *Salyes*, who had ravaged the country of the *Massilians*; and during his absence from *Italy*, *Fregellæ* (a city of the *Volsci*) revolts; but they being prevailed on to submit, the ringleaders were put to death, and the city razed to the ground.	IV	800
4181	2874	125	A great part of *Africa* being covered with locusts, destroyed all the produce of the earth, *&c.* and being afterwards blown into the *African* sea, were thrown upon the shore in prodigious quantities and bred a plague, which swept away an infinite number of men and all kind of animals; and in *Numidia* only 800,000 people perished, in *Africa Propria* 200,000 and 30,000 *Roman* soldiers about *Utica* and in that city 1500 a day.	VII	127
4183	2876	123	*Gracchus* being chose a tribune of the people, strives by all popular methods to gain the affections of the populace; he first set up stones or columns at every mile's end, and put stones along the roads to assist travellers to mount their horses; got the law passed to give lands to the poor allies, *&c.* then got a law passed to build publick granaries, and to fill them with corn at the publick expence, and that monthly distributions of it should be made to the poor at low rates; and other laws relating to the service and cloathing of the troops, by which means, in spite of the senate, *&c.* he was chose tribune a second time.	IV	801
4183	2876	123	The consul *Metellus* landing in the *Balearick* islands, who had revolted, overthrew and slaughtered them so terribly, that out of 30,000 he scarce left 1000 alive: Then he built *Palm* (now *Majorca*) and *Pollentia*, and was forced to bring 3000 *Romans* from *Spain* to people them.	IV	802
5583	2876	123	The proconsul *Sextius* gained a compleat victory over the *Salyes*, took their capital, and sold the inhabitants for slaves; then built a new city, and called it *Aquæ Sextiæ*, from the hot and cold springs in and about it now (called *Aix*) in *Provence*; then returned to *Rome* and had a triumph.	IV	802
4183	2876	123	*Gracchus* studied all means possible to humble the patricians; he got a law passed to make 600 *Roman* knights (who were the most wealthy plebeians) senators; and another, that the judging of all private laws should belong to the knights, exclusive of the senators.	IV	802
4183	2876	123	*Cleopatra*, now queen of part of *Soria*, sends to *Athens* for her son *Antiochus*, commonly called *Grypus*, who was gone thither for education, and proclaims him king, reserving the power in her own hands; he being under twenty years of age, submitted to wear only the title for some time.	III	612
4184	2877	122	A civil war breaks out at *Rome* between the plebeians and patricians, the first headed by *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, and the last by the consul *Opimius*: A skirmish happens in *Rome*, wherein many are killed; upon which the consul proclaims an amnesty for all, except *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*; for whom he offers their weight		

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			in gold; the mob diſperſe, *Fulvius* and his ſon is killed, and 3000 of his party; but *Gracchus* is ſaid to retire to a ſacred wood dedicated to the furies, and there orders his ſlave to kill him, who as ſoon as he had diſpatched his maſter killed himſelf. The head of *Gracchûs* was carried to the conſul, who gave 17 pounds and a half of gold for it. The conſul puniſhed all concerned in the riot with great ſeverity; and ſo the patricians got again the ſuperiority they had before loſt.		
4184	2877	122	*Domitius*, the *Roman* proconſul in *Spain*, overthrows the *Allobroges* at *Vindalia* upon the *Rhone*, and kills 20,000 *Gauls*, and takes 3000 priſoners.	IV	809
4184	2877	122	*C. Gracchus*, tribune of the *Roman* people, conducts a colony of 6000 *Roman* citizens in *Africa* (being the firſt colony that was ever ſent out of *Italy*) and a large number of workmen, and begins to rebuild *Carthage* in *Africa*, calling it *Junonia*.	IV	810
4185	2878	121	The *Averni*, under their king *Bitultick*, with 200,000 men come againſt the *Roman* proconſul *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who was encamped in the plains of *Cavari*: The *Gauls* are routed with the ſlaughter of 120,000 men, and their king taken priſoner by ſtratagem, and ſent to *Rome*; upon which peace was ſettled in the eaſtern part of *Gaul*. *Bitultick* was made a publick ſhew at the conſuls triumph, and kept a priſoner all his life at *Alba*.	VII	105
4186	2979	120	*Phyſcon* king of *Egypt* gives his daughter *Tryphæna* to *Grypus* king of *Syria* to wife, and demands of *Zebina* (whom he had made king of great part of *Syria*) homage, and an annual tribute for his dominions; which *Zebina* refuſing, he ſends a great army under *Grypus* againſt him; they engage, *Zebina* is routed, and flies to *Antioch*, where robbing the temples to pay his men, the inhabitants drive him out with great ſlaughter; and *Phyſcon*'s army coming againſt him, he flies into a ſhip, with intent to go to *Greece*, but is taken by a pirate, who delivers him up to *Grypus*, who puts him to death, and ſo ſettles himſelf upon the throne of *Syria*.	IV	811
4187	2880	119	*Grypus* now acting as king, as well as bearing the name, his ambitious mother took it into her head to poiſon him; but he being advertiſed of her treachery, when ſhe offered him the cup he deſired her to drink firſt, which ſhe refuſing, he called in ſome lords of the court and charged her with it; they inſiſt upon her drinking the preparation, which ſhe doing, dies in a few minutes. She had been the wife of three kings of *Syria*, and mother of four.	III	613
4187	2880	119	*Antiochus Cyzicenus*, half brother to *Antiochus Grypus*, ſets up for the throne of *Syria*, by the aſſiſtance of his wife *Cleopatra* (daughter of *Phyſcon* late king of *Egypt*) who had been divorced from her brother *Lathyrus*, the preſent king of *Egypt*: They engage, *Cyzicenus* is defeated, and flies to *Antioch* that had declared for him; *Grypus* takes *Antioch*, and in it *Cleopatra*, who, though own ſiſter to his wife *Tryphæna*, ſhe cauſed to be murdered in a temple where ſhe flew for ſanctuary. Soon after *Cyzicenus* engaged and overthrew *Grypus*, and took and ſacrificed *Tryphæna*, and drove *Grypus* out of the kingdom.	III	613
4187	2880	119	The conſul *L. Cæcilius Metellus* was ſent into *Illyricum* to reduce the *Segeſtani*, who had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke: He defeated them in the field, and made himſelf maſter of their city and territory; and then he unjuſtly made war upon the *Dalmatians*, who were forced to ſubmit to his ſuperior ſtrength. At his return to *Rome* he took the ſirname of *Dalmaticus*, and was honoured with a triumph.	III	614
4887	2880	119	*L. Licinius Craſſus*, a young orator of twenty years of age, accuſed *Papirius Carbo* at the tribunal of the prætor *Q. Fabius Eburnus*, and pleaded ſo ſtrongly againſt him, that to avoid puniſhment he poiſoned himſelf: This oration was ſo highly valued, that it was put into the hands of all learners of oratory, as a copy for them to imitate; and *Cicero* called it the inimitable.	V	1
4187	2880	119	*Marius*, though of obſcure birth among the *Volſci*, began now to appear as a publick perſon, (a man of extraordinary ſize, great ſtrength, uncommon underſtanding, courageous and enterprizing, and of a fine aſpect and ſavage manners) being tribune of the people, threatens the conſul *L. Aurelius Cotta* to ſend him to priſon for oppoſing a law he had propoſed about collecting the ſuffrages for curule magiſtrates, and ſo becomes the idol of the people.	V	1
4188	2881	118	The *Roman* conſul *Marcius*, ſirnamed *Rex*, opens a way from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees* for the *Roman* army, and founds a city called *Narbo-Marcius*, ſince *Narbonne*. The people called the *Stoeni*, at the foot of the *Maritime Alps*, finding themſelves by this means furrounded by the *Roman* troops, and that they could not eſcape, ſet fire to their houſes, killed their wives and children, and then threw themſelves into the flames. *Marcius* was honoured with a triumph at his return to *Rome*.	V	2
4188	2881	118	*Grypus* returns, and overcomes *Cyzicenus*, and then they agree to part the kingdom, and *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damaſcus* over *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*; and *Grypus* at *Antioch*, over all the other provinces. Peace being now eſtabliſhed, both brothers give themſelves up to all manner of debaucheries and luxurioufneſs, *&c.* they likewiſe continually quarrel between themſelves about the extent of their dominions, and neglect the due adminiſtration of juſtice, which gives opportunities to ſeveral cities to revolt, and ſet up ſeignieuries in themſelves independant of the kingdom of *Syria*, *viz. Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*, *Gaza*, and *Theodorus* cauſed himſelf to be called ſovereign lord of *Gadara* and *Amathus*,	III	615
4189	2882	117	*C. Marius* choſe prætor by open bribery, for which he was tried, but came off.	V	3
4190	2883	116	*C. Marius* is appointed governor of *Further Spain*, where he behaved unblameably, and cleared the country of the banditti, and cured the people of their old way of living by rapine.	V	3
4191	2884	115	*Æmilius Scaurus* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* being conſuls, *Scaurus* reforms *Rome* by proſcribing games of hazard, concerts of muſick, reſtraining luxury, *&c.* In his time a cenſus being made, 394,336 citizens were found able to bear arms		

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			in *Rome*. He ſubdued the *Gentiſci* and *Carni*, and made a fine road from *Rome* to the *Alps*, for which he is honoured with a triumph	V	3
4192	2885	114	*C. Porcius Cato*, conſul, going into *Macedon* againſt the *Scoriſci*, a people of *Thrace* that had invaded that province, was by them drawn into narrow paſſes, *&c.* and all his army cut off to a man, *Porcius* ſaving himſelf alone by flight. Upon his return to *Rome* he was baniſhed to *Tarracon* in *Spain*, where he ſpent the remainder of his life	V	4
4192	2885	114	Some veſtal virgins are detected with polluting themſelves; for which they are puniſhed by being buried alive, and their gallants are whipped to death	V	4
4193	2886	113	The *Cimbri* from the northern part of *Germany* near *Jutland*, attempt invading the *Roman* provinces, and defeat the conſul *Papirius*'s army; then they invade *Helvetii*, and enter *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and commit great ravages	V	5
4193	2886	113	*Jugurtha*, *Hiempſal* and *Adherbal* ſucceed *Micipſa* in the kingdom of *Numidia*: *Jugurtha* hires the chief officer of *Hiempſal*'s guards to murder him, and gets the kingdom divided between himſelf and *Adherbal*	V!	129
4194	2887	112	*Druſus* the conſul prevails with the *Scordiſci* to quit the country they now poſſeſſed, and repaſs the *Danube*, which river ever after was a barrier between them and the *Roman* provinces; for which *Druſus* at his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph	V	5
4194	2887	112	*Jugurtha* makes war upon *Adherbal*, overcomes and diſperſes his army, and beſieges him in *Cirtha*, his capital; who appealing to *Rome*, they ſend commiſſioners, who return without doing any thing; whereupon *Adherbal* capitulates, but as ſoon as *Jugurtha* enters the city he puts *Adherbal* to death with cruel torments, and kills the ſoldiers and inhabitants, *&c.*	VII	129
4194	2887	112	Upon the death of *Phyſcon* king of *Egypt*, he bequeathed the kingdom of *Cyrene* to his natural ſon *Apion*, *Egypt* to his queen *Cleopatra* and one of her own ſons; ſhe prefers *Alexander* the youngeſt, but the people oblige her to take *Lathyrus*, the eldeſt, whom ſhe compels to divorce *Laodice* his eldeſt ſiſter, whom he had married, and to take *Selene*, his younger ſiſter; and after the death of her daughter *Cleopatra*, ſhe gave *Cyprus* to her youngeſt ſon *Alexander*	III	659
4195	2888	111	The ſenate of *Rome* reſolve to make war upon *Jugurtha*, upon which *Jugurtha* ſends his ſon to *Rome* to ſollicit for him, who is ſent back without ſucceſs	V	9
4195	2888	111	*Beſtia* and *Scaurus*, the *Roman* generals, clap up a peace with *Jugurtha*, upon very diſhonourable terms, for the ſake of large ſums paid themſelves	VII	129
4196	2889	110	*Jugurtha* ſummoned to appear at *Rome*, appears, but through bribery eſcapes, and gets *Maſſiva* (the natural ſon of *Guluſſa*, brother to *Micipſa*) murdered, to prevent his getting the crown from him. The ſenate diſannuls the peace, and ſends the conſul *Albinus* againſt *Jugurtha*, who does nothing conſiderable, *Jugurtha* delaying the time by amuſements	VII	130
4196	2889	110	*Aulus* marches into a defile, where *Jugurtha* obliges him and the whole *Roman* army to paſs under the yoke, and to quit *Numidia* in 10 days; from whence he went into *Africa Propria* to winter	VII	130
4196	2889	110	*Hyrcan* high-prieſt of the *Jews* beſieges and takes *Samaria*, defeats *Antiochus*, (who came with a great army to relieve it) and ſo made himſelf maſter of all *Paleſtine*, and the provinces of *Galilee* and *Samaria*	IV	94
4197	2890	109	*Scaurus* at the head of the commiſſion appointed to examine into *Jugurtha*'s affair, ended their enquiries, and baniſhed ſeveral conſular men and one pontifex, *&c.*	V	12
4197	2890	109	The *Cimbri* and *Teutones* defeat and rout the *Romans* under the conſul *M. Junius Silenus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*, at the firſt onſet	V	12
4197	2890	109	The conſul *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* reduces *Vacca*, (a large opulent city, and the greateſt mart in all *Numidia*) and defeats *Jugurtha*'s army in a pitch'd battle	VII	131
4198	2891	108	*Jugurtha* is again ſeveral times defeated by *Marius*, lieutenant-general of the *Roman* army under *Metellus* the general and proconſul; upon which *Jugurtha* ſends his ſubmiſſion to *Metellus*, who ordered him to ſend the *Romans* 200,000 pounds weight of ſilver, all his elephants, a number of horſes and arms, and deliver up all the deſerters, *&c.* which he performing, was ordered to go to *Tiſidium*: Upon this he flies to arms again, and the *Numidians* maſſacre the *Romans* in a city called *Vacca*, which *Metellus* revenges very amply	V	17
4199	2892	107	*Marius* becomes an enemy to *Metellus*, and uſes all poſſible means, both juſt and unjuſt, to undermine and defame him; gets himſelf declared one of the conſuls for this year, and is appointed general in *Numidia* inſtead of *Metellus* by the people, and behaves moſt audaciouſly impudent to all the nobility, *&c.* *L. Caſſius Longinus* the other conſul is defeated and killed, and the *Roman* army ſhamefully made to paſs under the yoke in *Narbonne Gaul* by the *Tigurini*	V	19
4199	2892	107	*Jugurtha* is defeated by *Metellus* before *Marius*'s arrival from *Rome* with his army, who alſo purſued *Jugurtha*, and beſieged him in the city *Thala*, whither he had carried moſt of his treaſure: He flies from thence, and when the gariſon found they muſt be priſoners, they take all the valuable effects they can find and put them into the king's palace, and burn it, the treaſure, and themſelves. Upon *Metellus*'s return to *Rome* he is honoured with a triumph, and the ſirname of *Numidicus*	V	21
4199	2892	107	*Marius* marches to *Capſa* in the middle of the burning ſands of *Africa*, takes it, levels it, puts all the citizens able to bear arms to death, and ſells the reſt for ſlaves, *&c.* Then he took *Malucha*, (ſituate on the ſummit of a rock, and the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the world) puts the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſeized the king's treaſure	V	22
4199	2892	107	*Sylla* and *Marius* defeat *Jugurtha* and his confederates ſeveral times, and kill a prodigious number of people each time	V	24
4199	2892	107	*Hyrcan* dying, his eldeſt ſon *Ariſtobulus* ſucceeded him in all his dignities, to which he added that of king, *&c.* At firſt he admitted his brother *Antigonus* a partner with him in his kingdom, but ſoon after put him to death, and kept his		

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			other three brothers priſoners during his reign, and murdered his mother, all in one year	IV	97
4200	2893	106	*Bocchus* king of *Mauritania* having made a truce with *Marius*, which is confirmed by the ſenate, promiſes *Sylla* to deliver up his ally *Jugurtha*	V	26
4200	2893	106	*Jugurtha* is treacherouſly delivered up to *Sylla*, by *Bocchus*: *Jugurtha*, loaden with chains, is carried by *Sylla* under a ſtrong guard to *Marius*, who was then at *Cirtha*, from whence *Marius* ſent him to *Rome*, where he is impriſoned	V	27
4200	2893	106	*Q. Servilius Cæpio* the *Roman* conſul recovers *Toulouſe* from the *Cimbri*, and plunders the temple of *Apollo* of 100,000 pounds weight of gold, 100,000 pounds weight of ſilver, *&c.*	V	27
4200	2893	106	*Pompey the Great* born at *Rome*, and *Cicero* the orator in *Arpinum*, a city of the *Volſci*	V	28
4200	2893	106	*Ariſtobulus* king of the *Jews* dies, and is ſucceeded by his brother *Jannæus*, who puts his brother to death for raiſing a commotion againſt him, then marches to *Ptolemais*, but is forced to raiſe the ſiege and come back to oppoſe *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who beſieged and took *Azochis* in *Galilee*, and carried off 10,000 priſoners	IV	98
4201	2894	105	The *Cimbri*, *&c.* cut off all the *Roman* army under *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, and make him priſoner	V	28
4201	2894	105	*Cæpio* the proconſul, and *Mallius*, having quarrelled and ſeparated, are engaged, and ſo intirely defeated by the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, that out of the two *Roman* armies under their command but 10 men and two generals eſcaped, above 110,000 being ſlain, *&c.* The conquerors deſtroyed all the ſpoils they took, purſuant to a vow they had made before the battle; the gold and ſilver they threw into the *Rhone*; the horſes they had taken they drowned; and the priſoners they put to the ſword. The people frighted and enraged at *Rome*, depoſe *Cæpio*, and declare him for ever incapable of ſerving the ſtate	V	29
4201	2894	105	The conſul *Rutilius* for the firſt time introduced fencing maſters into *Rome*, and obliges all the inhabitants without diſtinction to take up arms	V	29
4202	2895	104	*Marius*, upon the ſame day that he entered his ſecond conſulate, alſo had his triumph for his *Numidian* conqueſt: He was preceded by 3700 l. weight of gold in ingots, 5775 pounds weight of ſilver in bars, and 287,000 drachmæ in ſpecie, and by *Jugurtha* and his two ſons in chains, *&c.*	V	30
4202	2895	104	*Vettius*, a young *Roman* knight, having ſpent his fortune in debaucheries, encourages all the ſlaves in and about *Capua* to make an inſurrection, and proclaimed himſelf their king. The prætor *Lucius Lucullus* goes againſt him, and is ſtrongly repulſed; but having gained one *Apollonius*, general under *Vettius*, he got the city; but *Vettius* to prevent his being puniſhed laid violent hands upon himſelf. Another inſurrection upon the like account happened in *Sicily*, where the prætor *Vicinius* cut off vaſt numbers of them; but others aſſembling, choſe one *Salvius* a flute player for their king, who engaging, *Vicinius* killed 600 and took 4000 priſoners	V	30
4202	2895	104	*Jannæus* (or *Alexander*) king of *Jeruſalem*, and *Ptolomey Lathyrus*, king of *Egypt*, engage, wherein *Jannæus* loſes 30,000 men: *Cleopatra* comes to his aſſiſtance, and ſaves him from utter deſtruction	IV	98
4204	2897	102	*Alexander* king of *Judea* goes to *Ptolemais* to wait upon *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, to return her thanks and make her preſents for her aſſiſtance, and makes an alliance with her	IV	98
4204	2897	102	The famous orator *M. Antonius* is ſent with a *Roman* fleet againſt the *Cicilian* pirates, who had carried his daughter into captivity: He ſoon cleared the ſeas of the robbers, and is honoured with a triumph	V	34
4204	2897	102	*Marius* engages, defeats, and cuts off a vaſt number of *Ambrones*; purſuing them, their wives arm and fight violently; but being overcome, offer to ſurrender upon aſſurance given them that their honour ſhould be ſafe; which being denied, they firſt killed their children and then themſelves. Three days afterwards the *Teutones* fall upon the *Romans*, even in their camp; but after a long diſpute they are intirely defeated. In theſe two battles more than 100,000 *Gauls* were killed, and their king *Teutobocchus* taken priſoner: Their camp was plundered, *&c.* For this *Marius* was a fifth time elected conſul, and allowed a triumph	V	35
4205	2898	101	*Publius Malleolus* having killed his mother, (this was an unheard-of crime, which the law had appointed no puniſhment for) the parricide was ordered to be ſewed up in a leathern ſack, and with a thouſand execrations caſt into the *Tiber*	V	37
4205	2898	101	*Marius* and *Catulus* engage and gain a compleat victory over the *Cimbri*, kill 120,000, and take 60,000, with two of their kings or generals, who were all ſold for ſlaves: They alſo took 33 colours, and the brazen bull that they worſhipped, for which both the conſuls had a triumph upon their return to *Rome*	V	38
4205	2898	101	*Athenio*, the captain of the revolted ſlaves in *Sicily*, attacks the *Roman* prætor, defeats him, routs his army, takes his camp, and then beſieges and takes *Macella*. The ſenate ſends *Aquilius* the conſul with an army againſt him, who reduced him to great ſtraits for want of proviſions; and being continued proconſul the next year, he engaged him and put an end to the war by firſt killing *Athenio* in ſingle combat, and then a prodigious number of his men, only 10,000 eſcaping to their camp, where they killed one another rather than ſurrender: Being reduced to 1000, one *Satyrius* capitulated with the proconſul; he promiſed them their lives; but afterwards ſent them to *Rome* to fight the wild beaſts in the ſhews in the *Circus*; but they choſe rather to kill one another. Thus ended a rebellion that had laſted four years, at the expence of near 1,000,000 of ſlaves. For this *Aquilius* had only an ovation, the ſenate not allowing triumphs for the conquering of rebels	V	40
4205	2898	101	*Cleopatra* wickedly and falſly accuſes her own ſon *Lathyrus* with offering violence to her perſon; for which the *Alexandrians* ſet on him with an intent to kill him; but he eſcapes into a ſhip, and flies; then *Cleopatra* proclaims *Alexander* her colleague in the crown of *Egypt*, and obliged *Lathyrus* to accept of *Cyprus*	III	660

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4206	2899	100	*Nonnius* being choſe tribune, his competitor *Apuleius* ſtabbed him, and got himſelf proclaimed tribune, which *Marius* (now a 6th time conſul) confirmed, and by treachery got the great *Metellus* baniſhed, and then they governed the ſtate juſt as they pleaſed	V	42
4206	2899	100	*Theodotus*, the ſon of *Zeno* tyrant of *Philadelphia*, having laid up an immenſe treaſure in *Ammathus*, *Jannæus* king of the *Jews* (*Alexander*) beſieges it and takes all the treaſure; but the prince coming with a great army, ſuddenly falls upon him, kills him 10,000 men, routs the reſt, and recovers the plunder, with a very conſiderable addition made thereto by *Alexander*'s baggage, which he likewiſe took and carried off	IV	99
4206	2899	100	*Julius Cæſar* born, in the ſixth conſulate of *Marius*, on the 12th day of the month *Quintilis*, which afterwards occaſioned that month to be called *July* in honour of him	V	643
4207	2900	99	*Glaucia* being diſappointed of being choſe conſul, kills *Memmius*, who was nominated: Then he and *Apuleius* break into open rebellion; but after much miſchief done they ſubmit to their friend *Marius*, the then conſul, who, notwithſtanding the orders of the ſenate expreſsly againſt it, he let march out of the capitol great numbers of their adherents; but the people ſeized *Glaucia*, and cut off his head; and *Marius* ſhut up *Apuleius* and many of his followers, and placed a guard over them to preſerve them from the rage of the people, as if he intended to puniſh them; but the ſenate drives away the guards, and murders *Apuleius* and the heads of his gang. The new conſuls begin their year with purifying the city, polluted with much bloodſhed in the late troubles	V	43
4207	2900	99	By the careful and diligent management of the conſul *Antonius*, the factious *Sextius Titius* is baniſhed, and the great *Metellus* with all poſſible marks of eſteem is recalled from baniſhment, which ſo enrages *Marius*, that he retires into *Aſia* to ſtir up diſturbances	V	44
4207	2900	99	*Alexander* king of *Jeruſalem* after a year's ſiege takes *Gaza*, and murders the people moſt cruelly, and then razed the city	IV	99
4208	2901	98	The conſul *Didius* overcomes the revolted *Spaniards* of *Nether Spain*, and cuts off 20,000 in a pitched battle; then treacherouſly invited a colony of *Spaniards* that were ſettled five years before by a *Roman* general, into his camp, and ſeparating the men, women and children, into three companies, orders every one of them to be maſſacred, not one eſcaping	V	45
4208	2901	98	*Mucius Scævola* in *Pergamus* puniſhed very exemplarily the publicans, or *Roman* knights, for miſapplying the publick money, uſing extortions, &c	V	45
4210	2903	96	*Grypus* is aſſaſſinated by *Heracleon*, and is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Seleucus*; but his uncle *Seleucus* having ſeized *Antioch*, *Seleucus* goes againſt him with an army, and defeats him and kills him, takes *Antioch*, and makes himſelf king over all *Syria*: But *Antiochus Euſebes* (the ſon of the deceaſed *ntiochus*) having eſcaped, fled to *Aradus*, and was proclaimed king of *Syria*, and goes againſt *Seleucus*, and having cut great part of his troops to pieces, *Seleucus* ſhut himſelf up in *Mopſueſtia*, a city of *Cilicia*; but uſing the people ill, they inveſt his palace and ſet fire to it, and ſo deſtroy him and all his attendants. *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the twin ſons of *Grypus*, to revenge the death of their brother *Seleucus*, raiſe an army and march againſt *Mopſueſtia*, took it by aſſault, put all the inhabitants to death, and razed the city. Their couſin *Euſebes* engages them at their return, upon the banks of the *Orontes*; *Antiochus* was drowned, but *Philip* retreated and diſputed the kingdom with *Euſebes* a long time. *Euſebes* married *Selene*, the widow of *Grypus*, which made *Lathyrus* king of *Egypt* (whoſe wife ſhe had been) angry, ſo that he ſent to *Cnidus* for *Demetrius* the fourth ſon of *Grypus*, and makes him king of *Damaſcus*. *Philip* at laſt conquered *Euſebes*, and forced him to fly to the *Parthians*; ſo that now all *Syria* was divided between *Philip* and *Demetrius*; but *Demetrius* ſtriving to depoſe *Philip*, was conquered and driven out himſelf, and died a priſoner in *Parthia*. The *Syrians* quite tired out with the continual wars between the princes of the *Seleucan* family, reſolved to baniſh all of them, and choſe *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* to be their king, who governed them 18 years with great peace and humanity	III	617
4211	2904	95	*Tigranes* at the death of his father was a hoſtage among the *Parthians*, who ſet him at liberty and let him ſucceed his father in the kingdom of *Armenia*, upon condition of yielding up to them a good part of his kingdom for his ranſom: This done he enters into a league with *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*, againſt the *Romans*, agreeing, that the conquered cities and countries ſhould be *Mithridates*'s, and the captives and plunder *Tigranes*'s. Upon this *Tigranes* marries *Cleopatra*, daughter of *Mithridates*; then marches into *Cappadocia*, and takes all the kingdom immediately, *Ariobarzanes* their king flying to *Rome*; upon which he proclaims *Ariarathes* (the ſon of *Mithridates* his brother-in-law) king of *Cappadocia*, to the ſatisfaction of all the people, who was ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed by the *Romans*, and *Ariobarzanes* reſtored	III	700
4211	2904	95	The *Romans* declare *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* free, upon which the *Cappadocians* affirm they can't live without a king, and chooſe *Ariobarzanes*, whom the *Romans* acknowledge and confirm. He was three times driven out of his kingdom, and as often reſtored to it by the *Romans*	III	767
4211	2904	95	*Alexander* being both high-prieſt and king of the *Jews*, and having quarrelled with the ſect of *Phariſees*, as he was performing his office at the great altar, was pelted and ignominiouſly uſed by that ſect; which ſo enraged the pontiff, that ceaſing from his office he was then about, orders his ſoldiers to fall upon the mob, who by his command killed 6000 of them, and diſperſed the reſt; a while after theſe commotions broke out into a civil war that laſted 6 years, in which time he killed 50,000 of the rebels, and loſt abundance of men himſelf: However, pitying the people, he promiſed to grant any thing reaſonable that		

they

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			they would ask, for the sake of peace; but the *Pharisees* required him to cut his own throat: They join *Demetrius*, sirnamed *Eucharus*, who comes against *Alexander* with an army of 3000 horse and 40,000 foot; *Alexander* is defeated, and forced to fly into the mountains with a few attendants		
4213	2906	93	*Tigranes* invades *Armenia Minor*, kills king *Artanes*, routs his army, and conquers his whole kingdom in one campaign. From hence he marches among the *Asiatick Greeks*, and obliged all to acknowledge him for their sovereign where-ever he came, inriching himself with vast booties and great spoils; and then invades *Cappadocia* a second time, and plunders the country and carries off 300,000 captives; with these and other prisoners he builds and peoples a new and large city called *Tigranocerta*	IV	100
4213	2906	93	*Bocchus* king of *Mauritania* sent *Sylla* a present of 100 lions, and some *Mauritanian* hunters to fight them in the *Roman* circus: This sight vastly pleased the *Romans*, and contributed much to *Sylla*'s promotion	III	700
4214	2907	92	*Arbaces* king of *Parthia* sends an embassy to *Sylla* as he was returning from *Cappadocia*, where he had resettled *Ariobarzanes* in his kingdom, desiring to make an alliance with the *Romans*	V	46
4214	2907	92	*Apion* king of *Cyrene* bequeaths his kingdom (consisting of *Cyrene, Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais* and *Apollonia*) to the *Roman* republick	V	47
4215	2908	91	*Drusus* the tribune with great difficulty got a law passed, that a sufficient quantity of bread should be given to the poor citizens in *Rome gratis*; alledging the publick treasury could afford it, being then loaded with 1,620,829 pounds weight of gold: Shortly after he was murdered	III	662
4216	2909	90	The *Marsi, Peligni, Samnites, Campanians*, and *Lucanians* revolt at once, and erect themselves into a separate republick, chooſing consuls, prætors, and 500 senators to govern them. *Corfinium* (a great and strong town of the *Peligni*) is made their capital. The proconsul *Q. Servilius*, governor of the province of *Picenum*, is cut off, his lieutenant and all the *Romans*, by the revolters. *Cn. Pompeius* comes with an army from *Rome* against them; but they put them to flight with great slaughter. The consul *Rutilius* and the *Marsi* engage, and after a long obstinate battle the *Romans* fly with the loss of 4000 men. A few days after they have another engagement, wherein the *Romans* lose 3000 men, the consul and many officers of distinction. A small time after *Pompedius Silo* (chief commander of the *Italians*) deludes *Q. Cæpio* the *Roman* general, draws him into narrow defiles, and then kills him and the greatest part of his army. The confederate revolters had great successes in other places: The consul *L. Julius Cæsar*, uncle to the emperor *Julius Cæsar*, at first was defeated at *Samnium*, by *Vettius Cato*, which with the revolt of many of his men, so imboldened *Ascinius*, that he braved the *Romans* at the gates of their camp, who sallying suddenly, put him to the rout and killed him 6000 men, which occasioned such joy, that the soldiers saluted *Cæsar* by the name of *Imperator*, which the senate confirmed. *Marius* likewise defeated the *Maracini* under *Herrius Asinus*, and forced him to fly into the strong holds, where *Sylla* attacked them, killed their general, and cut off most of their troops, and so completed the victory. *Servius Sulpicius* also defeated the *Peligni* in a pitched battle, and reduced their whole country; then marched to the relief of *Pompey*, who was besieged in *Fiernum* by *Afranius*, whom he killed, and the greatest part of his men: But *Marius* was overcome by the *Marsi*, upon which he retired to *Rome* and laid down his command. The *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians* revolt, and are defeated	IV	48
4216	2909	90	*Selene* having prevailed with many of the *Syrian* cities to join her against *Tigranes*, he goes against her with an army of 50,000 men, besieges her in *Ptolemais*, takes it, and carries her to *Seleucia* in *Mesopotamia*, where she was put to death	IV	50
4216	2909	90	*Mithridates* king of *Pontus* invades *Bythinia*, and drives out *Nicomedes*, the natural son of the late king just now deceased, and seizes the kingdom, but is driven out again by the *Roman* legates, and *Nicomedes* reinstated, who enters *Pontus*, laying waste whole provinces, and destroys all with fire and sword: *Mithridates* complains first to the legates, and then to the senate, but without redress. All sides arm, and as *Nicomedes* was going to take possession of an advantagious post, *Mithridates* engages and defeats him, by cutting off almost his whole army and forcing the rest to fly; he takes all their money, baggage, provisions, *&c.* He then attacks the *Roman* general *Aquilius*, kills 10,000 of his men, takes 300, and disperses the rest: Soon after, his admirals takes the greatest part of the 300 ships that guarded the passage of the *Euxine* sea at *Byzantium*: The *Romans* retiring, he over-run all *Asia* to *Ionia*, the people readily submitting to him, calling him their deliverer, their god, *&c.*	III	617
4216	2909	90	The consul *Julius Cæsar* got a law passed, *That all the Nations of* Italy, *whose Alliance with* Rome *was indisputable, should enjoy the Rights of* Roman *Citizens.* (This ever after was called the *Julian* law.) As war was begun for refusing this privilege, it caused many to remain friends that would have deserted, and some to return who had	III IV	730 51
4217	2910	89	The consul *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* (father of *Pompey the Great*) went to carry on the siege of *Asculum*, and destroyed the whole army of *Marsi* that came to relieve it, with their general *Francus*. The tribunes got the *Julian* law amended, ordaining, *That all the Citizens of the allied Cities that were in* Italy *at the Promulgation of this Law, should be deemed Citizens of* Rome *if they registred their Names with any of the three Prætors in* 60 *Days*. This brought great numbers, and the censors incorporated them into new tribes. This likewise took the authority from the *Roman* knights, who had most shamefully abused it, and ordered each tribe to choose 15 of their own members to administer justice in		

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			civil matters. The conſul *Pompeius* defeated *Vettius Cato*, and put an end to the war of the *Veſtini*. The conſul *Porcius Cato* attempting to force the camp of the *Marſi*, was killed, and the whole *Roman* army routed with great ſlaughter. But the proconſul *Coſconius* defeated and killed the famous *Samnite*, *Marius Egnatius*, and his ſucceſſor *Trebetius*, killing him 15,000 men, and reduced the countries of the *Larinates*, *Venuſians* and *Pediculi*, to obedience	IV	52
4217	2910	89	*Sylla* took *Stabiæ* in *Campania* by aſſault; then incorporates the *Roman* army that had killed their general *Poſthumius* into his legions, and beſieges *Pompeii*; *Cluentius*, general of the allies, coming to relieve it, he repulſed him with great loſs; but ſoon after coming with a great reinforcement of *Gauls*, *Sylla* cut off 30,000 of them, and took *Pompeii*: He then went after *Cluentius* to *Nola*, and fought him under the walls, killed him and 20,000 *Samnites*, plundered his camp, and went into *Hirpinia*, and reduced the capital *Aſculana* and the whole country; then paſſed into *Samnium*, where he was reduced to great diſtreſs by *Aponius*, but got away by night and conquered the enemy, and took *Bovianum* by ſtorm. The conſul *Pompeius* reduced the city of *Aſculum*, puniſhed the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity for the murder of a *Roman* prætor, and ſaved only a few chiefs to grace his triumph, and confiſcated all the lands	IV	53
4217	2910	89	*Q. Oppius*, governor of *Pamphilia*, is delivered into the hands of *Mithridates* by the people of *Laodicea* upon the *Lycus*: The *Leſbians* alſo ſend him *Marius Aquilius* in chains, with many other *Romans* of diſtinction, who upon his arrival at *Pergamus*, he orders firſt to be whipt, and then hot liquid gold to be poured down his throat. All places wherever he came ſubmitted to him, ſo that his wealth was ſo great as to keep his vaſt army five years without taxing his ſubjects	III	731
4218	2911	88	The rebels are generally reduced, but a civil war breaks out in *Rome*, between *Sulpicius* and *Marius* againſt *Sylla*, now conſul. *Sylla* comes from the ſiege of *Nola*, enters *Rome*, and kills abundance of *Marius*'s partizans, then propoſes the following laws; 1. That no law ſhould be brought before the people till it was approved of by the ſenate. 2. That the *Comitia* ſhould be held by centuries, and not by tribes. 3. That no citizen who had been tribune of the people ſhould be capable of any other magiſtracy. 4. That *Sulpicius*'s laws ſhould be void; which were all agreed to. Impeachments were drawn up againſt *Marius*, his ſon, *Sulpicius*, and many others; they were all proſecuted, declared enemies to *Rome*, and a reward ſet upon their heads. *Sulpicius* was taken and beheaded; but *Marius* being taken and carried to *Mitulnæ*, the citizens help him to eſcape	IV	58
4218	2911	88	*Mithridates* king of *Pontus* beſieges *Rhodes* with a vaſt fleet and a great land army, which by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* were defeated and the ſiege raiſed	III	158
4218	2911	88	*Mithridates* orders all the *Italians*, men, women and children, all over *Aſia*, to be murdered, promiſing great rewards to them that did it; upon which 150,000 ſuffered death. He then went to *Rhodes*, whither the *Romans* that eſcaped flew, but was twice defeated: But *Archelaus* his general goes to *Athens*, takes it, puts all the *Romans* and their friends to death; and ſo went on, till *Mithridates* was maſter of all *Aſia*, *Greece*, and the adjacent iſlands, except *Rhodes*	III	733
4219	2912	87	*Cinna* (one of the preſent *Roman* conſuls) cites *Sylla* the late conſul to anſwer for his conduct: *Sylla* retires to the eaſt; *Cinna* orders the new citizens to come armed into the forum; *Octavius* the other conſul orders the old citizens to do the like; a battle enſues; and much blood is ſpilt; at laſt the new citizens are drove out of the city, and the conſul *Cinna* and ſix tribunes. The ſenate depoſes *Cinna*, and choſe *L. Cornelius Merula* in his room. *Cinna* raiſes a great army, and the revolted *Italians* join him in vaſt numbers. He ſends for *Marius*, to whom abundance of ſlaves, *&c.* reſort: They beſiege *Rome*; *Marius* takes all the maritime places; *Oſtia* he took by treachery, pillaged it, put moſt of the people to the ſword, built a bridge over the *Tiber*, and cut off the city's communication with the ſea, and blocked up *Rome* on the ſide of the *Janiculum*	IV	63
4219	2912	87	*Athens* ſides with *Mithridates* againſt the *Romans*, is beſieged, and holds out long, but at laſt is taken by ſtorm by *Sylla* the *Roman* general, when the ſlaughter was ſo mercileſs, that the very channels of the ſtreets ran down with blood, *&c.*	II	736
4219	2912	87	*Rome* by its inteſtine diſturbances is brought to a moſt deplorable condition, the plague deſtroying great numbers, famine more, but the ſword moſt; for when the gates were opened to let *Cinna* and *Marius* in, all manner of butcheries and cruelties were committed, particularly by a band of ſlaves that conſtantly attended *Marius*, which he called *Bardiæans*; but *Cinna* in the night-time ordered them all to be cut off. *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius* conclude to murder all the ſenators, *&c.* who had oppoſed them, which for five days they executed, killing moſt of them and ſticking their heads upon poles, and their mangled bodies being dragged into the forum, were left there to be devoured by dogs	III	65
4220	2913	86	*Cinna*, without the choice of the people, declares himſelf and *Marius* a ſeventh time conſuls for the year enſuing. *Sylla* writes to *Rome*, acquaints the ſenate of his victories, *&c.* and threatens to be revenged of the conſuls and their adherents, for the perſonal injuries done him, his wife and family; upon which *Marius* gave himſelf up to exceſſive drinking, and ſo killed himſelf: *Cinna* aſſociated with him in the government young *Marius*, (but not in the conſulſhip) who put all the ſenators he could find to the ſword. *Valerius Flaccus* (one of their creatures) was nominated to the conſulſhip, who to ingratiate himſelf to the people, publiſhed a law declaring all debtors free from their debts upon paying a crown in the pound	III	67
4220	2913	86	*Alexander* king and high-prieſt of the *Jews* engages the rebellious *Jews*, and defeats them with great ſlaughter; the remainder fly to *Bethome*, which he be-		

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			sieges, and after a year's time takes and treats the people with all manner of cruelties, crucifying 800 in one day, and causing their wives and children to be butchered before their faces as they hung upon the crosses; after this he continued victorious, and took many places and cities, and vast spoils		
4220	2913	86	*Sylla*, with an army but of 1500 horse and 15,000 foot, engages *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* at *Chæronea*, with 120,000 men, and kills him 110,000, with the loss only of 12 men. Soon after *Dorylaus*, chief favourite of *Mithridates*, engages *Sylla* again, who in two engagements intirely overthrew *Dorylaus*, and a mighty army cut to pieces	IV	101
4221	2914	85	*Fimbria*, lieutenant to the consul *Flaccus*, revolts from him, and draws the greatest part of the army along with him; then besieges him in *Nicomedia*, takes it by storm, and puts *Flaccus* to death, and makes himself commander in chief, and commits all manner of cruelties. *Mithridates* sends a great army against him, which he engages and entirely routs, and pursues young *Mithridates* and the other generals to *Pergamus*; he enters it sword in hand, but the king being fled to *Pritane*, he pursues and besieges him there, from whence he escapes to *Mytilene*: *Fimbria* took *Pritane* by storm, and reduced most part of *Asia*, setting large fines on them; then besieges and takes *Old Troy* in 11 days, and puts most of the people to the sword, and burns the temple of *Minerva*, with many of the inhabitants who had fled thither for sanctuary, levelled the walls, and reduced the city to a heap of ashes; then racked and murdered the remainder of the people he met with	III	734
4221	2914	85	*Sylla* and *Mithridates* have an interview, and conclude a peace, by which it was stipulated, that *Mithridates* should relinquish all his conquests and content himself with *Pontus*; that he should release all the prisoners and captives he had taken since the war, without ransom, and pay the *Romans* 2000 talents: Thus in three years time *Sylla* drove him out of *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Ionia*, and the province of *Asia*, and killed above 160,000 of his best troops, without losing 1000 of his own. After this *Sylla* rebuilt *Troy*, and declared the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Magnesians* and *Trojans*, free people and the friends of *Rome*; but all the other cities he fined heavily, condemning them to pay 20,000 talents in one year, and quartering his soldiers upon them	III	736
4221	2914	85	*Cinna* declares himself a third time consul, and chose *Papirius Carbo* for his colleague; all the other offices were filled with their creatures, and the whole government of *Rome* subverted. All the friends of *Sylla* were murdered, and their estates confiscated; which occasioned most of the men of honour and fortune to fly from *Rome* to *Sylla* for protection	III	739
4221	2914	85	*Sylla* and *Mithridates* having concluded a peace, *Sylla* goes against *Fimbria*, the lieutenant under the late consul *Flaccus*, and summons him at *Thyatira* in *Lydia* to surrender up his troops, upon which many revolt from *Fimbria* to *Sylla*: *Fimbria* hires a slave to murder *Sylla*, which is discovered. *Sylla* marches his troops against *Fimbria*, who retires into *Pergamus* and stabs himself	III	67
4222	2915	84	*Cinna* and *Papirius Carbo* declare themselves consuls again: *Cinna* marries his daughter *Cornelia* to the famous *Julius Cæsar*. *Sylla* marches towards *Rome* with great threatnings; *Cinna* goes against him; the soldiers mutiny and kill him. *Carbo* now reigned alone, and raised 200,000 men to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy*. *Sylla* harangues his army, who take a new oath to him, and promise to commit no devastations in *Italy*: They are first met and joined by *Metellus Pius* and his men. *Sylla* sends offers of peace to the consul *Narbo*, who uses his messengers ill; upon which a battle ensues, wherein *Narbo* has 6000 killed, and then abundance desert the consul and join *Sylla*. *Pompey* raises an army and does the same. *Scipio* the other consul coming against *Sylla*, *Sylla* desires peace; a truce is agreed on, during which *Sylla* draws off his men, then takes the consul and his son prisoners, but sets them at liberty, with a guard to escort them safe to their friends. The consul *Scipio* raises a new army and goes against *Pompey*, but is a second time deserted, and his men go over to *Pompey*, who joined *Sylla*.	V	68
4222	2915	84	*Ptolemy Alexander* tired with his mother *Cleopatra*'s usage, retires from *Alexandria* to live privately: She coaxes him to return, with a design to murder him; but he being informed of it, murders her; and the *Alexandrians* expel him; whereupon *Lathyrus* comes from *Cyprus*, and becomes king over the whole dominions of *Egypt* by himself	V	70
4223	2916	83	The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* at *Rome* burnt, and with it the *Sibyline* books, which two years afterwards *Sylla* ordered to be restored, by collecting the fragments and copies, *&c*, and thereout to make new books, which was the work of the quindecemvirs, five members being added to the former ten	III	662
4224	2917	82	The consul *Narbo* and *C. Marius* rob all the temples at *Rome* of their gold and ornaments, to raise money to pay their troops. *Carinas* for the consuls engages *Metellus Pius*, and is defeated with great loss: This so exasperates young *Marius*, one of this year's consuls, that he sends orders to *Junius Brutus* the prætor in *Rome* to murder all the friends of *Sylla*, which was immediately executed, among whom was *Carbo* the consul's brother, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, and *Mucius Scævola* pontifex maximus; upon which *Sylla* advancing towards *Rome*, is met by the consul *Marius* at *Setia* upon the banks of the *Liris*, where they engage a long time, but at last *Marius* being deserted by seven cohorts at once, is intirely overthrown and routed with a dreadful slaughter, *Sylla* then marches to *Rome*, which opens its gates to him. His generals gained continual victories over the consular armies, which by slaughter and desertion was greatly decreased. *Telesinus*, a noble *Samnite*, raises a great army and joins all the scattered forces of the consuls, and marches to *Rome* with an intent to massacre all the inhabitants and raze the city: *Sylla* goes and engages him, but is defeated with great loss: But *Crassus*, another *Roman* general, defeated the	V	79

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			Samnites, and killed *Teleſinus*, and took *Carinas*, *Brutus* and *Cenſorinus*, (who were ſoon after beheaded) and routed the reſt: 3000 of them come to *Sylla* to beg for their lives; he orders them to kill of their countrymen ſo many as refuſed to join them; they kill vaſt numbers, and then 6000 of them he carries to *Rome*, puts them into the circus, and while he was haranguing the ſenate, orders all to be killed there. *Marius* kills himſelf, and all the *Samnites* and *Præneſtines* able to bear arms are put to the ſword that were in the city of *Præneſte*, and the city plundered: This ſo terrified the inhabitants of *Norba*, that they ſet fire to their houſes, and periſhed in the flames. The civil war now ended; *Sylla* put governors into all the *Italian* provinces, and kept ſmall armies in ſeveral places to keep them in awe: Then he aſſembled the *Comitium* at *Rome*, and told them that he would put every perſon to the ſword that had bore arms againſt him, proſcribed 40 ſenators and 1600 knights, with ſevere penalties againſt any that concealed or aſſiſted them: *Catiline* was the executioner of his vengeance, who ſlew a great many even before they knew they were proſcribed. All ranks and degrees were murdered in vaſt numbers in *Rome*, and in the adjacent parts; ſome cities were diſmantled; others exceſſively taxed; ſome demoliſhed, and all the citizens proſcribed, *&c.* Thus he became maſter of *Rome*, and all its provinces except *Spain*; after which he got himſelf proclaimed continual dictator	V	78
4224	2917	82	*Muræna* the *Roman* general having broke the peace with *Mithridates*, and taken many towns, *&c.* *Mithridates* engages him, overthrows him, and drives him into *Phrygia*: But *Sylla* being now dictator, orders *Muræna* to return home, and ſent *M. Thermas* to be prætor in *Aſia*, and *Gabinius* to ſettle all things with *Mithridates*	III	739
4224	2917	82	*Alexander* late king of *Egypt*, after divers defeats, dies, and leaves a ſon named alſo *Alexander*	III	662
4224	2917	82	*Thebes* (a great city in the *Upper Egypt*) refuſing to ſubmit to *Lathyrus*, he beſieged it, and after three years took it, and gave it to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who ſo deſtroyed it that it never after was famous	III	663
4225	2918	81	*Sylla* makes great changes in the laws of *Rome*, and reſtores the patrician power very much, and gives the right of citizenſhip to 10,000 ſlaves, and calls them *Cornelians*; and gave his legionaries the lands of the *Municipia*, and colonies that had declared againſt him; and then orders himſelf a triumph for his conqueſts in *Aſia*, *Greece* and *Pontus*, which laſted two days; on the firſt, 15,000 pounds weight of gold and 115,000 of ſilver, brought from *Greece* and *Aſia*, were carried before him; and on the ſecond, 13,000 of gold and 7000 of ſilver, which young *Marius* had ſaved out of the fire of the capitol, *&c.*	V	80
4225	2918	81	*Sylla* ſends *Pompey* (who had reduced all *Sicily*) againſt *Domitius*, who had ſtirred up *Hiarbas* (king of part of *Numidia*) againſt *Sylla* in *Aſia*; they come to an engagement; *Domitius* has 17,000 men killed on the ſpot; *Pompey* purſues him to his camp, which he forces, kills *Domitius*, and takes *Hiarbas* priſoner, and thereby recovered all the revolted cities of *Africa*. *Sylla* orders *Pompey* to diſband his troops and come to *Rome*, which he does, and is received with the higheſt honour, and ſirnamed *the Great*	V	80
4226	2919	80	*Sylla* (though dictator) names himſelf and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* for conſuls, and are choſe, upon which he treats all the city of *Rome* for many days with great profuſion. *Pompey* requires a triumph, and after much oppoſition from *Sylla* has it. *Sylla* reduces *Nola* in *Campania*, and *Volaterræ* in *Hetruria*, the two only cities that held out againſt him	V	81
4227	2920	79	*Cicero* pleads for the firſt time in favour of *Roſcius*, and having uſed too much freedom againſt *Sylla*, retires to *Athens* to compleat his ſtudies	V	82
4227	2920	79	*Alexander* king and high-prieſt of the *Jews* dies, in his camp before *Ragaba*, which he was then beſieging, and left the kingdom to his queen *Alexandra*, and upon her death to which of his two ſons ſhe ſhould chooſe	IV	102
4227	2920	79	*Sylla*, after having deſtroyed above 100,000 *Roman* citizens, 90 ſenators, and proſcribed or murdered 2600 *Roman* knights, and buried numberleſs multitudes of the allies in the ruins of their cities, aſſembles the people, mounts the roſtra, and making a ſpeech to them, concludes with, *Romans, I reſign my Office, diveſt myſelf of the unlimited Power you have conferred upon me, and am ready to anſwer in a private Capacity whatever can be alledged againſt me*; then diſmiſſed his lictors, came down from the roſtra, and went to his own houſe in the rank of a private man, and ſo continued to his death	V	83
4228	2921	78	The quarrels between the conſuls threatning *Rome* with another civil war, *Sylla* retires to his country-houſe, and gives himſelf up to all manner of debaucheries, which threw him into a violent diſeaſe that bred an impoſthume in his bowels, which produced vaſt quantities of vermin that in a ſmall time determined his life: His burial was honoured with all the pomp and publick reſpect poſſible	V	83
4228	2921	78	Towards the end of the conſular year, *Lepidus* comes with a great army againſt *Rome* to force them to chuſe him a ſecond time, but is repulſed by his colleague and *Pompey*, and obliged to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight into *Hetruria*: *M. Junius Brutus* eſpouſing his cauſe, *Pompey* marches againſt him into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, beſieges and takes *Mutina*, forcing him and all his army to ſurrender at diſcretion: *Pompey* ordered *Brutus* to be beheaded, but uſed the troops with great humanity. *Lepidus* having recruited his army, went a ſecond time to *Rome*, but was again forced to retire, firſt into *Hetruria* and then into *Sardinia*, where he ſoon died, and his rebellion with him	V	85
4229	2922	77	*Alexandra* (queen of the *Jews*) having reſtored the *Phariſees* to that power from which her huſband had reduced them, they uſed it ſo exorbitantly as to compel her to reverſe all the former decrees made againſt them, and to perſecute the *Sadducees* with great cruelty	IV	103

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4230	2923	76	*Julius Cæsar* appears for the first time at the bar, and impeaches *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, formerly prætor of *Macedonia*, by which he gained great reputation, tho' the accused was excused		
4230	2923	76	*Ptolemy Lathyrus* king of *Egypt* dies, and is succeeded by his only legitimate child, *Cleopatra Berenice*. *Sylla* being now perpetual dictator of *Rome*, sends *Alexander*, the son of *Ptolemy Alexander* late king of *Egypt*, to take possession of the crown of *Egypt*: The *Alexandrians* persuade him to marry *Cleopatra*, that now reigned, which he does, but orders her to be murdered 19 days afterwards; then reigned very cruelly for 15 years, at the end of which time the *Alexandrians* expel him the kingdom; upon which he went to *Tyre*, and died a few months after	V	90
4231	2924	75	The consul *Aurelius Cotta* consents to abolish one of *Sylla*'s laws, and to admit the tribunes to be advanced to superior offices	III	665
4231	2924	75	*Sertorius* having for many years supported the *Marian* faction in *Spain*, and advanced *Lusitania* into a commonwealth, and continually harrassed and defeated *Metellus*, *Hirtuleius*, one of his lieutenants, is attacked by *Metellus*, who defeats and kills him 20,000 men. *Sertorius* engages and defeats *Pompey*; a small time after he defeated him again, and killed 6000 of his men, and soon after reduced both *Pompey* and *Metellus* to the utmost straits. *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* sends *Sertorius* 5000 talents, and 40 ships completely armed; and *Sertorius* sends him a body of troops, under the command of *Marcus Marius*	V	92
4231	2924	75	*Mithridates* and his son-in-law *Tigranes* join; *Tigranes* besieges *Cappadocia*, and *Mithridates Paphlagonia*, with 120,000 foot, 16,000 horse, and 100 chariots armed with scythes. *Paphlagonia* submits; then he goes into *Bythinia*	V	95
4232	2925	74	*M. Antonius* the *Roman* admiral going against the *Cretan* pirates, is defeated, and sees many of his ships taken, and his men hung upon the enemies masts; which so affects him, that he dies of grief soon after	III	740
4232	2925	74	*Mithridates* advances with two large armies, and a fleet of 400 ships of 30 oars, and abundance of smaller vessels; the one under *Diophantus Matharus* marches into *Cappadocia*; the other, consisting of 150,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 100 armed chariots, *Mithridates* commanded in person; and a third army commanded by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, near *Heraclea* in *Pontus*; *Lucullus* commanded *Cotta* to keep the fleet in the harbour of *Chalcedon*; *Cotta* sends his legate *Rutilius* to watch *Mithridates*'s motions, whom *Marius* and *Eumachus* meet, who slew him and cut his army in pieces; *Mithridates* serves several other officers in the same manner, and orders his admiral to sail into the harbour of *Chalcedon*, where he burnt some and sunk others, and took the remainder of the *Roman* fleet without opposition; 8000 sailors are killed, and 4500 taken prisoners, and 5300 land forces, all *Italians*. *Lucullus* following *Mithridates* to the siege of *Cyzicum*, kills 10,000 of his men, and takes 13,000; *Lucullus* a while after cuts off a large detachment of *Pontines*, and got the mastery of a mountain whereby he cut off all communication by land from *Mithridates*; this caused both a famine and a plague in his army, They endeavour to break up the siege and retire; but *Lucullus* falls upon them as they were passing the river *Rhyndacus*, took 600 horse, and all the beasts of burthen, 15,000 men, and put the rest to the sword: He also took *Aristonicus*, the king's admiral, and a large sum of money. The king breaks up the siege, and embarks in the night. *Marius* goes by land with 30,000 men for *Lampsacus*; *Lucullus* follows, engages, and kills him 20,000 men. Upon *Lucullus*'s return to *Cyzicum*, the people pay him the highest honours, and institute sports, and call them *Lucullea*; he declared the city free, and the senate gave them the same privileges with *Rome*. *Mithridates* is said to lose 300,000 men by this siege. *Lucullus* comes up with the king's fleet of 50 ships, and 10,000 land forces on board, and takes 32, and puts most of the land forces to the sword: The next day *Marius*, *Alexander*, and *Dionysius*, three generals, are taken in a cave, and carried to *Lucullus*; *Marius* he ordered to be put to death. The king encamps near to *Lucullus*: but his detachments being several times defeated, at last his whole army run away without being attacked, and leaves only a small guard to go with the king to his son-in-law *Tigranes*. In his passage he sends *Bacchides* to *Pharnacia*, to put his sisters, wives, and concubines to death, which was done accordingly. All the governours of towns, *&c.* in *Pontus* submit to *Lucullus*. *Heraclea*, a chief city of *Pontus*, having vigorously stood a two years siege, was at last betrayed by their governor *Conacorix*, who delivered up one of the gates in the night: The *Romans* under *Cotta* and *Triarius* murder most of the people, and plunder the town, with its temple, *&c.* and then reduced it to ashes. Thus was all *Pontus* subdued, and made a *Roman* province. Then *Lucullus* went against *Armenia Minor*, who all submit	III	747
4232	2925	74	*Perperna* cabals against *Sertorius* in *Spain*, and strives by all means to bring him into disgrace with the people, and at last treacherously murdered him. *Perperna* commands the army of *Sertorius*, is defeated, and taken prisoner by *Pompey*, and by him put to death, which put an end to the war in *Spain*	V	97
4233	2926	73	The *Italian* slaves, under one *Spartacus* a gladiator, make an insurrection; they first defeat the *Capuan* militia, then the *Roman* prætor *Claudius Pulcher* with 30,000 men, and then overthrew the prætor *Varinus*	V	97
4234	2927	72	*Cnixus*, one of the chiefs of the *Gaulish* slaves, separates from *Spartacus*, and is cut to pieces with his whole army in *Apulia*, by the consul *Gellius*; upon which *Spartacus* falls upon the other consul *Lentulus*, and gave him a total overthrow; and then marched against *Gellius*, and defeated him. *Spartacus* sacrificed all the *Roman* prisoners round *Cnixus*'s funeral pile		
4234	2927	72	*Tigranes* engages *Lucullus*, and is entirely defeated: But *Mithridates* recovers a great part of *Pontus*, and overthrew *Fabius* the *Roman* governor of that province, but was soon after defeated by *Triarius*, another *Roman* general	III	749

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			Mithridates and *Triarius* engage again; the *Romans* are defeated with great slaughter; but the king being greatly wounded by a *Roman*, who was one of his own men, occasioned a retreat to be sounded, which gave the remaining *Romans* an opportunity to escape, having lost 7000 men, 150 centurions, 24 tribunes: After the king was recovered from his wound, he ordered all the *Romans* in his army to be formed into one body, and when they were retired to their tents, he ordered every man of them to be cut to pieces.		
4235	2928	71	The *Roman* senate appoints *Licinius Crassus* general of the forces sent against the rebel-slaves: He dispatches *Mummius*, his lieutenant with two legions to watch their motions; but he offering *Spartacus* battle, is put to flight at the first onset. *Crassus* soon after falls in with 10,000 of the rebels, who were laying the country waste, fell upon and cut them all to pieces. *Spartacus* posted himself in a peninsula near *Rhegium*, where *Crassus* shut him in with a ditch from one sea to the other, 300 furlongs long, 15 foot broad, and 15 foot deep; but *Spartacus* one snowy night filled up part of it, and forced his way through the enemies army, and again encamped in the open country. Part of the slaves quarrel with their leader, and separate: *Crassus* attacks them, and kills 12,300. Soon after *Crassus* engages *Spartacus*, kills him and 40,000 rebels: A party of them retired under the conduct of one *Publipot* into *Lucania*, where *Pompey* intirely defeated them, and so put an end to this rebellion.	III	750
4236	2929	70	*Pompey* and *Crassus* are made this year's consul's at *Rome*. *Pompey* refuses to disband the troops brought out of *Spain*, till he has a triumph; and *Crassus* would not part with the command of his army, till *Pompey* laid down his arms, affirming that *Pompey* aim'd at the sovereignty, and, like *Sylla*, to govern by a standing army; but with great difficulty they are both prevailed upon to disband their armies, and are seemingly reconciled; but each of them strove to make themselves friends; *Pompey* by popularity, reinstating the tribunes in their former power, and restoring the power of judging civil causes by the *Roman* knights. *Crassus*, though naturally covetous, entertained the people with prodigious profusion at 10,000 tables, and gave corn to the populace sufficient to maintain their families three whole months, he being the richest man in all *Rome*, being worth 7000 talents, or 1,356,250 *l. sterling*. This year the censorship was again revived, and the number of the *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms was found to be 450,000.	V	98
4236	2929	70	Queen *Alexandra* dies, and her son *Hyrcanus*, then high-priest of the *Jews*, is proclaimed king of the *Jews* by the *Pharisees*; but his brother *Aristobulus* opposes him; they come to a battle, *Hyrcan* is defeated and flies to *Jerusalem*, whither *Aristobulus* follows him, and obliges him to surrender the crown and priesthood to him, which he did, after a reign of three months, and by the artifice of *Antipater*, the father of *Herod*, was persuaded to fly to *Aretas* king of *Arabia* for safety and protection	V	99
3237	2930	69	*Aretas* king of *Arabia* comes with an army to resettle *Hyrcan* in *Judea*: *Aristobulus* engages him, is defeated, and flies to *Jerusalem*, whither *Aretas*, *&c.* follows him, and besieges him in the precinct of the temple	IV	107
4238	2931	68	The *Cretans* send 23 of their chief members to *Rome* to appease the senate; but *P. Lentulus Spinther* opposes them, and *Metellus* is sent against them, who intirely overthrew *Lasthenes*, and besieged *Cydonia*, the metropolis of the island, which the governor *Panares* surrendered: Then *Metellus* went to *Gnossus*, whither *Lasthenes* was flown, which after setting on fire, *Lasthenes* withdrew; so that *Metellus* conquered the whole island of *Crete* in one campaign.	IV	107
4239	2932	67	The *Cretans* and *Cilician* pirates, upon account of *Metellus*'s severity, send a deputation to *Pompey*, and offer to submit to him, (who was vested with an absolute power for three years, by the senate, to act and do whatever he thought advantagious for the commonwealth:) He receives their hostages, and promises them an advantagious peace, and declares *Metellus* had no right of acting within his proconsulate; this caused a sort of civil war between the *Roman* generals and troops; but *Metellus* taking *Lappa* (a strong city of *Crete*) put all the *Cretans* and *Cilicians* to the sword he found in it: Having absolutely conquered the island, and *Lasthenes* and *Panares* laid down their arms, all the inhabitants submitted to the yoke: *Metellus* changed the form of government, obliged them to live by the *Roman* laws, imposed an annual tribute on the whole island, and made it a *Roman* province. At his return to *Rome*, *Metellus* was honoured with a triumph, and the sirname of *Creticus*.	III	172
4239	2932	67	At the instigation of *Gabinius* the *Roman* tribune, the people impower *Pompey* to equip 500 ships, raise 120,000 foot and 5000 horse, and to choose twenty senators for his lieutenants: He had also two quæstors, and 6000 *Attic* talents paid him before he left *Rome*. In four months time he quite cleared the seas of the pirates, taking and sinking 1300 of their ships, cutting 10,000 of their men to pieces, and taking 120 towns and castles on the sea coasts from them, setting an incredible number of captives free, and taking 20,000 prisoners, whom he sent to repeople the deserted cities of *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphania*, and *Soli* in *Cilicia*: These successes occasioned the passing the *Manilian* law at *Rome*, whereby *Pompey* was made absolute governor of all the armies, fleets and provinces belonging to *Rome*.	V	102
4239	2932	67	*Lucullus* is deposed, and the *Roman* consul *Glabrio* sent to command in his stead, during which time *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* recovered the greatest part of *Pontus*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia Minor*.	III	750
4240	2933	66	*Pompey* having made peace with the *Cilician* pirates, offers the same to *Mithridates*, upon condition of his laying down his arms and surrendering up the deserters: This being refused, and both armies encamped on two hills opposite to one another, *Pompey* cuts a ditch 150 furlongs in circuit at the foot of the king's hill,		

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			which extremely straitened the king's army, forcing them to live upon their dead horſes, which periſhed for want of forage: He reſolves to break through the *Roman* fortifications; and firſt he put all the ſick and diſabled to the ſword, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, and then in the night forces his way into the open country, and marches towards *Armenia Major*, where *Tigranes* waited for him: *Pompey* purſues him with his whole army, overtakes and kills 40,000 of his men, with the loſs of about thirty *Roman* ſoldiers and two centurions. *Mithridates*, forſaken by all his attendants, flies with his wife *Hypſicratia*, his daughter *Dripetine*, and one officer; meets a body of mercenaries that were coming to join him, to the number of 3000, who eſcort him to the caſtle of *Sinoriæ*, on the borders of the two *Armenias*, where his treaſures were; he rewarded them very liberally, took 6000 talents and retired into *Armenia*, from whence he ſends to *Tigranes*; but he being about clapping up a peace with the *Romans*, put his ambaſſadors in irons. *Pompey* built a city called *Nicopolis* in the field of battle, which he beſtowed upon his old and diſabled ſoldiers; and many reſorting to it from all parts, it ſoon became noted.		
4241	2934	65	*Catiline*, at the head of a great number of extravagant debauchees, conſpires the death of the conſuls, and the ſeizing the government of *Rome* by the murder of the ſenate; but giving the ſignal at a wrong time, it proved abortive.	III	753
4241	2934	65	*Julius Cæſar* is this year made ædile at *Rome*: He courts the people by all acts of popularity poſſible; he finiſhes the *Appian* way, almoſt wholly at his own expence, and entertained the people with 320 couple of gladiators, and the *Megaleſian* games, running himſelf 251,875 *l. ſterling* in debt.	V	103
4241	2934	65	*Ariſtobulus* ſend ambaſſadors to *Scaurus*, one of *Pompey*'s generals, and offers him 400 talents for his aſſiſtance: *Scaurus* writes to *Aretas*, ordering him to raiſe the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, upon pain of being declared an enemy to *Rome*. *Aretas* immediately decamps, and returns homewards: *Ariſtobulus* purſues and overtakes him at *Papyrion*, overthrew him, killed 7000 of his men, and quite diſperſed the reſt. *Pompey* being come to *Damaſcus*, embaſſadors are ſent to him from *Judea*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, with great preſents: *Ariſtobulus* ſent him a golden vine, with fruit on it, upon a ſquare mount, with deer, lions, *&c.* about it, all of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, valued at 5000 talents, which *Pompey* ſet up in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Rome*: *Pompey* orders the two brothers to appear perſonally before him at *Damaſcus*.	V	103
4242	2935	64	*Ariſtobulus* and his brother *Hyrtan* appear at *Damaſcus* before *Pompey*, who after hearing each ſide, defers the umpirage till he ſhould come into *Judea* himſelf, intending firſt to ſubdue *Aretas* king of *Arabia*. *Ariſtobulus* goes away in a huff, and raiſes an army: *Pompey* goes after him, and at *Corea* ſends for *Ariſtobulus*; who going to him, and after ſeveral conferences *Pompey* demands all his fortreſſes, *&c.* *Ariſtobulus*, to get his liberty, conſents; but as ſoon as he got from him, flies to *Jeruſalem*, whither *Pompey* follows him: *Ariſtobulus* comes out, offers him a large ſum of money, and proſtrate at his feet begs for peace: *Pompey* ſends *Gabinius* with his troops to receive the money, but the gariſon ſhuts the gates, and refuſes their conſent: *Ariſtobulus* is clapt in chains, and the city beſieged. *Hyrcan*'s party opens the city to him, but the others retire within the precincts of the temple; but falling into a ſuperſtitious obſervation of the ſabbath, were attacked on that day, and the place taken, with the ſlaughter of 12,000 by the *Romans*, and abundance murdered themſelves, the prieſts all the while continuing their ſacrifices. *Pompey* puts multitudes of the captives to death, who had eſpouſed *Ariſtobulus*'s cauſe, while others deſtroyed themſelves by ſetting fire to their houſes, and leaping from precipices, *&c.* Thus the whole kingdom of *Judea* was at once ſubdued by the *Romans*.	IV	109
4242	2935	64	*Mithridates* ſues to *Pompey* for peace, but is anſwered, he muſt come in perſon; which he refuſing, enters *Pontus*, and takes ſeveral places from *Pompey*; but *Caſtor*, whom he had made governor of *Phanagorium*, having killed *Trypho*, the king's favourite, to avoid the king's anger ſtirs up the inhabitants to revolt; but the king having four ſons there, they maintained the caſtle againſt *Caſtor*, who beſieged, and took it and them, with their ſiſter *Cleopatra*, and ſent them all to the *Romans*. *Mithridates* ſends eunuchs ambaſſadors to the *Parthians*, with the offer of his daughters to ſuch princes as would aſſiſt him; but their guard murders them, and delivers up the girls to the *Romans*, as well as themſelves: Soon after *Pharnaces* his ſon was proclaimed king by the ſoldiers, *&c.* who grew weary of his ſevere government, upon which he poiſoned himſelf, and ſuch of his daughters and concubines as remained with him; the women died, but he ſurvived, and was forced to ſtab himſelf to get rid of his life, at the *Panticapæum* in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, in the 60th year of his reign; during which time he ſubdued 24 nations, and could ſpeak all their languages fluently; he was an excellent ſcholar, and wrote many books of phyſick, and as great a ſtateſman and general as the age he lived in afforded, *&c.*	IV	111
4243	2936	63	*Pompey* beſtows the kingdom of *Boſphorus* upon *Pharnaces*, ſon of *Mithridates* late king of *Pontus*, and honours him with the title of friend and ally of *Rome*; upon which he orders all his governors, *&c.* in *Pontus* to ſubmit to *Pompey*, and deliver all the treaſure to him. In the city of *Talaura Pompey* found 2000 onyx cups ſet in gold, and a vaſt number of rich ſaddles ſet with jewels, *&c.* the ſtatues of *Minerva*, *Mars* and *Apollo*, of pure gold, *&c.* *Pompey* having reduced *Pontus* into a *Roman* province, goes to *Epheſus*, and in a fleet of 700 ſhips ſails for *Italy*; and coming to *Brunduſium*, to take off all ſuſpicion, diſbands his army. His triumph (which laſted two days) was attended with 124 captives of diſtinction; he would not ſuffer any of them to be put to death, but ſent moſt of them back to their reſpective countries, detaining only thoſe of royal extraction; delivered 20,000 talents into the publick treaſury, notwithſtanding he had diſtri-	III	756

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			buted 16,000 talents among the officers of his army, and given every ſoldier 50 ſeſtertiums	III	758
4243	2936	26	*Cicero*, the now conſul, acquaints the ſenate of *Catiline*'s conſpiracy to his face; upon which it is enacted, that the conſuls ſhould take care that the republick ſuffered no detriment, by an antient form, that inveſted them with abſolute power to raiſe men and money for war, *&c.* *Catiline* prompts *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, *&c.* to ſet the city on fire; goes into *Hetruria*, takes upon him the command of an army, is declared an enemy to *Rome* by the ſenate, and his companions ſeized and executed.	V	108
4243	2936	63	*Hyrcan* is reſtored to his pontifical dignity at *Jeruſalem*, with the ſecular title of prince tributary to *Rome*, but forbid to reſume the diadem, or royal ſtile, or to extend his dominions beyond the old borders of *Judea*. *Pompey*, to mortify the *Jews*, orders the moſt holy places in the temple to be opened to him and his attendants, where he viewed the golden table, candleſticks cenſers, lamps, *&c.* the ſpices and rich perfumes, *&c.* and 200 talents in the treaſury, all which he left untouched, and ordered the prieſts to purify it, and go on with their uſual worſhip: Then he commanded the walls of *Jeruſalem* to be pulled down, and left *Scaurus* with a ſufficient force governor of it, and returned with *Ariſtobulus*, his two ſons and two daughters captive; but *Alexander*, one of the ſons, made his eſcape.		
4244	2937	62	*Alexander* (ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, the depoſed king and high-prieſt of the *Jews*) is defeated by the *Roman* general, with the loſs of 3000 men killed, and many taken priſoners, who afterwards followed and beſieged him in *Alexandrion*, where he ſurrenders up all the fortreſſes he had ſeized, which the *Romans* demoliſhed, and then divided the *Jewiſh* ſtate into five diſtricts, and appointed ſeparate courts of judicature at *Jeruſalem*, *Gadara*, *Amath*, *Jericho*, and *Sephoris*, changing the government from monarchical into ariſtocratical	IV	114
4244	2937	62	The proconſul *Antonius* pretends to be ſick, and reſigns the command of his army to *Petræus*, his lieutenant, who engages *Catiline*, kill shim and 3000 of his troops, and ſo quaſhed the rebellion; by puniſhing the guilty heads wherever they were taken	V	109
4244	2937	62	*Julius Cæſar* is made *Pontifex Maximus*, and divorces his wife *Pompeia*, for her amorous intrigues with *P Claudius*, a debauched young patrician	V	110
4245	2938	61	*Ptolemy Auletes* (or the flute-player) the natural ſon of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, ſucceeds in the throne of *Egypt*, by the choice of the *Alexandrians*: He was the moſt effeminate king that ever had been in *Egypt*: He purchaſed an alliance with *Rome* at the price of 6000 talents, or 1,162,500 pounds *ſterling*, but was ſoon after drove out of the kingdom by the *Alexandrians*, who ſet up his daughter *Berenice*, who marrying *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, ſoon after cauſed him to be ſtrangled, and married *Archelaus*, high-prieſt of *Comana* in *Pontus*	III	666
4246	2939	60	*Cæſar* being appointed governor of *Further Spain*, compriſing *Luſitania* and *Bætica*, *viz.* *Portugal* and *Andaluſia*, was ſtopped by ſome of his creditors; *Craſſus* pays ſome, and becomes ſurety to others for 830 talents, or 160,812 pounds *ſterling*. When he arrived in *Spain*, he ſubdued ſeveral nations that had never yet been ſubject to *Rome*, and returned home, bringing with him ſufficient to diſcharge all his debts, amounting to 1,600,000 *l. ſterling*. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* being at variance, he undertakes to reconcile them, and propoſes all things to be managed by them three, called the firſt great triumvirate.	V	112
4247	2940	59	C *Julius Cæſar* being choſe conſul, propoſes to divide the lands belonging to the ſtate in *Campania* among ſuch poor *Roman* citizens as had three children or more: The ſenate oppoſed it to the utmoſt, but the people paſs it tumultuouſly	V	114
4248	2941	58	*C. Julius Cæſar* gets himſelf the government of *Tranſalpine* and *Ciſalpine Gaul* for five years, with the command of four legions, contrary to all law, *&c.*	V	114
4248	2941	58	*Clodius* being advanced to the tribuneſhip at *Rome*, uſed all his power againſt *Cicero*, who had accuſed him about *Cæſar*'s wife, and got him baniſhed, burnt his fine palaces at *Rome*, and his country houſes, and confiſcated all his eſtate	V	116
4248	2941	58	*Cæſar* engages the *Hetrurians*, who had burnt down their own towns and houſes with a reſolution to enter *Gaul*, cuts off 130,000 of them, and the reſt ſubmit: *Cæſar* obliges them to lay down their arms, and ſends them back into their own country. Soon after he engaged *Arioviſtus*, intirely defeated him by cutting off moſt of his troops; himſelf eſcaped with difficulty croſs the *Rhine*, but his two wives and one of his daughters periſhed; and another of his daughters, and a great many *Germans* of diſtinction were taken priſoners	V	118
4249	2942	57	*Cicero* is recalled from baniſhment with all the demonſtrations of joy poſſible, and received with the greateſt reſpect at *Rome*, where he has his palace rebuilt at the public expence, *&c.*	V	119
4249	2942	57	The ſeveral nations of *Belgium* conſpire againſt the *Romans*: *Cæſar* marches againſt them; the *Rhemi* ſubmit, but the reſt appoint *Galba* king of the *Sueſſones* their commander, being 150,000. *Cæſar* attacks them as they are croſsing the *Axona*, now the *Aiſne*, and made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter of them, that they reſolved to diſperſe and return home. Several places ſubmitted; but the *Nervii* (a very fierce people) fell upon *Cæſar*'s army, and killed abundance of them; but at laſt, *Cæſar* having deſtroyed almoſt all of the young men, the old men, women, and children ſurrendered. Then going againſt the *Aduatici*, they pretended to give up their arms and ſubmit; but having concealed a third part of them, attacked the *Romans* in the night, for which *Cæſar* the next day broke down the city gates, put many to the ſword, and ſold the reſt (to the number of 53,000) for ſlaves. This brought the ſubmiſſions of ſeveral nations beyond the *Rhine*, and vaſt ſpoil and treaſure to *Cæſar*.		

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4249	2242	57	*Ariſtobulus* and his ſon *Antigonus* eſcape out of priſon at *Rome*, and return into *Judea*, who with 8000 men that he had collected, ſets about building the caſtle of *Alexandrion*; but the *Romans* engage, defeat, and kill 5000 of his men, and force him to fly with 1000 into the ruinated caſtle of *Macheron*, where after two days ſtout reſiſtance, they take him by aſſault, and ſend him and his ſon priſoners to *Rome*, where he remained to his death, but the reſt of his family was ſet at liberty		
4250	2943	56	*Alexander* ſon of *Ariſtobulus* raiſes a large army and comes again into *Judea*, and conquers all before him; but being at laſt engaged by *Gabinius*, the *Roman* general, near mount *Tabor*, is intirely defeated with the loſs of 10,000 men killed on the ſpot, and the reſt diſperſed	IV	114
4250	2943	56	*Gabinius* governor of *Syria* undertakes to reſtore *Ptolemy Auletes* to the throne of *Egypt* for 10,000 talents, or 1937,500 *l. ſterling*, one half to be paid down, which is agreed to. Accordingly, he ſends *Mark Antony*, who marches into *Egypt* and takes *Peluſium*, and *Gabinius* marches into the heart of the country, and is met by *Archelaus*, the huſband of *Berenice*; they engage, the *Egyptians* are all cut off, and *Archelaus* taken, who is ſet at liberty for a large ranſom, and being ſeveral times defeated, is at laſt beſieged in *Alexandria*, where after defending the place to the laſt extremity, he marches out, and engages the *Romans*, who killed him and routed his army, and ſo re-eſtabliſh *Auletes* again upon the throne of *Egypt*, who firſt puts his daughter *Berenice* to death, for accepting the throne from the *Alexandrians*, and then deſtroyed moſt of the great men for driving him away, confiſcating their goods to raiſe money to pay *Gabinius*, *&c.*	IV	115
4250	2943	56	*Galba*, one of *Cæſar*'s lieutenants, being attacked at *Octodurus* by a great body of *Gauls*, he defeats and kills 10,000 of them. *Cæſar* having appointed *Brutus* his admiral, ſends him againſt the *Veneti*, who engages their fleet, and obtains a compleat victory; whereupon the *Veneti* ſubmit, but *Cæſar* puts the chiefs to the ſword and ſells the reſt for ſlaves. *Craſſus* goes againſt part of the *Aquitani*, and kills 30,000 in one battle, and ſo reduced all *Aquitane*	IV	671
4251	4944	55	*Cæſar* attacks the *Uſipites* and *Tenctheri*, of whom he cut off almoſt 400,000; then ordered a bridge to be built over the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, plundered and ſacked the *Sicambri*, and frightened the *Suevi*, and returned in 18 days to *Gaul* again, and broke down the bridge	III	121
4251	2944	55	*Cæſar* prepares to invade *Britain*? the *Britains* ſend ambaſſadors into *Gaul* to him, offering to ſubmit and give hoſtages: He marches into *Picardy*, and from thence ſails into *Britain*, lands, is oppoſed, and defeats the *Britains*: They ſue for peace, and deliver hoſtages. A ſtorm ſhatters his ſhips; the *Britains* fall on his ſeventh legion; he comes to their aſſiſtance, and intirely overthrows the *Britains* with great ſlaughter ſeveral times, and then returns to *Gaul*. The ſenate order a ſupplication or general thankſgiving, for 20 days, for *Cæſar*'s ſucceſs in *Britain*	V	112
4251	2944	55	The *Trebonian* law (ſo called from *Trebonius*, the tribune of the people) paſſed at *Rome*, whereby *Cæſar* had the command of *Gaul*, *&c.* given him for five years; *Craſſus Syria*, *Egypt* and *Macedon*; and *Pompey* the two *Spains* for the ſame time, abſolutely, (ſo that no power could reach them for that time) with full power to raiſe men, money, *&c.*	VII	413
4251	2944	55	*Ateius* (one of the tribunes of the *Roman* people) ſtrove with all his might to hinder *Craſſus*, the conſul, and one of the triumvir's, going into *Aſia*; but being oppoſed, went ſo far as even to arreſt his perſon; but eight of his colleagues delivered *Craſſus* from the officer who had ſeized him; *Pompey* conducted him out of *Rome* with a ſtrong guard; but *Ateius* coming to the city gate through which he was to paſs, threw perfumes into a fire he had cauſed to be kindled there, and curſed *Craſſus* with a thouſand imprecations and invokings of the infernal gods. *Craſſus* leaves *Rome*, and coming into *Syria* (the province aſſigned him) marches to *Jeruſalem* to ſeize all the treaſures that *Pompey* had left untouched: *Eleazer*, one of the prieſts in order to ſatisfy his avaricious temper, diſcovers to him a golden rafter, weighing 3000 *Hebrew*, or 750 common pounds; but though he had ſolemnly ſwore he would meddle with nothing elſe, as ſoon as he had got that, he plundered the treaſury of 2000 talents, and the temple of all elſe that was valuable, to the amount of 8000 talents more: From hence he went into *Parthia*, though then in alliance and peace with *Rome*; he beſieges *Nicephorium*, which *Dio* the governor offered to ſurrender; but when *Craſſus* ſent a party to take poſſeſſion, *Dio* ſurrounded and cut them all to pieces. *Craſſus* takes the city by aſſault, ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves, and confiſcated their goods	V	123
4252	2945	54	*Cæſar* lands a ſecond time in *Britain*, without oppoſition, the people being frighted at his great number of ſhips, pretending they had not ſent the hoſtages agreed upon: He marches againſt and defeats the *Britons*; a ſtorm deſtroys and ſhatters a great part of his fleet; the *Britons* often attack him, but are always defeated with great loſs. Having ravaged the country he returned to *Gaul*	IV	296
4252	2945	54	*Julia* (the daughter of *Julius Cæſar* and wife of *Pompey*) dies, who while living behaved with ſo extraordinary a prudence, as to keep her father and huſband from coming to an open rupture, which ſoon after broke out between them, and was ſo highly honoured and eſteemed by all ranks of people, that ſhe was buried in the field of *Mars*, an honour allowed only to great heroes, and never to any woman before	VII	426
4252	2945	54	The *Gauls* make a general inſurrection: *Cæſar* upon account of a famine that then was, being forced to divide his army and place them in different parts in ſmall parties, ſeveral of them are cut off, but at laſt he reduced them again to obedience, having a reinforcement of two legions from *Pompey*	V	124
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4252	2945	54	*Craſſus* ſpends much of his time in improving, by all ſcandalous methods, the annual income of his province, by robbing the temples, extorting extravagant ſums from the people, *&c.* and by neglecting military diſcipline his ſoldiers became effeminate. *Orodes* the *Parthian* king ſends ambaſſadors to *Craſſus*, complaining of his uſage, and deſires his reaſons for it; but *Craſſus* anſwering very haughtily, is at length attacked at *Carrhæ*, by *Surenas* the *Parthian* general, his ſon is killed, himſelf defeated, and his army routed with great ſlaughter, and his camp took and plundered; and purſuing *Craſſus*, takes him by a treacherous propoſal of conferring about a peace, kills him and his attendants, and cuts off his head, and brings it to *Orodes*, who ordered his mouth to be filled with melted gold, thereby reproaching his avariciouſneſs. In this battle 20,000 *Romans* were killed, and 10,000 taken priſoners —		IV	306
4253	2946	53	*Pompey* poſtponed the election of new conſuls for ſeven months, and his creature *C. Luceius* the tribune propoſed to the people to make *Pompey* dictator; but *Cato*, *&c.* oppoſing it ſtrongly, *Domitius Calvinus* and *Valerius Meſſala* were choſe conſuls for the remaining five months; but corruption was ſo notoriouſly ſettled at *Rome*, that the candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly, and the heads of the faction employed force, ſo that many maſſacres happened in the inſtalling them in their offices —		V	124
4253	2946	53	*Orodes* king of *Parthia* having made peace with *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, and becoming jealous of the growing power of his general *Surenas*, who had lately defeated the *Romans* and killed *Craſſus*, orders him to be put to death —		IV	306
4254	2947	52	*Orſaces* general of *Orodes* king of *Parthia* enters *Syria*, and conquers all the country from *Euphrates* to *Antioch*, and beſieged it: *Cicero* meets a large party of *Parthian* horſe, and cuts them all off to a man; this forces them to raiſe the ſiege, and *Cicero* falls upon them and cuts off great numbers, and their general *Orſaces*, as they were making their retreat —		IV	
4254	2947	52	*Caſſius* the *Roman* general beſieges *Tarichæa* (a city on the ſouth ſhore of the lake *Genneſareth*) where *Pitolaus* with the remains of *Ariſtobulus*'s party were; he takes and carries off 30,000 *Jews* priſoners, and *Pitolaus* he puts to death —		IV	116
4254	2947	52	*Pompey* and his faction create great diſturbances and doe much miſchief, and he is declared ſole conſul at *Rome*, a thing never known before; and new troops, with 1000 talents to pay them, are allowed him: But he having married *Cornelia*, the daughter of an eminent ſenator, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, aſſociates him with him in the conſulſhip, which greatly pleaſed the patrician ſenators —		V	127
4254	2947	52	*Cæſar*, after having reduced the revolted *Gauls* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, ſends vaſt ſums of money to be diſtributed among his partizans in *Rome*, and the populace, paying the debts of ſome, lending money without intereſt to others, and obliging and careſſing all, he himſelf ſtaying in *Inſubria*, during which the *Gauls* revolt again, and though winter, goes againſt them, beſieges *Noviodunum*; prince *Vercingetorix*, the *Gauliſh* generaliſſimo, comes to its relief; *Cæſar* defeats him, takes the town, and marches to *Avaricum* and takes it by ſtorm, and out of 40,000 *Gauliſh* troops, kills all but 800. The *Edui* revolt, and kill all the *Italians* in their capital, ſeize *Noviodunum*, and in it *Cæſar*'s military cheſt, baggage and proviſions, and then ſet fire to the town: In return, *Cæſar* beſieges *Aleſia*, in which was *Vercingetorix*, with 80,000 men; 160,000 *Gauls* come to his relief, who engaged three times, but were as often defeated with great loſs: The city, being compelled by famine, ſurrenders at diſcretion; and ſo he reduced the *Gauls* once more, for which 20 days thankſgiving to the gods were ordered at *Rome* — —		V	127
4255	2948	51	The *Parthians* return, and beſiege *Antioch* a ſecond time, but are obliged to raiſe the ſiege, to ſuppreſs a rebellion raiſed by one of their own noblemen —		IV	306
4255	2948	51	Several of the *Gauliſh* communities revolt, which *Cæſar* continually defeats, and reduces *Uxellodunum*, a ſtrong place, holding out a long ſiege againſt *Caninius*, one of his generals: *Cæſar* goes himſelf, reduces the place, and cuts off the right hands of all able to bear arms; and having now reduced all *Gaul* from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* to the *Rhine*, turns it into a *Roman* province. He is ſaid to have taken 800 cities, and ſubdued 300 different nations, and defeated 3,000,000 men, 1,000,000 killed, and 1,000,000 taken priſoners, in his ſeveral expeditions againſt the *Gauls* —		V	129
4255	2948	51	*Ptolemy Auletes*, king of *Egypt*, dies, and makes the *Romans* executors of his will, by which he bequeathed his crown to his eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter, ordering them to inter-marry: *Pompey* is appointed guardian; but *Photinus* the eunuch, and *Achillas*, general of all the forces, depoſe *Cleopatra*, with intent to reign abſolutely, the young king being but thirteen years old: She retires into *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, raiſes a great army, and heads it herſelf, being about ſeventeen years of age		III	678
4256	2949	50	*Scribonius Curio*, a great enemy to *Cæſar*, is by *Pompey* ſet at the head of the tribunes; the moſt debauched and extravagant patrician in *Rome*, who, though but young, had contracted debts to the amount of 600,000 great ſeſterces, or 4,843,750 *l. ſterling*. A cenſus is made by which 320,000 citizens fit to bear arms are found in *Rome*, which is ended with a luſtrum: This is the laſt cenſus under the republick — —		V	129
4256	2949	50	*Cæſar* for 1500 talents, or 310,625 *l. ſterl.* buys over the conſul *Æmilius Paulus*, and the tribune *Curio* for great ſums — —		V	129
4257	2950	49	The *Roman* ſenate makes an order, declaring *Cæſar* an enemy if he did not reſign his office of proconſul, at a ſhort limited time; and ordering the conſuls, *&c.* to provide for the publick ſafety. Both ſides arm powerfully againſt each other, and the commonwealth, *Pompey* reigning with the abſolute uncontroulable power of a king, under the name of generaliſſimo, and his friends nominated to all the poſts of honour and profit in *Rome* and all its provinces —		V	131
4257	2950	49	*Mark Antony*, *Caſſius Longinus*, and *Curio*, three of the tribunes, are driven out of *Rome* for ſpeaking in *Cæſar*'s favour: They fly to his camp in the diſguiſe of			

ſlaves:

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			ſlaves: Upon their arrival *Cæſar* ſhews them to the legion he had with him, exaggerating their and his ill uſage, *&c.* begs their defence and protection, which they all promiſe; upon which he croſſes the *Rubicon* into *Italy*, and ſeizes *Arminium*, and orders all his army in *Gaul* to come to him there		
4257	2950	49	*Rome* and all its inhabitants are in the utmoſt conſternation at *Cæſar*'s taking *Arminium*. *Pompey* retires to *Capua*, and declares all ſhould be treated as traytors that did not attend him: Upon which the conſuls, ſenators, and magiſtrates left *Rome* to wait on *Pompey*. *Cæſar* takes all places where he arrives, with little reſiſtance. pardons all the ſenators he takes, and uſes great mildneſs to all degrees of people, *Pompey* quits *Capua*, and retires to *Brunduſium*, whither *Cæſar* followed and beſieged him; from whence *Pompey* and his army eſcapes by ſtratagem on board his fleet, and left *Cæſar* maſter of all *Italy* from the *Alps* to the ſea; then ſends *Curio* with three legions into *Sicily*, which *Cato* abandoned as ſoon as *Curio* landed, and ordered *Valerius* his lieutenant to go into *Sardinia*, where the inhabitants join him, and drive away *Aurelius Cotta*, who commanded there for the ſenate, and ſubmit to *Cæſar*, who ſent for all the ſenators he could come at to come to him at *Rome*, particularly *Cicero*, but could not prevail on him to come. To ſo many as came he propoſed to ſend a deputation to *Pompey*, and to ſettle all things amicably, as hitherto no blood was ſpilt; but none of the ſenators would take upon them the meſſage. *Cæſar* goes to the publick treaſury, breaks open the doors, and takes out ('tis ſaid) 300,000 pounds weight of gold: With this money he raiſed troops all over *Italy*, and ſent governors to all the provinces ſubject to *Rome*: This occaſioned a general war in all parts of the known world, *Pompey* having done the ſame. *Cæſar* goes into *Spain*, where many declare for him: But violent rains and the melting ſnow ſo overflowed the two rivers between which his army lay, that his bridges were broken down, and his communication cut off from thoſe towns that ſupply'd his army, ſo that a famine raged among them, a buſhel of wheat being ſold for 50 *Roman* denarii, or 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *ſterl.* Upon this *Cicero* and many ſenators at *Rome* haſten to join *Pompey*. However, *Cæſar* (by the help of boats and great labour) got ſuccours and forced *Afranius* and *Petreius* out of *Hither Spain*, without a battle, and obliged them to diſband their troops, and ſwear never to make war upon *Cæſar*. One legion in *Further Spain* deſerted from *Varro*, *Pompey*'s governor in *Further Spain*, which obliged him to ſurrender his other legion, and all his money. *Cæſar*, now maſter of all *Spain*, appoints *Caſſius Longinus* governor of both provinces, with four legions to defend them, and returns to *Marſeilles*, which ſurrendered; he grants them their lives and liberties, but ſtrips them of all their arms and their ſhips; and then returned to *Rome*, when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* names him dictator, which he accepts, without abuſing his power: He grants to all the *Gauls* beyond the *Po* the rights of *Roman* citizens, and got himſelf and *Servilius Iſauricus* declared conſuls —	V	132
		49	*Cæſar* releaſes *Ariſtobulus*, the captive king and high-prieſt of the *Jews*, out of priſon, and ſends him with two legions into *Paleſtine*, to keep *Syria* in awe; but *Pompey*'s party find means to deſtroy him by poiſon: *Alexander* his ſon coming with ſome troops to his father's aſſiſtance, *Q. Metellus Scipio*, *Pompey*'s governor in *Syria*, takes him and beheads him — —	V	137
		48	*Cæſar* confirms *Hyrcan* in the *Jewiſh* high-prieſthood, and makes *Antipater* procurator or lieutenant of *Judea*, and citizen of *Rome*; and adds abundance of favourable privileges to the *Jews*, and that they might be publickly known, cauſes his grant to be engraved on tables of braſs, and hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sydon*, *Aſkalon*, and the capitol at *Rome* — —	IV	116
		48	*Cleopatra* cauſes herſelf to be conveyed to *Cæſar*, in *Alexandria*, where enamoured with her beauty, he eſpouſes her cauſe, has a ſon by her called *Cæſarion*, afterwards obliges her to marry her younger brother *Ptolemy*, a lad of 11 years old, by which means ſhe reigned abſolutely over *Egypt* — —	IV	117
		48	*Cæſar* goes in queſt of *Pompey*, and is reinforced by all nations and people. *Pompey* had likewiſe a vaſt army and fleet. *Pompey* and 200 ſenators reſide at *Theſſalonica*, where they aſſemble and give orders as if at *Rome*, from whence all the great men flew to him, calling him the *Good Cauſe*, and *Cæſar* and his adherents the *Abettors of Tyranny*. *Cæſar* firſt goes to *Oricum* (a ſtrong city in *Epirus*) which ſurrenders as ſoon as he approaches: Then he marches to *Apollonia*, on the confines of *Macedon*, another important place, which does the like: From hence he goes to *Dyrrachium*, another ſtrong town in *Macedon*, the magazine for *Pompey*'s arms and proviſions. In the mean time *Cæſar* is informed a ſquadron of *Pompey*'s fleet had attacked his fleet, taken 30 of them, and burnt them with the men in them. *Cæſar* ſends *Vibullus Rufus*, a friend of *Pompey*'s, whom he had taken priſoner, to propoſe the diſbanding both their armies in three days, renew their former friendſhip, with ſolemn oaths, and return to *Italy*. *Pompey* refuſes: *Cæſar* again ſends *Vatinius* to treat with him; but while he was treating with *Labienus*, *Pompey*'s men attacked and wounded them. *Gabinius* and his men endeavouring to go through *Illyrium* to join *Cæſar*, is killed by the *Illyrians*, who had declared for *Pompey*, and all his army to a man cut off. Soon after, *Cæſar* being ſtrongly reinforced, beſieges *Pompey* and his army, and reduces them to great ſtraits for want of forage. *Pompey* gains advantages ſeveral times in ſkirmiſhes, ſo that *Cæſar* is obliged to decamp, and retire to *Apollonia*, where he paid his men, and left the wounded, and then marches into *Macedon*, is joined by *Domitius* with three legions; then goes into *Theſſaly*, which all ſubmit to him: *Pompey* follows him, and at laſt by the importunity of his commanders, contrary to his own inclinations, comes to a general battle in the plains of *Pharſalia*, near *Thebes*; *Pompey*'s people were ſo confident of victory as to lay in their claims for their reſpective offices in the ſtate, *&c.* depending upon their numbers, being 45,000 foot, 7000 horſe, well armed, and	III	678

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			a great number of dartmen and ſlingers. *Cæſar* had but 20,000 foot and 1000 horſe: They engage, and *Cæſar* intirely defeats them with great ſlaughter, and *Pompey* gets away in diſguiſe	V	146
4258	2951	48	In the battle of *Pharſalia*, *Cæſar* is ſaid to loſe but 200, thirty whereof were centurions, which he buried with great ſolemnity. *Pompey* had 25,000 ſlain, ten of which were ſenators, and forty *Roman* knights, and 24,000 were taken priſoners, eight eagles and 180 enſigns. *Cæſar* ordered all the citizens immediately to be ſet at liberty, and then purſues after *Pompey* to *Lariſſa*, and from thence to *Tempe* in *Theſſaly*, from thence to *Mytilene*, where he took into his ſhip his wife *Cornelia* and his ſon *Sextus*, and ſails to *Attalia* in *Pamphilia*, and from thence goes to *Egypt*, where he is ſlain, and his head cut off and embalmed. *Cæſar* purſuing him, upon his arrival at *Alexandria Pompey*'s head is preſented to him, which he cauſed to be buried with great pomp in the temple of *Nemeſis*, the goddeſs of revenge, in the ſuburbs of *Alexandria*. *Cæſar* demanding the money that *Auletes* owed him, *Photinus* the young king's miniſter put him off with delays, and ſtirs up the mob againſt him, who had now only 3200 foot and 800 horſe; whereupon *Cæſar* is forced to take ſhelter in the king's palace, ſummons *Cleopatra* and her brother *Ptolemy* to come before him, that he might determine the difference between them, and orders them to diſband their armies. *Cleopatra* cauſes herſelf to be carried privately, and ſo enamoured him that he declared on her ſide, ſends for *Ptolemy*, and preſſes him to make up all difference with his ſiſter: *Ptolemy* runs into the ſtreet, takes the diadem off his head, tears it to pieces, and throws it on the ground, and complains to the people of being ill uſed, who all riſe againſt *Cæſar*; but *Cæſar* appeaſed them with fair words, and bringing *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* out before the people, cauſed *Auletes*' will to be read, and declared they ſhould reign jointly; and then alſo declared that *Ptolemy* the younger ſon and *Arſinoe* the youngeſt daughter ſhould reign jointly in *Cyprus*; but *Photinus* the chief miniſter uſes all his ſkill and power among the people, and *Achillas* the general beſieged *Cæſar* with 20,000 in *Alexandria*, and murdered one and abuſed another ambaſſador *Cæſar* ſent to him. *Cæſar* was forced to burn what ſhips were in the port, ſome of which when on fire run aſhore, and ſet fire to the famous library that at an immenſe expence was collected by ſeveral kings, to the amount of 400,000 volumes. *Cæſar* detects *Photinus* in correſponding with *Achillas*, and puts him to death; upon which the eunuch *Ganymedes* conveys young *Arſinoe* to the army, who proclaim her queen, and putting their general *Achillas* to death, *Ganymedes* ſucceeds him in that office: *Cæſar* defeats him in two ſea engagements, with great loſs: The *Alexandrians* demand their king, and offer to ceaſe all hoſtilities; *Cæſar* complies, but the young king ſtrives to intercept *Cæſar*'s proviſions; this occaſioned a third ſea fight, wherein the *Romans* came off victorious	III	
4258	2951	48	*Mithridates*, *Antipater*, and *Hyrcanus* jointly come to the aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*: They take *Peluſium*, and advance towards *Alexandria*, and are engaged by the *Egyptians*, whom they totally rout. *Cæſar* goes out of the city, and joins *Mithridates* and *Antipater*: *Ptolemy* with his whole army engages them, has 20,000 cut to pieces, 12,000 taken priſoners, and the king himſelf was drowned in the *Nile*, after three years and eight months reign: Upon this *Cæſar* returns to *Alexandria*, proclaims *Cleopatra* queen, and obliges her to marry her younger brother, a lad of eleven years old		
4258	2951	48	Upon *Pompey*'s death, the ſenate and people of *Rome* declare *Cæſar* conſul for five years, dictator for one year, tribune of the people and head of that college for life, with power to make peace and war at pleaſure, to levy what ſums he thought fit, *&c.*		
4258	2951	48	*Pharnaces*, (king of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*,, ſon of *Mithridates the Great*) taking advantage of the civil war between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, ſeizes a great part of his father's dominions. *Cæſar* ſends *Domitius* againſt him; He engages *Domitius* the *Roman* general, defeats him, and cuts off moſt of his army; but *Cæſar* himſelf marching againſt him, he deſires peace, ſends him a crown of gold, offers him his daughter, and to ſubmit to any thing he ſhould require. *Cæſar* ordered him to retire from *Pontus* immediately, releaſe all his priſoners, and to reſtore the *Romans* all their goods he had ſeized: He promiſed, but delayed: *Cæſar* attacks and defeats him, cuts off or takes moſt of his army, and that ſo expeditiouſly as to make him uſe this memorable ſentence, *I came, I ſaw, I conquered*, in a letter to *Anitius* at *Rome*. After this he made *Mithridates Pergamenus* king of *Boſphorus* inſtead of *Pharnaces*	III	706
4259	2952	47	*Pharnaces* having raiſed ſome recruits, is engaged by *Aſander*, whom he had made governor in *Boſphorus*, and who had ſeized the crown while he was in *Pontus*, and is ſlain, and his army cut to pieces, after he had reigned in *Boſphorus* 15 years, which *Pompey* gave him, Upon his death *Pontus* was again reduced to the form of a *Roman* province	III	707
4259	2952	47	*Cicero*, upon *Cæſar*'s return to *Italy*, goes to make his court and ſubmiſſion to him, for having eſpouſed *Pompey*'s cauſe: *Cæſar* meets him with the higheſt reſpect, civility, and good-nature; the like he did to all the other great men who came to ſee him; and coming to *Rome*, he reſtored peace and tranquillity; but thoſe particular perſons who ſtill remained in arms againſt him, he confiſcated their goods and ſold their eſtates.	V	156
4259	2952	47	*Cæſar* again choſe conſul, goes into *Africa*, where *Pompey*'s party were ſtill very numerous. He ſummons *Conſidius*, commander of *Adrumetum*, to ſurrender, who kills his meſſenger, and goes out againſt him. *Cæſar* being but illy provided with troops, decamps; *Conſidius* purſues and harraſſes him, till he got to *Leptis*, where part of his troops from *Sicily* were come, from whence he ſent orders for the reſt to come; but in the mean time is greatly diſtreſſed for want		

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			of forage, and frequently defeated in parties; but receiving more ſuccours, he went to *Utica* to beſiege it, and was himſelf beſieged by three armies under *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, *Scipio* general of the *Roman* forces, and *Labienus* his lieutenant. *Cæſar* having offered the enemy battle, and they refuſing, he decamps and goes to *Thapſus*, whither he is followed by the three armies. *Cæſar* falls upon *Scipio* firſt, and puts him to flight; then *Labienus*, and defeats him; and then *Juba*, and routs him, killed 50,000 men, takes the three camps, and loſes but 50 of his own men, *Thapſus* ſurrendered, and all the heads of the party either laid violent hands on themſelves, or were taken priſoners, and put to death, except *Labienus*, who eſcaped. *Cato* maintained *Utica*, where he governed with a ſenate of 300 *Romans*, who upon the approach of *Cæſar* reſolve to ſubmit: *Cato* ſtabs himſelf, and *Utica* ſurrenders. All *Africa* being now *Cæſar*'s, from hence he goes into *Mauritania* and *Numidia*, reduces both kingdoms, and makes them *Roman* provinces, which he ordered to be pillaged and plundered, to prevent their revolting		
4259	2952	47	*Herod*, ſon of *Antipater*, being made governor of *Gallilee*, goes againſt and ſubdues the banditti that infeſted the country round about, killed many, and took ſome priſoners, whom he put to death, for which he is cited to anſwer to the *Sanhedrim* at *Jeruſalem*, who would have condemned him, but he made his eſcape to *Damaſcus*, and remained there under the protection of *Sextus Cæſar*, the *Roman* governor of the province	V	165
4261	2954	45	*Cæſar* returning to *Utica*, orders the rebuilding of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, (which two years afterwards were repeopled by *Roman* colonies, ſent to ſettle in them) and ſet ſail for *Italy*; and upon his arrival at *Rome* he is received with all poſſible marks of joy and honour, and publick thankſgivings are made in all the temples for 40 days for his ſucceſſes: He is decreed four triumphs, in which kings, princes, *&c.* went before him in chains, and veſſels of gold and ſilver, to the amount of 65,000 talents, which is more than 12,000,000 *ſterl.* and 1820 golden crowns, weighing 15,033 pounds: Out of theſe ſums he firſt paid his ſoldiers, then gave every private ſoldier 150 *l. ſterl.* 300 *l.* to each centurion, and 900 *l.* to each tribune and commander of the cavalry; and to the commonalty of *Rome* he gave ten buſhels of corn, and ten meaſures of oil, and 400 *Denarii per* man, then entertained them at 20,000 tables with 6000 murenas, and a vaſt profuſion of uncommon dainties, and repreſentations of land and ſea fights, *&c.* then ſets about reforming *Rome* by many good laws, and invites learned and ingenious men of all nations with great privileges and encouragements to come and ſettle at *Rome*	IV	120
4261	2954	45	*Cæcilius Baſſus*, a *Roman* knight, raiſes an army, ſeizes *Tyre*, and gives out that *Cæſar* was killed in *Africa*, and that the ſenate at *Rome* had appointed him preſident of *Syria*: But *Sextus Cæſar*, governor of the province, goes againſt him, and entirely defeats him. *Baſſus* retires to *Tyregeti*, is cured of his wounds, inveigles *Sextus*'s army, who kill their general for his lewd way of living, and join *Baſſus*, who by the aſſiſtance of *Alaccaudonius*, an *Arabian* prince, kept up the revolt for many years	V	169
4261	2954	45	Young *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, now 14 years old, claims a ſhare in the government, according to the cuſtom of the country, with *Cleopatra* his wife and ſiſter, for which ſhe ſoon after poiſoned him	V	170
4261	2954	45	The *Roman* year now conſiſting of but 12 lunar months, the pontifex maximus and his colleague intercalated once in two years a month of 22 and 23 days alternately, between the 23d and 24th of *February*; but this was oftentimes omitted, *&c.* therefore *Cæſar*, by the advice and aſſiſtance of learned men, reduced the year to the form we now have it	III	679
4261	2954	45	*Cæſar* ſets out for *Spain* againſt *Pompey*'s two ſons, who had got great footing there. He beſieges *Ategua*, the parties magazine, and having reduced it to great ſtraits, the *Roman* garriſon cuts the throats of all the inhabitants, ſets fire to the city, and by a general ſally endeavours to break through *Cæſar*'s line; but being drove back into the town with great ſlaughter, *L. Minucius Flaccus* ſurrenders upon honourable terms. From hence *Cæſar* goes to *Burſabolis*, took it by ſurprize, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to death. Soon after, near the city, both parties come to a general engagement, where after a moſt bloody and obſtinate battle from morning till night, *Cæſar* by ſtratagem gains the victory, kills 30,000 of *Pompey*'s men, (among which were the famous generals *Labienus*, and *Attius Varrius*) and 300 *Roman* knights, 17 great officers, and takes the camp, the enemies eagles and enſigns, and *Pompey*'s faſces, which he had aſſumed as governor of *Spain*, with the loſs only of 1000 killed and 500 wounded on *Cæſar*'s ſide. The elder *Pompey* fled, but was ſoon after taken, and put to death. Several engagements, ſieges, and other warlike exploits, in ſeven months reduced all *Spain*; and *Cæſar* returned to *Rome* with immenſe treaſures that he had taken from the *Pompeian* party. Soon after his arrival at *Rome* he gave himſelf and his two lieutenants each a triumph, at which great exception was taken by many, who were but to outſide ſhew his friends	V	171
4262	2955	44	The ſenate make *Cæſar* conſul alone, and dictator for life, ſubjected all the magiſtrates, even the tribunes, to him; impowered him, alone, to levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, *&c.* and conferred the title of *Cæſar* and *Imperator* (or emperor) to him and his poſterity: He governed moſt excellently and mildly, and ſtrove by all acts of kindneſs to gain over his enemies: He increaſed the prætors to 16, and the quæſtors to 40: He made ſix new ædiles, and increaſed the other magiſtrates proportionably, making the ſenate conſiſt of 900 members	V	177
				V	178

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4262	2955	44	*Aurelius Cotta*, one of the keepers of the *Sybiline* books, declares that the *Parthians*, againſt whom *Cæſar* was going, could never be overcome but by a king; therefore it was propoſed that *Cæſar* ſhould bear the name of dictator in *Italy*, but king every where elſe: But a conſpiracy being formed by many of the chief ſenators againſt *Cæſar*. *Artimedorus*, a rhetorician, puts into *Cæſar*'s hands an account thereof, as he was going to the ſenate-houſe; but he neglecting to read it, as ſoon as he had taken his place the conſpirators ſtab and kill him, after he had fought ſucceſsfully 56 pitched battles, and killed 1,192,000 men.	V	185
4262	2955	44	The death of *Cæſar* occaſioned ſuch an extraordinary ferment in the ſtate, that no one knew what to ſay or do. *Mark Antony*, *Cæſar*'s colleague in the conſulſhip, got a guard of 6000 veterans, under pretence of ſecuring his perſon from inſult, *&c.* *Octavianus*, *Cæſar*'s great nephew and adopted ſon, being declared his heir by *Cæſar*'s will, comes to *Rome* and claims his eſtate, where being oppoſed by *Mark Antony* the then conſul, *Octavianus* ſells his own patrimony and bribes the people; upon which *Anthony* pretends to be reconciled to *Octavianus*; they quarrel and are friends ſeveral times, ſo that at laſt they both arm, and *Octavianus* enters *Rome* with a large body of men; the ſenate declare for *Octavianus*; *Antony* invades *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and beſieges *Mutina*, which the ſenate order him to raiſe; *Antony* refuſes, and is declared an enemy to his country.	V	203
4262	2955	44	*Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and ſeveral others of the murderers of *Cæſar*, retire into *Greece*, *Aſia*, *&c.* and raiſe large armies; and keep up the *Pompeian* faction, and make themſelves maſters of thoſe provinces, which were confirmed to them by the *Roman* ſenate.	V	220
4262	2955	44	The *Jews* renew their alliance with *Rome*: *Hyrcan* petitions *Dolabella*, one of this year's conſuls, for the diſcharge of ſome *Jews* that were impreſſed into the *Roman* ſervice: *Dolabella* ſends a letter to the governor of *Epheſus*, ordering the diſcharge of the *Jews*, and a free exerciſe of their laws and religion. *Baſſus* having ſeized the governorſhip of *Syria*, was ſoon after driven out by *Caſſius*, who laid a tribute of 700 talents upon *Judea*: *Herod* ſoon after carried the 100 talents for his diſtrict. and his brother quickly after brought his quota, by which means they gained favour; but the others not coming with theirs, ſo irritated *Caſſius*, that he ordered the inhabitants of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamma*, *&c.* to be ſold by auction, and their governor *Malichus* to be put to death, to prevent which the high-prieſt purchaſed his life and liberty at 100 talents. Upon *Caſſius*'s going againſt *Dolabella*, he left the government of *Cælo-Syria* to *Herod*. *Malichus* hired the high-prieſt's butler to poiſon *Antipater* as he was at dinner with his maſter, and ſeized upon the government of *Jeraſalem*, but was ſoon after cut off by the garriſon of *Tyre*, as he was going to wait on *Caſſius* at *Laodicea*: His brother eſpouſed his cauſe, and got *Felix* with ſome *Roman* ſoldiers to join him; but *Phaſael* drove him away, and *Herod* ſoon after coming to his aſſiſtance, they forced him to ſurrender *Maſſada* and the other fortreſſes, and to capitulate for his life: They upbraided *Hyrcan* as privy to all the diſturbance; but his fair daughter, whom *Herod* had married, named *Mariamne*, reconciled all their differences.	IV	123
4263	2956	43	The conſul *Panſa* goes againſt *Mark Antony* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*; they engage; the conſul is mortally wounded, and his army defeated; but *Hirtius* the other conſul falls upon and defeats *Anthony*, whither *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* go after him; they engage again, and *Hirtius* is killed, but *Octavianus* gained a compleat victory, and obliged *Anthony* to ſhelter himſelf behind his intrenchments, and to raiſe the ſiege of *Mutina*. *Panſa*, dying of his wounds, is carried with his colleague *Hirtius* to *Rome*, and interred with great pomp *Octavianus* demands a triumph, which the ſenate refuſes, but grants it to *Decimus Brutus*; upon which *Octavianus* ſends back a great number of officers he had taken to *Anthony*, and reſolves to be reconciled to him. *Brutus* goes againſt *Anthony*, and forces him to paſs the *Alps*; upon which the ſenate ſeizes and confiſcates all his eſtate. *Pollio* and *Plancus* join *Anthony* with their armies. *Octavianus* privately agrees with *Anthony*, and makes uſe of the power he was inveſted with by the ſenate for their deſtruction. After raiſing an army, he harangues them; they ſend deputies to the ſenate to chooſe him conſul; they refuſe it, and he marches his army to *Rome*, declares he comes as a friend, and is choſe conſul, and *Quintus Pædius* his colleague. *Octavianus* (who was afterwards called *Auguſtus*) was ſcarce twenty years old when he entered upon the conſulate.	V	213
4263	2956	43	*Octavianus*, now conſul, firſt gets his adoption by *Cæſar* confirmed; and his colleague *Quintus* gets a law paſſed for impeaching and trying *Cæſar*'s murderers; upon which they were all ſummoned to take their trial. *Octavianus* gets the decree againſt *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus* revoked: They go againſt *Decimus Brutus* at *Mutina*, where the greateſt part of his army revolt to *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, and *Brutus* is taken and killed by one *Camillus*, a free-booter: Upon this *Anthony*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavianus* meet in a ſmall iſland formed by the river *Rhenus*, now *Reno*, where they agree to divide all the *Roman* provinces between them, and are called the ſecond great triumvirate; and in order to ſupport their uſurped authority they agree to cut off all poſſeſſed of great eſtates, or were any ways friends to liberty and law. They and their armies go to *Rome*, and get their uſurped authority confirmed for five years by law, having firſt ſent and murdered many of the greateſt ſenators; then they proſcribed 3000 ſenators, and upwards of 2000 knights: *Rome* was filled with blood, many mangled carcaſſes, and the moſt horrid ſcenes of cruelty; then they ſeized the goods and eſtates of the victims, without any concern for		

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			their widows or orphans; and thus, and by exceſſive taxes, propoſing to make up the ſum of 200,000 talents, which falling ſhort of, they make a liſt of 1400 of the richeſt ladies in *Rome*, and taxed them all alike in a great ſum: They come all in a body to the ſenate, where *Hortenſia* made ſo moving a ſpeech, that the number was reduced from 1400 to 400; but to make up the propoſed ſum they taxed above 100,000 men, as well ſtrangers as natives, prieſts as laymen; in levying whereof the ſoldiers committed unheard of cruelties. The triumvirs having ſatiated themſelves with blood and plunder, declared to the ſenate the proſcription was at an end, and appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *Lucius Munacius Plancus* conſuls for the enſuing year; and becauſe they were going into the eaſt againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, the triumvirs named conſuls, prætors, and ædiles, for ſeveral years to come.		
4264	2957	42	*Cleopatra* hearing of *Mark Anthony* and *Octavianus*'s coming into *Syria* with a great army, ſets out with a great fleet *&c.* to meet and join them; but falling ſick on the way, and having loſt abundance of her ſhips in a ſtorm, is forced to return home.	V	232
4264	2957	42	*Caſſius* ſends a body of horſe into *Cappadocia* againſt *Ariobarzanes*, for having ſided with *Cæſar* and his friends, overcomes, takes, and puts him to death, and raiſes great contributions upon his ſubjects.	III	679
4264	2957	42	*Caſſius* goes againſt the *Rhodians*, for aſſiſting the triumviri: They ſue to him for peace; he requires their fleet and city, *&c.* to be delivered up to him; they refuſe; have two engagements at ſea, and are beat both times with great loſs: Then he takes their city, puniſhes the great men with death, plunders the treaſury, temples, and city, puniſhing with death thoſe who concealed any part of their wealth, extorted from them 8000 talents, taxed the city at 500 talents, and leaves *L. Varus* there with a ſtrong gariſon to exact it.	III	768
4264	2957	42	*Brutus* beſieges *Xanthus*, the ſtrongeſt city in *Aſia*, which, after the ſlaughter of many *Romans*, he took. The *Xanthians* ſet fire to the town, and burn their own houſes and goods, and deſtroy their wives, children, and themſelves, in the flames, chooſing death rather than ſlavery.	III	159
4264	2957	42	*Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with 19 legions and 20,000 horſe, meet *Anthony* and *Octavianus*, with 19 legions and 13,000 horſe, in the plains of *Philippi*, the boundary of *Macedon* and *Thrace*: They engage; *Brutus* falls upon *Octavianus*, kills abundance of his men, and takes his camp, a great many enſigns, and three eagles. In return, *Anthony* defeats *Caſſius*, kills many of his men, takes his camp, and entirely routs the reſt; *Caſſius* only with a few attendants retiring to the top of a hill, *Brutus* coming towards him, *Caſſius* imagining it was *Anthony*, killed himſelf, and then both armies retire. The ſame day the admirals and fleets of both parties meet and engage; *Anthony*'s is entirely defeated, and moſt of his ſhips being taken or deſtroyed, together with a vaſt quantity of ſtores and proviſions they were bringing: This ſo ſtraitened *Anthony*, that day after day he offered *Brutus* battle, which at laſt by the importunity of his men he conſented to. *Anthony* having maſſacred all the priſoners he had taken in the laſt battle, *Brutus* now orders only all the ſlaves he had priſoners to be killed: They engage, and *Brutus* is intirely defeated, and his army routed; upon which he kills himſelf.	V	25
4264	2957	42	Upon *Mark Anthony*'s coming into *Bythinia*, after the defeat of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, the governors and heads of provinces come to make their ſubmiſſion and court to him: The *Jews* come and accuſe *Phaſael* and his brother *Herod*; but they being there likewiſe, had ſo prepared the conqueror by large gifts, that he would not hear them, When *Anthony* arrived at *Epheſus*, *Hyrcan* petitions for the releaſement and lands of thoſe *Jewiſh* priſoners *Caſſius* had ſold; which *Anthony* readily grants. Upon *Anthony*'s coming to *Daphne*, near *Antioch*, the *Jews* again petition him againſt the two brothers, *Phaſael* and *Herod*; but *Hyrcan* appearing in their behalf, *Anthony* makes them both *Tetrarchs*; but the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* ſent a third embaſſy of a thouſand perſons to *Tyre*, who were killed, wounded, and diſperſed, *&c.*	IV	12
4264	2957	42	*Anthony* and *Octavianus* having conquered their greateſt enemies, disband part of their troops and ſeparate. *Octavianus* for *Italy*, and *Anthony* for *Aſia*: In his paſſage thither *Anthony* paſſed through *Greece*, and aſſiſted in the ſchools and academies, adminiſtering juſtice with great equity, and making large preſents: Leaving *Lucius Cenſorinus*, one of his lieutenants, governor of *Greece*, he went into *Aſia*, where he was met by all the kings and princes ſubject to the *Roman* power, who brought their wives and daughters with them to tempt him with their charms, who ſtrove among themſelves to render themſelves moſt agreeable to him by great preſents and compliances; *Epheſus* ſeemed moſt to hit his taſte; the women dreſſed in the habits they celebrated the feaſts of *Bacchus*, and the men and boys like fauns and ſatyrs. *Anthony* cites queen *Cleopatra* to come and clear herſelf for giving aſſiſtance to *Brutus*; ſhe obeys, and appears at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*: Her wit and beauty ſo bewitched him, that he ſpent all the winter in ſoftneſs with her in *Egypt*, neglecting all buſineſs both of the camp and court.	V	262
4265	2958	41	*Octavianus* coming into *Italy*, ſets about diſtributing the lands promiſed to the ſoldiers, which raiſed great complaints, as many were injured and beggar'd: The ſoldiers were as much diſpleaſed as the people, and ſet againſt *Octavianus*. *Fulvia*, the wife of *Anthony*, with the preſent conſuls, join to raiſe the publick diſcontent againſt him ſtill higher. He divorces *Clodia*, the daughter of *Fulvia*, declaring ſhe was for him ſtill a maid. The ſtate is divided into two powerful and inveterate parties; and cruel murders, *&c.* were daily committed in *Rome*, by the populace and ſoldiers. All things thus in a flame, a famine encreaſed their diſtreſs, each ſide blaming the other. *Fulvia*		

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			retires to *Præneſte*, and heads the troops and acts like a general: *Octavianus* did all in his power to harraſs and diſtreſs her and her troops, which were numerous. *Lucius*, brother and general for *Fulvia* having loſt abundance of his men by famine and a vigorous defence, ſallies out of *Peruſia*, goes to *Octavianus*, who promiſes a free pardon for all his troops provided he ſurrendered the town; *Lucius* orders his men to march out, and acknowledge the conqueror for their general; but the ſenators, *&c.* to the number of 300, were carried in chains to an altar, and there ſacrificed to the manes of *Julius Cæſar*, and then ordered the city to be plundered: But one *Cæſtius* ſetting fire to his own houſe, the wind being high, communicated the flames, ſo that the whole city was reduced to aſhes. Upon this *Fulvia* and her adherents flew, ſome to one place and ſome to another; and ſo ended this war, called the war of *Peruſia*. *Fulvia* retiring to *Sicyon*, died there of grief ſoon after.	V	269
4266	2959	40	*Anthony*'s negligence occaſioned an univerſal revolt in *Aſia*, where his lieutenants were defeated ſeveral times; upon which he comes into *Greece*, and in his croſſing the *Ionian* ſea is joined by *Ahenobarbus* and his fleet; upon their arrival at *Brunduſium*, the gariſon ſhuts the gates againſt them; upon which *Anthony* invites *Pompey* in *Sicily* to join him againſt *Octavianus*: He comes immediately, and they make a deſcent upon *Italy*, and take many cities. But by the mediation of *Cocceius*, *Pollio* and *Mæcenas*, all diſputes are adjuſted, and the two triumvirs make a new diſtribution of the *Roman* empire, and *Octavia* (the ſiſter of *Octavianus*) and *Anthony* are married together. *Pompey* by his fleets and armies prevented corn coming from *Sicily* to *Italy*, ſo that there was a famine in *Rome*. *Anthony* at laſt prevails upon *Octavianus* to make peace with *Pompey*, and to ſettle all their diſputes amicably; which being done, plenty is again reſtored to *Rome*, and many of the proſcribed nobility come home, and are reſtored to their former dignities.	V	273
4266	2959	40	*Antigonus* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, by the aſſiſtance of *Ptolomy* and *Pacorus*, invades *Judea*, and goes to *Jeruſalem*, where they had ſeveral skirmiſhes, with great loſs on both ſides. *Phaſael* and *Hyrcan* are prevailed on to go to *Barzapharnes*, the general of the *Parthians*, where they are ſurprized by treachery, and *Herod* forced to fly into *Idumea*: The *Parthians* plunder *Herod*'s palace, the city and country round about, and *Mariſſa*, (an opulent city) which they entirely deſtroyed, and then inſtalled *Antigonus* upon the *Jewiſh* throne; and *Phaſael* and *Hyrcan* are ſoon after brought to him in chains; *Hyrcan*'s ears were cut off, which diſqualified him for the office of high prieſt, and *Phaſael* killed himſelf. *Herod* went to *Rome*, where by the ſenate he is made king of *Judea*, and *Anthony* having ordered *Ventidius* to aſſiſt him, he went to the relief of *Maſſada*, now beſieged by *Antigonus*; in his way he took *Joppa*, and made *Antigonus* raiſe the ſiege of *Maſſada*; from whence he marched to *Jeruſalem*.	IV	129
4267	2960	39	While *Herod* was gone to wait on *Ventidius* the *Roman* general at *Samoſata*, his brother *Joſeph* was defeated and killed by *Antigonus*, and *Galilee* taken. *Herod* upon his return engages *Antigonus*, and defeats him with very great ſlaughter, and recovered *Galilee*, *&c.* Then he went to *Samaria*, to conſummate his marriage with *Mariamne*, whom he had betrothed four years before.	IV	130
4267	2960	39	*Pompey* and *Octavius* quarrelling, renew their hoſtilities againſt each other: *Menas*, governor of *Corſica* and *Sardinia* for *Pompey*, and alſo admiral of his fleet, being diſguſted with his maſter, goes over to *Octavius* with three legions, the whole fleet, and ſurrenders the two iſlands: *Octavius* entertains him with great reſpect, and makes him commander of his whole fleet. *Pompey* ſends *Menocrates* to ravage the coaſt of *Italy*, which he doing, is met by *Calviſius* and *Menas*; a bloody engagement enſues; *Menas* wounds, boards *Menocrates* galley, and takes it; *Menocrates* jumps into the ſea, and is drowned; *Demochares* takes the command, took ſeveral of *Calviſius*'s galleys, and drove moſt of the reſt on the rocks, where they were loſt. *Octavius* going to *Meſſena*, is attacked, and moſt of his ſhips ſunk or daſhed to pieces, and a violent ſtorm the next day deſtroyed a great part of the remainder.	V	275
4267	2960	39	*Anthony* having reſtored the *Rhodians* to their antient rights and privileges, which *Caſſius* had taken from them, beſtows alſo upon them the iſlands of *Andros*, *Naxos*, *Tenos*, and the city of *Myndus*: But the *Rhodians* tyrannizing over them very extrrordinarily, *Anthony* is forced to take their ſovereignty over them away.	III	159
4267	2960	39	*Cleopatra* going as far as *Tarſus*, to meet and inchant *Anthony*, ſtrove with all the temptations of luxury, preſents, and complaiſance to gain him which ſhe did ſo effectually, that no requeſt of her's, however diſhonourable, was deny'd: nor any complaint, however juſt againſt her, heard ſo as to be redreſſed: So bewitched was he to her charms, that, inſtead of putting his troops into winter quarters, he marched over hills, rocks, *&c.* to the loſs of 60,000 of his men, by the length and ſeverities of the march, in the depth of winter, to go to her.	III	687
4268	2961	38	*Anthony* and *Octavius*, by the mediation of *Octavia*, ſettle all their differences, and mutually aſſiſt each other, and by their own authority continue themſelves five years longer in the triumvirate; and *Julia*, *Octavius*'s daughter, is betrothed to *Antyllus*, *Anthony*'s ſon. *Octavius* having again got a large fleet under the command of *Agrippa*, (*Menas* having left him and returned to *Pompey*) they ſet out in *July*, but a violent ſtorm ariſing, deſtroyed many of their ſhips; but ſoon after repairing his damages, they land in *Sicily*: Several ſkirmiſhes happen by land and ſea, with various ſucceſs: but at laſt a general action at ſea happening, *Pompey* is entirely defeated, loſing 333 ſail of large ſhips, making		

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			his escape with only 17 galleys. Soon after *Octavius* and *Lepidus* quarrel so so high as to come to blows; but *Octavius* bribing his soldiers, *Lepidus* is deserted, and begs his life of *Octavius*, which he grants him. *Octavius* now has 45 legions under his command, 25,000 horse, 160,000 light-armed foot, and 6000 ships of war. The war in *Sicily* being ended, his soldiers mutiny, demanding great rewards; he discharges 20,000, and pacifies the others with large promises, and a present of 500 drachmas a man. At his return to *Rome* he is greatly flattered, and made perpetual tribune of the people.		
4268	2961	38	*Herod* besieges *Jerusalem*, with the assistance of *Sosius* the *Roman* general; and after five months resolute defence, takes it by assault: A terrible slaughter is made of the inhabitants by the *Romans*, to whom *Herod* made a large present, to prevent their further plunder. *Antigonus* was carried in chains to *Anthony*, and afterwards put to death. by the instigation of *Herod*.	V	283
4269	2962	37	*Herod*, now absolute king of *Judea*, seizes and confiscates the estates of the most wealthy *Antigonians*, and put 45 of the head men to death. *Herod* having advanced one *Ananel*, a private obscure babylonish priest, to the pontifical dignity, is continually teazed by his mother-in-law *Alexandria* to depose *Ananel*, and advance her son *Aristobulus*; he does it, but in less than a year's time has him stifled as he was bathing.	IV	131
4270	2963	36	*Anthony* goes against the *Parthians*, but fails in his attempt, losing more than 70,000 men by war, famine, and excessive cold weather.	IV	135
4270	2963	36	*Pompey* flying to *Lesbos*, and there hearing of *Anthony*'s ill success against the *Parthians*, raises great disturbances in the east, where he got an army, and took several cities; but being engaged by *Marcus Titius*, is defeated, taken, and put to death.	IV	312
4274	2967	32	*Anthony* early in the spring sets out for *Syria*, in order to go to *Parthia*: *Cleopatra* will attend him to the *Euphrates*; he bestows all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cælo-Syria*, *Iturea*, and *Phenice* upon her, with great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*; but not satisfied, she sollicits him to put *Herod* king of *Judea* and *Malchus* king of *Petræa* to death, to have their kingdoms also, which he refused: In her return home, she came by the way of *Jerusalem*, where *Herod* treated her very splendidly; she pretends to be in love with him, and strove to entice him to familiarity; which so exasperated *Herod*, that he would have put her to death, but was persuaded and advised to the contrary.	V	283
4274	2967	32	*Anthony*, contrary to the most solemn oaths, takes *Artabazes* king of *Armenia* prisoner, and reduces the whole country; then makes a match for *Alexander*, one of his sons by *Cleopatra*, and a daughter of the king of *Media*; and then returned to *Alexandria*, entering it in a triumphal chariot, his booty, king *Artabazes*, his wife, children, *&c.* being carried before him in the *Roman* manner: *Cleopatra* seated on a golden throne, *&c.* sits to receive him, to whom the captive king, *&c.* in golden chains, were presented, and ordered to kneel to her; but they refuse: and all the *Romans* are angry at the whole procedure.	III	682
4274	2967	32	*Anthony* treats all the *Alexandrians* at an immense expence; and being seated on one golden throne, and *Cleopatra* on another, in the *Gymnasium*, he makes an oration to the people, and proclaims *Cæsarion* (*Cleopatra*'s son by *Julius Cæsar*) king of *Egypt* and *Cyprus* in conjunction with his mother; and having three children by her himself, *viz.* *Alexander*, *Ptolomy*, (sirnamed *Philadelphus* and *Cleopatra*, to *Alexander* he gave *Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, *&c*, from the *Euphrates* to *India*; to *Cleopatra*, *Alexander*'s twin-sister, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and to *Philadelphus*, *Phenice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all *Asia Minor*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellespont*, with the title of *King of Kings*; makes queen *Cleopatra* change her name to *Isis*, and he takes the name of *Osiris*, the great god and goddess of the *Egyptians*.	III	683
4274	2967	32	*Cleopatra* resolves upon the destruction of *Herod*,, sends an army under the command of her general *Athenion*, pretending to assist him against *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, who, when *Herod* and *Malchus* was engaged, falls upon *Herod*'s army, and cut most of it to pieces, himself escaping with difficulty.	III	136
4274	2967	32	*Octavius* sends his sister *Octavia* to his colleague *Anthony* her husband, who was revelling in the arms of *Cleopatra* at *Leucopolis*: *Octavia* sends him word of her arrival at *Athens*; he orders her to return to *Rome*, and goes to *Clexandria* with *Cleopatra*, and spends the winter in a shameful manner with her: She returns to *Rome*; *Octavius* is highly incensed, but *Octavia* strives to moderate between them. *Anthony* declares *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cælo-Syria*, joining *Cæsarion* (her son by *Cæsar*) her colleague with her. *Octavius* and *Anthony* reciprocally accuse each other to the people of *Rome*; and *Anthony* collects 800 ships at *Ephesus*, with a great army and a vast sum of money; From hence he goes to *Athens*, and *Cleopatra* with him. The consuls *C. Sosius* and *Domitias Ahenobarbus* fly from *Rome* to *Athens*, and so inrage *Anthony* against *Octavius*, that he divorces *Octavia*, and sends officers to turn her out of his house at *Rome*. *Cleopatra* using some of *Anthony*'s friends ill at *Athens*, they forsake him. *Anthony* having made a will in favour of *Cleopatra*, in prejudice to *Rome*, and lodged it with the vestal virgins, *Octavius* comes and seizes, first reads it himself, and then assembles the senate, where it is read publickly; and *Anthony* is accused by *Calvisius* of many faults; and *Cleopatra* behaving very haughtily, many of his friends desert him. *Octavius* declares war against *Cleopatra*, and deposes *Anthony* from his commands, *&c.*	IV	136
4275	2968	31	*Anthony* and *Octavius* come to an engagement at sea near m*Ætium*, which remained long doubtful; in the midst of the fight *Cleopatra* comes with 60 sail of ships, stands for some time between both fleets, and then sets sail for *Peloponnesus*;	V	287

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			Anthony is ſo infatuated as to leave his fleet and army, and go after her; 300 of his ſhips yield to *Octavius*, and his land forces did the ſame, after ſtanding out ſeven days without leaders	V	293
4275	2968	31	A terrible earthquake happens at *Jeruſalem*, which deſtroyed a vaſt number of people and cattle; upon which *Herod* is forced to ſue to the *Arabians* for peace, who refuſe it, and murder his ambaſſadors, and come in great numbers to invade *Judea*: *Herod* gave them two ſignal defeats, and after forcing them to accept of peace upon his own terms, returns to *Jeruſalem* in triumph	IV	137
4275	2968	31	*Artaxias* II. the eldeſt ſon of *Artuaſdes*, is proclaimed king of *Armenia*, in oppoſition to *Alexander*, *Cleopatra*'s ſon, whom he defeated, but did not hold his kingdom long, being ſtrangled by his pretended friends	III	709
4276	2969	30	*Tiberius* the *Roman* general ſets *Tigranes* (the ſon of *Artaxias*) upon the *Armenian* throne, putting the crown upon his head with his own hands, and honours him with the title of friend and ally of the *Roman* people; but this did not laſt long, *Tiberius* ordering him ſoon after to be put to death	III	709
4276	2969	30	*Auguſtus* ſets up *Artuaſdes* for king of *Armenia*; but the people drive him away, and chuſe *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*: But a *Roman* army comes againſt him under *Caius*, *Auguſtus*'s adopted ſon: *Phrahates* retires, and ſues for peace, which is granted, and *Artuaſdes* reſtored; he dying ſoon after, *Tigranes* III. ſeizes the kingdom, but is drove out by *Caius*	III	710
4276	2969	30	*Anthony* being defeated by *Octavius*, *Herod* king of *Judea* ſends advice to him to murder *Cleopatra*, and to come into *Egypt* and raiſe an army, and promiſes to aſſiſt him with all his own force of money, troops, ſtrong holds, *&c.* but *Anthony* refuſes. *Hyrcan* the former high-prieſt being ſtill alive, *Herod* orders him to be beheaded, in the 80th year of his age, for fear the people ſhould prefer *Hyrcan*'s to *Herod*'s title to the crown	IV	137
4276	2969	30	*Herod* king of *Judea* goes to *Octavius* now at *Rhodes*, and offers his ſervice to him againſt *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, who ſend meſſengers to *Octavius* to make up the breach between them, but are refuſed by him; at laſt they offer to reſign up all, and live a private life in *Athens*, or where elſe ſoever he ſhould think fit to appoint them: *Octavius* receives the queen's preſents, and promiſes to pardon her, if ſhe would put *Anthony* to death; but would not hear the ambaſſadors of *Anthony*, though he ſent his own ſon with a vaſt ſum of money, and offered to kill himſelf if he would ſettle *Egypt* on *Cleopatra*'s children. *Cleopatra* betrays *Anthony*, and he kills himſelf; ſhe is taken by *Octavius*, and kills herſelf, after reigning 22 years. *Octavius* turned *Egypt* into a *Roman* province. *Auguſtus* is met by *Herod* at *Ptolemais*; *Herod* treats him and his whole army with great magnificence, and preſents him with 800 talents in money, beſides bread, wine, *&c.* for his army; in return for which *Octavius* gave him ſeveral towns, *&c.*	III	690
4277	2970	29	*Octavius* ſpends the whole winter in ſettling the provinces of *Aſia Minor* and the adjacent iſlands: In the ſpring, he firſt goes into *Greece*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he had three triumphs for three ſucceſſive days, and afterwards he had the title of emperor, with ſovereignty and uncontroul'd power; but to deceive the people, continued the uſual magiſtrates with only ſuch power as he thought fit to allow them, having overcome his qualm of laying down his uſurped authority: However, he courted the populace by many ſeeming acts of kindneſs; the ſenate he encreaſed to a thouſand members, and advanced all his own creatures: He raiſed many publick buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many ſtately ornaments to the city, which was now ſaid to be 50 miles in compaſs, and contained 4,000,000 ſouls	V	296
4277	2970	29	*Mariamne*, *Herod*'s favourite wife, and *Herod* have great quarrels; ſhe is falſely accuſed of adultery, and of corrupting his cup-bearer to poiſon him, is tried, condemned and executed, by means of the furious hatred of *Salome*, *Herod*'s ſiſter	IV	140
4278	2971	28	A great plague breaks out in *Judea*, which ſweeps away multitudes of the people: *Herod* grows prodigious uneaſy, and frenzical for the loſs of his *Mariamne*: Being now informed of her innocence, he revenges himſelf upon many of his beſt friends and neareſt relations, and puts them to death, and among them *Alexandra*, the mother of *Mariamne*	IV	140
4278	2971	28	*Tiberius* gives *Armenia* to *Mithridates Iberus*. *Artabanus* invades *Armenia*, who was defeated and drove away by *Tiberius*	III	710
4279	2972	27	*Octavius* in open ſenate offers to lay down his authority, and to retire to a private life; but they in return deſire him to take upon him the whole government, which with much ſeeming reluctance he does, and has the title of *Auguſtus* conferred on him. Thus ended the greateſt commonwealth, and began the greateſt monarchy ever known, infinitely excelling all others in power, riches, extent, and continuance, whoſe yearly revenue is ſaid, upon a moderate computation, to be 40,000,000 *l. ſterl.*	V	297
4280	2973	26	*Salome*, *Herod*'s ſiſter, quarrelling with her huſband *Ceſtobares*, governor of *Idumea*, firſt ſends him a bill of divorce, and then accuſes him of treaſon to *Herod*, who puts him, *Lyſimachus*, *Doſitheus* and *Antipater*, to death. Being now delivered from all fear of the *Aſmonean* race, he aboliſhes ſeveral *Jewiſh* ceremonies and cuſtoms, and introduced foreign ones that were forbidden; builds a ſtately theatre in the city of *Jeruſalem*, and a ſpacious amphitheatre in the ſuburbs; and ordered publick games there every fifth year in honour of *Auguſtus*, and by large rewards to the conquerors drew vaſt numbers of people of all nations thither: This ſo diſpleaſed the zealous *Jews*, that they no longer looked upon him as their king, but as a heatheniſh tyrant: Ten *Jews* go into the theatre to kill *Herod*; but being diſcovered, were put to death with the moſt exquiſite torments; but the people tore the informer to pieces, and		

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			gave his flesh to the dogs; which so exasperated *Herod*, that he put whole families to death, tormenting the women to make them discover the men, *&c.*		
4280	2973	26	*Augustus* takes a census of *Gaul*, now divided into three districts, being the first ever made out of *Italy*; then he goes into *Spain*, and defeats the revolted *Cantabri*, and soon after his general *C. Antistius* defeated again the united strength of the *Cantabri* and *Asturians*, and then besieges them upon the hill of their retreat, where they were so much straitened for provisions, that the women eat their children, and the young men the old ones; the *Asturians* are for surrendering, the *Cantabri* will not; they fight with one another, and kill many on both sides, and 10,000 *Asturians* are drove to the *Roman* intrenchments; *Tiberius* (the emperor's son-in-law) will not admit them; many kill themselves with their swords, others light fires and jump into the flames, and the rest poison themselves	IV	141
4281	2974	25	This year *Spain*, after a struggle for its liberty of 200 years, is entirely subjected to *Rome*. The *Cantabrians* to the number of 23,000 surrendering at discretion, 10,000 are incorporated among the auxiliaries, and the rest sold for slaves, most of whom destroyed themselves, preferring death to slavery: Most of the *Asturians* are cut to pieces, and all their towns and strong places taken: *Augustus* built several cities to keep the natives in awe, as *Cæsar Augusta*, (now *Saragossa*) and *Augusta Emerita*, (now *Merida:*) He likewise built a stone bridge over the *Iberus*, for his troops to march out of one province into another	V	299
4281	2974	25	*Crassus* overcomes the *Mæsians*, a fierce and savage people beyond the *Danube*. *Terentius Varro* reduced the *Salassi*, obliging them to submit to his terms, who after they had delivered up their arms, sent 40,000 of their youth to *Emporedia*, (now *Ivrea*) to be slaves for 20 years	V	299
4281	2974	25	*Cornelius Gallus* having tyrannized over the people of *Egypt*, where *Augustus* had sent him governor, and stripped all the cities, particularly *Thebes*, of all valuable in it, was recalled and deposed; for which he inveighing against *Augustus*, the senate condemned him to banishment; upon which he killed himself	V	299
4281	2974	25	*Amytas* king of *Pisidia* dies; he had been secretary to old king *Dejotarus*, and raised by *Marc Anthony* to the throne: Upon his death *Pisidia*, *Galatia*, and *Lycaonia* were reduced to a *Roman* province, and first governed by *M. Lollius*, in quality of proprætor	V	230
4281	2974	25	*Marcellus* (the adopted son of *Augustus*) son to *Octavia*, sister of *Augustus*, by her first husband, marries *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus* by *Scribonia*; and *Juba* king of *Getulia* marries *Cleopatra Celene*, daughter of *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt* by *Marc Anthony*	V	300
4282	2975	24	The senate free *Augustus* from the restraint of all law, and allow him to govern absolutely by his will, and that *Marcellus* (the adopted son of *Augustus*) might, though but sixteen years old, have a place among the senators of the pretorian rank, and might stand for the consulate 10 years sooner than the law allowed; and that *Tiberius* his son-in-law might stand for the curule offices five years sooner than usual, upon which *Marcellus* was immediately made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæstor	V	301
4282	2975	24	The *Asturians* and *Cantabrians* revolt, surprize a considerable body of *Romans*, and cut them all off; but *Ælius Lama*, governor of that part of *Spain*, lays their whole country waste with fire and sword, and kills most of their young men, and so, absolutely reduced them again in about a month's time	V	302
4282	2975	24	*Ælius Gallus* makes an expedition against *Arabia-Felix*, with 10,000 men given him by *Augustus*, 500 out of *Herod* king of *Judea*'s guards, and 1000 given him by *Obodes* king of the *Nabathean Arabs*, under the command of *Sylleus*, *Obodes*'s chief favourite, who pretended to be *Gallus*'s guide, but led him out of the way on purpose; at last he got thither, and took the metropolis of the country by assault; then falling in with a large number of the natives, he kills 10,000 of them, with the loss of only two men; and so went on, taking all the cities he came at; but his men being sick, he returned back to *Egypt*, having lost but seven men in all his assaults and battles, but almost all his army by fatigue and sickness; so that at the end of two years arriving in *Egypt*, this expedition was never after attempted any more by the *Romans*	V	303
4282	2975	24	*Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, invades the province of *Thebais* in *Upper Egypt*, surprizes several cities, carries the *Roman* garisons away prisoners, throws down *Augustus*'s statues, and laid the whole country waste. *C. Petronius* assembles 10,000 foot and 800 horse, attacks *Candace* at *Pselcha* in *Ethiopia*, upon the banks of the *Nile*, defeats her army of 30,000 men, takes *Pselcha*, the key of *Ethiopia* on the side of *Egypt*, and then went 800 miles up into the country; then went to *Napata*, the metropolis, and took and destroyed it; then put a garison of 400 men into *Premnis*, with provisions for two years; and then returned with many 1000 captives, which he sold for slaves. *Candace* attacked *Premnis*, *Petronius* goes to its relief, defeats *Candace*, and forces her to a very disadvantagious peace; but some time after *Augustus* remitted the tribute, and gave her the cities, *&c.* again	V	304
4283	2976	23	*Augustus* being very ill, sends for the curule magistrates, and senators of equestrian order, and in their presence delivers to *Calpurnius Piso* his colleague his will, and a book of his own writing, containing a distinct account of the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches and taxes, of the whole *Roman* empire: But *Antonius Musa*, a famous *Greek* physician, restored him unexpectedly to his health, for which he and all his profession were allowed to wear a gold ring, and to live tax-free	V	304
4283	2976	23	*Augustus* resigns the fasces to *P. Sestius*, a man of unblameable character, upon which the senate confer the title of continual proconsul of the *Roman* empire upon him, with power to assemble the senate when he pleased, and to exercise the authority of tribune in *Rome*, and in all its distant provinces. His		

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			ſucceſſors would never part with this power, that rendered them uncontroulable by, and unaccountable to any power whatever	V	334
4283	2976	23	*Marcellus* (the adopted ſon of *Auguſtus*) dies, highly lamented of all, and is honoured with the utmoſt funeral magnificence in the *Campus Martius*, *Auguſtus* himſelf pronouncing his funeral oration	V	305
4283	2976	22	*Herod* king of *Judea* growing cruel and exceſſively ſevere to the people, they ſhew a general diſlike to him; wherefore, to prevent a revolt, he fortifies *Jeruſalem*, rebuilds *Samaria*, and garriſons the ſtrong fortreſſes of *Judea*. This year there happened a great drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging peſtilence, of which multitudes die for want of help and ſuſtenance. *Herod* is forced to melt down his plate to buy corn in *Egypt*, *&c.*	IV	142
4283	2976	22	*Herod* depoſes *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Phabæus*, from the high-prieſthood, and advanced *Simon*, the ſon of *Boethus*, a *Jewiſh* prieſt of *Alexandria*, to that dignity, for the ſake of his beautiful daughter *Mariamne*, whom he married	IV	142
4284	2977	22	A dreadful plague rages in *Rome* and all over *Italy*, which occaſioned the lands to be untilled, ſo that a general famine attended it: The *Tiber* overflowed, and laid a great part of the city under water: Lightening daſhed ſeveral ſtatues in the *Pantheon* to pieces. The populace imagining theſe puniſhments happened becauſe *Auguſtus* laid down the conſulſhip, oblige the ſenate to name him dictator; but he refuſed it, but accepted the office of general purveyor, but would in no wiſe accept of being perpetual cenſor	V	305
4284	2977	22	A conſpiracy is formed againſt *Auguſtus* by *Murena*, a man of unblemiſhed character, and *Fannius Cæpio*, the greateſt debauchee in *Rome*: 'Tis diſcovered, and they are put to death; after which *Auguſtus* delivered to the ſenate *Cyprus* and *Narbonne Gaul*, which were turned into proconſular provinces	V	306
4284	2977	22	The *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* revolt again, but were ſoon reduced by *C. Furius*: The people finding they could not ſhake off their ſlavery, many of them deſtroy themſelves	V	306
4284	4977	22	*Gallia* is divided into 16 provinces	VII	401
4284	2977	22	*Herod* ſends his two ſons to *Rome*, to be educated under the care and directions of *Auguſtus*, who gives *Herod* ſeveral additional provinces, and leave to name either of his ſons to be his ſucceſſor	IV	143
4285	2978	21	Great uproars and much miſchiefs are committed by the partizans of *L. Silanus* and *Q. Æmilius Lepidus*, candidates for the conſulſhip for this year; to prevent which for the future, *Auguſtus* creates a new magiſtrate, whoſe province was to maintain peace and tranquility in the city; for this purpoſe he marries his daughter *Julia* to *Agrippa*, with the utmoſt ſplendor, and gave him that office, which he diſcharged to the entire ſatisfaction of the ſenate and the people	V	306
4285	2278	21	*Zenodorus*, from whom *Auguſtus* had taken ſeveral provinces, accuſes *Herod* of male-adminiſtration: *Auguſtus* appoints a day to hear the cauſe, but ſhews ſo much partiality in favour of *Herod*, that he poiſons himſelf, and his adherents deſtroy themſelves various ways, for fear of falling into *Herod*'s hands, and then *Auguſtus* makes *Herod* procurator of *Syria*	IV	143
4285	2978	21	*Herod* to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*, in a ſet ſpeech propoſes to pull down the temple at *Jeruſalem*, and to rebuild it equal or ſuperior to *Solomon*'s; and to convince them of it, propoſes to have all the materials for the new one ready upon the ſpot, before he pulls down the old one: They conſent; he immediately ſets 10,000 men to work under the direction of 1000 prieſts, and 1000 carts are imployed in fetching materials: So much expedition was uſed, that in two years time they begin to pull the old one down; and in a year and half's time more the carcaſs of the new one was erected in a moſt ſumptuous manner, and in eight years the whole finiſhed for uſe	IV	147
4285	2978	21	*Auguſtus* goes into *Sicily*, and ſettles matters there; then goes into *Greece*, and beſtows the iſland of *Cithera* and five other cities on the *Lacedæmonians*, and puniſhes the *Athenians* for erecting ſtatues to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and took from them the iſland of *Ægina* and the city of *Eretria*, and then went to *Samos*, and wintered there	V	307
4286	2979	20	*Auguſtus* goes into *Aſia*, deprives the *Cyzicans* of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death ſome *Roman* citizens: The ſame he did by *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and ſo frighted *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, that he ſent all the enſigns and captives to him taken in the war with *Craſſus* and *Anthony*, and ſubmits to all the conditions *Auguſtus* required of him	V	307
4286	2979	20	*Julia*, the daughter of *Auguſtus* and wife of *Agrippa*, brings forth a ſon, who was named *Caius*, on whoſe birth-day a perpetual ſacrifice, *&c.* was decreed by way of thankſgiving to the gods	V	308
4287	2980	20	*Auguſtus* is named conſul, but he refuſes: The diſputes between the candidates riſe ſo high, that abundance on both ſides are killed: To quiet all diſturbances *Auguſtus* names *Q. Lucretius Veſpillo* to be the colleague of *C. Sentius Saturnius*. The conſuls and *Agrippa*, puniſh the rioters with great ſeverity	V	308
4287	2980	20	*Porus* king of *India* ſends to *Auguſtus* to deſire an alliance and an interview, offering all his ſtrength and the ſtrength of his 600 kings, over whom he reigned, to aſſiſt him: *Zarmar*, one of the ambaſſadors, follows *Auguſtus* to *Athens*, and there burnt himſelf before him	V	309
4287	2980	20	Upon *Auguſtus*'s return to *Rome*, the ſenate decree him three triumphal arches, erected an altar to *Fortune*, and ordered that this day ſhould be annually ſolemnized with ſacrifices, ſhews, ſports, *&c.*	V	309
4287	2980	20	*Virgil*, the prince of *Latin* poets, dies, in the 51ſt year of his age: By his will he ordered his *Æneid* to be burnt, not having put the finiſhing ſtroke to it; but *Auguſtus* preſerved it	V	309
4287	2980	20	The ſenate prevail upon *Auguſtus* to be cenſor for five years, and confer the conſular power on him for life: He ſends *Agrippa* againſt the revolted *Cantabrians*		

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			in *Spain*, and the *Germans*, who had croſſed the *Rhine* and committed horrid diſorders; but upon his approach they retire, and he goes into *Spain*, where after a very obſtinate fight, all the *Cantabrians* fit to bear arms were cut off, their caſtles and ſtrong holds razed, and the women, children, and old men brought out of the mountains and forced to live in the plains		
4287	2986	19	*Agrippa* returns to *Rome*, refuſes a triumph, and lays out vaſt ſums of money to embeliſh the city, and build and repair aqueducts, of vaſt beauty, expence, and ſerviceableneſs	V	310
4287	2986	19	*Auguſtus* grants a triumph to *Lucius Cornelius Balbus*, for having ſubdued the *Garamantes*, a people of *Africa* before unknown: *Balbus* was the firſt foreigner that ever had a triumph, he being a *Spaniard* by birth	V	310
4288	2981	18	*Auguſtus* prorogued his abſolute authority for five years more, his firſt ten being near expired, and takes *Agrippa* to be a partner with him in his power, and made him tribune for five years; then ſets about reforming the ſenate, by reducing them from 1000 to 500 members; he names thirty, and impowers each to name five, out of which one was choſen by lot, *&c.* then proceeds to reform many abuſes, *&c.* *Julia* brings forth a ſecond ſon, named *Lucius*, and *Auguſtus* adopts both of them	V	311
4289	2982	17	The ſecular games, which had been diſcontinued for 100 years, were exhibited by *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* with great pomp and magnificence; They encourage a great number of ſtage-players, but ſeverely correct their immorality	V	312
4290	2983	16	*Auguſtus* pretends to go into *Gaul* to quel diſturbances, but it was really to have an opportunity of enjoying *Terentia*, the wife of *Mecænas*, whom he took with him, where he ſtaid this and the following year, though all was quiet	V	312
4290	2983	16	*Herod* goes to *Rome*, where *Auguſtus* receives him with all poſſible marks of friendſhip, and returning ſuitable preſents and thanks, receives his two ſons, now grown up, and vaſtly poliſhed and improved: At his return he married *Alexander* to *Glaphyra*, daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*; and *Ariſtobulus* to *Berenice*, daughter of his ſiſter *Salome*	V	313
4291	2984	15	The *Rhæti* invade *Italy*, and make a dreadful havock, putting all the males they meet with to the ſword: Againſt theſe went *Druſus*, 2d ſon of *Livia*, who, though but a youth, gained a great victory over them, and cut great numbers of them to pieces: The remainder of them join the *Vindelici*, and go to invade *Gaul*; *Tiberius*, brother of *Druſus*, meets them at the lake *Brigantium* (now *Conſtance*) gave them a total overthrow, and forced the whole nation to accept of his conditions, and planted two colonies in two cities to keep them in awe	IV	147
4291	2984	15	*Agrippa* goes into *Syria* to quel diſturbances that were riſen there; *Herod* invites him into *Judea*, and entertains him with vaſt ſplendor and honour; which ſo pleaſed *Agrippa*, that he beſtowed many gifts and favours on the *Jews*; and while he was at *Jeruſalem* he offered up a whole hecatomb at the temple. When he went againſt the *Boſphorean* rebels, *Herod* met and joined his fleet at *Leſbos*, with another of his own, repleniſhed them with men, arms, proviſions, money, *&c.*	V	314
4291	2984	15	*Auguſtus* orders *Agrippa* a triumph for his ſucceſſes in the eaſt. *Auguſtus* takes upon him the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, which he held to his death, as did all of his ſucceſſors, both *Chriſtian* and heathen, till the year 375 of the *Chriſtian* æra	IV	147
4292	2985	14	The *Ligures Comati*, who inhabited the maritime *Alps*, are ſubdued, their country made a *Roman* province, and *Auguſtus* returns to *Rome*, and then he made a law, that the veterans ſhould not be rewarded with lands, as had formerly been done, (to the great oppreſſion and diſturbance of the publick) but with money	V	316
4292	2985	14	*Herod* returning from the *Boſphorus*, remits the people of *Judea* a fourth part of the tribute. *Salome* his ſiſter ſtrives by wicked ways to accuſe his two ſons of treaſon againſt him: *Herod* at laſt carries them to *Aquileia* to *Cæſar*, and there accuſes them: *Alexander* pleads his own and his brother's cauſe ſo effectually, that they are honourably acquitted, and *Herod* blamed for his raſh belief and ill will againſt his own children	V	316
4293	2986	13	*Auguſtus* as *Pontifex Maximus* corrected a great error that had crept into the kalendar, it being uſual to reckon the leap year every third year, which he ſet to rights, and ordered it, as it now is, every fourth year. *Agrippa* returns, and brings *Herod*'s ſon *Antipater* with him to *Rome*, is graciouſly received, but refuſes the honour of a triumph	IV	148
4294	2987	12	*Agrippa* goes againſt the revolted *Pannonians*; they ſubmit upon his terms; he takes away their arms, and has hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour, but dies in *Campania* as he was returning to *Rome*	V	317
4295	2988	11	*Auguſtus* takes *Tiberius* partner with him in the empire, and ſends him againſt the *Pannonians*, who upon the death of *Agrippa* revolted: He overcomes them, diſarms them, takes hoſtages, and all their towns and ſtrong holds, laid waſte the fields, plundered the cities, and ſent their young men into other countries, and then returned to *Rome*	V	318
4295	2988	11	*Druſus* ſo ingratiates himſelf with the *Gauls*, that they lay aſide their intention of revolting, and erect a temple to *Auguſtus* at *Lions*, and pay him divine honours, while living, and games like the *Nemean* games inſtituted in honour of him. *Druſus* then gains great advantages againſt the *Germans*, who were croſſing the *Rhine* to come into *Gaul*, whom he drove back, and followed them into *Germany*, and then returned to *Rome*, and was made prætor	V	319
4296	2989	10	The city of *Cæſarea* having been 12 years in building, is now finiſhed, and *Herod* dedicates it with the utmoſt pomp, and appointed games to be performed every fifth year: He alſo built *Antipatris*, *Cypros*, and many others	IV	148

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4296	2989	10	*Druſus* conquers many *German* nations, who joining together, ſurrounded him, but at laſt he overthrew them, and found in their camp abundance of chains, with which they intended to load the *Romans*, *&c.* — —	V	319
4296	2989	10	*Octavia*, ſiſter of *Auguſtus*, dies, a lady of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and greateſt pattern of virtue in her time: *Auguſtus* honoured her ſo far as to pronounce her funeral oration himſelf — —	V	320
4297	2990	9	The *Jews* of *Aſia* and *Cyrene* ſend a deputation to *Auguſtus*, who obtains a redreſs of their grievances, and a decree very favourable to them — —	IV	148
4297	2990	9	*Tiberius* ſubdues the *Daci*, a *German* nation, and tranſplants 40,000 into *Gaul*. *Druſus* ſubdued all from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, and died — —	V	321
4298	2991	8	*Herod*'s jealouſy having carried his warm temper to a great pitch of rage againſt his two ſons, he puts to death, rack, and torment, all that he ſuſpects; but *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* (whoſe daughter *Herod*'s ſon *Alexander* had married) interpoſes, and makes peace, ſo that he is forced to go to *Rome* to clear his ſons from the accuſations he had laid againſt them there — —	IV	150
4298	2991	8	The *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* ſubmit to *Auguſtus*, who orders 40,000 of them to be tranſported into *Gaul*, to repeople ſeveral places depopulated by the wars	VII	541
4298	2991	8	*Auguſtus* pretends to lay down his power, but the ſenate renews it for ten years more: He makes a cenſus, and finds 4,233,000 *Roman* citizens in *Rome*. This year the famous *Mecænas* dies, *Horace* the noted poet, and one *Caius Cæcilius Iſidorus*, remarkable for his extraordinary wealth, leaving behind him 4116 ſlaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200,057 head of other cattle, and 300,000 *l. ſterling* in money — — — —	V	324
4299	2992	7	*Herod*'s new temple at *Jeruſalem* being completely finiſhed, he cauſed it to be dedicated with great ſolemnity — —	IV	150
4299	2992	7	A dreadful fire happens at *Rome*, occaſioned by the debtors ſetting fire to their creditors houſes, to eſcape from their cruelty. To prevent the like for the future, *Auguſtus* divides the city into fourteen wards, under proper governors —	V	324
4300	2993	6	*Auguſtus* confers the honour of tribune for five years on *Tiberius*, but he begs to lay down all his dignities, and to retire to *Rhodes*, to live there privately, which with great difficulty *Auguſtus* yields to: He ſpends his time in ſtudy, and converſes only with philoſophers, *&c.* but after living ſo upwards of a year, he grows weary of his retirement, and petitions *Auguſtus* for leave to return to *Rome*; but is abſolutely refuſed it till 17 years after — —	V	327
4300	2993	6	*Herod*, through the inſtigation of his ſiſter *Salome*, again complains to *Auguſtus* againſt his ſons; *Auguſtus* orders them to be tried at *Berytus* before the governors of *Syria*; he gets them condemned, and executes them himſelf — —	IV	151
4301	2994	5	*Antipater*, *Herod*'s ſon is diſcovered plotting againſt his father; many perſons are put to death and baniſhed, and *Mariamne* (*Herod*'s preſent wife) baniſhed, and her father depoſed from the high-prieſthood — —	IV	153
4304	2997	2	*Auguſtus* is a thirteenth time conſul: Having conferred the higheſt honours upon his two grandſons, *Lucius* and *Caius*, (ſons of his daughter *Julia*) is ſo mortified by account of her wicked behaviour, that he ſhut himſelf up ſeveral days, refuſing to be ſeen or to ſpeak to any body; then he baniſhed *Julia* to *Pandataria*, a deſart iſland on the coaſt of *Campania* (now called *Santa Maria*) and puniſhed by baniſhment and death many of thoſe who had been her partners in lewdneſs, debauchery, *&c.* — —	V	326
4304	2997	2	*Auguſtus*, to divert his melancholy upon account of his family diſgrace, exhibits all manner of expenſive and magnificent ſhews, ſuch as chariot-races, gladiators, *&c.* and cauſed a canal, 1800 paces long, and 200 broad, to be dug, and let in the *Flaminian* water, which was covered with crocodiles, 36 of which were killed by *Egyptians*, brought there on purpoſe, and then two fleet of ſhips repreſenting a ſea-fight ſucceeded, *&c.* — —	V	327
4305	2998	1	*John* the baptiſt (the ſon of *Zachary*, a prieſt of the courſe of *Abiah*, and *Elizabeth* his wife) born — — — —	IV	154
4306	2999	0	Peace being ſettled in all the world, and the temple of *Janus* ſhut at *Rome*, *Auguſtus* orders a freſh ſurvey of the *Roman* empire to be taken, and as it was executing *Chriſt* is born at *Bethlehem* in *Judea*. Soon after *Herod* ordered all the male-children from two years old to a day old to be murdered, in order to kill *Jeſus Chriſt*, who was miraculouſly ſent into *Egypt* before this cruel maſſacre was put in execution — — —	IV	159
Y. of Chriſt					
4307	3000	1	*Antipater*, *Herod*'s ſon, ſends *Batillus* (one of his ſervants (from *Rome* into *Judea* with poiſon for *Herod* his father; 'tis diſcovered, and *Antipater*, now arrived at *Rome*, is arreſted, and tried before *Quintilius Varus*, and caſt and impriſoned	IV	182
4307	3000	1	*Herod* being very ill, 'tis reported he was dead: *Judas* the ſon of *Sariphæus*, and *Matthias* the ſon of *Margalothus*, (two learned *Jewiſh* doctors) raiſe the youth in *Jeruſalem*, and throw down the ſtatues that *Herod* had ſet up, particularly a golden eagle of an extraordinary ſize and workmanſhip over the temple gate: The two chiefs and 40 others are taken, and carried before the dying king, where they juſtify their proceedings, and are burnt for their pains. *Herod*'s diſeaſe made him loathſome to himſelf, as well as to his attendants; and ſo croſs and cruel, that he iſſued his ſummons for all the heads of the people to meet in the circus at *Jericho* at a ſet day, and gave his ſiſter *Salome* and her huſband *Alexas* ſtrict charge to butcher them all as ſoon as the breath was out of his body: The meſſengers return from *Rome* with *Auguſtus*'s confirmation of *Antipater*'s ſentence of death, which was immediately executed — —	IV	184
4307	3000	1	Five days after the death of his ſon *Antipater*, *Herod* dies himſelf, but in the mean time alters his will, and left his kingdom to his ſon *Archelaus*, *&c.* *Salome* and her huſband *Alexas*, inſtead of executing his cruel orders, ſets the priſon-door open. *Archelaus* is proclaimed king, and he indulges the people		

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			with granting all their requeſts: But a mutinous mob did much miſchief, and made great demands; and killed the ſoldiers ſent againſt them; but *Archelaus* ſends the whole army, kills 3000, and diſperſes the reſt; then goes to *Rome*, where being oppoſed by *Herod*'s other children, *Auguſtus* gives him half the kingdom, *viz. Judea Propria; Idumea*, and *Samaria*, with the title of *Ethnarch*, and divides the reſt between his two ſons, *Philip* and *Antipas*, and his ſiſter *Salome*		
4307	3000	1	Many of the *Jews* ſide with one *Alexander*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Herod*, but being detected he is ſent to the gallies	IV	191
4308	3001	2	*Tiberius* is allowed to return to *Rome*, and *Lucius Cæſar* dies, which brings *Tiberius* again into *Auguſtus*'s favour	IV	191
4308	3001	2	*Archelaus* upon his return to *Jeruſalem* depoſes *Joazar* from the high-prieſthood, and puts *Eleazar* in his ſtead; then divorces his wife *Mariamne*, and marries his brother *Alexander*'s wife *Glaphyra*, contrary to the *Jewiſh* law; then he depoſes *Eleazar*, and advances *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sias* to the high prieſthood; he beſtows immenſe ſums upon beautifying his palace at *Jericho*	V	330
4309	3002	3	The famous temple of the mother of the gods at *Rome* is reduced to aſhes	IV	192
4310	3003	4	*Numidia* revolts from *Rome*, but is again reduced by *Piſo* and *Caſſus*. The *Parthians* invade *Armenia*: *Caius* goes againſt them, and is treacherouſly wounded at *Artagera* by *Addo* the governor, as they were in conference; for which the *Romans* aſſault the city, take it by ſtorm, and diſmantle it, putting the governor and the whole gariſon to the ſword, and died ſoon after of the wound he had received from *Addo*, at *Limgra*, in the 24th year of his age, as he was returning to *Rome*; and *Auguſtus* adopts *Tiberius*, and beſtows the tribunitial power on him for five years	V	331
4310	3003	4	*Cinna* (grandſon to *Pompey*) with many other great men, conſpire againſt *Auguſtus*; it is diſcovered; *Auguſtus* pardons *Cinna* and his colleagues, and nominated *Cinna* to the next year's conſulate	V	332
4311	3004	5	*Tiberius* goes into *Germany*, and conquers abundance of the revolted nations, and returning to *Rome* is highly honoured and careſſed	V	333
4311	3004	5	This and the following year the famine is ſo extravagant at *Rome*, that all foreigners, gladiators, wreſtlers and ſlaves, (except phyſicians and ſchool-maſters) are driven out of the city to 80 miles diſtance. *Auguſtus* procured proviſions from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *&c.* at the publick expence, and ſold them at a low rate. The *Parthians* deſire *Auguſtus* to give them a king; he names *Vonones*, ſon of *Phrahates*, who is gladly received by the *Parthians*	V	334
4312	3005	6	*Tiberius* returns into *Germany*, and ſubdues the revolted *Germans* wherever he comes. *Cornelius Coſſus* goes againſt the *Getuli*, who revolting from king *Juba*, maſſacred all the *Romans* they found in his country, and committed dreadful ravages; he defeated them with vaſt ſlaughter, and obliged them to accept of what conditions he thought fit to grant them. *Auguſtus* baniſhes his grandſon *Poſthumius*, for his ſcandalous and wicked behaviour	V	334
4312	3005	6	The *Jews* and *Samaritans* complain to *Auguſtus* againſt *Archelaus* for his wicked and tyrannical reign; *Auguſtus* ſends for him to *Rome*, and hears both his accuſers and him, condemns him to baniſhment, and confiſcates all his goods, and makes *Judea* a *Roman* province, and *Cyrenius* the governor of *Syria* is ſent to tax it, and then ſells *Archelaus*'s palaces, ſeizes upon all his treaſure, and returns to *Antioch*	IV	192
4313	3006	7	One *Judas* and one *Saducus* ſpirit up ſome of the *Jews* to commit the moſt horrid butcheries and devaſtations upon the *Gentiles*, and the other *Jews* that did not join them; this brought on a grievous famine, and that a peſtilence.	IV	193
4313	3006	7	The *Samaritans*, out of ſpite to the *Jews*, privately ſtrew dead men's bodies up and down the temple at the time of the paſſover: So that the prieſts are forced to leave off their ſolemnity till it was repurified	IV	194
4313	3006	7	*Tiberius* goes again *Marboduus* king of the *Marcomanni*, a prince of vaſt perſonal ſtrength, who with an army of 70,000 foot and 4000 horſe, threatened *Italy* with an invaſion. *Meſſalinus* going out of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* to reinforce *Tiberius*, the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians* under the two *Bottas*, with each 100,000 men, revolt, and penetrate into *Macedon*, and kill all the *Romans* they meet with. *Auguſtus* raiſes a very large army, and puts *Germanicus* the ſon of *Druſus* at the head of it	V	335
4314	3007	8	A famine rages to ſuch a degree in one of the *Bottas* camp, that he offers *Tiberius* to treat of peace; which being granted, this *Botta* engages and kills the other *Botta*, which ſubdued moſt of the revolters	V	337
4314	3007	8	*Auguſtus*, upon hearing the petitions of the *Roman* knights about the *Papian Popæan* law, he doubly rewarded thoſe who were married and had children, and heavily fined the unmarried debauchees	V	338
4315	3008	9	After various battles and different ſucceſſes, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* proved too hard for the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, diſarmed them, and reſtored peace; and returning to *Rome*, are received with great honour	V	340
4315	3008	9	*Quintilius Varus* being now appointed governor in *Germany*, by his cruelty and covetouſneſs ſtirred up the people to revolt; *Arminius* deceives *Varus*, perſuades him to remove to the diſtant provinces, then pretends to be his guide againſt the revolters, conducts him into a large foreſt, ſurrounded on all ſides with ſteep hills, where he is attacked, and not finding it poſſible to get away, he and moſt of his officers kill themſelves; the enemy cut off almoſt three complete legions, and ſix cohorts, a few eſcaping by favour of the night: *Auguſtus* was ſo extremely concerned at this loſs, that in fits of frenzy he would tear his hair, and knock his head againſt the wall, crying out, *Reſtore the Legions Varus*; which he continued ſeveral months, letting his hair and beard grow, and kept this as a day of mourning annually during his life	V	342

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4316	3009	10	*Tiberius* passes the *Alps*, enters *Germany*, forces the *Germans* from the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, and so secures *Gaul* from their inroads, and having celebrated *Augustus*'s birth-day in his camp, *&c.* returns to *Rome*	V	342
4317	3010	11	The poet *Ovid* is banished to *Tomos*, a cold barren country, by *Augustus*, where he continued to his death, though he often petitioned *Cæsar* for relief	V	343
4317	3010	11	*Augustus* publishes a law, forbidding all augurs, astrologers, and fortune-tellers to utter publickly or privately predictions concerning the death of any person whatever, upon account of the disturbance among the nobility those practices had already bred	V	344
4317	3010	11	*Augustus* growing old and declining, causes the senate to declare *Tiberius* his colleague in the government, with power equal to himself	V	344
4318	3011	12	*Augustus* publishes a law against the authors of all lampoons and satirical writings, declaring it high-treason, and punishable with death; and causes the ædiles in the city, and the governors in colonies, to make strict search after such books and writings, and to commit them to the flames, and to punish the authors with great severity	V	345
4318	3011	12	*Augustus* writes two letters, one to *Tiberius* in favour of the senate, the other to the senate in favour of *Germanicus*, desires them to choose 24 of their members with whom he may advise, and begs to be excused coming to the senate-house upon account of his age; they agree, that what the twenty senators, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, *Augustus*, and his adopted son and nephew should enact, should be accounted the edict of the senate	V	345
4319	3012	13	The senate desires *Augustus* to accept of another ten years absolute government, his former being near expired, which doing, he confers the tribunitial power on *Tiberius* for the same term	V	345
4320	3013	14	*Augustus* takes *Tiberius* into the censorship with himself, and makes a census, by which the people in *Rome* appeared to be 4,137,000	V	345
4320	3013	14	*Augustus* leaves *Rome*, and goes to *Naples* to assist at the solemn sports that were to be exhibited on his birth-day: Soon after they were over he was seized with a *Diarrhæa* (or flux) leaves *Naples* and returns towards *Rome*; but growing too weak to travel, stops at *Nola* in *Campania*, and is confined to his bed: *Livia* attending him, sends for *Tiberius*, who comes; *Augustus* declares him his successor, and desires him to pursue his steps in the government: He died 19th of *August*, aged 75 years, 10 months, and 26 days, and reigned from his first consulship 56 years, but from the battle of *Actium* only 43: He was carried to *Rome* with great honour and solemnity, where *Tiberius* ordered the senate to meet, and the vestal-virgins to bring out his will, which began thus; *Since the Gods have been pleased to deprive me of my grand children*, Caius *and* Lucius, *I declare* Tiberius *my Heir*, *&c.* His body was carried with the utmost pomp, and burnt in the *Campus Martis*, his wife *Livia* and some of the chiefs of the *Roman* knights watching the pile and gathering up the bones and ashes, which they put into a golden urn, for five days together, and then buried it in the pompous mausoleum he had prepared for that purpose in his life-time	V	349
4320	3013	14	*Tiberius* orders the tribune who had young *Agrippa* in his custody to murder him, which he doing, *Tiberius* denies he gave any such orders, but it was afterwards smothered	V	354
4320	3013	14	The two consuls, *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius*, first take the oath of fidelity to *Tiberius*, and then administer it to the senate, people, and soldiery: The senate offers *Tiberius* the government; he pretends inability; they humbly beg him to accept it; he complies, beginning his reign in the 56th year of his age, invested with the same unbounded power that *Augustus* died in possession of: He would not let his mother receive the honours voted her by the senate, and took away *Julia*'s pension, so that she died miserably, in the 15th year of her banishment, and *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of her chief favourites, he put to death	V	358
4320	3013	14	*Percennius* raises a mutiny in the army in *Pannonia*, which plunder all the country round *Blessus*: Their general strives to reduce them, but is not able: *Tiberius* sends his son *Drusus*, with his governor *Sejanus*, against him, who strives to appease them, but is not able; but an eclipse of the moon happening the night of that day *Drusus* had harangued them, the mutineers (being ignorant of the cause) thought 'twas a signal of the god's displeasure, and so were easily prevailed upon to return to their duty, and the authors of the revolt were executed, and all things being settled amicably, *Drusus* returned to *Rome*	V	364
4320	3013	14	The legions in *Germany* revolt, kill some of the centurions and drive away the rest: *Germanicus*, the emperor's nephew, strives to appease them; they offer to make him emperor; he strives to get from them, is stopped and threatned to be murdered; but at length by stratagem quits them, and some are executed: Then he goes against the *Germans*, and comes upon the *Marsi*, and destroys all for 50 miles round, without the loss of one *Roman*; but as he returned several nations attacked him, but he defeats them all, and goes into winter quarters, loaded with booty. *Tiberius*, jealous of *Germanicus*, strives by all arts possible to make himself popular, refuses many of the honours offered him, forbids priests or temples to be decreed him, lessens the taxes, *&c.*	V	372
4321	3014	15	The *Germans* quarrelling among themselves, *Germanicus* enters the country of the *Catti*, puts vast numbers to the sword; some submit, and others fly into the woods, so that he laid waste all the open country, burnt their villages, and reduced *Mattium* their capital to ashes	V	373
4321	3014	15	*Arminius* the *German* quarrels with and besieges *Segestes* in his camp: *Germanicus* goes to the relief of *Segestes*, engages *Arminius*, and puts him to flight; and among the many prisoners that were taken was *Thusneldis*, the wife of		

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			Arminius, great with child; but *Arminius* gets recruits, and ſkirmiſhes with *Germanicus*, and gets advantages over him and *Cerſina*, but at length is put to flight		
4321	3014	15	*Tiberius* recals *Rufus*, and ſends *Valerius Gratus* governor of *Judea*, who continued in that poſt 11 years	V	379
4322	3015	16	*Germanicus* again engages *Arminius*, aſſiſted by many *German* princes, and defeats him with great ſlaughter and ſpoil, aſcribes the whole glory to *Tiberius*, and cauſed him to be declared emperor in the field of battle; and raiſing a mount, put the arms of the enemy on it as trophies, with the names of the conquered nations under each: This ſo enraged the *Germans* that they come to a ſecond battle, wherein they are again defeated with prodigious ſlaughter; upon which the *Angrivarii* ſubmit, are pardoned, and ſuffered to live quietly under their own laws. The war being over, *Germanicus* imbarques himſelf and a good part of his army on board 100 tranſports: a ſtorm ariſing, the fleet is diſperſed; ſome ſwallowed up by the waves, ſome daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks, *&c.* ſo that abundance of damage was done, and very great loſs ſuſtained; but upon his landing he made good his loſſes, by defeating and plundering the *Marſi*	IV	194
4322	3015	16	A ſlave of *Poſthumius Agrippa* gives out that he was the prince, and had eſcaped death; and as he was like him, cauſed great commotions in *Italy*; but being ſeized by ſtratagem, he was put privately to death, and ſo the affair dropt	V	387
4323	3016	17	*Tiberius* ſoon after the return of *Germanicus* to *Rome*, orders him a moſt magnificent triumph, and ſhews him all poſſible outſide marks of favour and eſteem, but ſecretly ſtrove and reſolved to deſtroy him	V	389
4323	3016	17	*Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, coming to *Rome* to make his ſubmiſſions to *Tiberius*, is by him accuſed, but excuſed by the ſenate; but being ſlighted, is ſaid to die of grief, after having reigned 50 years, and his country reduced to a *Roman* province. At the ſame time dies *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and *Philopator* king of *Cilicia*. The provinces of *Syria* and *Judea* apply for a relief in their taxes; all which occaſions great diſturbances in the eaſt, whereupon *Germanicus* is ſent thither to regulate them	V	390
4323	3016	17	The moſt dreadful earthquake ever known happens this year in *Aſia*, which overturned twelve very famous cities, moſt of whoſe inhabitants were buried in the ruins of their houſes, and thoſe that fled to the fields ſwallowed up by the opening of the earth: *Tiberius* remits the taxes of theſe cities for five years, to come, and gave large ſums to rebuild the cities	V	391
4323	3016	17	*Tacfarinas* the *Numidian* having drawn his countrymen and ſeveral other *African* nations into a revolt, was overthrown by *Furius Camillus*, in a pitched battle, though *Camillus* had but one legion and a few auxiliaries, and the other a very numerous army	V	392
4323	3016	17	The poet *Ovid* dies at *Tomos* in *Pontus*, whither he was baniſhed by *Auguſtus*; and the hiſtorian *Livy*, at *Padua* in *Italy*, his native city	V	393
4324	3017	18	*Germanicus* at his arrival in *Armenia*, with the conſent and approbation of the nobility and people, puts the diadem upon the head of *Zeno*, the ſon of *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, and then reduced *Cappadocia* and *Comagene* to two *Roman* provinces, their kings being dead. *Piſo* being the declared enemy of *Germanicus* the king of the *Nabatheans* at a grand entertainment preſenting *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* with large and heavy golden crowns, gives *Piſo* one much leſs, as his publick character was much lower; *Piſo* throws it away with much contempt and provoking behaviour	V	394
4325	3018	19	*Maroboduus* king of the *Suevians*, whoſe power *Rome* dreaded, was this year drove out of his kingdom, and obliged to live the laſt 18 years of his life at *Ravenna* in *Italy*. Some of the *Sueves* are allowed to ſettle beyond the *Danube*, to whom *Tiberius* gives one *Vannius* to be their king	V	395
4325	3018	19	*Germanicus* blaming *Piſo* for his ill conduct, *Piſo* poiſons him, of which he dies at *Antioch* in his return to *Rome*, in the 34th year of his age	VII	541
4325	3018	19	*Occia*, the preſident of the veſtal virgins at *Rome*, after having governed that ſociety 57 years, dies, and *Tiberius* puts *Aſinius*, *Pollio*'s daughter, in that office. Corn being very ſcarce and dear, he fixed the price; and that the ſeller ſhould not loſe the advantage of the advanced price, paid himſelf two *Nummi*, or 14 pence *per* buſhel, to make it good	V	398
4326	3019	20	*Piſo* coming to *Rome*, is accuſed of *Germanicus*'s death, debauching the army, *&c.* upon which great commotions are among the populace, and *Piſo* is ſaid to lay violent hands upon himſelf, though highly favoured by *Tiberius*	V	402
4326	3019	20	*Tacfarinas* having again ſtirred up commotions in *Africa*, is put to flight by *L. Apronius* the preſent governor of that province, who decimated a *Roman* cohort for giving ground at the firſt onſet, and put them to death; this ſeverity ſo animated the *Romans*, that 500 of them put a large body of the enemy to flight, and their whole army was routed by *Apronius Ceſianus*, the proconſul's ſon	V	405
4326	3019	20	*Valerius Gratus* governor of *Judea* depoſes *Ananus* (or *Annas*) the high-prieſt, in the 15th year of his pontificate, and raiſed *Iſhmael* the ſon of *Fabas* to that dignity	V	407
4326	3019	20	*Tiberius* publiſhes a decree forbidding all *Jews* and *Egyptians* ſtaying any longer in *Rome*, upon account of the ſcandalous behaviour of many of the meaner ſort of the *Jews* and *Egyptians*	IV	194
4327	3020	21	The *Gauls*, under *Julius Florus*, (a native of *Treves*) revolt, and are defeated by *Acilius Aviola*; they are again defeated by *Julius Indus*, after which *Florus* killed himſelf with his own ſword; this put an end to the inſurrection of *Treves*; but the *Edui* under *Sacrovir* appear 40,000 ſtrong, but are likewiſe overthrown by *Silius*, and then *Sacrovir* kills himſelf	IV	195
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4327	3020	21	*Valerius Gratus* depoſes *Iſmael* from the high-prieſthood at *Jeruſalem*, and gave it to *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Ananus* the late depoſed high-prieſt	IV	194
4328	3021	22	*Valerius Gratus* depoſes *Eleazar* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, and advances *Simon* the ſon of *Camith* to that dignity	IV	194
4328	3021	22	*Blaſus* the *Roman* general engages *Tacfarinas* the *Numidian* prince, defeats him, follows him into the mountains, kills many of his men, and took his brother priſoner, and then returned to *Rome*	V	414
4329	3022	23	*Sejanus* poiſons *Druſus*, and debauches his wife *Livia*, and ſets about the deſtruction of *Agrippina* and her two ſons	V	416
4329	3022	23	*Tiberius* moves the *Roman* ſenate in favour of the cities of *Cyira* in *Aſia*, and *Ægyra* in *Achaia*, both overthrown by an earthquake, and they decree an exemption from taxes for three years	V	419
4329	3022	23	*Tiberius* complains to the *Roman* ſenate againſt the ſtage-players ſo effectually, that they are prohibited acting in, and baniſhed from *Rome* and *Italy*	V	419
4329	3022	23	*Simon* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt is depoſed, and *Joſeph* (ſirnamed *Caiaphas*, ſon-in-law to *Annas*) put in his ſtead	IV	194
4330	3023	24	*Tacfarinas* the *Numidian* king is utterly routed and killed, and his ſon and many of his nobles taken priſoners, by *P. Dolabella*, proconſul of *Africa*. One *Curtiſius* ſtrove to raiſe a ſervile war, but was happily prevented before much miſchief was done	V	421
4331	3024	25	*Cremutius Cordus*, a celebrated hiſtorian, is accuſed and tried for praiſing *Brutus* in his *Annals*, &c. apprehending the revenge of *Tiberius* would fall heavy upon him, ſtarved himſelf to death, and his books were publickly burnt at *Rome*, though privately read afterwards	V	423
4331	3024	25	The *Cyzicans* are accuſed of neglecting the worſhip of the deified *Auguſtus*, and of committing violence upon ſome *Roman* citizens, for which they are deprived of their liberty granted them for their aſſiſtance in the *Mithridatic* war	V	424
4331	3024	25	The *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians* ſend ambaſſadors to the *Roman* ſenate to decide their pretenſions to the temple of *Diana*, which is done in favour of the latter	V	426
4332	3025	26	*Poppæus Sabinus* is honoured with the enſigns of a triumph, for entirely defeating the revolted *Thracians*	V	427
4332	3025	26	Ambaſſadors from *Aſia* come to *Rome* to have it there determined in which of the eleven contending cities the temple decreed to *Tiberius* ſhould be erected, which by the ſenate is given to *Smyrna*, and a legate extraordinary appointed to ſuperviſe the the building	V	428
4332	3025	26	*Tiberius* leaves *Rome*, under pretence of going to *Capua* to dedicate a temple to *Jupiter*, and one at *Nola* to *Auguſtus*, but really with an intention never to return to it again; attended by *Sejanus*, *Cocceius Nerva*, *Curtius Atticus*, and ſome learned *Greeks*, and lived retired eleven years. *Sejanus* maliciouſly accuſes young *Nero* and his brother *Druſus* of conſpiring againſt *Tiberius*	V	429
4332	3025	26	*Pontius Pilate* is made governor of *Judea* inſtead of *Valerius Gratus*, which office he held 10 years, and made it one continued ſcene of venal juſtice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action: At his firſt coming he ordered his ſtandards to be carried into *Jeruſalem*, and his army quartered there in the night-time, but next morning ſets them up publickly, which occaſioned great diſturbance and conſternation among the *Jews*, who eſteem them idolatrous; they go in a body to him at *Cæſarea*, and continue proſtrate before his houſe five whole days and nights, beſeeching him to remove them; the fifth day he comes out, mounts on his tribunal, as if come to hear and redreſs them, but orders his troops to murder all that did not depart immediately; but at laſt on their offering to ſuffer, without making any reſiſtance, he promiſes to remove the ſtandard from their metropolis	IV	194
4333	3026	27	*Atilius* having built an amphitheatre at *Fidenæ*, to exhibit ſhews of gladiators, vaſt numbers of people from *Rome*, &c. coming thither, by their weight pull down the building about their ears, ſo that 50,000 perſons were killed and maimed; this occaſioned a law, that no perſon worth leſs than 400,000 ſeſterces ſhould exhibit the ſhew of gladiators. At the ſame time a fire breaks out on *Mount Cælius*, which burnt with ſo much rage and fury, that it utterly conſumed all the houſes in that part of the city of *Rome*; and *Tiberius* makes good the loſs out of his own treaſury, for which the ſenate ordered the name to be changed from *Cælius* to *Mount Auguſtus*. After this *Tiberius* retires to *Capreæ*, an iſland of very difficult acceſs, and lived there 10 years, and then died, during which time he gave himſelf up to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery	IV	195
4334	3027	28	The *Friſians* ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, and defeat *L. Apronius*, who was ſent againſt them. This year dies *Julia*, the grand-daughter of *Auguſtus*, in the iſland of *Trimætus*, 20 years after her baniſhment	V	434
4335	3028	29	*Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, dies, in the 86th year of her age, commonly ſtiled *Julia Auguſta*, becauſe adopted by *Auguſtus* in his laſt will into the *Julian* family; a woman of very extraordinary parts, wiſdom and ambition	V	435
4336	3029	30	*Sejanus*, *Tiberius*'s chief miniſter and favourite, had now ſo fixed himſelf in power, that the ſenate enacts that his birth-day ſhould be annually celebrated, that his ſtatues that were ſet up in every quarter of the city ſhould be adored, that vows and ſacrifices ſhould be offered for his ſafety, &c.	V	438
4336	3029	30	This being the 30th and laſt *Jewiſh Jubilee* ſince its firſt celebration in the land of *Canaan*, *Chriſt* enters upon his miſſion of preaching the goſpel of peace and ſalvation, is baptized by *John*, turns water into wine at a marriage in *Cana*, drives the traders out of the temple, confers privately with *Nicodemus*, &c.	IV	202
4337	3030	31	The diſciples of *Chriſt* baptize their proſelytes by the command of *Chriſt*, and have a diſpute about it with the diſciples of *John*, while *Chriſt* goes into other parts of *Judea*, preaching the goſpel and working miracles, &c.	IV	203

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4337	3030	31	*John the Baptist* beheaded, by order of *Herod Antipas* tetrarch of *Galilee*, to gratify the revenge of *Herodias* his wife, who had been the wife of his brother *Philip*, and was grand-daughter to *Herod the Great*	IV	203
4337	3030	31	*Tiberius* makes himself and his favourite *Sejanus* conſuls this year; this occaſions the ſenate to heap new honours upon *Sejanus*; they join his name with *Tiberius*'s in all inſcriptions, erect new ſtatues to him, and ſlay victims before them, and paſs a decree to confirm to him and *Tiberius* the conſulate for five years. *Tiberius* forbids *Sejanus* to come to him, though he had reſigned the conſulate, and began to take publick notice of *Caius* (ſirnamed *Caligula*) the only ſurviving ſon of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*; which ſtung *Sejanus*, who found his power much decreaſed and his honours leſſened. *Tiberius* takes the command of the prætorian guard from him, and in a letter to the ſenate deſires them to impriſon him, which is done, and he is condemned and executed in the ſame day, which was followed by a general ſlaughter of his children, relations, friends and adherents	V	441
4338	3031	32	*Tiberius* grows inſatiable for blood, ſuſpicious of every body, and puts vaſt numbers to the moſt exquiſite torments and cruel deaths	V	445
4339	3032	33	*Tiberius* cauſes his grandſon *Druſus* to be ſentenced to be ſtarved to death, which was executed, and many others diſpatched themſelves the ſame way	V	448
4339	3032	33	This being the fourth year of *Chriſt*'s miſſion, the *Jews* crucify him	IV	227
4340	3033	34	Several of the great men and ladies at *Rome* deſtroy themſelves to avoid the cruelty of *Tiberius* and his favourite *Macro*, who make dreadful havock upon every ſlight pretence. The two conſuls having ſolemnized the 19th of *Auguſt*, on which the 20th year of *Tiberius* reign ended, with publick vows and ſacrifices, he ordered them to be tried for taking upon them to confirm his authority for ten years more, for which he has them condemned and executed	V	449
4341	3034	35	*Orodes*, ſon of *Artabanus*, is firſt, and the father afterwards, overthrown by *Pharaſmanes*, and forced to fly to the *Carmanians*; upon which *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, comes with his legions, and drives away *Pharaſmanes*, and ſets *Tiridates* on the throne of *Parthia*, who ſoon after was driven out again by *Artabanus*	IV	316
4342	3035	36	*Tiberius*'s cruelty ſtill continuing, *Tigranes* (grandſon of *Herod* king of *Judea*, and of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, who himſelf had been king of *Armenia*) was like a private perſon, without any regard to his publick character, condemned and executed among other pretended criminals. This year *Rome* ſuffered greatly by the overflowing of the *Tiber*, and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus contiguous to *Mount Aventine*: Upon this occaſion *Tiberius* paid above 100,000 great ſeſterces, to make up the loſs to the owners of the houſes	V	452
4343	3036	37	*Tiberius* dies in his retirement, on the 16th day of *March*, having reigned 22 years, ſix months, and 26 days, aged 77 years, 4 months, and 9 days: *Caius Caligula*, his adopted grandſon, (ſon of *Germanicus*) ſucceeds him, by virtue of *Tiberius*'s declaration in his favour while living; he enters his government with releaſing and pardoning all ſtate priſoners, remitting fines, reducing taxes, *&c.* and to the univerſal joy of all, in his firſt ſpeech to the ſenate, promiſed to govern with juſtice and moderation, to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions in all things	V	461
4343	3036	37	In the month of *July Caius Cæſar Caligula* enters upon the conſulſhip with his uncle *Claudius*; the ſame day he told the ſenate he greatly diſapproved of the diſorders of the late adminiſtration, promiſed to avoid them, and ſolemnly proteſted that making his people happy was his whole deſire and care. During this year he reſtored the kingdom of *Comagene*, reduced to a *Roman* province 18 years ago by *Tiberius*, to *Antiochus*, ſon of that *Antiochus* then driven out, and paid him 100,000,000 ſeſterces, or about 1,000,000 *l. ſterling* for the neat revenue during that time	V	461
4343	3036	37	*Pontius Pilate* having great complaints exhibited againſt him by the *Jews*; he is ſent for to *Rome* to anſwer them, and the emperor *Caius Caligula* ſends *Marcellus* in his ſtead: *Caligula* alſo gave *Agrippa*, ſon of *Ariſtobulus* and grandſon of *Herod the Great*, whom *Tiberius* had impriſoned) his liberty, and the tetrarchy of his late uncle *Philip*, and added to it *Great Abylene* in *Syria*, with the title of king: *Agrippa* ſtaid a year after this at *Rome*, and then returned in great ſplendor to his kingdom	IV	258
4343	3036	37	The governor of *Alexandria* having uſed the *Egyptian Jews* in a very cruel manner, for refuſing to worſhip *Caligula* as a god, *Agrippa* informs the emperor of the true ſtate of the caſe; *Caligula* ſends *Beſſus* to ſeize that bloody governor and bring him to *Rome*, where he was ſtripped of all his riches, then baniſhed into an iſland of the *Archipelago*, where ſome time after he was put to death	IV	258
4343	3036	37	*Herod Antipas*, before whom *Chriſt* appeared, envying *Agrippa*'s good fortune and honour, of being a king, goes to *Rome* to beg the ſame favour; but *Agrippa* ſending *Caligula* word that he had laid up arms for 70,000 men to have aſſiſted *Sejanus*, he was ſtripped of his tetrarchy, after he had enjoyed it 43 years, and *Caligula* beſtowed it and his treaſure upon *Agrippa*, and ſends *Herod* priſoner to *Lyons* in *France*	IV	259
4343	3036	37	*Caligula* orders *Petronius* governor of *Syria* to ſet up his ſtatue in the temple of *Jeruſalem*; the *Jews* in the moſt humble manner ſupplicate the forbearance; *Agrippa* goes to *Rome*, and with great difficulty gets *Caligula* to countermand his order	IV	260
4343	3036	37	*Caligula* is taken ſo ill that his life was much deſpaired of; and having done many endearing things for the people, the greateſt demonſtrations of ſorrow are ſhewn; he recovers, and then joy takes its turn; but it is ſuppoſed his ſickneſs had affected his brain, for ever after he acted like a wild tyrant and furious madneſs, committing the moſt monſtrous, abſurd and cruel ravages	V	463

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4343	3036	37	*Caligula* adopts *Tiberius* the son of *Druſus*, now 18 years old, and commands him to kill himſelf, and ſends meſſengers to ſee it performed; this being done, he gives a full looſe to his furious and mad paſſions, and commences an open enemy to mankind, a complete tyrant, and outrageous monſter, committing the moſt horrid butcheries, cruelties, and inhumanities, cauſing his neareſt relations, greateſt friends, beſt ſubjects, and moſt innocent perſons to be put to death in his preſence, to gratify his ſavage madneſs; marries and divorces ſeveral ladies, and claims divine honours, inſtitutes prieſts to his own deity, builds temples, and has ſacrifices offered to him — — —	V	463
4344	3037	38	*Caligula* aſſumes the ſecond conſulſhip, and has *Lucius Apronius Ceſtanus* for his colleague; after 30 days he lays down the faſces, and when he entered upon and laid down his conſulſhip, like a private perſon took the uſual oaths; the people, fearful of his cruelties, not appearing at the publick ſhews which he daily exhibited with ſo much aſſiduity as he required, he ordered the publick granaries to be ſhut up with an intent to ſtarve them all, and wiſhed that they had all but one neck, that he might butcher all at one ſtroak: His horſe *Incitatus* he frequently invited to his table, and fed him with gilt oats, and preſented him with the richeſt wines in gold cups; his ſtable was marble, his manger ivory, his collar pearls, and his coverings purple; he gave him many attendants with rich liveries, and made him one of the college of his prieſts, and collegue to the chief nobility, and purpoſed to have made him conſul; he revived the law of majeſty, and did every thing that might make him feared and hated — — —	V	464
4345	3038	39	*Caius* cauſes all his ſhips he had ready built, and orders great numbers to be built, and all to be link'd together in a crefcent, from the point of the bay of *Baiæ* to *Puteoli* in *Campania*; upon theſe were laid planks, and upon them earth; then houſes were built, ſtreets and roads made, *&c.* which rendered ſhipping ſo ſcarce that a dearth followed, which carried off great numbers of the poorer people. The work being finiſhed with all expedition, *Caligula*, attended with the heads of the city and army, firſt offers ſacrifices to *Envy* at *Puteoli*, then magnificently arrayed, armed with the breaſt-plate of *Alexander the Great*, and a civic crown on his head, rode to *Puteoli*, and ſtayed there a night and a day, illuminated the bridge, ſtreets, *&c.* with an infinite number of lights, boaſting he had turned the ſea into land, and the day into night: The next day at his return back, in the midway mounted a magnificent throne, and made an oration in praiſe of this mad action, and then ordered a vaſt number of people of all ages and conditions to be thrown promiſcuouſly into the ſea, many of which periſhed; then returned to *Rome* in triumph, and the bridge was broke down, and the ſhips he had borrowed reſtored, *&c.* and thus in two years he ſquandered away 18 millions, beſides his ordinary income: To raiſe money he obliged the greateſt part of the inhabitants to repurchaſe their freedoms, made void wills, confiſcated the goods of thoſe he thought fit, and obliged the nobility to purchaſe them at his own price, *&c.* — — —	V	470
4345	3038	39	*Caius Cæſar Caligula* depoſes both the conſuls, for which one killed himſelf; then raiſes an army of 200,000 men, and pretends to go againſt the *Germans*, does nothing, and returns into *Gaul*, and ruins all the people by extortions, *&c.* *Lentulus* and *Getulius* are charged with and executed for treaſon, and *Caius*'s two ſiſters baniſhed for adultery. The *Germans* are defeated by *Galba*, and *Caius* takes the honour to himſelf — — —	V	471
4346	3039	40	*Caius* takes upon himſelf the conſulſhip a third time alone, for 12 days, being at *Lyons*, where he had magnificent ſhews, *&c.* At the end of twelve days he laid down the conſulſhip, and two new conſuls were nominated. *Caligula* having invited *Ptolemy* king of *Mauritania*, couſin-germain to his father *Germanicus*, to his court, and for a time treated him with great magnificence and civility; but imagining that he was in the people's favour, firſt arreſted and condemned him to baniſhment, and then ordered him to be privately maſſacred as he was carrying along; and alſo ordered *Mithridates* king of *Armenia* to be arreſted and baniſhed, which was performed, with abundance of other extravagancies and unjuſt extortions, *&c.* — — —	V	478
4347	3040	41	The *Mauritanians* ſoon after the death of their king revolt, but after the loſs of ſeveral battles they are ſubjected to the *Romans*, and ruled by their governors like other provinces, and not by their own princes — —	VII	159
4347	3040	41	*Caius* holds the conſulſhip for the fourth time only ſeven days. *Caſſius Cheræa*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, a brave and gallant officer, being frequently made the executioner of *Caius*'s cruelties, is ſo moved with pity for his country, and deteſtation of his vileneſs, that he and ſeveral others conſpire to deſtroy the monſter, which they did in his palace, and are ſaid to have cut off and eat part of his fleſh, the 24th of *January*, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and 28 days; the next night *Julius Lupus* diſpatched his wife *Cæſonia*, by ſtabbing her, and his infant daughter, by daſhing out her brains againſt the walls. Some of the ſenators were for ſeizing the government and reducing it to a commonwealth again, but *Caius* is ſucceeded by his uncle *Claudius*, ſon of *Druſus*, (who died in *Germany*) and grandſon of *Mark Anthony* and *Octavia* the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*, whom the ſoldiers and people proclaimed emperor — — —	V	491
4347	3040	41	*Claudius* is adviſed to puniſh *Cheræa*, *Lupus*, and a few others with death; but all the other conſpirators were pardoned. He aboliſhed the law of majeſty, called home the exiles, eaſed the tributes, reſtored the eſtates illegally forfeited, refuſed the honours he was complimented with, *&c.* gains the love of the people, but being naturally timorous, was inſulted by ſome bravos —	V	492

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4347	3040	41	*Agripp* king of the *Jews* having greatly contributed to the promotion of *Claudius* to the empire, is rewarded, with the addition of *Judea*, *Samaria*, and the ſouthern parts of *Idumea* to his kingdom, and a confirmation of all *Caligula*'s favours with great additions, making a ſolemn alliance with him, and paſſing ſeveral edicts in favour of the *Jews*. *Claudius* beſtows the kingdom of *Chalcis* upon his brother *Herod*. *Agrippa* has the honour of conſulſhip, and *Herod* the prætorſhip, beſtowed upon them; all which grants were engraven on copper, and ſet up in the capitol			
4347	3040	41	*Claudius* reſtores *Mithridates* the *Iberian* to his kingdom, *Antiochus* to the kingdom of *Comagene*, and *Mithridates* the *Cilician* to the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, of which they had unjuſtly been deprived by *Caligula*	IV	261
4348	3041	42	A great famine being in *Rome*, *Claudius* forms a large and commodious harbour at the mouth of the *Tiber*, and completed it; but ſoon after his death 'twas through neglect choaked up with ſand: At the ſame time alſo he ſet about draining the lake *Fucinus* in the country of the *Marſi*, and conveying its waters by deep canals into the *Tiber*, employing 30,000 men continually for 11 years, but without ſucceſs	V	493
4348	3041	42	*Meſſalina*, wife of *Claudius* the emperor, ſolliciting *Silanus* to lewdneſs, he refuſing ſhe falſely accuſes him of deſigning to murder the emperor; upon which he is executed: This occaſions a conſpiracy of the nobility and gentry againſt *Claudius*, the head of which was *Annius Vinicianus*, who had a great ſhare in the murder of *Caius*. *Camillus*, governor of *Dalmatia*, writes him a letter full of reproaches, and threatens him with a cruel death if he did not reſign; but the ſuperſtition of thoſe times getting into the ſoldiers heads, they imagined ill omens, and fell upon their officers and killed them. *Camillus* making his eſcape, was afterwards ſtabbed in the arms of his wife, after he had bore the title of emperor five days. This gave *Meſſalina* a handle to execute many innocent perſons, for the ſake of their eſtates, and paſs by the guilty for large ſums of money, *&c.* but ſome of them were executed. *Otho* ſucceeded *Camillus* in *Dalmatia*, and cut off the heads of thoſe ſoldiers who had murdered their officers	V	494
4349	3042	43	*Claudius* deprives the *Lycians* of their liberty, for murdering ſome *Roman* citizens in a tumult; and to quiet the differences that had ariſen among them, and added their country to the province of *Pamphilia*. *Meſſalina* out of ſpite perſuades *Claudius* to put his niece *Julia*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, and his niece *Julia*, the daughter of *Druſus* and grand daughter of *Tiberius*, to death	V	496
4349	3042	43	*Claudius* by the inſtigation of one *Bericus*, a fugitive *Briton*, ſends *Plautius* the *Roman* governor in *Gaul* to invade *Britain*; which he did, and vanquiſhed them in ſeveral battles, and gariſons ſeveral towns, and writes to the emperor, who comes himſelf with a large army engages and defeats the *Britains* with great ſlaughter, takes their ſtrong holds, and gariſons them, and makes *Plautius* governor of *Britain*, *&c.*	V	496
4349	3042	43	*Agrippa* upon his return to *Jeruſalem* ſhews a much greater zeal for the *Jewiſh* religion than his predeceſſor; depoſed *Theophilus* from the high-prieſthood, and gave it to *Simon Cantharas*; but ſoon after depoſed him, and offered it to *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas*, who had been depoſed, but he refuſed it	VII	429
4350	3043	44	*Claudius* at his return to *Rome* is honoured with a triumph and the ſirname of *Britannicus*; *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* behaved ſo gallantly under *Plautius*, as to fight thirty battles, and ſubdue two powerful nations of the *Britains*, and reduced 20 towns, with the *Iſle of Wight*. *Plautius* encreaſed his conqueſts, and at his return to *Rome* has an ovation, *&c.*	IV	261
4350	3043	44	*Claudius* after his triumph reſtored to the ſenate the provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, which thenceforth were governed by proconſuls: He gave the title of king to *Cottius*, prince of the *Alps*; and took away the liberty of the *Rhodians*, for their crucifying ſome *Roman* citizens	VII	429
4351	3044	45	The dreadful fame, foretold by *Agabus*, rages in *Judea*, againſt which the new *Chriſtian* churches planted at *Antioch* ſends the believers at *Jeruſalem* a liberal relief, by the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas*	V	497
4351	3044	45	*Rome* being now very full of ſtatues, *Claudius* enacts that no more ſhould be ſet up without the ſpecial appointment of the ſenate, and orders ſeveral to be taken down, he likewiſe puniſhed very ſeverely ſome governors of provinces that had miſbehaved, *&c.*	IV	263
4352	3045	46	*M. Vicinius*, brother-in-law to *Claudius*, dies of poiſon given him by the empreſs *Meſſalina*, for refuſing her unchaſt deſires. *Aſinius Gallus*, ſon of *Agrippina*, *Tiberius*'s firſt wife, conſpired againſt *Claudius* to make himſelf emperor; is detected, and only baniſhed, which gained *Claudius* great applauſe	V	498
4353	3046	47	Many of the greateſt men in *Rome* are put to death by *Claudius*, to gratify the revenge and covetouſneſs of *Meſſalina* his wife	V	498
4353	3046	47	The *Cheruſci*, or inhabitants of *Brunſwick*, deſire *Claudius* to give them a king; he ſends them *Italicus*, nephew of the famous *Arminius*; but though they at firſt received him with great joy, yet they drove him from the throne ſome time after for living after the *Italian* manner; but he being again reſtored by the *Longobards*, cruelly oppreſſed the *Cheruſcans*	V	499
4353	3046	47	One *Cneius Novius*, a *Roman* knight, comes armed with a dagger into the audience-room, with an intent to kill *Claudius*, but being ſeized and tormented on the rack, confeſſes his intention, but will not diſcover any accomplice or abettor	V	501
4354	3047	48	*Claudius* as cenſor creates ſeveral new patrician families in the room of thoſe that were extinct, ſupplies the vacancies in the ſenate, promotes ſome of the *Gauliſh* nobility to the ſenatorial dignity, and by a cenſus finds 6,900,000 citizens in *Rome*	V	501 502

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4354	3047	48	*Messalina* the *Roman* empress grew so monstrous in her lust, that to have one *Caius Silius* (a very beautiful young man) to herself, she forced him to divorce his wife *Silana*, and kept him company openly: *Silius* proposes to kill *Claudius* and to marry her, and to adopt *Germanicus*: She approves all; first divorces herself from the emperor, and then marries *Silius* openly. *Calpurnia* and *Cleopatra* (two of *Claudius*'s courtezans) tell him of it; he is at first frighted, but by the management of *Narcissus*, *Silius*, *Messalina*, and several others are executed, and all things settled quietly	V	506
4355	3048	49	*Agrippa* (king of the *Jews*) spends great sums in rebuilding, beautifying, and strengthening a new quarter of the north side of *Jerusalem*, intending to wall it in, but is forbid by *Claudius* the *Roman* emperor: He grows so considerable, that as he was making a progress to *Tiberias* he is met and complimented by the king's of *Comagene*, *Emesa*, *Lesser Armenia*, *Pontus* and *Chalcis*; But *Vivius Marsus*, governor of *Syria*, jealous of what they might consult about, came thither himself, and commanded them to return each to his own kingdom. Upon his return to *Jerusalem* he deposed *Matthias* the high-priest, and put *Elionæus* in his stead, and begins to persecute the *Christians* by beheading *James* the less, sirnamed *Boanerges*, and imprisoning *Peter*, Going to *Cæsarea* with a vast train of nobility, to exhibit publick games in honour of *Claudius*, where declaring he received the governors of *Tyre* and *Sydon* again into favour, the people cried out, 'twas the voice of god, and not of man; which puffing him up with pride, he fell sick, and died in five days, and *Claudius* turned his kingdom again into a *Roman* province, and made *Cuspius Fadus* the governor thereof; but *Herod* king of *Chalcis* got the superintendancy of the temple, and power of nominating the high priest, and accordingly deposed *Cantharas*, and substituted *Joseph* the son of *Cami* in his room	IV	262
4355	3048	49	*Claudius* marries *Agrippina*, his brother's daughter; a law is passed the day before to make such marriages lawful: She governed the emperor and the state with an uncontroulable power, went with *Claudius* into the senate, and set herself with him on the same tribunal in all publick ceremonies, and in the courts of justice: She got *L. Annæus Seneca* recalled from banishment, and made him tutor to her son *Domitius*, *&c.* and betrothed her son (now 12 years old) to *Claudius*'s daughter *Octavia*; and caused *Lollia Paulina* to be beheaded, for attempting to get *Claudius* for a husband	V	507
4355	3048	49	*Claudius* widens the circumference of *Rome* by enclosing *Mount Aventine*	V	507
4355 4356	3048 3049	49 50	*Claudius* is persuaded by *Pallas* the freed-man, who had conducted the affair of *Agrippina*'s marriage, and was now criminally correspondent with her, to adopt *Domitius* her son, and give him the preference to his own son *Germanicus*, because *Domitius* was three years older, who from this time was called *Nero-Claudius Cæsar-Drusus-Germanicus*; the senate confirmed the adoption and called *Agrippina Augusta*	V	508
4356	3049	50	*Agrippina* gets a colony of veterans to be sent to *Cologn*, the capital of the *Ubii*, where she was born, and called it *Colonia Agrippinensis*. The *Catti* making incursions into the *Roman* territories, are repulsed with great slaughter by *Pomponius Secundus*, commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*	V	508
4356	3049	50	*Vannius*, king of the *Suevians*, being for his haughty and insolent behaviour, after 30 years reign, driven out of his kingdom by the *Hermunarians* and *Ligians*, *Claudius* gives him lands and leave to live in *Pannonia*. *Vangio* and *Sido*, his nephews, part his kingdom between them	VII	541
4357	3050	51	*Nero*, though but 14 years old, is presented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments: The senate decree, that in his 20th year he should be consul of *Rome*, and be now stiled prince of the *Roman* youth; but the friends and trusty servants of *Britannicus* are some put to death, and the others removed, *&c.* A great famine makes the people at *Rome* outrageous, and affront *Claudius* as the cause of it; but in 15 days time he gets a sufficient supply of corn and other necessaries, which makes them easy	V	509
4357	3050	51	*P. Ostorius Scapula* being sent into *Britain*, fell unexpectedly upon the *Britains* who had broken into the *Roman* conquests, put great numbers to the sword, and dispersed the rest; built forts on the *Severn*, *Avon*, and *Nen*, and made that part south of these rivers a *Roman* province, and *Camalodunum* a *Roman* colony. The *Iceni* engage *Ostorius*, and after an obstinate battle are put to flight with great slaughter; but after many engagements, losing some part of his honour, he died of grief, and was succeeded by *Aulus Didius*	VII	430
4358	3051	52	This year *Claudius* finished, at an immense charge, the aqueduct at *Rome*, begun by *Caligula* 14 years before: 4060 persons with large sallaries were appointed to keep it in repair: Likewise the great canal was finished, designed for draining the lake *Fucinus*, which had constantly employed 30,000 men for 11 years; before the waters were let out, *Claudius* exhibited a naval fight, in which 19,000 condemned criminals engaged on board 100 large gallies, representing the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* fleets, and after an obstinate contest, many wounds, and much bloodshed, such of them as remained alive the emperor pardoned: When the water was let off 'twas found the canal was not deep enough; and when it was deepened, bridges were built and gladiators fought upon it; but the water breaking out with incredible violence, bore all down before it	V	514
4358	3051	52	*Ventidius Cumanus* succeeded *Alexander* in the government of *Judea*: It being *Passover* time, he put guards before the gates of the temple, one of which shewing his nudity publickly, occasioned an uproar; he first tried by fair means to appease it, but not succeeding, he ordered all his troops to come to the place; this frighted the *Jews* so excessively, that flying in confusion more than 10,000 are stifled and crushed to death by running over one another	IV	254

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4358	3051	52	Some *Galilean Jews* going to a feaſt were inſulted, and one killed; a ſkirmiſh enſues, in which many of them are killed by the *Samaritans*: They go to complain of the *Samaritans* to *Cumanus*, who refuſes to do them juſtice: The matter being brought before *Quadratus*, governor of *Syria*, he ſends the *Samaritans* and *Cumanus* to *Rome*; where the *Samaritans* were condemned to die, *Cumanus* baniſhed, and *Celer* (one of his tribunes) dragged through the ſtreets of *Jeruſalem*, and then put to death		
4359	3052	53	*Nero*, now about 16 years old, marries *Octavia*, whom he had betrothed three years before. He pleads for the *Ilians*, and obtains for them an immunity from all taxes and tributes, and prevails with *Claudius* to reſtore the *Rhodians* to their antient liberty, gets many favours beſtowed on ſeveral others, *&c.* *Claudius* confers univerſal juriſdiction on the equeſtrian order	IV	264
4359	3052	53	*Claudius Felix* is made governor of *Judea*, in the room of *Ventidius Cumanus*; without, the land ſwarmed with robbers and banditti; and within, with falſe prophets, *&c.* which occaſioned *Felix* to uſe all manner of ſeverities and unjuſt ſeizures upon the innocent as well as the ſeditious; for which being reproved by *Jonathan* the high-prieſt, he hired one *Doras* (a confident of *Jonathan*'s) to murder him, which was done accordingly	V	515
4360	3053	54	The empreſs *Agrippina* poiſons the *Roman* emperor *Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero*, in the 64th year of his age, of which he dies the 13th of *October*, after he had reigned 13 years, 8 months, and 21 days, and his wife *Agrippina*'s ſon *Nero* is declared emperor in his ſtead. *Agrippina* forces *Narciſſus* the great favourite of *Claudius* to kill himſelf, who was the moſt profuſe and rapacious creature living, ſurpaſſing *Cræſus* in wealth, his friendſhip being courted with large preſents by foreign kings, cities and provinces. She alſo got *Junius Silanus* proconſul of *Aſia* murdered, (a wealthy great-grandſon of *Auguſtus*) to prevent his being emperor. *Nero* pronounces *Claudius*'s funeral oration	IV	266
4361	3054	55	*Nero*, though but 18 years old, aſſumes the conſulſhip, and reſtores *Plautius Lateranus* to his antient rank, who had been degraded for adultery with *Meſſalina*, *Nero* falls in love with *Acte*, a beautiful ſlave, and ſlights his mother; ſhe grows outragious at *Pallas* her confident's being turned out of the treaſury, utters dreadful complaints and curſes againſt *Nero*, publiſhes *Britanicus*'s virtues, and title, *&c.* *Nero* cauſes *Britanicus* to be poiſoned, and beſtowed his eſtate in preſents among his favourites, and baniſhes *Agrippina* his mother from the court, and confined her to her grandmother *Antonia*'s houſe; ſhe is unjuſtly accuſed, tried, acquitted, and received into favour again	V	517
4362	3055	56	*Nero*, by the prompting and advice of his two companions, *Otho* and *Senecio*, falls into all manner of debauchery and exceſs, going diſguiſed like a ſlave in the night-time, and committing great riots and diſorders	V	524
4364	3057	58	*Suilius*, a noted informer and accuſer of great men in the reign of *Claudius*, is proſecuted and baniſhed. *Nero* falls in love with *Poppæa Sabina*, whoſe mother was put to death by *Meſſalina*; ſhe was the wife of *Rufinus Criſpinus*, extremely beautiful, witty, and lewd: She forſook her huſband, and lived publickly with *Otho*, the emperor's favourite: *Nero* takes her, and forbids *Otho* the court, and ſent him governor to *Luſitania*, where he ſtaid ten years with reputation. *Cornelius Sylla*, huſband of *Antonia* daughter of *Claudius*, is falſly accuſed of treaſon, and baniſhed to *Marſeilles*, *&c.*	V	525
4364	3057	58	The *Armenians* tired with the continual invaſions of the *Iberians* on the one hand, and the *Parthians* on the other, ſend a ſolemn deputation to *Nero* at *Rome*, praying him to appoint them a king; *Nero* ſends *Domitius Corbulo* into *Armenia*, who drives away *Tiridates*, and ſets up *Tigranes*, the grandſon of *Herod the Great*, upon the throne of *Armenia*; but *Vologeſes* king of *Parthia* drove him out, and again ſet his brother *Tiridates* upon the throne, but ſent him to *Rome* to receive the crown from *Nero*, who put it on his head with his own hands, and ſo all differences were made up	V	527
4365	3058	59	The *Sicarii* (or robbers) commit horrid murders and diſorders in ſeveral parts of *Judea*, even in the temple itſelf: *Feſtus* being made governor in the room of *Felix*, takes great pains to ſuppreſs them; but *Agrippa* having the year before depoſed *Ananias* from, and advanced *Iſhmael* to the high-prieſthood, ſeveral of theſe depoſed prieſts claiming an equal quantity of tythes, occaſioned great diſturbances by their partizans. Upon the arrival of *Feſtus*, St. *Paul* was brought before him; but he appealing to *Cæſar*, was continued a priſoner	III	717
4365	3058	59	*Poppæa* having got the aſcendancy over *Nero*, endeavours all ſhe can to get rid of *Agrippina* his mother, who is murdered in her bed by *Nero*'s order, after having eſcaped an attempt to deſtroy her at ſea. After this he gave himſelf up to all manner of lewdneſs, and introduced debauchery every where, ſo that it became univerſally faſhionable	V	532
4366	3059	60	*Agrippa* having advanced *Ananias*, a proud *Sadducee*, to the high-prieſthood, and *Feſtus* being dead, he called a council before *Albinus* the now prætor came, and condemned and ſtoned to death St. *James*, and many other *Chriſtians*	V	553
4366	3059	60	*Nero* inſtitutes conteſts of eloquence and poetry, and other games, to be exhibited every fifth year. A comet appears, and the people talk of *Rubellius Plautus* to ſucceed *Nero*	III	717
4366	3059	60	*Agrippa* depoſes *Ananus* from, and advances *Jeſus* the ſon of *Damneus* to the high-prieſthood at *Jeruſalem*. The *Sicarii* or robbers and banditti were grown ſo bold as to come into *Jeruſalem*, and carry off *Eleazar* ſon of the late high-prieſt, who was ſecretary of the temple; they ſend *Eleazar* word, that for his ſon's ranſom he muſt get ten of their companions releaſed; which for a large ſum he does, *&c.*	V	535
4366	3059	60	*Agrippa* taking the high-prieſthood from *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Damneus*, gives it to *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*; each raiſe armed men, and commit the vileſt	IV	267

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			outrages. The *Levites* obtain leave of *Agrippa* to wear white robes, like the priests — — —	IV	267
4367	3060	61	The *Britons* having been extremely abuſed by the covetouſneſs of the *Roman* governors, revolt under *Boudicea* their queen, and kill abundance of the *Romans*: *Petilius Cerealis* going to the *Romans* aſſiſtance with the ninth legion, the *Britons* fall upon him, rout him, and cut every man of the infantry to pieces; afterwards the *Britons* went to *London*, then inhabited chiefly by *Romans*, took it, and maſſacred all the *Romans* they found; the like they did elſewhere, killing 70,000 of the *Romans*, and their confederates. *Suetonius* the *Roman* governor collects his army together, and gives the *Britons* battle, overthrows them, and kills 80,000 of them, with the loſs of only 400 *Romans* — — —	V	539
4367	3060	61	*Pedanius Secundus*, governor of *Rome*, being murdered by ſome of his ſlaves, it was inſiſted upon that all dwelling under his roof, guilty or innocent ſhould be executed, which was done, to the number of 400 — — —	V	541
4368	3061	62	*Burrhus*, one of *Nero*'s teachers, who had been greatly inſtrumental in preventing much miſchief, is ſaid to die of poiſon — —	V	541
4368	3061	62	*Tigellinus* gets to be *Nero*'s intimate (a perſon of great vicioufneſs) and adviſes him to murder *Sylla*, who was accordingly aſſaſſinated at his own table: Then *Plautus* is likewiſe diſpatched, and *Nero* marries *Poppæa* publickly; ſhe accuſes *Octavia* of incontinency, who is baniſhed into *Campania*, but is ſoon after recalled, but again accuſed, baniſhed and murdered — — —	V	543
4368	3061	62	*Nero* recals *Albinus* from, and ſends *Geſſius Florus* into *Judea*, who behaved ſo cruelly as occaſioned the total deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* ſtate and people, who upon a computation now made, are found to be 2,556,000 — —	IV	267
4369	3062	63	The city of *Pompeii* in *Campania* was in a great meaſure overturned by an earthquake, and many others damaged. This year *Poppæa* brings forth a daughter, which is called *Auguſta*, but dies when four months old — —	V	544
4369	3062	63	The *Sarmatians* begin to threaten the *Roman* empire; but *Plautius Sylvanus Ælianus* getting aſſiſtance from the kings of the *Baſtarnians* and *Roxolanians*, prevents their invaſion — — —	VII	603
4370	3063	64	*Nero* grows ſo monſtrouſly wicked, that he approved of thoſe who made profeſſion of obſcenity, and condemned as hypocrites thoſe who behaved with any degree of modeſty. This year *Rome* is burnt, ſome ſay by *Nero*'s expreſs order, but he charges it upon the *Chriſtians*: Upon part of the ruins he built a moſt magnificent palace, called the golden palace; upon the reſt the city was rebuilt in a very commodious and grand manner, much ſuperior to what it was before for beauty and convenience — — —	V	648
4370	3063	64	*Nero* having accuſed the *Chriſtians* (who were very numerous at *Rome*) with burning it, they were perſecuted with all manner of cruelties and torments poſſible to be invented; and to ſupply his exchequer he robbed all the temples of his vaſt dominions, and melted down the images to make money	V	554
4370	3063	64	*Cæſarea* being now adjudged to belong to *Syria*, the *Jews* revolt, and pelt their governor *Florus* with ſtones, and nothing was to be ſeen but robberies, murders and all manner of cruelties: The *Cæſarians* murder 20,000 *Jews* in their city, 2000 are murdered at *Ptolemais*, and 50,000 at *Alexandria*, *Florus* murdering all he met with at *Jeruſalem*, ſo that fire and ſword reduced all the country to the utmoſt deſolation — —	IV	269
4371	3064	65	*Nero*'s abominable behaviour occaſioned a conſpiracy againſt him, at the head of which was *Caius Piſo*; but being diſcovered before the execution, *Nero* puts many of the chiefs to death, among whom was *Seneca* his tutor, the conſul *Veſtinus*, *Lucan* the poet, *&c.* — —	V	558
4371	3064	65	*Poppæa* being again with child, and finding fault with *Nero*, for ſome exceſſes, he kicks her on the belly and kills her; he would then have married *Antonia*, the daughter of *Claudius*, but ſhe refuſing, he orders her to be put to death, and married *Statilia Meſſalina*, widow of the late conſul *Atticus Veſtinus* —	V	559
4371	3064	65	This year *Campania* was damaged with dreadful tempeſts, violent whirlwinds, and earthquakes, by which whole villages were overturned, *&c.* At *Rome* a plague ſwept off 30,000 perſons in a ſmall time —	V	560
4372	3065	66	*Nero* goes into *Greece*, with a vaſt retinue of fidlers, ſongſters, *&c.* and has the prize allowed to him, for which he rewarded the judges with rich preſents and the citizenſhip of *Rome*; he alſo reſtored the *Acheans* to their former liberty	V	565
4372	3065	66	*Ceſtius* governor of *Syria* beſieges *Jeruſalem*, but they corrupting ſome of his generals, the ſiege was raiſed, and the *Jews* purſued him, ſurrounded and cut off 4000 of his foot, and 400 horſe, *&c.* Upon this *Nero* ſends *Veſpaſian* into *Judea* with a great army to revenge the affront — —	V	270
4373	3066	67	*Veſpaſian* enters *Judea* with upwards of 60,000 diſciplined men, beſides ſervants, relieves *Sephoris*, burns *Gadara*, and beſieges *Jotapa*, which *Joſephus* gallantly defended 47 days, when *Veſpaſian* took it by aſſault, and deſtroyed it with fire and ſword, not one *Jew* eſcaping, 40,000 being killed, and only 12,000 made priſoners: *Joſephus* ſurrendered himſelf, and was well received, and then propheſied to *Veſpaſian* his ſucceſſion to the empire. *Japha* was alſo taken, and all the men put to the ſword, and the women and children carried away captive. *Gamala* was alſo taken, and 4000 put to the ſword, but more deſtroyed themſelves. *Giſcala* alſo loſt 6000 men, and 3000 taken priſoners; and ſo all *Galilee* was ſubdued — — —	IV	273
4373	3066	67	*Nero* plunders the province of *Achaia*, putting all the wealthy *Greeks* to death under various pretences, and ſeizing their effects: The like he does by *Italy* and *Rome*. Having loaded his fleet with all the riches of *Greece*, he returns towards *Italy*; but a ſtorm robbed him of his ſhips and his plunder, few of them eſcaping: He enters *Naples*, *Antium*, *Albanus*, and *Rome*, through a breach in the wall, as a victor in the *Olympick* games, *&c.*	V	568

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4374	3067	68	The zealots at *Jeruſalem* divide themſelves into two different parties, and deſtroy one another by thouſands, committing the moſt horrid cruelties, *&c.*		
4374	3067	68	*Nero* having tired all his people with his cruel butcheries and injuſtice, *Julius Vindex*, governor of *Celtic Gaul*, revolts, as does *Galba*, governor of *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, but refuſes the name of emperor, *&c.* *Auguſtus Nero* depoſes the two conſuls, and takes that office upon himſelf; then prepares to go againſt the revolters, with an army of fidlers, players, *&c.* and arms his concubines like *Amazons*, and appoints them for his guard. *Virginius* governor of *Upper Germany* comes againſt *Vindex*; an enaagement happens, contrary to the two generals orders, 20,000 *Gauls* are killed, and *Vindex* murders himſelf: *Virginius* is declared emperor, but he will not accept it	IV V	276 573
4374	3067	68	A famine being in *Rome*, and ſhips coming in from *Egypt*, with ſand for the gladiators inſtead of corn, ſo exaſperated the common people that they threw down *Nero*'s ſtatues, tore his images, plundered the houſes of his friends and favourites, *&c.* At the ſame time news was brought that the *German* legions had revolted; being in a great fright, *Nero* flies from *Rome*; the ſenate aſſembles, and declares *Galba* emperor; and *Nero* cauſes himſelf to be ſtabbed and dies	V	576
4374	3067	68	*Galba* being far advanced in years, and at a great diſtance from *Rome*, *Nymphidius Sabinus* aſpires at the empire, and by gifts, treats, *&c.* gets the prætorian bands, *&c.* on his ſide, and takes upon him the ſupreme command: The ſenate fearing his power, conferred extraordinary honours upon him, and called him their protector, and went to him to have their decrees confirmed; but the ſoldiers reject him, and declare *Galba* anew, kill *Nymphidius*, and drag his body through the camp: *Galba* orders ſeveral great men to be put to death unheard, which frightened the people very much: Being now at the *Milvian* bridge, 25 furlongs from the city, a body of marines met him to addreſs him for a confirmation of their legion; but he putting them off, they grew mutinous; he orders his horſe to ride in among them, and do military execution, and decimates thoſe that were left alive, and was in all things governed by his three favourites, who behaved very ſcandalouſly. He called the miniſters of *Nero* to account, and puniſhes ſome of them with death, and pardons others, *&c.*	V	576
4374	3067	68	The *Jews* being divided among themſelves; one party was for ſubmitting to the *Romans* immediately, to prevent their total deſtruction; but the other would hear of no accommodation, and murdered and plundered all who oppoſed them, whether *Jews* or others: This occaſioned many terrible maſſacres and devaſtations. The zealots are headed by *Zachariah* and *Eleazar*, who entered *Jeruſalem* and were as ſtrongly oppoſed by *Ananus*, the late depoſed high-prieſt; the zealots garriſoned in the temple, from whence they continually ſallied, and committed the moſt horrid butcheries: *Ananus* beſieges them; the zealots ſend for and let into the city 20,000 *Idumeans*, who torture and murder vaſt numbers with unſpeakable cruelties, of which 12,000 were perſons of diſtinction, among whom was *Ananus* himſelf, and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, *&c.* In the mean time *Placidus* the *Roman* general killed about 15,000 factious *Jews*, and takes *Gadara*, *&c.*	V	586
4375	3068	69	An expreſs arrives from *Belgic Gaul*, informing *Galba* that the legions in *Upper Germany* demanded another emperor, to be choſe by the free election of the ſenate and people of *Rome*; upon which *Galba* adopts *Piſo Licianus* for his ſucceſſor: This drives *Otho* to attempt the ſovereignty, being encouraged thereto by an aſtrologer. He chooſes two ſoldiers to bribe and debauch the reſt, and furniſhes them with money for that purpoſe, and makes them large promiſes: The 15th of *January Otho* is ſaluted emperor by a ſmall party of the guards, which ſoon increaſe, and preſently he is proclaimed by the whole camp, and *Galba* and *Piſo* are murdered. The ſenate, knights, and people of *Rome* acknowledge *Otho*, and honour him with the title of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus* with the uſual pomp and formalities	IV V	275 597
4375	3068	69	The armies in *Germany* declare *Vitellius* (commander of the legions of *Lower Germany*) emperor; he exerciſes the ſovereign power, and puts ſeveral perſons to death at the requeſt of the ſoldiers. *Vitellius* is joined by two *Gauliſh* governors and their forces, by an *Italian* legion and a body of horſe at *Lyons*, the forces of *Rhætia* and *Britain*. *Vitellius* addicts himſelf to gluttony and drunkenneſs. *Cæcina*, one of *Vitellius*'s generals, ravages the fields, ſacks the cities, and makes dreadful havock of the inhabitants of *Helvetia*, many thouſands are cut off, and many ſold for ſlaves In *Italy* a ſquadron of horſe and many cities go over to *Vitellius*. *Otho* ſends meſſengers and letters to *Vitellius*, offers him immenſe ſums, and any place of retirement he ſhould chooſe, and at laſt to make him a partner with him in the empire, and to marry his daughter; and *Vitellius* does the like to *Otho*. Moſt of the foreign provinces declare for *Otho*, and he ſtudies to gain their affections. *Otho* fits out fleets and armies to oppoſe *Vitellius*, and orders the chief of the nobility to follow him into the field, takes his leave of the ſenate, and leaves *Rome*. *Otho*'s fleet gains advantages in *Narbonne Gaul*, but all the country between the *Alps* and the *Po* ſubmit to *Vitellius*. *Cæcina* attacks *Placentia*, but after loſing a great many men, is forced to retire. At laſt the two contending parties engage, and *Otho*'s army is routed with great ſlaughter near *Bedriacum*: Next day *Otho*'s generals deliver up their camp, upon receiving the news whereof *Otho* kills himſelf, though intreated to the contrary by his ſoldiers, and armies from all the eaſtern provinces were in full march to his aſſiſtance: *Otho* being dead, all his troops ſubmit to *Vitellius*, and the ſenate acknowledge him for their emperor	V	615
4375	3068	69	*Simon* heading one part of the *Jewiſh* zealots, gains advantages over the other, and invades *Idumea* with 20,000 men: The *Idumeans* oppoſe him vigorouſly; but *Simon*		

bribing

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			bribing their general, has *Idumea* and the troops delivered up to him, and put all to fire and ſword: The other zealots in one of their ambuſhes takes *Simon*'s wife priſoner; but he going to *Jeruſalem* obliges them by his exceſſive cruelties to return her: Thus *John* within, and *Simon* without, deſtroy all that comes in their way. The people let *Simon* in the night into the city, who reigns over them in the moſt tyrannical manner, and beſieges *John* in the temple	IV	276
4375	3068	69	The *Roxolanians* enter *Mœſia*, defeat the two *Roman* cohorts, and return unmoleſted; but returning again with nine thouſand horſe, *Marcus Aponius Saturninus* falls upon them, and cuts them off almoſt to a man	IV	276
4375	3068	69	*Italy* ſuffers greater calamities than ever; the ſoldiers being very numerous, and ſcattered up and down, plunder, ravage, and murder whoever they pleaſe without reſtraint. *Vitellius* ſends an edict to *Rome*, forbidding them at preſent to confer either the name of *Auguſtus* or *Cæſar* upon him. All the centurions that had behaved gallantly for *Otho* were put to death: *Dolabella* he ordered to be maſſacred privately: Being naturally addicted to gluttony and drunkenneſs, he indulged the ſame in the ſoldiers, which occaſioned great calamities and diſturbances to others, and among themſelves. Arriving at *Rome*, he puts off his general's, and put on the ſenator's dreſs, and marches in great pomp to the capitol to offer ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, where being met by his mother *Sextilia*, he embraces and honours her with the name of *Auguſta*; next day he met the ſenate, and made a ſpeech to them, containing great promiſes of what he would do for them, but gave himſelf up entirely to gluttony and profuſeneſs, and remits all buſineſs to his favourites, *Valens* and *Cæcina*	V	619
4375	3068	69	The legions in *Judea*, *Egypt*, and *Syria* declare *Veſpaſian* emperor; *Tiberius Alexander* brought the legions at *Alexandria* to ſwear to him on the firſt of *July*, thoſe in *Judea* ſwore to him in perſon on the third, and *Mucianus* governor of *Syria* and his ſoldiers about the 15th; *Sohemus* king of *Edeſſa*, *Antiochus* king of *Comagena*, and *Agrippa* king of *Ituræa* acceded; and all the inland provinces extending to *Aſia* and *Achaia*, and the inland countries bordering upon *Pontus*, and the two *Armenias*, took the oath of allegiance. *Veſpaſian* eſtabliſhes a council for the diſpatch of buſineſs at *Berytus*. Troops were every where raiſed, and gold and ſilver in great quantities coined at *Antioch*, and ambaſſadors ſent to *Vologeſes* king of *Parthia*, and *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*; *Titus* was to carry on the war in *Judea*, *Veſpaſian* to ſeize the *Straits* leading to *Egypt*, and *Mucianus* to go againſt *Vitellius*. The *Illyrian* and *Pannonian* legions declare for *Veſpaſian*; the fleet at *Ravenna* revolts, and comes over to *Veſpaſian*. The partizans of each ſide have ſeveral engagements with various ſucceſs, but at laſt the fatal battle at *Cremona* determined *Vitellius*'s fate; the city was large, and very rich, and 40,000 ſoldiers, *&c.* entered it, killed, raviſhed, plundered and burnt it for four days ſucceſſively, till it was all reduced to aſhes; this happened 286 years after its foundation. *Vitellius* for all this gives himſelf up to voluptuouſneſs; his favourite *Valens* is taken priſoner, and *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, declare for *Veſpaſian*: With difficulty *Vitellius* is prevailed on to leave *Rome*, and go to the camp at *Mevania*, but gives himſelf up to drunkenneſs, and publickly betrays his ignorance and fear. The *Samnites*, *Peligrians*, and *Marſians*, declare for *Veſpaſian*; *Valens* being taken priſoner, the whole army goes over to *Veſpaſian*. *Vitellius* is offered ſafety for his perſon, and a competency to live on, if he would reſign the ſovereignty; he comes into the ſenate clad in mourning, and offers to reſign; but the ſoldiers will not permit him, and beſiege *Sabinus*, *&c.* brother to *Veſpaſian*, in the capitol, which was now reduced to aſhes; many great men were ſlain, and *Sabinus* and *Atticus* the conſul taken priſoners; *Vitellius* ſtrove all he could to ſave them, but the fury of the ſoldiers was ſo great, that cutting off *Sabinus*'s head, they dragged his trunk through the ſtreets. Soon after *Primus*, *&c.* for *Veſpaſian* comes to *Rome*, where ſeveral bloody engagements gave *Veſpaſian* the city, and *Vitellius* being taken priſoner, is firſt inſulted, then killed, and his head carried upon a pole through the chief cities, having reigned 8 months and a few days; and *Domitian* (a ſon of *Veſpaſian*) ſaluted *Cæſar*. *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, coming with his troops to *Rome*, ſubmits, and is put to death; the conquerors filled the ſtreets with carnage and mangled carcaſſes; all the private houſes and places of publick reſort are broke open and plundered	V	635
4376	3069	70	The ſenate confirms *Veſpaſian* in the ſovereignty, makes him conſul, and his ſon *Titus* his colleague; *Domitian* is made prætor, and has conſular authority, *&c.*	V	635
4376	3069	70	The *Jazygians*, a *Sarmatic* nation, broke into *Mœſia*, killed *Fonteius Agrippa*, governor of that province, and laid waſte the country far and near. *Rubrius Gallus* goes againſt them, cuts great numbers of them to pieces, and forces the reſt to repaſs the *Danube*, the bank of which river he carefully fortified	VII	605
4376	3069	70	*Veſpaſian* orders his ſon *Titus* to go from *Cæſarea* to beſiege *Jeruſalem*, and to utterly deſtroy it; this he goes about with the greateſt expedition: When he came and inveſted the place, he found three different factions within it, furiouſly deſtroying one another; they pretended to make a peace among themſelves, and it being the feaſt of the *Paſſover*, *Eleazar*, who was poſſeſſed of the temple, opened the avenues of his court to the great concourſe that came to ſacrifice, among whom ſome of *John*'s men went in privately armed, and cut off moſt of *Eleazar*'s party, and took poſſeſſion of the place; *Titus* makes them offers of peace, which they reject a firſt and ſecond time; by their inteſtine diviſions all the proviſions were either burnt or eat, ſo that a terrible famine and continual butcheries were within, and no poſſible eſcape without. The beſiegers having taken the city, ſet on fire the temple the 10th of *Auguſt*, in the 2d year of *Veſpaſian* and 21ſt of *Agrippa*, being the ſame fatal day and month 'twas formerly burnt by *Nebuchadnezzar*; this was followed by a terrible ſlaughter of		

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			the people, and the burning and deſtruction of the city: In this war 1,854,490 are ſaid to be killed, and 108,000 carried from *Jeruſalem* captive, and all the buildings were levelled with the ground		
4376	3069	70	*Anicetus*, formerly commander of king *Polemon*'s navy, raiſed a party in *Pontus*, under pretence of favouring *Vitellius*, ſeized the city of *Trebizond*, burnt the fleet which guarded the coaſts, makes an alliance with the *Barbarians*, and commits dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Aſia*; but *Virdius Geminus* being ſent againſt him by *Veſpaſian*, he is defeated, and *Anicetus* and all his followers are delivered up by *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, to whom he flew for protection	IV	289
4376	3069	70	The *Germans* and *Gauls* revolt from the *Romans* during the civil war, and various ſucceſs attends both ſides, and vaſt numbers are ſlain; but at laſt they univerſally declare for *Veſpaſian*, and peace is reſtored. *Veſpaſian* arriving at *Brunduſium*, is met by the ſenate and all the great men of *Rome*, and by them conducted thither, where he was met by the whole people, and honoured with all expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, where he revived the antient diſcipline of the army, allowed the ſenate to debate and ſpeak freely their ſentiments, rectified the law, and purged the courts of judicature, ordered the city and capitol to be rebuilt, and behaved in all things as a father of his country ought towards the people he loved and governed	V	636
4376	3069	70	*Vologeſes* ſends ambaſſadors to *Veſpaſian*, and offers him 40,000 *Parthian* horſe, but being already ſettled in the empire, has no occaſion to accept them; ſo both parties renew their alliances, and *Veſpaſian* ſends back the ambaſſadors with thanks, loaded with rich preſents. Being at peace, *Vologeſes* ſets about building a city, calling it *Vologeſocerta*, but died before it was completed	V	648
4377	3070	71	*Veſpaſian* and his ſon *Titus* have a triumph at *Rome*, for the reduction of *Jeruſalem*, and *Titus* has a triumphal arch erected, which ſtill remains almoſt intire; as ſoon as the triumph was over, the gate of the temple of *Janus* was ſhut, the empire enjoying a perfect peace every where, and the temple of peace was begun to be built, to put the rich ſpoils in that were brought from *Jeruſalem*	IV	319
4378	3071	72	*Ceſennius Pætus*, governor of *Syria* accuſed *Antiochus* king of *Comagene* with an intent to revolt; *Veſpaſian* gives him a commiſſion at large, upon which *Pætus* both takes his kingdom and himſelf, and reduces *Comagene* to a *Roman* province; but the king and his two ſons lived at *Rome* at the publick expence, in a manner ſuitable to their character, and were familiarly entertained by *Veſpaſian*	V	649
4378	3071	72	The *Alani*, a people beyond the *Tanais* and *Palus Mæotis*, make a ſudden irruption into the territories of the *Medes* and *Armenians*; *Tiridates* narrowly eſcaping, and *Pacorus* king of the *Medes* was forced to fly, the *Barbarians* carrying off an immenſe booty, and a great number of captives, and among them *Pacorus*'s wife	V	650
4379	3072	73	*Veſpaſian* reduces *Greece*, which *Nero* had declared free, and *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to *Roman* provinces. *Helvidius Priſcus* for exciting the people againſt *Veſpaſian*, is firſt baniſhed by the emperor, and by an order of the ſenate executed	V	650
4381	3074	75	*Veſpaſian* conſecrates the temple of peace, and raiſes a *Coloſſus* of braſs 110 feet high, which had been deſigned for *Nero*, but he put the head of his ſon *Titus* on it, though ſome ſay it was the figure of the ſun	V	651
4384	3077	78	The celebrated *Cneius Julius Agrippa* ſucceeds the ſucceſsful *Julius Frontinus* in the government of *Britain*, which in ſeven ſucceſsful campaigns he entirely reduced, and parted *Caledonia* by forts and gariſons upon the *Iſthmus* between the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, and made *Britain* a *Roman* province, cultivated the people, and introduced arts and ſciences, which ſoon civilized the natives	V	651
4385	3078	79	*Julius Sabinus* having ſtirred up the *Gauls*, and proclaimed himſelf *Cæſar*, after being defeated ſet his country-houſe on fire, and gave out that he voluntarily periſhed there in the flames, but conveyed himſelf and his vaſt wealth into a cave, where he lived 9 years, and had two children by his wife *Epponia*; but being diſcovered, he was ſeized and ſent to *Rome*, loaded with chains, with his wife and two children; he and ſhe were condemned and executed, but the children were very carefully brought up at the publick expence	VII	431
4385	3078	79	*Alienus Cæcina*, formerly *Vitellius*'s favourite, and *Epirus Marcellus*, a noted informer in *Nero*'s time, conſpire againſt *Veſpaſian*, but are diſcovered: *Titus* cauſes *Cæcina* to be murdered at a banquet he had invited him to, and *Marcellus* is condemned by the ſenate, but cuts his own throat. *Veſpaſian* is taken ill with a pain in his bowels, and goes to *Campania* to drink ſome very cold waters, but grows worſe, and dies the 24th of *June*, aged 69 years, 7 months, and 7 days, having reigned 10 years wanting 6 days, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Titus*, whoſe character ſtood in a very bad light with the people; but when he came to reign alone, he acquired the greateſt reputation of any of the *Roman* emperors	V	654
4385	3078	79	A moſt dreadful eruption of mount *Veſuvius* laid waſte *Campania* to a great diſtance, conſuming many cities and their inhabitants, and is ſaid to turn day into night ſuddenly at *Rome*	V	658
4386	3079	80	*Vologeſes* king of *Parthia* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Artabanus* III. who eſpouſed the cauſe of the counterfeit *Nero*	V	659
4386	3079	80	*Titus* ſends two conſulars into *Campania* with large ſums to rebuild the cities and relieve the diſtreſſes that the late eruption of *Veſuvius* had occaſioned, and went himſelf alſo to comfort and relieve the unhappy ſufferers; while he was thus doing, a terrible fire broke out in *Rome*, and burnt with great fury for three	VI	16

days

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			days and three nights, during which time a vaſt number of private houſes, palaces, and publick edifices were reduced to aſhes; the library of *Auguſtus* with all the books, great part of the capitol, the theatre of *Pompey*, *&c.* all which *Titus* rebuilt and reſtored at his own expence. The moſt dreadful plague ever known in *Rome* followed this conflagration, during all which he behaved in the moſt tender and compaſſionate manner to the afflicted. The famous amphitheatre being finiſhed this year that was begun by *Veſpaſian*, *Titus* dedicated it with magnificent ſhews for 100 days together, to raiſe the ſpirits of the people ready to ſink under the calamities they had ſuffered	V	660
4387	3080	81	*Titus* is taken ill of a burning fever, and is carried to *Curtiæ*, his paternal eſtate, and dies on the 13th of *September*, in the ſame room where his father died, in the 41ſt year of his age, having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days: Some ſay he was poiſoned by his brother *Domitian*, who ſucceeded him, and who placed him among the gods, and was himſelf the firſt that paid divine honours to him; his loſs was exceedingly lamented by all the people, to ſoften which *Domitian* begins his reign with popular acts, and great diſſimulation	V	662
4388	3081	82	*Domitian* puts *Flavius Sabinus* to death, huſband of *Julia Sabina* his niece, and daughter of the late emperor *Titus*, becauſe the publick crier through miſtake had proclaimed him emperor inſtead of conſul	V	665
4389	3082	83	*Domitian* forbids caſtration under ſevere penalties, and regulates the price of eunuchs already made: This year he likewiſe puniſhed four veſtals for inceſt, cauſing three of them to be whipt to death in the *Comitium*, and *Cornelia*, who had been once pardoned before, was buried alive	V VII	668 541
4389	3082	83	A colony of *Sueves* are ſettled in *Friſia* by the *Romans*		
4390	3083	84	*Agricola* engages the *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, defeats and routs them, and with the loſs only of 340 *Romans*, kills 10,000 of the enemy, and takes many priſoners, and this intirely reduced *Britain*	V VII	672 542
4391	3084	85	The *Sueves* revolt from and defeat the *Romans* in *Pannonia*		
4391	3084	85	*Domitian* orders the nativity of all the illuſtrious perſons in *Rome* to be caſt, and all ſuch as the aſtrologers ſaid were born for empire, he deſtroyed: He encouraged the informers, who enriched themſelves and the emperor with the lives and properties of many thouſands of innocent perſons. This year multitudes of ſenators and knights were accuſed of treaſon, and ſentenced to death by the ſenate, or ordered to murder themſelves by *Domitian*. All the profeſſors of philoſophy, and every uſeful ſcience were baniſhed the city; and all manner of cruelty and injuſtice committed	V	675
4391	3084	85	The cruelty uſed, and heavy taxes demanded, cauſe the *Naſamonians* (a people of *Africa*) to revolt; they defeat *Flaccus*, governor of *Numidia*, ſtormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the ſword; but giving themſelves up to revelling, *Flaccus* rallies, and falls upon the enemy drunk and aſleep, and cuts them off to a man: Upon this *Domitian* brags to the ſenate that he had cut off a whole nation, and is ſo preſumptuouſly wicked as to begin one of his ordinances thus; *Our Lord and our God orders and commands*, *&c.* and would be called the ſon of *Minerva*	V	676
4392	3085	86	The *Capitoline* ſports inſtituted and exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor preſiding in perſon, attended by the prieſts of *Jupiter* and the college of *Flamintian* prieſts, the beginning of every fifth year. The *Dacians* break their alliance and invade *Mæſia*, defeat, rout, and kill, with great ſlaughter *Appius Sabinus* the governor, commit great devaſtations, and ſeize the caſtles and forts built by the *Romans* on their borders. *Domitian* goes againſt them himſelf; *Decebalus* their chief ſends to treat of peace, but *Domitian* won't hearken to them, but ſends *Tuſcus* with the flower of his army againſt them; they engage, *Tuſcus* is killed, and his army routed intirely; the *Dacians* took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vaſt number of captives: *Domitian* made the ſame havock of the ſenate and people at *Rome* as the *Dacians* had done of his ſoldiers. *Domitian* ſends freſh armies againſt them; many bloody battles are fought, with various ſucceſs, but at laſt *Julianus* gave the *Dacians* a compleat overthrow. *Decebalus* ſues again for peace, which *Domitian* again refuſes	V	678
4392	3085	86	The emperor *Domitian* making war upon the *Marcomans* and *Quadians*, both nations earneſtly ſue for peace; but inſtead of granting it to them, he put their ambaſſadors to death; which ſo exaſperated the *Marcomans*, that flying to arms, and raiſing a conſiderable body of troops, they engage the emperor, and put his army to the rout	VII	601
4394	3087	88	The ſecular games are this year celebrated, ſo called becauſe they were ſolemnized but once in an age, or 100 years. *Domitian* murders all of birth or virtue that gave him the leaſt umbrage, *L. Antonius*, governor of *Upper Germany*, revolts; but being engaged by *Appius Maximus*, *Antonius* is ſlain, his head cut off and ſent to *Rome*, and his whole army cut to pieces. *Domitian* executes and baniſhes great numbers of perſons, under pretence of having been privy or aſſiſtant in *Antonius*'s rebellion	V	680
4394	3087	88	A counterfeit *Nero* appears in *Aſia*, and with a multitude of followers retires to the *Parthian* king, who ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe; but *Domitian* found means to prevail with him to deliver up the impoſtor to his governor of *Syria*	V	680
4396	3089	90	*Domitian* being defeated by the *Marcomans*, *&c.* makes peace with *Decebalus* king of *Dacia*, and allows him a yearly penſion	VII	512
4397	3090	91	*Ulpius Trajanus* and *M. Acilius Glabrio* were this year's conſuls; *Glabrio* was eſteemed a man of prodigious ſtrength, and therefore notwithſtanding his dignity the emperor obliged him to fight a huge lion in the *Arena*, which he did, and		

killed

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			killed him; the people applauded this victory with ſuch loud and repeated ſhouts, that the emperor jealouſly baniſhed, and ordered him to be murdered in his exile. This year *Domitian* exhibited extraordinary ſhews of ſea and land fights, *&c.* but the feaſt he invited the ſenators and knights to is moſt remarkable; at the entrance of the palace the gueſts were received with great ceremony, and conducted into a large gloomy hall, hung with black and filled with coffins, each of which had the name of a ſenator or knight upon it; immediately the doors are burſt open, and a great number of naked men daubed all over with black, with a torch in one hand and a naked ſword in the other, ruſhed in upon them, and danced round them for ſome time, and then proclamation was made all were at liberty to retire home		
4398	3091	92	This year wine being very plentiful, and corn very ſcarce, *Domitian* orders half the vines to be rooted up, and no more to be planted: The *Aſians* ſend deputies to beg their being excuſed obedience to this law; *Scopelianus* being admitted, pleaded their cauſe ſo well that *Domitian* repealed the law abſolutely. This year the kingdom of *Chalcis* was united to the empire	V	681
4399	3092	93	*Agricola*, the famous governor of *Britain*, dies, greatly lamented by all, ſuſpected of being poiſoned by order of *Domitian*	V	681
4399	3092	93	The *Sarmatians* cut a *Roman* legion with its tribune to pieces	V	682
4400	3093	94	*Domitian*'s fury and cruelty ran now ſo high, that 'twas treaſon to be noble, capital to be rich, and criminal either to have born or declined honours; the moſt infamous informers are highly careſſed and greatly rewarded. *Helvidius*, *Senecio*, and *Ruſticus* are put to death unjuſtly, and great numbers of lower people butchered and baniſhed, and the philoſophers and profeſſors of all virtuous and commendable ſciences baniſhed *Rome* by an order of the ſenate	VII	605
4401	3094	95	*Juvenius Celſus* heads a conſpiracy againſt *Domitian*, is diſcovered and pardoned. *Domitian* put vaſt numbers of *Chriſtians* to death, and baniſhed many more, upon account of their religion, both in *Rome* and in all the provinces: Among the ſlain were the emperor's couſin and colleague in the conſulſhip, *Flavius Clemens*, and his wife and niece, both named *Flaviæ Domitillæ*, among the baniſhed	V	685
4402	3095	96	Many prodigies are ſaid to happen this year at *Rome* and in the provinces; the city was alarmed for eight months ſucceſſively with dreadful claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightning; the capitol, temple of the *Flavian* family, and emperor's own chamber, were thunder-ſtruck: The oracle at *Præneſte* preſages ſlaughter and calamities; *Domitian* dreams that *Minerva* had forſaken him; the aſtrologers declare publickly that the 18th of *September Domitian* would die. *Domitian* having wrote the names of ſeveral great perſonages upon a paper, his wife *Domitia* reading it, finds herſelf at the head of them; upon which ſhe communicates it to the reſt; they conſpire and kill him, after he had reigned 15 years and 5 days, and was the laſt of the 12 *Cæſars*	V	687
4402	3095	96	As ſoon as the death of *Domitian* was known, the ſenate aſſembles and proclaims *M. Cocceius Nerva* emperor, which the ſoldiers and people confirm: He was a native of *Narina* in *Umbria*, a prince of a moſt ſweet and humane temper, *&c.* under whom the *Romans* lived as happy as in the former reigns they had been miſerable: He pardons all impriſoned for treaſon, calls home the baniſhed, reſtores the ſequeſtred eſtates, puniſhes informers, aboliſhes the law of majeſty, redreſſes all grievances, and acts with univerſal beneficence towards all ſorts of people	V	690
4403	3096	97	*Nerva* and *L. Virginius Rufus* are conſuls: *Rufus* riſing at the receipt of the faſces to pronounce an oration in praiſe of the emperor, lets fall a book out of his boſom, and ſtooping to take it up, fell down himſelf and broke his leg; being then in the 83d year of his age, the agony whereof occaſioned his death; the emperor orders his obſequies to be made with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence; *Cornelius Tacitus* the famous hiſtorian pronounces his funeral oration, and ſucceeded him in the conſulate. *L. Calpurnius Caſſius* is diſcovered in conſpiring againſt *Nerva*, by whom he and his wife are only baniſhed to *Tarentum*: Then the prætorian guards, headed by *Ælianus Caſpericus* their commander, under pretence of revenging the death of *Domitian*, beſiege *Nerva* in the palace; he offers himſelf to be ſlain, but they inſiſt upon the conſpirators being delivered up; they cut ſome of them to pieces, and *Nerva* is forced to deliver up the reſt: He adopts *Ulpius Trajan* for his ſucceſſor, then commander of a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, to whom he wrote a letter with his own hand, and preſented him with a very large diamond, aſſociated him in the empire, and loaded him with all the honours of power and majeſty	VI	3
4404	3097	98	*January* 21ſt *Nerva* dies, in the *Saluſtian* gardens, after having reigned 16 months and 8 days, is ranked among the gods, and ſucceeded by *Trajan*, by birth and extraction a *Spaniard*, lately adopted by *Nerva*, about 41 years old, well ſkilled both in martial and cabinet affairs, courteous, affable, humane, and juſt: The *Germans* and *Barbarians* compliment him upon his advancement, and remain quiet as to the *Romans*; but the *Bructerians* are expelled by the *Chamavians* and *Angrivarians* by a deciſive battle, in which 60,000 perſons were cut off	VI	5
4405	3098	99	*Trajan* comes to *Rome*, and is received with all the demonſtrations of joy poſſible, attended by his wife *Pompeia Platina*, a lady of extraordinary virtue, wiſdom, and goodneſs: He accepts the title of *Optimus*, and beſtows plentiful largeſſes upon the ſoldiers and common people, and diſcourages informers	VI	9
4406	3099	100	*Trajan* being a third time choſe conſul, binds himſelf by ſolemn oath to obſerve the law; baniſhes *Marius Priſcus*, proconſul of *Africa* for extortion, and his accomplices alſo, the accomplices of *Claſſicus*, proconſul of *Bætica*, *Claſſicus* having killed himſelf to avoid being puniſhed	VI	10
				VI	11

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4406	3099	100	*Julia Sabina*, grand-daughter to *Marciana* the emperor's ſiſter, marries *Adrian*, ſon of *Ælius Adrian Afer*, couſin to *Trajan*	VI	11
4407	3100	101	*Trajan* refuſes to pay the *Dacians* their annual ſum, therefore king *Decebalus* croſſed the *Danube*, and committed hoſtilities: *Trajan* goes into *Dacia*, and lays it waſte far and neat, and after much bloodſhed on both ſides, obliged *Decebalus* to accept of ſuch terms of peace as he thought fit to give him. At his return to *Rome* he was honoured with a triumph	VII	613
4408	3101	102	*Trajan* and the ſenate make a law, prohibiting all pleaders taking any fee, preſent, or reward, of their clients, under ſevere penalties	VI	13
4409	3102	103	*Trajan* builds a noble harbour at *Centumcellæ* (now *Civita Vecchia*) and called it by his own name. The governors of *Pontus* and *Bythinia* having committed great diſorders, he takes the provinces from the ſenate, and gives them *Pamphylia* in the room of them, and ſends *Pliny* as his lieutenant to reform the civil affairs of *Pontus* and *Bythinia*	VI	13
4410	3103	104	*Sauromates*, king of *Boſphorus*, ſends a ſolemn embaſſy to *Trajan*, and concludes an alliance with him; and *Decebalus* king of the *Dacians* breaks the peace; *Trajan* goes againſt him, and overcomes him, and builds a bridge over the *Danube*	VII	613
4411	3104	105	A dreadful earthquake in *Aſia* overturns the cities of *Elea*, *Myrine*, *Pitame*, and *Cumæ*; and in *Greece* the cities of *Opus* and *Oritæ*. *Adrian* attending upon *Trajan* in his *Dacian* war, performs wonders, for which *Trajan* preſents him with the diamond *Nerva* had given him at the time of his adoption. *Trajan* takes *Zermizegthuſa*, the capital of *Dacia*, and entirely defeats *Decebalus*, who thereupon put an end to his own life, and *Trajan* reduces the whole country, and its allies, into a *Roman* province, governed by a proprætor, and plants *Roman* colonies in it to keep the people in awe. At his return he had a triumph a ſecond time, and exhibited publick ſhows, *&c.* for 123 days. Ambaſſadors from *India* come to congratulate *Trajan* upon his extraordinary ſucceſs, make him preſents, and conclude an alliance with him	VI	16
4411	3104	105	*Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, intirely reduces *Arabia Petræa* to the *Roman* yoke, which till now was governed by king's of its own	VI	16
4412	3105	106	The *Capitoline* ſports eſtabliſhed by *Domitian* are exhibited, when a lad but 13 years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens*, won the prize of poetry. *Trajan* at a vaſt expence makes a road through the *Palus Pontina*, called *Via Trajana*, the remains whereof are ſtill to be ſeen. A conſpiracy againſt *Trajan* is diſcovered, and the ſenate baniſh the conſpirators	VI	16
4413	3106	107	*Coſrhoes* king of *Parthia* having driven out *Exadares* from the kingdom of *Armenia*, to whom *Trajan* emperor of *Rome* had given it, and ſet his eldeſt ſon *Parthamaſiris* upon that throne, *Trajan* goes to *Antioch*, where he receives the ambaſſadors and ſubmiſſions of many of the neighbouring princes, and then goes unexpectedly into *Armenia*, recovers the whole country; and takes *Parthamaſiris* priſoner. He then goes into *Meſopotamia*, and reduces it into a *Roman* province, and is honoured by the ſenate with the ſirnames of *Armenicus* and *Parthicus*. Having taken *Babylon* by ſtorm, and made himſelf maſter of all *Chaldea* and *Aſſyria*, he marched to *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* empire, and took it, and then aſſembling the chief men of the nation, made *Parthanaſpales*, one of the blood royal, king of *Parthia*, but tributary to *Rome*	IV	320
4414 to 4420	3107 to 3113	108 } to 114 }	During this ſpace of time the famous highway from *Beneventum* to *Brunduſium* was made by *Trajan*. The *Pantheon* at *Rome* was burnt by lightning, and ſeveral cities in *Galatia* were overturned by an earthquake, and the great ſquare at *Rome* was dedicated	VI	20
4418	3111	112	*Adrian* is made archon or chief magiſtrate of *Athens*	VI	20
4421	3114	115	A moſt terrible earthquake, attended with dreadful ſtorms of thunder and lightning, deſtroys the greateſt part of *Antioch*, where the emperor *Trajan* with his great army, and a vaſt number of ambaſſadors and their retinue were; the buildings are generally thrown down, or ſwallowed up, and great numbers of people killed and wounded; among the wounded was *Trajan* himſelf	VI	21
4422	3115	116	The ſenate and people of *Rome* return the emperor *Trajan* ſolemn thanks for his making the port of *Ancona*. *Trajan* reduces *Arabia Felix* to a *Roman* province. The *Jews* revolt in *Alexandria*, and all *Egypt*, *Syria*, and the other provinces, committing moſt horrid ravages and monſtrous barbarities; *Marcius Turbo* is ſent againſt them, and defeats them, but does not quiet them	VI	23
4422	3115	116	In *Cyprus* the *Jews* are all cut off to a man, and *Luſius Quietus* defeats them in a pitched battle in *Meſopotamia*, cuts great numbers of them to pieces, and drives the reſt out of the country. Moſt of the conquered nations in the eaſt revolt, and cut the *Roman* gariſons to pieces, but after much bloodſhed are again reduced	VI	24
4423	3116	117	*Trajan* beſieges *Atra*, the metropolis of the *Hagareni* in *Arabia*, who had revolted, but is ſo vigorouſly oppoſed, that he is forced to raiſe the ſiege; and upon his return to *Selinus*, (afterwards called *Trajanopolis*) in *Cilicia*, was taken violently ill with a dropſy, palſy, and a flux, ſo that he died there, after he had reigned 19 years, 6 months, and 15 days: Upon news of his death *Adrian* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at *Antioch*, where he then was. *Trajan*'s body was burnt at *Selinus*, and his aſhes carried to *Rome* by his wife *Plotina* and his niece *Matidia*, in a golden urn, where they were received with the higheſt honour, and depoſited under the ſtately column himſelf had erected, though within the walls, where no one before had been buried	VI	25
4423	3116	117	*Adrian* writes to the ſenate, deſires them to confirm to him the title of emperor, promiſes to rule with juſtice, *&c.* abandons *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Aſſyria*,		

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			making the *Euphrates* the bound of the *Roman* empire: He allowed the *Armenians* liberty to chooſe them a king, permitted the *Parthians* to recal *Coſrhoes*, ſent him his daughter, whom *Trajan* had taken priſoner, and all his priſoners without ranſom; and *Parthamaſpates* he made king of another place; he would have abandoned *Dacia*, but was over-ruled, but broke down the famous bridge *Trajan* had built over the *Danube*; then appointed *Catilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, and ſet forwards towards *Rome*		
4424	3117	118	*Adrian* comes to *Rome*, is received with great reſpect by all degrees of people, refuſes the triumph decreed him, remits all debts whatſoever, and burns all bonds, *&c.* to the amount of upwards of 7,000.000 *l. ſterl.*	VI	31
4425	3118	119	The *European Sarmatians* break into *Illyricum* with great fury; but upon *Adrian*'s arriving at *Mæſia*, they retire and paſs the *Danube*, and the *Roman* horſe ſwimming after them, ſo terrifies them, that they ſue for peace, which is granted them	VI	34
4325	3118	119	*Adrian* writes to the ſenate from *Illyricum*, complaining of *Cornelius Palma*, *Celſus Nigrinus*, and *Quietus*, as if they had formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and tho' they were all conſular men, the ſenate put them to death, without ſo much as acquainting them they were accuſed. The emperor coming into *Campania*, relieves with great generoſity the poor in all the cities he paſſed through	VII	606
4426	3119	120	*Adrian* begins a progreſs, in order to viſit all the provinces of the empire, and enquire into the ſtate and condition of all his people; and firſt he viſits *Gaul*, then *Germany*, then *Britain*, where being informed what troubleſome neighbours the *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, were, ordered a mighty wall to be built from the river *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, 80 miles in length; then returns to *Gaul*, and goes into *Spain*, and from thence returns to *Rome*	VI	34
4429	3122	123	*Adrian* goes to *Athens*, and builds a bridge over the *Cephiſus*, that had overflowed and greatly damaged the city of *Eleuſina*, and from *Athens* he goes into the eaſt.	VI	35
4430	3123	124	*Adrian* returning from the eaſt, comes through *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bythinia*, and *Phrygia*, ordering temples, ſquares, and other publick buildings to be erected at his expence in moſt of the great cities through which he paſſed	VI	35
4431	3124	125	*Adrian* having viſited the iſlands in the *Archipelago*, from thence goes to *Achaia*, and winters at *Athens*, where he is initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, called the *Eleuſinian* myſteries	VI	36
4432	3125	126	*Adrian* after preſiding at the publick games at *Athens*, ſailed to *Sicily*, and goes to the top of *Mount Ætna*, to view the riſing ſun, ſaid to exhibit the various colours of the rainbow, and then returns to *Rome*	VI	36
4435	3128	129	The cities of *Nicomedia*, *Cæſarea*, and *Nicæa* in *Bythinia*, were overturned by an earthquake, but rebuilt at the emperor's expence, for which he was called the reſtorer of *Bythinia*	VI	36
4435	3128	129	*Adrian* leaves *Rome* and goes into *Africa*, where upon his arrival, it rained plentifully, after a five years droughth; here and in all places he comes to he gains the affections of the people by his humanity and good-nature: Upon his return to *Rome*, *Plotina* dying, the emperor honours her with the greateſt funeral ſolemnity, bewails her, compoſes verſes in honour of her, and ranks her among the gods	VI	36
4436	3129	130	*Adrian* builds a moſt ſumptuous temple at *Rome* in honour of the city and *Venus*, called the temple of *Rome*, and he changed the name of the annual feaſt kept for the foundation of *Rome* on the 21ſt of *April* from *Palilia* to *Romana*: When the temple of *Rome* was finiſhed, *Adrian* ſends the model of it to the famous architect *Appollodorus* to examine, who finding ſome juſt but great fault in it, ſpoke his mind freely, and was firſt baniſhed and ſoon after put to death, for the liberty he took, though ordered ſo to do	VI	37
4436	3129	130	*Adrian* goes again through *Greece* into *Aſia*, where he invited all the neighbouring kings to a conference, ſeveral of which came perſonally, and are treated with great magnificence. In *Syria* he went to the top of *Mount Caſſius* near *Antioch* to view the riſing ſun, and to ſacrifice to *Jupiter*: From thence he goes into *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*	VI	37
4437	3130	131	*Salvius Julianus*, a very learned civilian, compoſed the ſeveral *Roman* edicts and laws then in force into one, called the *Edictum perpetuum*, which was to be a ſtanding rule for the whole empire. *Adrian* orders *Alexandria*, the capital of *Egypt*, to be in part repaired, and in part rebuilt, and the privileges of the inhabitants to be reſtored, and increaſed the antient *Muſeum* in the palace, with the addition of a new one, endowed with large revenues, *&c.*	VI	38
4438	3131	132	*Adrian* in his paſſage through *Lybia Cyrenaica* hunts and kills a mighty lion that had deſtroyed great numbers of the people. *Antoninus*, a moſt beautiful youth that that was pathic to *Adrian*, is drowned in the *Nile*; *Adrian* bewails his loſs with great grief, gets him placed among the gods by the *Greeks*, and at *Mantinea* in *Arcadia Adrian* erected a magnificent temple to him, inſtituted ſolemn ſports, and appointed prieſts to offer victims to him	VI	38
4441	3134	135	The *Jazygians* ſend ambaſſadors to *Rome* to renew their alliance with *Adrian*, who receives them very graciouſly, and complies with their requeſt	VII	706
4441	3134	135	*Adrian* having formerly been made archon of *Athens*, being now there, aſſumes the habit peculiar to that office, celebrates the great feſtival of *Bacchus*, and diſtributes large quantities of corn and money among the populace, and embeliſhes the city with ſeveral ſtately buildings, particularly a library of wonderful ſtructure, and conſecrated by himſelf and finiſhed the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, begun 560 years before. One quarter of the city from him was called *Adrianopolis*: Theſe matters ended, he returned towards the cloſe of the year to *Rome*	VI	42

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4441	3134	135	*Pharasmanes* king of *Iberia* being complained of by *Vologeses* king of *Armenia* to *Adrian*, he comes to *Rome*, with his wife, son, and a great retinue, to answer the complaints, making great presents to *Adrian*; *Adrian* returns them with more magnificent ones, and after entertaining him very splendidly, sends him home with great honour	VI	43
4442	3135	136	*Adrian* having changed the name of *Jerusalem* into *Ælia Capitolina*, after the name of his own family, and erected a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* upon the spot where the *Jewish* temple formerly stood, and also planted a *Roman* colony in the city, so provoked the *Jews*, that they broke out into a rebellion under one *Barcoquebas*, or *Cozeb*, who pretended to be the *Messiah*, whom they chose for their king, and over-run all *Judea* and *Syria*, committing dreadful outrages, but particularly exerted their utmost cruelties against the *Christians*. *Tinnius Rufus*, commander in *Judea*, being reinforced, falls upon the rebellious *Jews*, and puts all to the sword, men, women, and children, that fell into his hands; but the *Jews* growing formidable by the accession of other people to their party, *Adrian* sends *Julius Severus* governor of *Britain* against them. The *Jews* took *Jerusalem*, and massacred all the *Romans* settled there: *Severus* retakes it, and reduces it to ashes, and ploughs up the ground whereon the temple had stood. In the month of *August* in this year vast numbers of the *Jews* retired to *Bether*, a strong city a small distance from *Jerusalem*, where *Severus* besieged them so straitly that vast numbers were starved to death, and the rest taken a small time after. In a general battle *Barcoquebas* was taken prisoner, and his army utterly routed. In this war the *Romans* demolished 50 strong castles, 985 towns, and killed 580,000 men, besides an innumerable quantity that perished by famine, fire, and sickness: The *Romans* lost likewise abundance of their best troops: Those *Jews* that remained were sold for slaves; and the emperor and senate publish an edict, forbidding them for ever upon pain of death to set foot in *Jerusalem*, or any place from whence it might be seen; even those *Jews* that embraced *Christianity* were also prohibited, which quite delivered the church from the servitude of the law, for till that time the bishops of *Jerusalem* had often been chosen from among the circumcised *Christians*, who joined the observance of the law to that of the gospel	VI	41
4442	3135	136	*Adrian* now in the 60th year of his age, and in a very infirm state of health, names *L. Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus* to be his successor, upon which largesses were given to the soldiers and people, and publick shows exhibited. *Verus* is made prætor, and sent governor into *Pannonia*, which he discharged with great applause	VI	43
4442	3135	136	*Adrian* retires to *Tibur* (now called *Tivoli*) and builds a magnificent *Villa*, the ruins whereof are still to be seen. Here he falls into a flux, and lets loose his natural cruelty, which till now he had restrained, and ordered several illustrious persons to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered: Among the former was his brother-in-law *Servianus*, aged 90 years, and his great nephew *Fuscus*, aged 18 years	VI	44
4442	3135	136	*Julius Severus* after his reduction of the rebellious *Jews* was made governor of *Bythinia*, which office he discharged so well, that his name was honoured by the people for 100 years after his death	VI	44
4443	3136	137	*Adrian* orders *Jerusalem* to be again rebuilt by the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, and peoples it partly by a *Roman* colony he sent thither, and partly by such of the neighbouring people as were not *Jews*	VI	41
4443	3136	137	*Verus* returns from *Pannonia* to *Rome*, and being greatly indisposed, takes a medicine, which proving too strong for him, kills him: He was buried with great pomp, and placed among the gods. This done, *Adrian* adopts *Titus Antoninus*. The empress *Sabina* dies, and *Adrian* places her among the gods. *Adrian*'s illness increases with such acute pains, that he begs to be stabbed, poisoned, or any way dispatched; but can neither get it done by others, nor means to do it himself: He orders several persons to be put to death, whom *Antoninus* saves. Removing to *Baiæ* in *Campania*, he died, 10th of *July* 138, after he had reigned 20 years and 11 months wanting one day, being 62 years, 5 months, and 17 days old: His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his ashes carried to *Rome*, and deposited in the magnificent *Mausoleum* he had built for himself near the *Tiber*, and ranked among the gods, and divine honours decreed him	VI	46
4444	3137	138	The church at *Jerusalem* being now composed only of converted *Gentiles*, or native *Christians*, St. *Mark* was appointed bishop there, in which office he continued 18 years	VI	41
4444	3137	138	The *Dacians* revolt, but are immediately reduced to their duty by the *Romans*	VII	613
4444	3137	138	*Lollius Urbicus*, the *Roman* governor of *Britain*, having driven back the *Barbarians* that had broke into the *Roman* territories, built a new wall from *Brampton* in *Cumberland* to the river *Esk*	VII	432
4444	3137	138	*Antoninus* succeeds *Adrian* in the empire, whom the senate honour with various names of distinction, and his wife *Faustina* with that of *Augusta*. He enters and continues his reign with paying great respect to the senatorial and equestrian orders, lessens the tributes, promotes men of merit, favours men of learning, and builds many magnificent structures, *&c.*	VI	56
4445	3138	139	*Antoninus* marries his daughter *Annia Faustina* to *Marcus Aurelius*, whom he created *Cæsar*, and though but quæstor, by request of the senate, named him for the next year's consul with himself	VI	57
4446	3139	140	*Antoninus* finishes the famous aqueduct begun three years before by *Adrian* in *New Athens* in the island of *Delos*	VI	57
4447	3140	141	*Faustina* the empress dies; and though she had lived but a lewd life, *Antoninus* honours her with divine worship, priests, temples, gold and silver statues, publick games, *&c.*	VI	57

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4448	3141	142	*Antoninus* inſtitutes ſolemn ſports at *Puteoli* in honour of *Adrian*, called *Pia* and *Pialia*, which were to be celebrated the 2d year in each *Olympiad*		
4451	3144	145	*Antoninus* conſecrates the temple he had built to the honour of *Adrian*, and upon this occaſion diſtributes large ſums of money among the populace	VI	57
4452	3145	146	Diſturbances being raiſed in *Germany* and *Dacia*, are compoſed by the care of the governors of thoſe parts; and the *Alani* attempting to invade the *Roman* dominions, are drove back with great loſs	VI	57
4453	3146	147	This being the 900th year of *Rome*, *Antoninus* celebrates the ſecular games, with great pomp and magnificence	VI	58
4454	3147	148	The *Moors* take up arms againſt the *Romans*, but are driven out of their own country, and forced to ſhelter themſelves in the moſt diſtant parts of *Lybia*, beyond *Mount Atlas*	VI	58
4458	3151	152	*Juſtin Martyr* publiſhed his firſt *Apology* in behalf of the *Chriſtians*, and preſented it to the emperor, his adopted ſons, and the ſenate; which had ſo good an effect, that the emperor *Antoninus* wrote to the governor of *Aſia* in favour of them throughout the whole province	VI	58
4459	3152	153	The *Tiber* overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of *Rome* under water; a great fire deſtroyed a large part of the city, and a famine ſtarved a great number of its inhabitants: The ſame year the cities of *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the great ſquare at *Carthage* were in great part conſumed by accidental fire, but ſoon reſtored to their former ſplendor by the care and at the expence of *Antoninus*	VI	58
4459	3152	153	*L. Verus*, one of *Antoninus*'s adopted ſons, being quæſtor, exhibited publick ſhews on that occaſion, preſiding at the ſame, ſitting between the emperor and *M. Aurelius*	VI	59
4462	3155	156	The cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, with ſeveral others in *Lycia* and *Caria*, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but by the munificence of *Antoninus* ſoon reſtored to their former ſplendor	VI	59
4467	3160	161	*M. Aurelius Cæſar* the 3d time, and *L. Verus* the 2d, are this year's conſuls at *Rome*, during whoſe conſulates the emperor is taken ill of a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country ſeats, and dies the 7th of *March*, aged 73 years, 5 months, and 16 days, having reigned 22 years, 7 months, and 26 days, having firſt confirmed the adoption of *M. Aurelius*, and ordered the golden image of fortune to be removed out of his own chamber into that of *Aurelius*'s, in the preſence of the two captains of the prætorian guards: He left his paternal eſtate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domeſticks: He died univerſally lamented, and was honoured with the utmoſt funeral pomp, and buried with *Adrian* in his magnificent *Mauſoleum*; both *Aurelius* and *Verus* pronounced a funeral oration for him; the ſenate deified him, built him a temple, and appointed him prieſts, ſacrifices, and annual ſports	VI	59
4467	3160	161	Upon the death of *Antoninus*, *M. Aurelius* takes *Lucius Verus* partner with him in the ſovereignty; ſo that now *Rome* was governed by two emperors: *Lucius* acts ſubordinately to *Aurelius*, and both with great unanimity and gentleneſs	VI	59
4468	3161	162	A dreadful inundation of the *Tiber* overthrows many private and ſome publick buildings, carries away a great number of cattle and people, and lays the country for a great diſtance under water; this was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in ſeveral provinces, and a general infection in the air, and a famine in *Rome*, which the two emperors took great care to ſupply with corn, *&c.* from diſtant places, at their own expence, *&c.*	VI	63
4468	3161	162	Commotions and revolts being in *Britain*, the emperor *Aurelius* ſends *Calpurnius Agricola* thither, who ſoon quieted and brought them to ſubjection	VI	63
4468	3161	162	The *Alani* breaking into *Media*, at that time ſubject to the *Parthians*, committed great devaſtations; but being bribed by *Vologeſes* II. with large ſums of money to return home, *Vologeſes* fell unexpectedly upon *Armenia*, and drove out *Sohemus*, the king the *Romans* had ſet up, and cut the *Roman* legions all off to a man, under the command of *Severinus*, a *Gaul*, governor of *Cappadocia*, who came to the aſſiſtance of *Sohemus*, and then invaded *Syria*, and defeated with great ſlaughter *Attilius Cornelianus*, governor of that province, and advanced to *Antioch*, putting all the *Romans* and their favourers to the ſword, upon account that *Antoninus* had not returned the golden throne formerly taken from the *Parthians*, and promiſed to be reſtored by *Adrian*: Upon this the emperor *Verus* comes into *Syria*, drives out the *Parthians*, and ſends *Statius Priſcus* into *Armenia*, and *Caſſius* and *Martius Verus* into *Parthia*. *Priſcus* drove the *Parthians* out of *Armenia* in one campaign, though with great loſs of his own men. *Caſſius* in ſeveral encounters with *Vologeſes*, though he had an army of 400,000 men, in four years time reduced all the provinces that had ſubmitted to *Trajan*, having in the laſt deciſive battle at *Europa* in *Syria*, on the *Euphrates*, killed him 370,000 men, with the loſs only of two *Romans*; he took *Seleucia*, and burnt and plundered *Babylon* and *Cteſiphon*, with the ſtately palaces of the *Parthian* monarchs, and ſtruck terror into the moſt diſtant provinces. Having thus put an end to the war, in his return he loſt above half of his men by ſickneſs and famine, the emperor *Verus* remaining all the while at *Antioch*, or *Daphne*, wallowing in pleaſures and debaucheries, and in his return to *Italy* carried the plague with him, that deſtroyed a vaſt number of his own men, and many more of the *Italians*, *&c.*	VII	432
4469	3162	163	*Sohemus* king of *Armenia* is reſtored to his kingdom by the wiſe and prudent management of *Martius Verus* the *Roman* general, under the protection of the *Romans*, to whom he paid tribute	IV	321
4470	3163	164	The *Roman* emperor *Aurelius* ſends his daughter *Lucilla* into *Syria*, to be married to his colleague in the empire, *Lucius Verus*, then at *Antioch*, attended by many noble perſonages	VI	65

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4471	3164	165	*Cassius* the *Roman* general having universally subdued *Vologeses*, comes to *Seleucia*, where the city immediately submits, and opens its gates, but *Cassius* orders the inhabitants to the number of 400,000 to be put to the sword, and the city to be utterly demolished	VI	65
4471	3164	165	The *Marcomans* and *Romans* having been at war many years, now terminate all differences, and conclude a peace	VII	601
4472	3165	166	The two emperors, *M. Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, triumph at *Rome* upon account of the great conquests obtained over *Vologeses*, *&c.* and by the senate are surnamed *Parthicus*. *L. Verus* begs that the title of *Cæsar* might be conferred on the two sons of *Aurelius*, *viz. Commodus* and *Annius Verus*, which was accordingly done the 12th of *October*	VI	65
4473	3166	167	Many *German* nations having revolted from the *Romans*, both the emperors go with great armies against them, upon whose approach the *Germans* are so terrified, that they repassed the *Danube*, and put the ringleaders of the revolt to death, and beg for peace	VI	66
4475	3168	169	The *Germans* having again renewed the war, and committed great ravages, laid waste provinces, and defeated *Vindex* the *Roman* general, and cut both him and most of his troops to pieces, both emperors leave *Rome*, and repair in the depth of winter to *Aquileia*, but are forced to retire upon account of the plague raging there vehemently; in their return *L. Verus* was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died; he is carried to *Rome*, and interred with great funeral pomp in the *Mausoleum* of *Adrian*	VI	67
4476	3169	170	The *Romans* and *Germans* engage with incredible fury, but at last the *Romans* are put to flight with the loss of 20,000 men; upon which the *Marcomans* enter *Italy*, and make dreadful devastations. The plague having much weakned the *Romans*, they are forced to admit the slaves, gladiators, and banditti into the army; and to raise money *Aurelius* sells the furniture of his palace, melts his gold and silver images, *&c.* The emperor marries his daughter *Lucilla*, widow of *Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, a knight of great fame for his wisdom, and integrity. This year the emperor's son *Annius Verus Cæsar* dies at *Palestrina*, in the 7th year of his age	VI	69
4476	3169	170	*M. Aurelius* drives the *Vandals* (who were a part of the *Goths* originally, but thus called from the word *Vandelem*, a wanderer, they roving from place to place in great numbers to find a better country than their own,) out of *Pannonia*, where they had settled, pursues them to the *Danube*, and cuts many of them to pieces as they attempted to cross that river	VII	528
4476	3169	170	The emperor again going against the *Germans* (over whom he obtained several victories) leaves his son *Commodus* under the care of *Pitholaus*, his chief chamberlain at *Rome*, ordering him to employ no other physician (if he should want one) than *Galen*, who now resided there	VI	69
4476	3169	170	The *Egyptians* revolt, and kill many *Romans* and their friends, but by the address and management of *Cassius* are reduced. The *Moors* invade *Spain*, and commit horrid devastations, but are at last subdued by the several lieutenants of the provinces	VI	70
4477	3170	171	The emperor *Aurelius* having gained several victories over the *Germans*, is stiled *Germanicus*, and so is his son *Commodus*	VI	70
4480	3173	174	*Aurelius* and his army being blocked up among impassable mountains by the *Germans*, are ready to perish for thirst, and are miraculously relieved by a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain, obtained by the prayers of the *Christian* soldiers in the *Melitine* legion; whereby instead of being conquered he became conqueror; as a reward for which the emperor soon after enacted a law, that those who accused a *Christian* upon account of religion should be severely punished	VI	72
4481	3174	175	The emperor leaves 20,000 men in the country of the *Marcomans* and *Quadi*, which so harrass them, that they resolve to quit their native country and settle somewhere else; but being prevented by the emperor, and reduced by famine, the *Quadi* send ambassadors to sue for peace, and with them 13,000 prisoners they had taken, which was granted them; but they soon broke it, and deposed their king *Furtius* for opposing them, and set up one *Ariogeses* in his room; which *Aurelius* so resented, that though they offered to set 50,000 prisoners they had taken at liberty, if he would conclude a peace and confirm *Ariogeses*, both which he refused, and set a price upon the head of *Ariogeses*; they being joined by several other nations, a general battle is fought, wherein the *Germans* are entirely overthrown, and *Ariogeses* taken prisoner, upon which they offer to accept of peace upon such terms as the emperor thought fit to grant them, which put an end to this destructive war	VI	73
4481	3174	175	*Cassius* the famous *Roman* general that had reduced the *Parthians*, *&c.* revolts, and sets up for emperor in the east, and is joined by a great number of soldiers and neighbouring princes: *M. Aurelius* sets out to go against him, but receives word that he was killed and soon after has his head brought to him, and so for this time ended the war in the east	VI	77
4481	3174	175	*Aurelius* goes into the east, and takes his wife *Faustina* and his son *Commodus* with him, and made his son-in-law *Pompeianus* consul: *Faustina* dies at *Halala*, a village at the foot of *Mount Taurus*, said to be a very vicious woman, yet he honoured her by placing her among the gods, *&c.* and built a city, and put a colony in the place where she died, calling it *Faustinopolis*, and erected a temple in it to her honour	VI	79
4482	3175	176	*Aurelius* arriving in the east, pardons all that had joined *Cassius* except the inhabitants of *Antioch*, who had been more than ordinary zealous for *Cassius*; he deprived them of their privileges, suppressed their publick assemblies, and took their shew from them, but soon after forgave them, and restored to them all he had		

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			taken from them; and then going into *Egypt*, he not only forgave, but added ſeveral privileges to *Alexandria*; from hence he went to *Smyrna*, and then to *Athens*, where his beneficence was greatly diſplayed by eſtabliſhing publick profeſſors with large ſalaries, in all ſciences, and then returned to *Italy*; and on the 23d of *December* he and his ſon *Commodus* entered *Rome* in triumph	VI	
4483	3176	177	*Aurelius Commodus Cæſar* (the emperor's ſon) and *Quintillus* being conſuls, the emperor forgave all debts due to himſelf and the treaſury, and gave a large ſum to the *Smyrnians* to rebuild their city, which had lately been deſtroyed by an earthquake	VI	79
4484	3177	178	*Aurelius* marries his ſon *Commodus* to *Criſpina*, the daughter of *Bruttius Præſens*, and then marches with his ſon *Commodus* againſt the *Marcommanni* the 5th of *Auguſt*	VI	79
4485	3178	179	The *Romans* under the command of *Paternus* engage ſeveral revolted nations of the *Germans*, and intirely defeat them	VI	80
4486	3179	180	The emperor *M. Aurelius* dies at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Sclavonia*, of the plague, that had been in *Italy* for ſeveral years paſt, the 17th of *March*, aged 58 years, 10 months, and 22 days, having reigned nineteen years and ten days, univerſally lamented, and his aſhes were depoſited in *Adrian*'s *Mauſoleum*; he was immediately ranked among the gods, a temple erected, and prieſts appointed, and whoever had not ſome ſtatue or image of *Aurelius* was eſteemed a ſacrilegious perſon	VI	80
4486	3179	180	*Commodus* ſucceeds his father in the *Roman* empire, being the firſt emperor born in his father's reign, and the ſecond that ſucceeded his father in the empire; he is commonly called *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*, and ſometimes *Commodus Antoninus*, and though educated with great care by his father, proved a moſt lewd, cruel, and wicked tyrant; he grants the *Quadi* and *Marcommanni* peace, and of others nations he purchaſed peace, *&c.* to return to *Rome*, where he is met by the ſenate with the higheſt marks of honour; he was, after viſiting the capitol and other temples, the 22d of *October* conducted to the palace	VI	80
4490	3173	184	*Ulpius Marcellus*, governor in *Britain*, drives the *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, out of the *Roman* province in *Britain*, where they had committed horrid ravages, and cut off a *Roman* army, and ſo ſettles all things quiet again	VI	87
4490	3173	184	*Commodus* diſcards all his father's friends and counſellors, and employs only his debauched companions, or their friends, whereby he gains the hatred of all his ſubjects by means of the cruelties and hardſhips put upon them by his debauched officers: His ſiſter *Lucilla*, with ſeveral great men, conſpire to kill him; but not ſucceeding, they are put to death. The empreſs *Criſpina*, for imitating her huſband's debaucheries, is firſt baniſhed, and afterwards murdered in the iſland *Capreæ*. Four conſulars of great note are falſly accuſed and put to death this year, and the ruling conſuls baniſhed	VII	432
4492	3175	186	While *Commodus* was aſſiſting at the *Capitoline* ſports, a perſon dreſſed like a cynic philoſopher told the emperor, that *Perennis* (his great favourite and prime miniſter) and his children were plotting his death: *Perennis* ſeized him as a madman, but burnt him alive: Soon after the matter was plainly diſcovered, and *Perennis*, his wife, ſiſter, and two ſons were put to death; but the emperor being in great fear changed the captain of his guards almoſt daily	VI	89
4493	3176	187	*Maternus*, a common ſoldier among the *Romans*, having deſerted, is joined by many more and the banditti; at laſt, being very numerous, he over-run and plundered a great part of *Gaul* and *Spain*: *Peſcennius Niger* with a proper force is ſent againſt him, and brought him into great ſtraits; upon which *Maternus* divides his army into many ſmall parties, and ſends them privately into different parts of *Italy* with a view to kill the emperor at the annual feaſt of the mother of the gods, and to ſeize the empire: They all arrive at *Rome* undiſcovered, and mix with the emperor's guards; but being betrayed by ſome of their own party, *Maternus* was ſeized and executed, which put an end to the whole affair. A dreadful plague broke out that laſted three years, and which, in *Rome* only, frequently carried off 2000 in a day	VI	89
4494	3177	188	*Commodus* gave out that he was going to *Africa*, and therefore extorted large ſums to defray his expences, and ſuffered the people to offer up ſolemn vows for his ſafe return, but ſtaid in *Rome* or its neighbourhood, ſquandering all the money away in debauchery	VI	90
4494	3187	188	Great part of the capitol, a famous library, and ſeveral contiguous buildings in *Rome* were deſtroyed this year by lightning; ſome ſay it deſtroyed whole quarters of the city, and therein ſeveral libraries. At the ſame time a dreadful famine was in *Rome*, occaſioned by *Cleander* the emperor's favourite's buying up all the corn, *&c.* to ingratiate himſelf with the ſoldiers and people by diſtributing it among them *gratis*, and ſo get to be choſe emperor; but being univerſally hated for his cruelty and tyranny, the people roſe againſt him, and could not be appeaſed till the emperor cut off his head, and ſent it to them, which they treated with all the inſults poſſible, and murdered his wife, children, and friends, with the utmoſt fury	VI	91
4495	3188	189	*Pertinax* is recalled from being governor of *Britain*, at his own requeſt, and charged with the care of providing the city with corn, *&c.* inſtead of *Dionyſius Papirius*, who was put to death, and all his accomplices, for concurring in the monopolizing thereof to the publick detriment	VI	91
4496	3189	190	*Commodus* being now a ſixth time in the conſulate, and being jealous of every body upon account of the ſeveral plots that had been diſcovered againſt him, he abandoned himſelf to bloodſhed and cruelty without controul, putting to death *Petronius Mamertinus*, his brother-in-law *Antoninus*, his ſon *Annia Fauſtina*, (couſin-germain to *M. Aurelius*) *Sulpicius Craſſus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, and		

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			ſix conſulars, beſides many more of leſſer rank, in one day, and all who were related to *Avidius Craſſus* to be burnt alive	VI	91
4497	3190	191	The magnificent temple of peace built at *Rome* by *Veſpaſian*, wherein he put all the riches he brought from the temple of *Jeruſalem*, is burnt by lightning; it was uſed as a common repoſitory for the rich to lodge their jewels, *&c.* in, and for the merchants to houſe their ſpices and rich drugs brought from *Egypt*, *Africk*, *&c.* the fire ſpreading, conſumed many other ſtately and common buildings, with the temple of *Veſta*, and good part of the palace	VI	92
4498	3191	192	The *Romans* are defeated by the *Saracens*, for the firſt time mentioned in hiſtory	VI	92
4498	3191	192	*Severus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Marcus*, another general, aſpiring at the ſovereignty, *Commodus* appointed *Clodius Albinus* governor of *Britain*, and in a letter wrote to him with his own hand, allowed him to take the name of *Cæſar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in caſe any diſturbance aroſe, but he refuſed them. *Commodus* gives himſelf up to all manner of folly, acting among the players, changing the names of the months, all which the ſenate indulge him in, and comply with; but having communicated to his beloved *Marcia* and the two captains of his guards, that he would have the two conſuls elect for the enſuing year murdered, and that he would be conſul himſelf, and would march the next morning from the ſchool of the gladiators, in their dreſs, attended only by that ſet of men, and not from the palace, like a magiſtrate, *&c.* *Marcia* gave him poiſon, but that not working effectually quick enough, his favourite *Narciſſus* ſtrangled him the laſt night of the year, being the 31ſt of *December* 192, aged 31 years and 4 months, having reigned 12 years, 9 months, and 14 days: In a palace that ſtood on *Mount Cælius* 'twas given out, that he died of an apoplexy; the ſenate immediately aſſembled, declared him a publick enemy, loaded him with curſes, ordered his ſtatues to be thrown down, his name to be razed out of all publick inſcriptions, and demanded his body that it might be dragged through the ſtreets and thrown into the *Tiber*	VI	94
4499	3192	193	*Pertinax* is prevailed with to accept the empire, but the prætorian guards murmur, and on the 28th of *March* following 300 of them went to the palace armed, and murdered him, after he had reigned only 87 days; *Septimius Severus* ſucceeded him in the empire, and took the name alſo of *Pertinax*, and puniſhed with great ſeverity all thoſe who were concerned in the murder of the late *Pertinax*, and diſbanded the prætorian guards, gave the deceaſed prince great funeral honours, ranked him among the gods, and appointed his ſon to be his chief prieſt; the day of his acceſſion was annually celebrated with the *Circenſian* games, and his birthday with other ſports for many years after	VI	99
4499	3192	193	The ſoldiers cutting off the head of *Pertinax*, ſet it up, and proclaimed the empire to the beſt bidder. *Fulvius Sulpicianus*, father-in-law to *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus* bid againſt one another; at laſt *Julianus* bids 6250 drachmas a man, to be immediately paid down, and was proclaimed by the whole camp, and at their requeſt appointed *Flavius Genialis* and *Tullius Criſpinus* commanders of the prætorian guards, and takes himſelf the title of *Commodus*; after the uſual ceremonies the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle array to the ſenate; the people made no oppoſition, but gave no ſign of joy or approbation; the ſenate acknowledge him, and next morning he receives them very graciouſly, when he went to the capitol, the people curſed him, and openly threw ſtones at him: While this was doing at *Rome*, *Peſcennius Niger*, governor of *Syria*, revolted, and is declared emperor in the eaſt. *Severus* was declared emperor in *Illyricum*, and ſends the title of *Cæſar* to *Albinus* governor in *Britain*, and promiſed to adopt him; *Albinus* takes the title, cloathed with all the badges of his new authority, at the head of his army; the ſenate declare *Severus* an enemy to his country, and all his ſoldiers likewiſe, if they did not forſake him by a certain time. *Julianus* prepares to receive *Severus*, fortifies the palace, ordered *Marcia* and *Lætus* (authors of the death of *Commodus*) to be murdered; and hired abundance of aſſaſſins to murder *Severus*, cauſed an incredible number of children to be butchered to mingle their blood with magick rites. *Severus* comes to *Ravenna*, takes the city and the fleet riding there. *Severus* is declared partner with *Julianus* in the empire by the ſenate; *Severus* rejects the offer, and cuts *Criſpinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, who brought it, to pieces. *Julianus* writes to *Pompeianus*, ſon-in-law to *M. Aurelius*, to take him in a partner in the empire, but he refuſes. The troops *Julianus* ſent to guard the paſſes of the *Apennine* mountains go over to *Severus*, and the guards alſo revolt from him who ſet him up; upon which he retires into the palace, and the ſenate meet, depoſe him, and ſentence him to death, declaring *Severus* emperor, and beſtow divine honours upon *Pertinax*. *Julianus* was beheaded, when he had reigned two months and ſix days. 100 perſons of diſtinction go to meet and congratulate *Severus* in the name of the ſenate, *&c.* *Severus* ſeverely puniſhed all who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*, and ordered the ſoldiers of the prætorian guards to meet him unarmed, when he degraded and baniſhed them 100 miles from *Rome*. *Severus* entered *Rome* attended with all his troops under arms, and the prætorian ſtandards reverſed. At the gate he diſmounted, and put on the ſenatorial robe, and marched on foot, attended by the ſenators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads, he wearing the ſame, being cloathed in white, the ſtreets ſtrewed with flowers, and the windows adorned with tapiſtry; after viſiting the capitol, and the uſual temples, he retired to the palace; but the ſoldiers quartering in the temples, porticoes, *&c.* ſpread all over the city, and commit great diſorders: when *Severus* went next day to the ſenate, the ſoldiers with a dreadful cry demand of the ſenate the like ſum that		

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			was paid to the troops of *Auguſtus*; the emperor could not pacify them without promiſing them 250 drachmas a man in part of 2500. *Severus* promiſes the ſenate to govern with equity, gentleneſs, *&c.* the ſenate confer all the titles belonging to the imperial dignity on him, and inveſt him with the tribunitial and procontular power, and make him high pontiff, *&c.* He begs the ſenate to confirm the title of *Cæſar* to *Clodius Albinus*, gave large ſums among the ſoldiery, and enrolled the late emperor *Pertinax* among the gods, with extraordinary pomp, *&c.* put to death, *&c.* all the friends and adherents of the late depoſed and murdered *Julianus*, and choſe four times as many guards as thoſe he had depoſed. *Severus* married his two daughters to *Probus* and *Aetius*, and gave them both conſular dignity. Having ſettled all things in *Rome*, he goes againſt *Niger* in the eaſt; *Niger* having made himſelf maſter of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Thrace*, offers to take *Severus* a partner with him in the empire —	—	
4500	3193	194	*Æmilianus*, general of *Niger*'s troops, is engaged by the generals of *Severus*, defeated, and afterwards taken in *Cyzicus* and killed. *Niger* and *Candidus*, one of the generals of *Severus*, engage with great fury, but at laſt *Niger* is forced to fly beyond the *Straits* of *Mount Taurus*. *Severus* offers *Niger* his life and ſafety if he would lay down his arms; but being diverted by *Aurelianus*, whoſe daughters were betrothed to his ſons, retired to *Antioch*. *Laodicea* and *Tyre* declaring for *Severus*, *Niger* ſends a body of *Moors*, who pillaged theſe cities, put the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſet fire to the houſes. *Severus* and *Niger* engage again, on the very ſpot where *Alexander the Great* beat *Darius*, near the city of *Iſſus*, called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, where *Niger* is entirely routed with the loſs of 20,000 men: *Niger* retires to *Antioch*, and from thence was flying to *Parthia*, but was overtaken and beheaded; *Severus* cauſed his head to be firſt ſhewn to the *Byzantines*, and then ſent to *Rome*. *Severus* puniſhes with extream rigour all thoſe who had ſided with *Niger*, ſo that a prodigious number of all ranks were put to death, and many baniſhed, and their eſtates confiſcated —	—	VI	108
4501	3194	195	*Severus*, at the entreaty of his eldeſt ſon, reſtores the city of *Antioch* to all the privileges he had taken from it upon account of eſpouſing the cauſe of *Niger*; and obliged all the cities that had furniſhed *Niger* with money, to give him four times as much as they had given *Niger* —	VI	110
4502	3195	196	*Severus* takes *Byzantium*, after a ſiege of three years, the *Byzantines* being forced to ſurrender after having in part devoured one another: The magiſtrates and ſoldiers were all put to death; the city, the moſt wealthy, large, ſtrong and magnificent, reduced to aſhes; the inhabitants ſtript of all their effects, and ſold for ſlaves, and the walls razed —	VI	111
4502	3195	196	*Severus* writes to *Albinus* governor of *Britain* a very complimental letter, profeſſing great friendſhip, *&c.* but orders the meſſengers to ſtab or poiſon him; but he diſcovering the plot, declares himſelf emperor, and comes into *Gaul*, where *Albinus* is joined by many great men, both *Gauls* and *Spaniards*. *Severus* haſtens into *Gaul*, and at *Viminacium* declares *Baſſianus* his eldeſt ſon *Cæſar*, and calls him *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. *Albinus* defeats the troops of *Severus*; The ſenate declares *Albinus* a publick enemy. One *Numerianus*, who kept a grammar ſchool in *Rome*, goes into *Gaul*, pretends to be a ſenator endowed with power to raiſe troops for *Severus*, does ſo, and gains ſome advantages over *Albinus*: *Severus* ſends him a commiſſion at large; he forms an army, and defeats *Albinus*, and takes a great ſum of money, which he delivers to *Severus*, who offers him great honours, which he refuſes, and only accepts a ſmall penſion, and lives retired on it the remaining part of his life —	—	VI	112
4503	3196	197	*Severus* going to *Lions*, where *Albinus* was, *Albinus* defeats one of his parties; then they both engage with their whole ſtrength, amounting to 150,000 men; they both fought with incredible fury, but at laſt *Albinus*'s men were routed with great ſlaughter, and were followed into *Lions* by the conqueror, who plundered and reduced it to aſhes, and *Albinus* killed himſelf; *Severus* triumphed over the dead carcaſs, *&c.* ſent his head to *Rome*, where it was ſet upon the *Forum* at the end of a long pole: At firſt *Severus* pardoned his wife and children, but ſoon after maſſacred them and all his family, friends, and relations of both ſexes, and moſt of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain* underwent the ſame fate, ſo that *Severus* amaſſed immenſe riches by their eſtates which he confiſcated: He ſoon conquered all the cities that had held out, and divided *Britain* into four provinces. Upon his return to *Rome* he maſſacred 42 ſenators of the higheſt rank, and a vaſt number of the common people, pretending they were friends to *Albinus* —	—	VI	113
4504	3197	198	*Vologeſes* III. king of *Parthia*, having ſided with *Niger* againſt *Severus*, as ſoon as *Severus* had gratified his revenge at *Rome* he goes againſt *Parthia*, and beſieges *Vologeſes* in *Cteſiphon*, his metropolis, where, after a gallant reſiſtance, the city was at laſt taken by aſſault; the king's treaſures, wives and children were taken by the emperor, but *Vologeſes* eſcaped; the city was plundered, the men all put to the ſword, but the women and children to the number of 100,000 ſold for ſlaves. *Severus* ſends an account to the ſenate of his ſucceſs; but as ſoon as *Severus* was gone, *Vologeſes* returns with a great army, and recovered all that had been taken from him but *Meſopotamia* —	—	IV	321
4504	3197	198	The *Caledonians* make dreadful havock in the *Roman* territories in *Britain*, ſo that *Lupus* the governor was obliged to purchaſe peace of them for a large ſum of money —	—	VI	114
4504	3197	198	*Caracalla*, the emperor *Severus*'s eldeſt ſon, is declared partner with him in the empire; and *Geta*, his ſecond ſon, is intituled *Cæſar*	—	VI	114

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4505	3198	199	*Severus* the *Roman* emperor in his return from *Parthia* attacks the city *Atra*, becauſe *Barſemus* the king thereof had aſſiſted *Niger*, but is forced to quit the enterpriſe, after loſing a great many men, and moſt of his warlike engines: After recruiting and refreſhing his army he returns to the ſiege of *Atra* again, but is again forced to raiſe the ſiege after 18 days, loſing an incredible number of men, and moſt of his engines	VI	115
4506	3199	200	All ſuch perſons as gave *Severus* any umbrage for their birth or wealth he put to death, and confiſcated their eſtates, under various pretences	VI	115
4507	3200	201	*Severus* gives the manly robe to his eldeſt ſon, then 14 years old, and names him conſul for the year enſuing	VI	115
4508	3201	202	*Severus* and his ſon enter upon the conſulſhip in *Syria*; he goes into *Arabia*, and thence into *Paleſtine*, and remits the taxes he had impoſed for the people's adhering to *Niger*, and publiſhes an edict forbidding under the ſevereſt penalties any of the people's embracing *Judaiſm*, or *Chriſtianity*, which occaſioned the fifth general perſecution. At his arrival at *Alexandria* he granted the city a publick council or ſenate	VI	115
4509	3202	203	*Septimius Geta*, brother of *Severus*, and *Fulvius Plautianus* his great favourite, were conſuls this year. *Plautianus* exerciſed more authority, had more ſuitors, greater wealth, and lived with more magnificence than the emperor himſelf; this power he abuſed ſhamefully, putting to death and baniſhing many illuſtrious perſons, without the knowledge of *Septimius*; but this being ſecreted from *Severus*, he married his ſon *Caracalla* to *Plautianus*'s daughter *Fulvia Plautilla*, and gave the manly robe to his ſecond ſon *Geta*, now entered his 14th year	VI	116
4510	3203	204	*Severus* thinking the number of *Plautianus*'s ſtatues too great, ordered ſome of them to be taken down; this occaſioned a report that the miniſter was fallen into diſgrace, and the example was followed by the governors of ſeveral provinces, who paid dear for their over-haſty zeal, ſome being deprived of their governments, and others condemned to baniſhment, *Severus* declaring no one ſhould affront him without puniſhment; but being informed he deſigned to murder both himſelf and his ſon *Caracalla*, and make himſelf emperor, *Caracalla* ſeized his ſword, and ordered him to be murdered in the palace, and his body to be caſt into the ſtreet, and all his friends and creatures were put to death; his daughter *Plautilla* and his brother *Plautius* were baniſhed to the iſland of *Liparis*, where they were afterwards murdered by order of *Caracalla*; after whoſe ſucceſſion to the empire this year the ſecular games were celebrated with extraordinary pomp at *Rome*	VI	117
4511	3204	205	The empire of *Rome* enjoying univerſal peace, the emperor's two ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta* were conſuls this year, during which *Severus* continued at or near *Rome*, adminiſtring juſtice with great impartiality, and reformed many abuſes, enacted excellent laws, and repaired the publick edifices, and built many new ones in *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and *Byzantium*, and moſt other great cities of the empire	VI	117
4512	3205	206	This year is remarkable for the inhuman maſſacre of a great number of the *Roman* ſenators, by the emperor's orders, and ſome of the greateſt and wealthieſt of them without any trial	VI	117
4513	3206	207	The northern *Britons* revolt, and invade the *Roman* territories, committing dreadful ravages, driving the *Roman* legions before them where-ever they came; upon which the governor *Virius Lupus* ſends to the emperor, who prepares to go thither in perſon	VI	118
4514	3207	208	The emperor's two ſons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*, are again conſuls; *Severus* inveſts the younger with the tribunitial power, and conferred the title of *Auguſtus* upon him, ſo that there were now what had never been before, three *Auguſtus*'s, and then takes both his ſons with him into *Britain*, where after having drove the *Caledonians* into their own diſtricts, he ordered a new wall to be built from ſea to ſea	VII	433
4516	3209	210	*Caracalla* attempts to murder his father publickly at the head of his army, while he was taking the ſubmiſſions of the *Britons* and granting them peace, but is prevented	VI	119
4517	3210	211	*Severus* growing old and infirm, the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians* revolt, upon which he ſends *Caracalla* with the whole army againſt them, who puts to the ſword all he meets with, and then ſtrives to debauch both officers and ſoldiers with a deſign to depoſe his father, who ſoon after died naturally at *York*, on the 4th of *February*, aged 65 years, 9 months, and 25 days, having reigned 17 years, 8 months, and 3 days; his body was burnt at *York*, and his aſhes carried in a golden urn to *Rome*, and depoſited in *Adrian*'s *Mauſoleum*; ſoon after he was ranked among the gods with the uſual ceremonies	VI	120
4517	3210	211	*Caracalla* and *Geta*, by the will of *Severus*, ſucceeded him jointly in the empire; but *Caracalla* would fain have ſet his brother aſide; he went againſt the *Caledonians* and *Mæatians*, and concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and reſtored the lands his father had taken from them, diſcharged *Papinian* the captain of the guards, cauſed *Caſtor*, his father's chamberlain and chief favourite, to be put to death, and ſent aſſaſſins into *Italy*, to murder his wife *Plautilla*, and her uncle *Plautius*, whither they had been baniſhed 7 years before; likewiſe his father's phyſicians for refuſing to poiſon him, and all thoſe who ſtrove to reconcile him to his brother; as the brothers came from *Britain* to *Rome*, *Caracalla* endeavoured to murder *Geta*, which occaſioned them for the future to march with their ſeparate guards, lodge in ſeparate houſes, *&c.* They were received with great pomp at *Rome*, but their privateanimoſities roſe ſo high, that a ſeparation of the empire was propoſed, but fruſtrated by their	VI	120

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			mother *Julia*. *Caracalla* at the feast of *Saturn* in the close of the year again attempted to murder *Geta*, which occasioned much bloodshed		
4518	3211	212	*Caracalla* finding *Geta* so well taken care of, that he could not get him dispatched either by poison or by force, pretends to be reconciled to him, and invites him to an interview in his mother's chamber; *Geta* goes unarmed, but as soon as he was in the room he was stabbed and murdered in his mother's arms, who was also wounded: *Caracalla* runs as if frighted to his army, returns thanks to the gods for having escaped from the conspiracy, bestows 2500 drachmas a man, and doubles their pay, by which means he secured all the soldiers to him, who saluted him sole emperor. Next day he goes to the senate, attended by his guards, and accuses his murdered brother with a design to kill him, buries his brother with great pomp, and gets the senate to rank him among the gods, with the usual solemnities; notwithstanding which he massacred all *Geta*'s friends and domesticks, to the number of 20,000, and punished with death the bare mention of his name, and ordered the money coined with his name to be melted, and the publick inscriptions to be erazed. He likewise put to death *Papinian*, the greatest lawyer *Rome* ever bred, and his son the quæstor; and a daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, for weeping for *Geta*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, his first cousin; *Pompeianus*, grandson of *M. Aurelius*; *Helvicus Pertinax*, son of the emperor *Pertinax*; and some of the vestal virgins were also put to death: He universally loaded the people with exorbitant taxes, and at *Rome* caused vast numbers of them to be put to death, sometimes for diversion, and sometimes for revenge; he shewed the utmost contempt for the senate, and intirely neglected the administration of justice, raised the meanest persons to the highest stations, and was himself ruled and the empire controuled by two of his favourite slaves, setting all things to sale, offices, provinces, publick revenues, publick justice, and the lives both of the innocent and guilty	VI	122
4519	3212	213	*Caracalla* finding himself generally hated in *Rome*, goes into *Gaul*, orders the proconsul of *Narbonne* to be put to death, and made dreadful havock of the people, ordering the very physicians who had recovered him from a dangerous malady to be put to death as soon as he was well	VI	125
4520	3213	214	*Caracalla* ordered *Gaiobomar*, king of the *Quadians*, to be treacherously murdered, and all the young men that were with him, which he often boasted of as a work of great merit, but for what is not mentioned	VI	125
4520	3213	214	*Caracalla* having taking some *German* women prisoners, asked them, whether he should put them to death or sell them for slaves? they chose death; but he selling them, they destroyed themselves and children. He was forced to buy peace at a dear rate of these people, which reduced him so low as to force him to coin false money	VII	603
4520	3213	214	The *Alemans* made their first appearance being a collection of people of various nations, whose chief seat or country was in the present country of *Wintemberg*. *Caracalla* made war upon them, and defeated them, and then made peace with them	VI	126
4521	3214	215	*Caracalla* the *Roman* emperor quarels with the *Goths*	VII	588
4521	3214	215	*Caracalla* leaves *Rome*, and goes into *Asia*, and offers up prayers and sacrifices to *Æsculapius* at *Pergamus*, to be cured of his diseases, but went away unanswered to *Ilium*, and visits the tomb of *Achilles*, and pays great honour to his memory, and then goes into *Macedon*, appearing in the garb and using the customs of each place he came to	VI	493
4522	3215	216	*Caracalla* (now at *Nicomedia*) goes to *Antioch*, whither inviting the kings of *Osrhoene* and *Armenia*, causes them unjustly to be imprisoned; the *Armenians* resented the affront, and overthrew *Theocritus* the *Roman* general with great slaughter, and preserved their freedom. After which *Caracalla* went to *Alexandria*, and made dreadful havock of the people for lampooning him, ordering his troops to enter into the houses in the night-time, and kill all they met without distinction, and continued the slaughter all the following day, stripped the city of all its privileges, suppressed the body of learned men, and ordered all strangers to depart, and stopt the communication of the streets by building high walls guarded by soldiers	VI	126
4522	3215	216	*Caracalla* demands the daughter of *Artabanes* king of *Parthia* in marriage, which being agreed to, *Caracalla* goes under the pretence of celebrating the nuptials, and is very splendidly received where-ever he came; *Artabanes* and his nobility going out unarmed to meet him, *Caracalla* orders his troops to fall upon them, which they do, and make a most terrible slaughter, few escaping; *Artabanes* raises a very large army, invades *Syria*, and puts all to fire and sword: *Macrinus*, the captain of the guard, meets him; they engage, and fight two days, killing 40,000 between them, when *Macrinus* informs *Artabanes Caracalla* was dead; they make a peace, and the prisoners *Caracalla* had taken are returned	VI	127
4523	3216	217	*Caracalla* the *Roman* emperor is stabbed by one *Martialis*, an exempt in the army, by the instigation of *Macrinus*, the captain of his guards, on the 8th of *April*, as he was going from *Edessa* to *Carrhæ* to visit a temple of the moon, aged 29 years and four months, having reigned six years, two months, and four days, and *Opilius Macrinus* is declared emperor, who gives the soldiers large sums, and makes them larger promises: After proclaiming a free pardon for all accused of treason, he took the names of *Severus* and *Aurelius*, orders the body of *Caracalla* to be burnt with the usual solemnity, and sent his ashes in an urn to his mother *Julia* at *Antioch*, who starved herself to death. The senate orders all the gold and silver statues of *Caracalla* to be melted down, and his inscriptions to be erazed, annulled his acts, and de-	IV	322

clared

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			clared his memory infamous: They declare *Macrinus* emperor, rank his family among the patricians, proclaim his ſon *Cæſar*, and his wife *Nonia Celta Auguſta*	VI	321
4524	3217	218	*Macrinus* having by his extream ſeverity exaſperated the ſoldiers near *Emeſa* againſt him, they declared *Heliogabalus*, couſin to *Caracalla*, emperor, a youth of 13 years old, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. *Macrinus* ſends *Julianus* from *Antioch* againſt them, who is betrayed and beheaded, and many of his ſoldiers go over to the revolters. *Macrinus* promiſes the ſoldiers 5000 drachmas a piece, and pays 1000 down, and writes to the ſenate, who declares *Heliogabalus* a publick enemy. *Heliogabalus* being greatly ſtrengthened by an acceſſion of more troops, goes to attack *Macrinus* at *Antioch*, where after a very obſtinate battle, *Macrinus* left his men and fled, when what was left alſo joined *Heliogabalus*, and *Macrinus* and his ſon were taken and put to death. *Heliogabalus* enters *Antioch*, and writes to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of *Macrinus*, *&c.* promiſes to conform to the inſtitutions of *Auguſtus* and *M. Aurelius*, and do nothing without their conſent; they agree, and confirm his titles, *&c.* who, though ſo very young, proved the greateſt monſter of cruelty and profligateneſs that ever lived; and though he reigned but four years, he married and divorced ſix wives	VI	135
4525	3218	219	*Artabanus* king of *Parthia* having loſt the flower of his army in the war with the *Romans*, *&c. Artaxerxes* (a perſon of a mean birth, but a good ſoldier) ſpirits up his countrymen, who were tributaries to *Artabanus*, to take this opportunity to free themſelves: They revolt, and *Artaxerxes* becomes their leader, who engages *Artabanus* for three days together, and at laſt the *Parthians* were routed, and moſt of *Artabanus*'s troops were cut off in their flight, and himſelf taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death: Thus the *Parthians*, who had commanded the *Perſians* 475 years, became tributaries to the *Perſians*, and *Artaxerxes* became king of *Perſia* and *Parthia*, *&c.*	IV	323
4525	3218	219	*Heliogabalus* is conſul for the firſt time, and leaves the eaſt, and enters *Rome* with great pomp, and is received with univerſal joy by the ſenate and people: Next day he went to the ſenate, and ſet his grandmother *Mæſa* next the conſuls, and ordered her name to be regiſtered among the ſenators, and appointed her to vote with the reſt, *&c.* and inſtitutes a ſenate of women, and ſets his mother *Soæmis* at the head of it, whoſe buſineſs was to regulate the dreſs of the *Roman* matrons, their ranks, dignities, viſits, ceremonies, *&c.* belonging to the ladies	VI	136
4527	3220	221	*Heliogobalus* adopts his couſin *Alexianus*, and declares him *Cæſar*, who took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*, and ſtriving to debauch his manners, *Alexianus* refuſed to comply, which he reſents ſo much as to order him to be privately murdered; but being diſappointed, he orders the ſenate to degrade him, and annul the adoption, and ordered aſſaſſins to murder him, but the guards eſpouſed the young prince's cauſe, ſo that *Heliogobalus* had much ado to pacify them, and promiſes amendment, *&c.*	VI	173
4528	3221	222	*Heliogobalus* pretends to be reconciled to *Alexander*; takes the conſulſhip the third time, and chuſes *Alexander* for his colleague He orders all the ſenators to depart the city, then ſhut up *Alexander* in the palace, and gave out he was ſuddenly taken ill; and paſt recovery; the ſoldiers fly to arms, and demand a ſight of *Alexander*; who being brought forth, was received with univerſal joy by all, which ſo vexed the emperor, that he ordered them all to be puniſhed as traytors. Upon which an engagement happens between the partiſans of the two princes, in which many were ſlain, and the emperor himſelf, with his mother, had their heads cut off, and their bodies dragged about the city, and then thrown into the *Tyber* the 11th of *March*, aged about 18, having reigned 3 years, 9 months and 4 days. The ſenate order the name of *Antoninus*, which he had aſſumed, to be eraſed out of the public regiſters, *&c.* the ſoldiers proclaimed *Alexander* emperor, which was confirmed to him by the ſenate, who was born at *Area* in *Phœnicia*; his mother *Mamæa* is ſuppoſed to be a chriſtian, or at leaſt a favourer of them, and brought him up with great care, and when advanced to the empire, he would not ſuffer the *Chriſtians* to be perſecuted; and cauſed the famous rule, *Do as you would be done by*, to be ſet over the gates of his palace, and on many other public edifices, and ſquared all his actions thereby; made ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of the governors of the provinces, and baniſhed thoſe who had miſbehaved, and ſupply'd their places with the moſt virtuous and fit perſons, *&c.* the like he did in all the public offices of the empire	VI	139
4528	3221	222	The *Romans* pay the *Goths* an annual ſum to keep them quiet	VII	493
4529	3222	223	The emperor married *Sulpicia Memmia*, daughter of *Sulpicius*, and grand-daughter of *Catullus*; the nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence	VI	139
4532	3225	226	*Artaxerxes* having ſettled himſelf upon the *Perſian* throne, and taken the name of *King of Kings*, and conceiving himſelf to have an undeniable title, as ſucceſſor to *Cyrus*, to all the leſſer *Aſia*, commanded all the *Roman* generals immediately to quit thoſe provinces; raiſes a great army, and invades them; *Alexander* raiſes a great army to oppoſe him; and while he was at or near *Meſopotamia*, *Artaxerxes* ſends 400 choſen men, richly dreſs'd, of great ſtature and ſtrength, and commiſſions them to ſay to the emperor, That the great king *Artaxerxes* commands the *Romans* and their prince to depart out of all *Syria* and *Aſia Minor*; &c. the emperor orders the equipage of theſe embaſſadors to be taken from them, and ſends them into *Phrygia* to cultivate farms there for their ſubſiſtence, and then advanced and recovered *Meſopotamia* without oppoſition *Artaxerxes* meets *Alexander* with 120000 horſe, 10000 heavy-arm'd ſoldiers, 1800		

chariots

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			chariots armed with ſcythes, 700 elephants, and an innumerable number of foot; but is defeated by the *Romans*, and forced to retire into the heart of *Perſia*. The *Roman* army was divided into three parts, one of which going into *Armenia*, grew ſo licentious, that they ſlew their general *Flavius*, and then became an eaſy prey to *Artaxerxes*		
4534	3227	228	The emperor *Alexander* having advanced *Domitius Ulpianus*, a famous civilian, to be captain of the Prætorian Guards, who endeavouring to reſtore the ancient diſcipline, ſo exaſperated them, that they murdered him in the preſence of the emperor; the principals were puniſhed with death, and the moſt noted of the factious ſoldiers ignominiouſly diſcharged. The troops quartered in *Meſopotamia* mutinied, murdered their general, and revolted to the *Perſians*. The troops in *Syria* proclaimed one *Taurinus* emperor, who refuſed the offer, and flying from among them, being purſued, threw himſelf into the *Euphrates*, and was drown'd. At *Rome* the prætorian guards would have ſet up one *Antoninus* to be emperor, but he modeſtly withdrew, and never appeared in the city again; but one *Ovinius Camillus*, ſtriveing to ingratiate himſelf with the ſoldiers, *&c.* *Alexander* ſends for him, and allows him to be his partner in the empire; who ſoon after reſigned	IV	226
4535	3228	229	The emperor *Alexander* and *Dion Caſſius* are conſuls at *Rome* this year, he puniſhes his favourite *Vetronius Turinus* with death, for abuſing his power, and for extortion, *&c.*	VI	140
4539	3232	233	*Artaxerxes* the *Perſian* having made himſelf maſter of *Meſopotamia*, &c. *Alexander* goes againſt him, and defeats his mighty army, and returns to *Rome*, and triumphs with great magnificence	VI	145
4540	3233	234	The *Alemans*, &c. having paſſed the *Rhine*, and ſeized the forts built on the banks of that river, entered *Gaul*, and committed moſt horrid ravages	VI	144
4541	3234	235	The emperor *Alexander* going to ſuppreſs the mutinous *Germans*, one *Maximinus*, by nation a *Goth*, whom *Alexander* had raiſed to the command of a body of *Pomeranians*, conſpires againſt him, murders his mother *Mamæa*, and what few ſoldiers the emperor had with him, and then they killed him in his tent, being twenty-ſix years, five months, and nineteen days old, highly lamented of all, in the 14th year of his reign	VII	589
4541	3234	235	*Maximinus*, upon the death of *Alexander*, was proclaimed emperor by his *Pannonian* troops; and the reſt of the ſoldiers, ſeeing no other candidate, joined them, and took the uſual oaths to him; upon which he declared his ſon *Maximinus*, *Cæſar* and prince of the *Roman* youth, and inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and his colleague in the empire, which the ſenate confirmed. He was of very mean extract, but being eight foot ſix inches tall, and every way proportionable, his natural ſtrength was ſo great as to tear up trees by the roots, crumble pebbles between his fingers, *&c.* could eat 60 lb. of Fleſh, and drink ſix gallons of wine at a meal, without being guilty of any exceſs. He diſplaced all the officers of *Alexander*, and put in all his own creatures, and murdered all thoſe who knew him in, and had been inſtrumental in raiſing him from his low condition. One *Magnus*, a conſular, conſpired with ſome of *Alexander*'s ſoldiers, to expoſe him to the enemy, for which he maſſacred 4000 of them without trial or examination: This exaſperated the *Oſrhoenians* ſo much, that they revolted, and proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor; but one *Macedo* murdered him in his tent, and carried his herd to *Maximinus*, who cauſed the meſſenger to be executed, and all things were again quiet	VI	152
4541	3234	235	*Maximinus* enters *Germany*, at the head of a mighty army, and ravaged the country far and wide, burnt their habitations, carried off their cattle, and took an incredible number of priſoners, and killed abundance of people in ſeveral battles	VII	589
4543	3236	237	*Maximinus* goes againſt the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, and gains ſeveral victories over them, and obliged them to ſubmit to his own terms. At *Rome* being monſtrouſly cruel, and inſatiably avaricious, he encouraged informers, made plots, and condemned without diſtinction of age, or ſex, or quality, all the accuſed, and ſeized the confiſcated eſtates *&c.*	VI	153
4543	3236	237	The people revolt in *Africa* from *Maximinus*, and proclaim *Gordianus*, at that time their proconſul, emperor. *Gordianus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, was immenſely rich, and extreamly beloved both in *Rome* and in the provinces, many of which he had governed; but being upwards of 80 years of age, begs to be excuſed; but the people will take no denial, whereupon he aſſociated his ſon (whoſe name was alſo *Gordianus)* with him in the empire. He goes to *Carthage*, and writes to the ſenate; they confirm him and his ſon, and publiſh a great reward for any one to murder *Maximinus*. The people pull down all his ſtatues, uttering dreadful execrations againſt him and his ſon: The ſenate paſs ſentence upon all his friends, and the miniſters of his cruelty, and many of them were maſſacred by the enraged populace at *Rome*, and in all the other provinces. It being reported the two *Maximinuſes* were killed, the ſoldiers ſubmit to the two *Gordians*. *Maximinus* hearing of theſe commotions, marches with his army out of *Thrace* into *Italy*: In the mean time *Capelianus*, governor of *Mauritania*, comes with a great army to *Carthage*, engages the young *Gordianus*, kills him, and cuts off all his army, and the old one upon the news thereof ſtrangled himſelf, after having reigned one month and ſix days. Upon this the ſenate at *Rome* proclaims *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus* and *Decimus Cælius Balbinus* joint emperors. *Maximus* marches againſt *Maximinus*, who threatened deſtruction to all oppoſers. Through raſhneſs a quarrel was kindled between the ſoldiers and people at *Rome*, that occaſioned the loſs of abundance of lives, and the deſtruction of great part of the city by fire, plunder, *&c.*	VI	151

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4544	3237	238	*Maximinus's* ſoldiers begin to mutiny, and he puniſhes the ringleaders with great ſeverity, which exaſperates the reſt. He beſieges *Aquileia*, which baffles all his attempts; he uſes the officers ill, and at laſt the *Albanian* ſoldiers go reſolutely at noon day, and kill both the *Maximins* in their tents, and cutting off their heads ſent them to *Rome*, and threw their bodies into the river. They likewiſe killed *Anolinus*, his captain of the guards, and moſt of his friends, having reigned three years and ſome days, and the whole army ſubmitted to *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, who reigned with great humanity, juſtice, gentleneſs, and impartiality	VI	159
4544	3237	238	The prætorian guards pretending they had loſt their privilege of nominating the emperors, come to the palace, ſeize and murder both the emperors, who had reigned only one year and two months, and proclaim young *Gordian* emperor, who was called the ſon of the ſenate, the child of the ſoldiery, and the darling of the people	VI	161
4544	3237	238	The *Carpi* break into *Mæſia*, and having ravaged the province, utterly deſtroy the city of *Iſtria*, and return unmoleſted	VII	607
4544	3237	238	The *Goths* break into *Mæſia*, and lay the whole province waſte, to revenge the death of the emperor *Maximinus*, who was of *Gothick* extraction, and had been murdered by his own ſoldiers	VII	493
4545	3238	239	Young *Gordianus*, now but 14 years old, is conſul, and exhibits magnificent ſports, to pleaſe the people	VI	161
4546	3239	240	*Sabinianus* revolts in *Africa*, and proclaims himſelf emperor of *Rome*, *&c.* but by the diligence of the governor of *Mauritania*, *Sabinianus* is delivered up, and the uproar is quieted	VI	161
4547	3240	241	The emperor is a ſecond time conſul, and marries *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, daughter of *Miſitheus*, a man of great learning, virtue, and integrity, by whoſe advice the emperor diſcharged and baniſhed from the court *Maurus* and other great officers, who had abuſed their truſt	VI	161
4547	3240	241	A dreadful earthquake overturns a great many cities, and deſtroyed an infinite number of people	VI	162
4548	3241	242	*Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia* having now ſettled his empire, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Sapores*, or *Sapor*, who makes war upon the *Romans*, by the advice of one *Cyriades*, ſon of a *Roman* general of that name, who having many followers, takes the cities of *Antioch* and *Cæſarea Philippi*; upon which *Cyriades* takes the names of *Cæſar*, and afterwards of emperor	IV	326
4548	3241	242	The emperor ſets out from *Rome* to quell the revolt in the eaſt, and paſſing through *Mæſia*, the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* oppoſe him, and he defeats them, and forces them to abandon their conqueſts, and to return home, was overcome in a tumultuary engagement with the *Alani*, but was no great loſer: Afterwards he overcame the *Perſians* in ſeveral battles, recovered *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ*, and obliged *Sapor* to abandon the *Roman* dominions	VI	163
4548	3241	242	The emperor *Gordian* obliges the *Sarmatians* and *Goths* to quit *Mæſia*, and retire beyond the *Danube*	VII	607
4549	3242	243	*Miſitheus*, the emperor's father-in-law, dies, and is ſucceeded as captain of the guards, and commander in chief of all the army under the emperor, by one *Philip* who ſtirs up the ſoldiers to mutiny, and to depoſe *Gordian*, whom *Philip* ordered to be murdered in the furtheſt borders of *Perſia* on the 14th of *March*, when he had reigned five years and eight months, in the 19th year of his age, and *Philip* reigned in his ſtead, who was an *Arabian* by birth, of very mean extract, but is ſaid to be the firſt *Chriſtian* emperor. He wrote to the ſenate, who immediately confirmed his title; he took his ſon for his colleague, though but ſeven years old. *Philip* concludes a peace with the *Perſians*, goes to *Rome*, and is received with all poſſible tokens of joy by the ſenate and people	VI	166
4550	3243	244	*Philip* is conſul at *Rome* for the firſt time, and goes againſt the *Carpi*, who had invaded *Mæſia*, and laid waſte great part of that province, overthrew them in two battles, and obliged them to repaſs the *Danube*, and ſue for peace, which he granted them, and then returned to *Rome*	VI	166
4551	3244	245	*Oſtrogotha* king of the *Goths* beſieges *Marcianopolis*, the capitol of *Mæſia*; but for a large ſum of money paid him by the inhabitants, he raiſes the ſiege and goes home	VII	494
4551	3244	245	The *Gepidæ* (a *Gothic* nation) under the conduct of their king *Faſtida*, gain a complete victory over the *Burgundians*, and almoſt extirpate them	VII	595
4552	3245	246	An accidental fire happens at *Rome*, whereby *Pompey*'s theatre, and another building called *Centum Columnæ*, or the hundred pillars, were burnt	VI	166
4552	3245	246	*Philip* and his ſon were conſuls this and the following year, whom he honoured with the title of *Auguſtus*, and inveſted him with the tribunitial power, to celebrate with the greater pomp the 1000th year of *Rome*, which begun the following year the 21ſt of *April*, 247. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at *Rome*. and publick ſhews exhibited for ten days together, *&c.* *Philip* publiſhed an edict, forbidding unnatural luſt, under the ſevereſt penalties	VI	166
4554	3247	248	The eaſtern provinces being grievouſly oppreſſed by *Priſcus* their governor, revolt from *Rome*, and ſet up one *Papianus* for emperor; but he being killed, all was ſoon quiet again. *Mæſia* and *Pannonia* revolt, and ſet up one *P. Corvillus Marinus*; but being an unfit perſon, his own creatures murdered him ſoon after. *Philip* recals his father-in-law, who was governor of *Pannonia*, and ſends one *Decius*, a noble ſenator, againſt his will in his ſtead, and immediately the ſoldiers proclaimed *Decius* emperor	VI	167
4554	3247	248	*Faſtida* enters the territories of the *Goths*, and begins to lay them waſte; upon which king *Oſtrogotha* returns out of *Mæſia*, meets *Faſtida*, and gives him a complete overthrow	VII	596

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4555	3248	249	*Philip* goes againſt *Decius*; they engage; *Philip* is defeated, and flies to *Verona*, where he is killed, the 18th *June*, having reigned 5 years, 3 months, and ſome days; upon hearing whereof the prætorian guards at *Rome* kill his ſon. The *Chriſtian* religion was publickly preached during his reign. *Decius* is again proclaimed by the ſoldiery emperor, and ſoon after by the ſenate and people, by birth a *Pannonian*, of a good family, and an excellent prince; he declares his ſon *Decius Cæſar*, and raiſed the moſt cruel perſecution againſt chriſtianity the church ever underwent			
4556	3249	250	The *Goths* under their king *Cniva* inveſted with 70,000 men the city of *Euſterium*; but being gallantly repulſed by *Gallus*, they went to *Nicopolis*, another city of *Lower Mæſia*. Young *Decius* fell upon them, and cut 30,000 of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire beyond mount *Hemus*. Soon after being recruited, they came before *Philippopolis*, againſt whom *Decius* marches again, but *Cniva* falling upon him at unawares, the *Romans* were all cut to pieces, and *Decius* ſaved himſelf by flight, upon which *Cniva* took *Philippopolis*, and put 100,000 ſouls to the ſword, ravaged *Thrace* and great part of *Macedon*. *Priſcus*, who was governor in *Macedon*, joined the enemy, and proclaimed himſelf emperor	VI	168
4557	3250	251	The emperor *Decius* and his ſon *Decius* are conſuls this year, and gain ſeveral battles againſt the *Goths*; the ſenate declare *Priſcus* a public enemy, who was ſlain; the emperor gives the ſenate leave to chuſe a cenſor, who nominate *Valerian* to that office; the emperor again obtained great advantages over the *Goths*, who offered to reſign all their booty, if he would let them return home; but he, bent upon utterly deſtroying them, goes againſt them with his whole army, and after a long and bloody battle, himſelf and ſon are both killed, and a great part of his army cut to pieces: upon which the remaining ſoldiers proclaimed *Gallus* emperor, which the ſenate confirm'd. *Gallus* concludes a peace with the *Goths*, and agrees to pay them a yearly ſum	VII VI	494 171
4558	3251	252	*Gallus* and his ſon *Voluſianus* are conſuls, and revive the edicts of the late emperor againſt the *Chriſtians*, which are put in execution with the utmoſt rigour; a terrible plague breaks out firſt in *Ethiopia*, and ſpreads all over the *Roman* provinces, ſweeping off prodigious numbers of people, as well at *Rome* as elſewhere. A great famine, general drought, and univerſal wars raged every where	VI	171
4558	3251	252	The *Goths*, &c. break into *Mæſia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-run *Aſia* and the *Perſians* lay waſte *Syria*, and take *Antioch*; *Æmilianus*, governor in *Mæſia*, drove out the *Barbarians* with great loſs, and forced them to quit the *Roman* dominions; upon which he proclaimed himſelf emperor, and marched directly into *Italy*. *Gallus* and his ſon meet him at *Interamna*, now *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*, with a gallant army; but their own ſoldiers murder them both, after a reign of one year and ſix months, and go over to *Æmilianus*, whom the ſenate confirm; he was by birth a *Moor*, of very mean deſcent	VI	171
4559	3252	253	The *Goths* enter the *Roman* territories; but being engaged by *Æmilianus*, they are defeated, and drove quite out of the empire	VII	494
4559	3252	253	*Valerian*'s army, upon hearing of the death of *Gallus*, proclaim their own general emperor; upon which *Valerian* comes into *Italy*, where *Æmilianus*'s army firſt killed him at *Spoletum*, after reigning four months, and then declared for *Valerian*, whom the ſenate confirmed with great joy, and gave the title of *Cæſar* to his ſon *Gallienus*. *Valerian* was nobly deſcended, and highly eſteemed and greatly beloved by all degrees, for his many great virtues and excellent qualifications. He enacted many excellent laws, and greatly reformed the diſorders of thoſe times, and advanced only men of merit	VI	173
4560	3253	254	*Valerian* and his ſon *Gallienus* are conſuls this year, and he alſo takes *Gallienus* a partner with him in the empire	VI	173
4560	3253	254	The *Franks* or *Sicambri*, (for the firſt time) inhabitants of *Weſtphalia*, &c. make an irruption into *Gaul*, with a ſmall army, and commit dreadful havock and ravages; but being oppoſed by *Aurelian* the tribune, he kills 700, takes 300, and ſells them for ſlaves, and obliges the reſt to quit their booty and retire	VII	551
4561	3254	255	*Valerian* and his ſon *Gallienus* are again conſuls; *Gallienus* obtains a great victory over the revolted *Germans*, and thereupon takes the title of *Germanicus Maximus*	VI	173
4562	3255	256	The *Franks*, &c. break into *Gaul*, but are entirely defeated by *Gallienus*, who for this victory was ſirnamed *Germanicus*	VII	552
4562	3255	256	The *Alemans* ſuddenly break into *Gaul* and *Italy*; in *Gaul* they were defeated, and forced to repaſs the *Rhine*. In *Italy* they advanced as far as *Milan*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword	VII	588
4562	3255	256	The *Heruli* firſt began to invade the empire, but are driven back by *Gallienus*	VII	599
4562	3255	256	The *Goths*, &c. again enter the empire, and lay it waſte, *&c.*	VII	495
4563	3256	257	*Aurelian*, who was afterwards emperor, drove the *Goths* out of *Illyricum* with great ſlaughter, and took abundance of priſoners	VII	495
4563	3156	257	The eighth terrible perſecution broke out againſt the *Chriſtians*, that laſted three years, during which they ſuffered the moſt extravagant tortures and ſhameful deaths the malice of their enemies could invent	VI	173
4563	3256	257	*Aurelian* drove the *Goths* out of *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, took an incredible number of them priſoners, and purſued them beyond the *Danube*; laid their country waſte, and returned to *Mæſia* loaded with ſpoil; and *Probus* was as ſucceſsful againſt the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*	VI	173
4563	3256	257	The *Quadians* join the *Sarmatians*, and break into *Illyricum*, and ravage part of it, but are defeated by *Probus*	VII	603
4566	3259	260	The *Franks*, &c. break into *Gaul*, and having ravaged the moſt wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into *Italy*	VII	552

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4566	3259	260	The *Quadians* make a ſudden irruption into *Pannonia*, but *Regillianus*, the *Roman* commander in that country, attacking them, gained ſeveral victories in one day	VI	603
4566	3259	260	*Valerian* having recovered great part of *Syria*, engages *Sapores*, is treacherouſly taken priſoner, and uſed in the moſt ignominious manner poſſible by *Sapores*, king of *Perſia*; who, upon his death, flea'd him, dy'd his ſkin red, and expoſed it in one of his temples	IV	327
4566	3259	260	*Ingenuus* proclaims himſelf emperor in *Pannonia*; *Gallienus* goes againſt him, overcomes him, and puts all the males in *Mæſia* to death for joining him. Upon which the troops of *Ingenuus*, and the inhabitants that eſcaped, declared *Q. Nonius Regillianus* emperor, by birth, a *Dacian*, and deſcended from king *Decebalus*; he gained conſiderable advantages over the *Sarmatians*, but his own men fearing *Gallienus*, revolted from and murdered him, and ſubmitted to *Gallienus*. *M. Caſſius Labienus Poſthumius*, governor of *Gaul*, revolted; he was but of mean extract, but had excellent qualifications; for which the ſoldiers under his command proclaimed him emperor; he beſieged *Cologn*, and took *Sylvanus*, governor of *Salonius*, ſon of *Gallienus*, and his ward, and put them both to death. *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain* acknowledge him; he reigned ſeven years with ſo much gentleneſs and equity, that he was even adored; he drove the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and freed it from all the calamities of war	VI	175
4567	3260	261	*Odenatus* aſſiſted by *Baliſta* engages the *Perſians*, frequently defeats them, and among other ſpoils takes *Sapores*'s wives priſoners. This greatly mortified him; ſo that entering *Syria*, he took *Antioch*, and levelled all the publick buildings of that ſtately city; then went into *Cilicia*, and plundered *Tarſus* the capital; goes into *Cappadocia*, and took *Cæſarea*, and cut the inhabitants, to the number of 400,000 to pieces, but *Odenatus* and *Baliſta* falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged *Sapores* to pay the *Roman* gariſon all the *Syrian* money he had amaſſed for leave to return home	VI	178
4567	3260	261	One *Macrianus*, by birth an *Egyptian*, by the aſſiſtance of *Baliſta*, is declared emperor. *Egypt* and other eaſtern countries ſubmit to him at *Alexandria*. The contentions roſe ſo high, that commerce and converſe was ſtopped, and this introduced a general famine and terrible plague, ſo that the numerous inhabitants were ſoon reduced to a ſmall number. *Valens* being ſent as proconſul into *Greece*, took the title of emperor likewiſe. *Macrianus* ſends *Piſo* againſt him to ſuppreſs him; but *Piſo* ſets up for himſelf, and would be emperor likewiſe, but was ſoon killed by ſome of *Valen*'s ſoldiers. *Valens* had the ſame fate a few days afterwards. The *Illyrican* ſoldiers ſet up *Manius Acilius Aureolus* to be emperor. From *Illyricum* he goes into *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Milan*. *Gallienus* goes againſt him, but is at length obliged to make a truce with him	VI	180
4567	3260	261	The *Scythians* break into *Bithynia*, lay the country waſte, level ſeveral cities with the ground, and carry off vaſt booty and a great number of captives. In *Sicily* great bands of robbers or banditti commit terrible ravages and devaſtations, which coſt a great deal of blood to ſuppreſs	VI	180
4568	3261	262	*Odenatus* takes the name of king of *Palmyra*, and *Gallienus* made him commander of all the *Roman* troops in the eaſt. *Odenatus* deſirous to deliver *Valerian* from his ſhameful ſlavery, engages *Sapores*, defeats him, and forces him to take ſhelter in *Cteſiphon*, his metropolis, where he beſieged him, and defeated the *Perſians* ſeveral times who came to his relief, and took ſeveral of the great men priſoners, which he ſent to *Gallienus*	VI	181
4568	3261	262	Many parts of the empire of *Rome* are overcaſt with thick clouds, and a great darkneſs for ſeveral days together, attended with a dreadful earthquake, and terrifying claps of thunder, the earth opening in many places, and ſwallowing up the people and their habitations, the ſea ſwelling uncommonly, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities, and the plague raged with great violence in *Egypt*. *Greece* and *Rome*, at which laſt place it ſwept off 5000 perſons a day for ſome time	VI	180
4568	3261	262	*Macrianus* comes from *Syria* towards *Italy* with 45,000 men. Meets and engages *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and himſelf and ſon being killed, what ſoldiers were left liſt under *Aureolus*; and *Odenatus* has his ſon *Quietus*'s head cut off; upon which *Baliſta* aſſumes the title of emperor, and puts the inhabitants of *Emeſa* almoſt all to the ſword for refuſing it to him. At the ſame time *Æmilianus* ſets up for emperor in *Egypt*; ſeizes all the granaries in *Alexandria*, and cauſes a famine in ſeveral provinces	VI	181
4568	3261	262	*Gallienus* and *Aureolus* goes againſt *Poſthumius*, who had now reigned undiſturbed three years in *Gaul*, one while one party, and anon the other get the advantage, which ſpins out the war	VI	181
4568	3261	262	The *Goths* ravage *Aſia*, *&c.* and plunder the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*	VII	495
4569	3262	263	*Gallienus* goes into the eaſt, and being admitted within the walls of *Byzantium*, contrary to his expreſs oath and agreement, put the gariſon and inhabitants to the ſword; he returned to *Rome*, and triumphed tho' he had fought no battle. This year *P. Sempronius Saturninus* was proclaimed emperor, and did great feats againſt the Barbarians; but upon account of the ſtrictneſs of his diſcipline, was murdered by his own ſoldiers that had raiſed him	VI	181
4569	3262	263	*Gallienus* ſends *Theodotus*, a native of *Egypt*, againſt *Æmilianus*, who now reigned in *Egypt*. *Theodotus* overcomes him, and ſent him priſoner to *Rome*, where he was ſtrangled by the emperor's orders	VI	181
4570	3263	264	*Gallienus* rewards *Odenatus* for his exploits againſt the *Perſians* with the titles of *Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*, and *Emperor*, and took him in partner with him in the empire. *Baliſta*, who held ſome provinces in the eaſt, was killed by a ſoldier ſent by *Odenatus* for that purpoſe	VI	182

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4571	3264	265	The *Iſaurians* revolting in *Aſia minor*, choſe *C. Annius Trebellianus* for their leader, who took the title of *Auguſtus*, coin'd money, and reigned ſometime in *Iſauria* and *Cilicia*, but was ſoon after defeated and killed in battle. But the *Iſaurians* maintained their freedom and independency many years after — —	VI	182
4571	3264	265	The *Goths* conquer *Dacia*, which had been made a *Roman* province by *Trajan* —	VII	614
4571	3264	265	The *Franks* having ravaged *Gaul*, paſs into *Spain*, where they take by ſtorm and plunder *Tamaco*, the principal city of many provinces — —	VII	552
4572	3265	266	*Odenatus* enters the *Perſian* territories, and puts all to fire and ſword, overcame *Sapor* in ſeveral battles, *&c.* — — —	VI	182
4572	3265	266	The *Goths* over-run *Aſia-Minor*, *Lydia*, *Pontus*, *&c.* ravage the country, deſtroy the houſes, palaces, churches, temples, *&c.* and uſe the people cruelly, and carry off an immenſe booty, and vaſt numbers of captives — —	VII	495
4573	3266	267	The *Heruli* in 500 ſhips paſs from the *Palus Mæotis* to the *Euxine* ſea, and landed at *Byzantium* and *Chryſopolis*, where they were defeated by *Venerianus*; but rallying, they croſs the *Boſphorus*, ſurprize and plunder *Cyzicus*, and great part of *Aſia*, with the iſlands *Lemnos* and *Scyros*; then coming into *Greece*, they burn *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*: In their retreat the *Athenians* fall upon and cut great numbers of them to pieces; but as the remainder returned homeward, they committed great ravages in *Bæotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace*. *Gallienus* overtakes and engages them in *Illyricum*, and overthrows them with great ſlaughter, and purſues them, cuts 30,000 to pieces as they attempted to croſs the river, and took *Naulobat* their king priſoner — — —	VII	599
4573	3266	267	Many of the *Goths* are drowned by the *Roman* fleet, as they were returning home with their prey out of *Aſia*, *&c.* — — —	VI	183
4573	3266	267	*Odenatus* and his eldeſt ſon *Herod* are ſlain, and his wife *Zenobia* reigns by the name of queen of the eaſt, guardian of her four ſons, whom ſhe arrayed in purple garments and the other enſigns of royalty, acting independantly, and inſtead of aſſiſting the *Roman* army ſent by *Gallienus*, oppoſed, defeated, and obliged it to return home — — —	VI	183
4573	3266	267	One *Ælianus* took the title of emperor at *Mentz*, who was ſoon overcome by *Poſthumius*, who reduced the rebellious city, but reſtraining his men from plundering it, they mutiny, and kill him and his ſon, and *Lollianus* is proclaimed emperor in his ſtead, but was ſoon after murdered by his ſoldiers for the ſtrictneſs of his diſcipline, upon whoſe death *Victorinus* (the partner of *Poſthumius*) became maſter of all *Gaul*, but was ſoon after murdered at *Cologn*, by one whoſe wife he had debauched, and the *Gauls* ſet up *M. Aurelius Marius*, who was killed the third day, and then the *Gauls* ſet up *P. Piveſus Tetricus* for emperor, then governor of *Aquitain*; he was acknowledged in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain* — —	VI	184
4574	3267	268	The *Juthongians*, or *Alemans*, that dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, break into *Italy*, and rove near *Verona*: *Claudius* marches againſt them, and in a pitched battle defeats them with great ſlaughter, and forces them to quit their booty, and ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight — — —	VII	589
4574	3267	268	The firſt of *Claudius*'s reign the *Sueves*, *&c.* broke into *Italy*, and advanced as far as *Verona*; but being there encountred by the emperor, were intirely defeated — — —	VII	589
4574	3267	268	*Aureolus* being taken by *Gallienus* a partner with him in the empire, takes the opportunity of his being in the eaſt to march toward *Rome*, with an intent to make himſelf ſole emperor and depoſe *Gallienus*; but *Gallienus* hearing of his march, flies after him, overtakes, engages, and defeats him, follows him to *Milan*, and beſieges him, where *Gallienus*, the father and ſon, and *Valerian* and *Egnatius* his brothers were killed, upon which *Claudius* is proclaimed emperor; the ſenate declared *Gallienus* a publick enemy, and ordered moſt of his friends and miniſters to be thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock, and cauſed his name to be erazed out of the publick inſcriptions, having been one of the moſt wicked princes that ever reigned in *Rome* — — — —	VI	185
4574	3267	268	The ſenate received *Claudius*'s letter, acquainting them what had happened at *Milan* the 24th of *March*; they aſſemble immediately, and confirm *Claudius* emperor, upon which he attacked *Aureolus*, and took him priſoner, whom the ſoldiers killed without orders; then went againſt the *Germans*, and defeated them with incredible ſlaughter, and drove the remainder out of *Italy*, then returns to *Rome*, and ſpends the remaining part of the year in reforming the ſtate — — — —	VI	186
4575	3268	269	*Zenobia* overcomes *Probus*, a *Roman* commander in *Egypt*, and takes and deſtroys *Bruchium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*, upon which *Probus* kills himſelf —	VI	187
4575	3268	269	The *Goths*, *Heruli*, *&c.* invade the *Roman* empire with a great fleet and an army of 320,000 men, which are repulſed, beaten, and almoſt all deſtroyed by the emperor *Claudius*, partly by the ſword, and partly by famine — —	VII	496
4576	3269	270	The *Goths* enter and ravage *Pannonia*, but being engaged by the emperor *Aurelian*, paſs the *Danube* in the night, ſue for peace, and have it granted —	VII	497
4576	3269	270	*Claudius* prepares to go againſt *Zenobia*, but is prevented by a terrible plague that breaks out in his army, of which great part and himſelf die, at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, having reigned two years and one month; the ſenate paid him divine honours, and hung up a golden ſhield, with his image on it, in the place of their aſſembly, to keep the good he had done always in their minds —	VI	187
4576	3269	270	The ſenate proclaim *Quintillus* the brother of *Claudius* emperor, then at *Aquileia*, who was murdered by his ſoldiers, after a reign of 17 days, for attempting to introduce too ſevere a diſcipline; upon which the ſenate confirm the election of *Aurelian*, a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean deſcent, but admired for his great ſtrength and courage — —	VI	188

Y. of world.	Y. of flood.	Y. of Chriſt.		Vol.	Pag.
4576	3269	270	*Aurelian* comes to *Rome*, and by his great ſeverity gets the diſlike of both ſenate and people; he began the repairing and extending the walls of the city to 50 miles in compaſs	VI	189
4576	3269	270	The *Alemans* return into *Italy*, and commit great ravages, going as far as *Placentia* before *Aurelian* could come up with them: As the emperor approached they concealed themſelves in the neighbouring woods, whence ſallying out upon him in the night, they obtained a complete victory; but the emperor having got freſh recruits, overthrew them at *Fano*, and ſuch as eſcaped this battle were intirely defeated by two others that quickly followed	VII	590
4577	3270	271	The *Vandals* paſſed the *Danube*, and having laid waſte great part of *Italy*, the emperor *Aurelian* goes againſt them, engages and overcomes them, cuts many of them to pieces, and obliges the reſt to ſue for peace, which he readily grants them	VII	528
4578	3271	272	*Aurelian* having ſettled peace at *Rome*, *Pannonia*, and *Italy*, goes into the eaſt againſt the famous *Zenobia*, ſaid to be well verſed in all the branches of polite literature and martial diſcipline, couragious, prudent, and wiſe, and a *Jeweſs* by religion. *Aurelian* in his way to *Syria* put ſeveral barbarous nations to flight, paſſed the *Danube*, engaged *Caunabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, and ſlew him and 5000 of his men; then going to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, they ſhut their gates againſt him, which ſo inraged him, that he ſwore he would not leave a dog alive in it: After a reſolute defence he took it, but ordered all the inhabitants to be ſaved, and all the dogs to be killed. From hence he went to *Antioch*, defeated *Zenobia*'s troops in its neighbourhood, and entered the city in triumph. He again defeated *Zenobia* near *Emeſa*, took the city, and followed her to *Palmyra*, where after a long ſiege and reſolute defence, *&c.* the queen is taken priſoner, and all ſubmit to *Aurelian*	VI	191
4579	3272	273	*Sapores* king of *Perſia* having been lately defeated by *Aurelian* emperor of *Rome*, upon his return home died, after having reigned 31 years, and was ſucceeded by *Hormiſdas*, who having reigned one year and ten days, died in peace	IV	329
4579	3272	273	As ſoon as *Aurelian* was gone, *Palmyra* revolts, ſets up one *Antiochus*, and put the *Roman* governor and gariſon to the ſword: *Aurelian* goes back into *Syria*, and came ſuddenly to *Palmyra*, put all the inhabitants, old and young, rich and poor, male and female to the ſword. Soon after *Egypt* revolted, and ſet up one *Firmus* to be emperor, a native of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, but who had a vaſt eſtate in *Egypt*: *Aurelian* goes againſt and defeated him, ſtormed a ſtrong hold to which he fled, took it and him, and ordered him to be publickly executed, and ſo ſettled peace in the eaſt, and returned to *Europe*, and fighting with *Tetricus* near *Chalon* on the *Marne*, *Tetricus* ſurrendered himſelf, and his troops being cut to pieces, all *Gaul* was again united to the *Roman* empire; and *Aurelian* returned to *Rome*, and had the moſt magnificent triumph ever ſeen	VI	192
4579	3272	273	The *Franks* make an irruption into *Gaul*, but being attacked by the emperor *Aurelian*, they are driven back with great ſlaughter, *&c.*	VII	553
4580	3273	274	*Hormiſdas* king of *Perſia* dying, is ſucceeded by *Varanes*, who reigned over the *Perſians* three years	IV	329
4580	3273	274	*Aurelian*'s triumph being over, he entertained the people with magnificent ſhews, *&c.* for many days, and uſed his royal and noble captives with humanity and generoſity: To *Zenobia* he gave lands in *Tivoli*, to maintain her ſuitable to her rank, and beſtowed her daughters in marriage to the greateſt men in *Rome*; he made *Tetricus* governor of *Lucania*, and paid him high honours, and allowed his ſon young *Tetricus* to remain among the ſenators, *&c.*	VI	193
4580	3273	274	*Aurelian* ſtaid this year at *Rome*, and ſpent it in regulating the ſtate, and reforming abuſes, and doing every thing that might endear him to the people, by forgiving debts, beſtowing gifts, *&c.* He built a moſt magnificent temple to the ſun, and embelliſhed it with golden veſſels weighing 1500 pounds weight. The moneyers having abuſed their truſt, and coined a great deal of falſe money, to prevent their puniſhment bred a ſedition, ſo that the emperor was forced to ſend his troops againſt them, who after killing 7000, were overcome, and puniſhed with great ſeverity. The emperor called in all the bad money, and exchanged it for good money	VI	194
4580	3273	274	*Aurelian* withdraws his troops out of *Dacia*, and carries moſt of the natives with him, ſettling them in *Mæſia* and *Dardania*, and called their habitation *New Dacia*	VI	194
4580	3273	274	The *Roman* emperor *Aurelian*, retiring from *Dacia*, the *Goths* re-enter and ſettle there	VII	498
4580	3273	274	The emperor goes into *Gaul*, and allays a commotion there, and forced the *Barbarians* to repaſs the *Danube* that were come into *Vindelicia*, and rebuilt the city of *Orleans*; then going into *Illyricum*, gave the inhabitants of *Dacia* that were driven out by the *Barbarians* part of *Mæſia* and *Dardania* to ſettle in	VI	195
4581	3274	275	*Mneſtheus*, one of *Aurelians* freedmen and ſecretaries, being afraid of his maſter's reſentment againſt his extortions, counterfeits his hand, wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers of the army, and told them he found it in the emperor's cloſet, and that they were all doomed to deſtruction; they believing it, fell upon and killed the emperor between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, at a place called *Cænophrurium* (or the *New Caſtle*) the 25th of *January*: Soon after his death the matter was diſcovered; upon which they threw *Mneſtheus* to the wild beaſts, built a magnificent tomb and temple to the murthered emperor in the place where he was killed, and the whole army ſolemnized his obſequies with the utmoſt pomp; all who were concerned in his death were cut to pieces on the ſpot, or executed by his ſucceſſors: The ſenate ranked him among the gods, and all bewailed his loſs	VI	19

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4581	3274	275	The army refer the chooſing a ſucceſſor to *Aurelian* to the ſenate, and they back again to the army, and ſo backwards and forwards three times, ſo that eight months was thus ſpun out when the ſenate choſe *Tacitus*, on the 25th of *September*, which the ſoldiers and people joyfully confirm: *Tacitus* the hiſtorian being his kinſman; the emperor ordered ten copies of his works to be tranſcribed annually, and laid up in the publick libraries: The publick rejoicings being over, he went into *Aſia*, and defeated ſeveral barbarous nations, and compelled them to return home		
4581	3274	275	The *Goths* enter *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Ciliſia*, in order to ſettle in thoſe countries; but the emperor *Tacitus* prevails upon ſome with money to return home, and thoſe that ſtaid behind were moſt of them cut to pieces by the emperor's brother *Florianus*, and the reſt drove quite out of the empire	VI	199
4582	3275	276	*Tacitus* dies at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*: As he was preparing to return to *Italy* he was taken ill of a violent diſtemper, ſay ſome; and killed by the ſoldiers, ſay other; when he had reigned only ſix months. *Florianus* his brother proclaims himſelf emperor, and is acknowledged by all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa*; but *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Egypt* declared for *Probus*, who was commander of all the forces in the eaſt. *Probus* comes againſt *Florianus*; *Florianus* is killed by his own men, after he had reigned two months, and all proclaim *Probus* at *Tarſus*	VII	498
4583	3276	277	*Probus* being acknowledged by the ſenate, and univerſally by all the provinces, he goes againſt the *Franks* and other *German* nations, who had broke into *Gaul*, and committed terrible ravages; but proving ſucceſsful in ſeveral battles, writes to the ſenate that nine kings lay proſtrate at his feet, that he had cut 400,000 of the *Barbarians* to pieces, and incorporated 16,000 among his own troops, that he had recovered ſixty great cities, and had intirely freed *Gaul*, and taken an immenſe ſpoil, *&c.*	VI	199
4583	3276	277	*Varanes* the I. king of *Perſia* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Varanes* II. who hearing the *Roman* emperor *Probus* was come into the eaſt, ſent ambaſſadors and preſents to him, and to treat of peace: *Probus* received them very haughtily, and refuſed the preſents, but granted them peace. In his return to *Rome* paſſing through *Thrace*, he gave lands to 100,000 *Baſtarnæ*, a *Scythian* people, who ever afterwards remained faithful to him. When the *Gepidæ*, *Juthongi*, and *Vandals* revolted, at *Rome* he triumphed, and entertained the people with all manner of diverſions	VI	200
4583	3276	277	The *Franks*, *&c.* croſſing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul*, reduced about 70 of the principal cities to their ſubjection; but *Probus* ſending ſome of his beſt generals againſt them, gave them a fatal overthrow, and obliged them to quit their booty and return home, whither he followed them, croſſing the *Rhine* after them, laid waſte their territories far and near, and even built forts in their country, which ſo terrified them, that nine of their kings ſubmitted to him, and ſued for peace, which he granted	IV	329
4583	3276	277	*Probus* the *Roman* emperor having gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians*, and *Vandals*, they ſue for peace, which he grants, upon condition they returned the booty and priſoners they had taken	VII	553
4584	3277	278	*Saturninus* being declared emperor by the *Egyptians*, *Probus* ſends ſome troops againſt him, who engage and put him to flight, and purſue, beſiege, and take him by ſtorm in *Apamea*, and put him and the whole garriſon to the ſword	VII	582
4584	3277	278	The *Goths* enter *Thrace*, ravage the country, and get great booty; but upon their hearing that the emperor *Probus* was coming againſt them, they retire precipitately and leave their plunder behind them	VI	202
4584	3277	278	The *Sarmatians* upon hearing of the emperor *Probus*'s marching againſt them, retire from *Thrace*, where they had committed great ravages, abandon the booty they had taken, and ſue for peace, which he grants	VII	498
4585	3278	279	The emperor *Probus* grants the *Sarmatians* lands in *Thrace*, upon their promiſe of living quietly like other ſubjects of the empire	VII	607
4586	3279	280	Some of thoſe *Franks Probus* had allotted lands to on the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea having ſeized ſome ſhips, ſailed to *Sicily*, took and plundered *Syracuſe*, and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and reimbarked with an immenſe booty for their own country	VII	596
4586	3279	280	*Proculus* and *Bonoſus* revolt; *Proculus* was declared emperor at *Cologn*, and acknowledged in *Narbonne-Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*: He defeated the *Alemanni* in ſeveral battles, but was overcome by *Probus*, who purſued him to the *Franks*, who ſurrendered him to *Probus*, who put him to death. *Bonoſus*, by birth a *Britain*, and the ſon of a common ſchool-maſter, having ſuffered through neglect the *Germans* to ſeize and burn the *Roman* fleet upon the *Rhine*, fearing to be puniſhed, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and fought ſeveral battles with *Probus*, but being at laſt reduced to great ſtraits, he killed himſelf	VII	533
4587	3280	281	*Probus* being every where at peace, employs the army in planting vineyards on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Mæſia*, and cutting a canal to drain the marſhes of *Sirmium* into the ſea, and in building and repairing ſeveral great cities	VI	202
4588	3281	282	The army being enraged againſt *Probus* for obliging them to work, fall upon and kill him in *Illyricum*, having reigned five years and four months, greatly lamented by the ſenate and people for his extraordinary goodneſs, courage, and ſucceſs. The army declared *Carus*, the then captain of the prætorian guards, emperor in his ſtead, whom the ſenate with ſome difficulty confirmed	VI	203

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4589	3282	283	The *Quadians* and *Sarmatians* break into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, and after ravaging thoſe provinces advanced towards *Italy*; but *Carus* meeting them gave them a total overthrow, killed 16,000, and took 20,000 priſoners	VII	603
4590	3284	283	The *Roman* emperor *Carus* goes againſt *Varanes* II. king of the *Perſians*, enters *Meſopotamia*, and carries all before him, and advanced even beyond *Cteſiphon*, the capital of *Perſia*; but *Carus* dying ſoon after, having reigned one year and four months, and his ſon *Numerianus* being proclaimed emperor, was by his father-in-law privately murdered, having reigned only eight months: The *Roman* army proclaimed *Diocleſian* emperor, (at that time commander of the late emperor's body-guards) at *Chalcedon*, the 17th of *September*	IV	330
4591	3284	285	*Diocleſian* coming to *Venitia*, overcame and ſlew there one *Julianus*, governor of that province, who had cauſed himſelf to be declared emperor	VI	207
4591	3284	285	*Diocleſian* and *Carinus* (the ſon of the late emperor *Carus*) have ſeveral battles in *Illyricum* for the empire; at laſt *Carinus* is killed, and *Diocleſian* univerſally acknowledged, after which he gained ſeveral advantages over the *Germans* and *Britains*	VI	207
4592	3285	286	*Diocleſian* takes *Maximian* for his colleague and partner in the empire; then he goes into the eaſt, to whom *Varanes* returned all *Armenia*, &c. and *Maximian* goes into *Gaul*, where he was very ſucceſsful	VI	208
4593	3286	287	*Carauſius*, a *Gaul* by nation, goes into *Britain*, and is proclaimed emperor, and ſupports himſelf with great bravery about ſeven years, when he was murdered by one *Alectus*, who proclaimed himſelf emperor	VII	434
4593	3286	287	The *Franks* join the *Saxon* pirates, and plunder the coaſts of *Gaul*, and carry off an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives	VII	553
4593	3286	287	The *Heruli* join the *Chaibons* and *Cavions*, enter *Gaul*, and lay waſte the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*; but *Maximian* gave them ſo fatal an overthrow, that there was ſcarce one left to carry home the news of their defeat	VII	597
4593	3286	287	The *Burgundians*, &c. break into *Gaul* afreſh, with prodigious numbers of men; but a famine and plague happening among them, they became an eaſy prey to *Maximian*, *Diocleſian*'s partner in the empire	VII	582
4594	3287	288	*Maximian* croſſing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and having laid the enemies country waſte all about, returned to *Gaul* with a prodigious booty, and a great number of captives	VII	554
4595	3288	289	*Maximian* allots lands to a great number of *Franks* and *Lætes*, who ſubmitted to him, in the neighbourhood of *Treves* and *Cambray*, which was almoſt diſpeopled by many battles and ravages	VII	554
4595	3288	289	The *Roman* emperor *Diocleſian* entirely deſtroys the *Sarmatians*, or *Goths*, and reunites *Dacia* to the empire	VII	498
4595	3288	289	*Maximian* ſends a large fleet againſt *Carauſius*, into *Britain*; *Carauſius* beats and deſtroys the whole fleet and army, and is by treaty ſettled governor and emperor in *Britain*	VI	208
4597	3290	291	A war broke out between the *Burgundians* and *Alemans*, in which the firſt got a great part of the latter's country	VII	582
4598	3291	292	The *Perſians* broke into *Meſopotamia*, and threatned *Syria*: Five nations join and over-ran *Aſia*; and *M. Aurelius Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and proclaimed himſelf emperor; and *Achillæus* did the ſame in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Upon this *Diocleſian* choſe *Maximinus Galerius* for his ſucceſſor in the eaſt; and *Maximian Conſtantius*, ſirnamed *Chlorus*, for his ſucceſſor in the weſt, and endowed each with the title of *Cæſar*, and the tribunitial and proconſular power: They put away their then wives, and *Conſtantius* married *Theodora* the daughter of *Maximian*, and *Galerius* the daughter of *Diocleſian*	VI	209
4598	3291	292	In this and ſome following years, *Galerius* orders ſeveral large foreſts to be grubbed up in *Lower Pannonia*, and a lake to be diſcharged into the ſea, which drained a vaſt tract of land, which he formed into a new province, and named after his wife *Valeria*. The chief cities were *Murſa*, *Aquincum*, and *Valeria*	VI	211
4598	3291	292	*Maximian* completely defeated the *Quinquegentiani* in *Africa*, and reduced *Julianus* in *Italy* to ſuch ſtraits, that he killed himſelf. *Conſtantius* beſieges and takes *Geſſoriacum*, or *Boulogne*, in *Gaul*, and incorporates all the gariſon into his troops	VI	211
4598	3291	292	*Carauſius* emperor in *Britain* is murdered by *Alectus*, his boſom friend and prime miniſter, who was proclaimed emperor in his ſtead, and held it three years	VII	434
4599	3292	293	*Conſtantius* cleared *Batavia* of the *Franks* that had ſettled there, and tranſplanted them with their wives and children into other parts of the empire that were deſtitute of inhabitants	VI	211
4600	3293	294	*Conſtantius* repaired and rebuilt, at an immenſe charge, with its former luſtre of temples, baths, &c. the famous city of *Auguſtodunum*, now called *Autun*, in *Gaul*, that in 269 had been deſtroyed by *Tetricus*	VI	211
4600	3293	294	*Varanes* II. dying, is ſucceeded by his ſon *Varanes* III. who having conquered a people called the *Segani*, incorporated them into his monarchy, and was called *Seganſaa*, or *Seganſhah*, but reigned only four months	IV	330
4600	3293	294	*Varanes* III. dies, and is ſucceeded by *Narſes*, who over-run *Meſopotamia*, &c. but *Galerius* defeated him in two battles, upon which *Galeriu* growing ſecure, *Narſes* falls unexpectedly upon him, cuts his army all to pieces, and recovers *Meſopotamia*, &c.	IV	331
4601	3294	295	The *Carpi* are entirely reduced by *Galerius*, and by *Diocleſian* tranſplanted into *Pannonia*, and other parts of the empire	VI	212
4602	3295	296	*Conſtantius* ſends *Aſclepiodotus* the captain of his guards with a fleet and an army into *Britain*; *Alectus* the then emperor there engages him, but is killed, and his army cut to pieces, ſo that *Conſtantius* again reunited *Britain* to the		

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			empire; and returning into *Gaul*, transplanted great numbers of *Franks* to people *Amiens*, *Beauvois*, *Troies*, and *Langres*, &c. — — —	VI	213
4602	3395	296	*Diocleſian* recovers *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, puts him and many others to death, and gave up *Alexandria* to be plundered by his ſoldiers for ſiding with him. The cities of *Coptos* and *Buſiris* in *Thebais* were utterly ruined for joining *Achilleus*	VI	213
4603	3396	297	*Maximianus* goes into *Africa*, and cuts the armies of the rebellious *Moors* to pieces, and forced them to deliver up their ſtrong holds, arms, &c. and tranſplanted them into other countries — — —	VI	213
4603	3396	297	*Narſes* king of *Perſia* takes all *Armenia* from the *Romans*, defeats *Galerius*, and cuts off his army, himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty — — —	VI	214
4607	3300	301	*Galerius* comes againſt *Narſes* again, and defeats him, takes all his baggage, and papers, his queen, ſiſters, children, and concubines; upon which he reſigns up five provinces to have peace and his queen again; but his ſiſters, children, and concubines, &c. are carried to grace a triumph at *Rome*; which vexed him ſo much, that he broke his heart and died with grief, and was ſucceeded by *Midates*, otherwiſe called *Hormiſdas* the ſecond — — —	IV	331
4607	3300	301	The *Alemant* invade *Gaul*, but *Conſtantius Chlorus* going againſt them, gained a complete victory, and cut off 60,000 of them — — —	VII	589
4609	3302	303	The 10th and laſt general perſecution of the *Chriſtians* breaks out the 23d of *February* this year, which raged ten years with a fury not to be expreſſed in or by words — — — —	VI	216
4609	3302	303	One *Eugenius* aſſumed the title of emperor at *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and went to *Antioch*, where the townſmen roſe unanimouſly and cut him and his companions off to a man; notwithſtanding which *Diocleſian* ordered the magiſtrates of *Seleucia* and *Antioch* to be put to death, as conſpirators with *Eugenius* — —	VI	217
4611	3304	305	*Diocleſian* at *Nicomedia*, and *Maximian* at *Milan*, reſign the ſovereignty the 1ſt of *May* to *Galerius* and *Conſtantius*, who take *Severus* and *Maximin* for their *Cæſars*. *Gaul*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, are appointed to be the immediate care of *Conſtantius*: *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, *Egypt*, *Judea*, *Syria*, and all the eaſtern provinces, to the care and government of *Galerius*. *Conſtantius* yielded to *Severus Italy* and *Africa*; and *Galerius* gave to *Maximin Syria* and *Egypt* — — —	VI	231
4611	3304	305	The whole nation of the *Carpi* ſubmits to the *Romans*, whom *Diocleſian* tranſplants into the *Roman* territories — — —	VII	608
4612	3305	306	The *Franks* having paſſed the *Rhine*, and made an inroad into *Gaul*, while they were plundering the country *Conſtantine* fell upon them, cut great numbers of them to pieces, and took two of their kings priſoners, *Aſcaric* and *Gaiſus*, whom he expoſed to the wild beaſts at the publick ſhews, &c. — —	VII	534
4612	3305	306	The *Alemans* make inroads into *Gaul*, which ſo provoked *Conſtantine*, that he expoſed their kings that were taken priſoners to be devoured by the wild beaſts at his publick ſhews — — —	VII	590
4612	3305	306	*Conſtantius* goes into *Britain*, and overcomes the *Picts* and *Caledonians*, that made continual irruptions into *Britain*, and dies ſoon after at *York*, *viz.* the 25th of *July*, his ſon *Conſtantine* being with him, who ſucceeded him in the empire —	VII	435
4612	3305	306	*Severus* reigning with intolerable cruelty in *Rome* and *Africa*, *Maxentius*, ſon of *Maximian*, the late reſigned emperor, proclaims himſelf emperor, and was acknowledged by the *Roman* people. *Maximian* goes to *Rome*, and is a ſecond time declared emperor by the ſenate, and made colleague with his ſon *Maxentius*	VI	234
4613	3306	307	*Severus* is ordered to go againſt *Maxentius* by *Galerius*, but upon his arrival his army revolts, and goes over to *Maximian* their old maſter; upon which *Severus* flies towards *Milan*, but is purſued and beſieged in *Ravenna*, where he ſurrenders to *Maximian*, who put him to death, and then married his daughter *Fauſta* to *Conſtantine*, who thereupon took the name of *Auguſtus* — — —	VI	235
4613	3306	307	*Galerius* creates *Licinius* emperor, the 11th of *November*, a perſon of mean birth, but a very good military officer, covetous, tyrannical, cruel and vicious, ſo that now there were ſix emperors at one time of the *Roman* dominions — —	VI	236
4614	3307	308	*Maxentius* the 20th of *April* declares himſelf and his Son *Romulus* conſuls, and gave himſelf the title of *Cæſar* and *Emperor*, refuſing to acknowledge *Galerius* and his father *Maximian* who had been named for conſuls. — —	VI	237
4614	3307	308	*Sapores*, or *Sapor* II. is declared king while he is yet in his mother's womb —	IV	336
4615	3308	309	*Maxentius* having promoted his ſon *Romulus* to the conſulſhip, who died ſoon after, he placed him among the gods, &c. — — —	VI	237
4615	3308	309	*Maximian* pretends a ſecond time to lay down the purple, and retires to his ſon-in-law *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*, who entertains him with all imaginable reſpect; but ſome *Franks* revolting, he perſuades *Conſtantine* to purſue them with a ſmall part of his army, and while he was gone *Maximian* declares himſelf emperor a 3d time at *Arles*, and bribes *Conſtantine*'s troops to revolt. *Conſtantine* returns unexpectedly, and forces *Maximian* to fly to *Marſeilles*, where he is taken priſoner and forgiven. In *Africa*, *Alexander*, lieutenant of that province, is declared emperor with the uſual ceremonies at *Carthage*, which he ſupported for three years — — — —	VI	238
4616	3309	310	*Maximian* teazes his daughter *Fauſta*, the wife of *Conſtantine*, to betray her huſband *Conſtantine*, by leaving her chamber door open, &c. She tells her huſband, who orders one of his eunuchs to lie in his bed; *Maximian* comes in the dark and kills the eunuch, crying out, *Conſtantine* was dead, and he was emperor; but finding himſelf miſtaken, when his death was put to his choice, he choſe to be hanged, which was accordingly performed — — —	VI	239
4616	3309	310	The *Franks* endeavour to croſs the *Rhine*, and ſo to penetrate into *Gaul*: *Conſtantine* attacks them, drives them back, and croſſing the *Rhine*, deſtroys all before		

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			him; and taking a vast multitude of captives, exposes them all to be devoured by the wild beasts — — —	VI	533
4616	3309	310	The *Alemans*, &c. having passed the *Rhine*, laid the neighbouring provinces waste; but *Constantine* marches against them, engages and defeats them, recovers the booty and obliges them to repass the *Rhine* — —	VII	59
4617	3310	311	The emperor *Galerius* dies in the greatest torments, about the beginning of *May*, by degrees, and in a measure devoured by lice; and being persuaded this was a punishment for his cruelties to the *Christians*, revoked the decree, which revocation was signed by *Valerius*, *Constantine*, and *Licinius*, three of the emperors, and set up the 13th of *April* in *Nicomedia*, and his provinces were divided between *Licinius* and *Maximin* — — —	VI	240
4618	3311	312	*Constantine* coming to *Autun*, found the people heavily oppressed with taxes, first forgave what they owed, and abated 25 *per cent.* for the time to come —	VI	241
4618	3311	312	*Maxentius* sends *Rufus* and *Zenus* with an army into *Africa*, to depose *Alexander*: They engage, and *Alexander*'s army is routed, and himself taken prisoner, and put to death, and with him all the men of birth and fortune that had sided with him, and laid *Carthage* in ashes: The same cruelties *Maxentius* committed at *Rome*, murdering the senators, debauching the ladies, and ruining the commonalty by the licentiousness of his soldiers, and the cruel extortions of his taxgatherers — — — —	VI	241
4618	3311	312	*Maxentius* having a desire to reign alone, quarrels with *Constantine*, who being inclined to favour *Christianity*, begs devoutly for a sign, and sees that of the cross in the heavens or sky, with this motto, *In this conquer*; he makes some standards accordingly, and becomes himself, wife, and family, professors. He passes the *Alps*, and takes *Segusium*, now *Susa*, by storm, but won't permit it to be plundered, nor the people hurt: Then he meets, engages, and defeats *Maxentius*'s army: All the cities between the *Po* and the *Alps* submit to him. Soon after he meets and engages *Pompeianus*, utterly defeats and kills him. Soon after he took *Verona* by storm, and made all the soldiers prisoners at discretion. *Aquileia* and *Mutina* surrendered: Then marching to *Rome*, *Maxentius* marches out against him; they engage, and *Constantine* gets the victory: *Maxentius* flies, and crossing a bridge he had laid cross the *Tiber*, it broke, and he and many of his officers were drowned, the 29th of *October*. *Constantine* at the head of his army, entered *Rome*, carrying the head of *Maxentius* stuck upon a pole, where he governed with so much gentleness and justice, that the people wanted words to express their joy — — —	VII	247
4618	3311	312	An edict is issued in *November* in the names of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, putting a stop to the great persecution that had raged for ten years past against the *Christians*: They sent it also to *Maximin*, who in complaisance published it likewise all over the east — — —	VII	248
4619	3312	313	A *Christian* council for the regulating of matters belonging to the church was held at *Rome*, in the apartment of the empress *Fausta*: *Constantine* builds a great number of *Christian* churches, and endows them — —	VII	248
4619	3312	313	A terrible famine and plague breaks out in the east, which particularly fell in the eyes, and rendered abundance blind — —	VII	250
4619	3312	313	*Constantine* and *Licinius* are consuls this year: *Constantine* goes from *Rome* to *Milan*, where he is met by *Licinius*, who marries his sister *Constantia*: Here they publish an edict in favour of the *Christians*. The *Franks* coming with a design to invade the *Roman* dominions, *Constantine* falls upon them, kills vast numbers, and follows them over the *Rhine*, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and having taken a vast number captive, exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the shews then exhibited to please the people. *Africa* having submitted, he grants great privileges to the *Christians* among them — —	VI	251
4619	3312	313	*Constantine* assembles a council of *Christian* bishops this year at *Rome*, to consider about the doctrine and persons of *Donatists* — —	VI	252
4619	3312	313	*Maximin* displeased with the good understanding between *Licinius* and *Constantine*, comes against *Licinius*, and takes *Byzantium*, and then *Heraclea* by storm. *Licinius* engages him, being told in a dream he should conquer if he became a *Christian*: Most of *Maximins* troops were cut to pieces, and the rest came over to *Licinius*. *Maximin* made his escape in the habit of a slave. *Licinius* going to *Nicomedia*, ordered solemn thanks to be given to the true God, and published the decree made by himself and *Constantine* in favour of the *Christians*: Then he pursued *Maximin*, who poisoned himself, which occasioned him to die a lingering, painful, miserable death, about the middle of *August*; and so *Licinius* became master of all the east. *Maximin* was declared a publick enemy, his statues pulled down, his inscriptions erased, his wife drowned in the *Orontes*, his children and relations publickly executed, and likewise his ministers and favourites put to death: The sons of *Galerius* and *Severus* were also both put to death — — —	VI	253
4620	3313	314	*Valeria*, the widow of *Galerius* and daughter of *Diocletian*, with her mother *Prisca*, being discovered at *Thessalonica*, were seized, executed, and thrown into the sea, by order of *Licinius* — — —	VI	253
4620	3313	314	*Constantine* publishes an edict, declaring all those free that *Maxentius* had condemned to slavery, ordering those who held them in captivity to set them free, upon the severest penalties — —	VI	253
4620	3313	314	*Constantine* goes to *Arles*, and holds a *Christian* council of all the bishops in the west, to suppress the *Donatists* — —	VI	254
4620	3313	314	*Licinius* and *Constantine* quarrel, and engage near *Cibalæ* in *Pannonia*, where *Constantine* kills him 20,000 men, and *Licinius* flies to *Sirmium*, and from thence goes with his wife, children, and treasures into *Dacia*, where he raised *Valens*,		

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			one of his officers, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. *Constantine* pursues him into *Thrace*; they engage upon the plains of *Mardia*, but neither side gaining the advantage, they conclude a peace, upon the condition that *Valens* should be deposed, and that *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Asia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and the *Lesser Scythia*, should remain in the possession of *Licinius*; but *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Mæsia*, (now *Servia*) should be ceded to *Constantine*			
4621	3314	315	*Constantine* and *Licinius* are consuls; *Constantine* abolishes the punishment of crucifixion; likewise he orders the receivers of his revenue to receive and educate all such children whose parents could not by reason of poverty bring them up: This law was engraved in brass, and hung up publickly in all the cities of *Italy*: He likewise forbids the *Jews* molesting those among them who should profess *Christianity*, and strictly forbids any not born so to become *Jews*	VI	255
4622	3315	316	The empress *Fausta* is delivered of a son, the 13th of *August*, at *Arles* in *Gaul*. This year *Constantine* made a law, that all persons of whatever rank guilty of rapes, extortions, &c. should be tried by the governors of the provinces where they lived, and executed without appealing to *Rome*	VI	255
4623	3316	317	The emperors *Licinius* and *Constantine* create *Crispus* and *Constantine*, the sons of the emperor *Constantine*, and *Licinius*, the son of the emperor *Licinius* by *Constantia* sister of *Constantine*, *Cæsars*	VI	255
4623	3316	317	*August* 7. *Constantius*, son of the emperor *Constantine*, by *Fausta* the sister of *Maxentius* was born in the city of *Sirmium* in *Illyricum*	VI	256
4624	3317	318	*Constantine* revives the old *Roman* law against parricides, comprehending therein not only the murder of a father or mother, but also of a son	VII	256
4626	3319	320	*Constantine* and his son *Constantius* are consuls, and abrogate the *Papian* and all other laws against celibacy: He forbids all married men to keep concubines, and orders judges to dispatch the causes of criminals, and jaylors to use their prisoners well, upon pain of death. His son *Crispus* gains a victory over the *Franks*, and concluding a peace with them, returns to his father	VI	256
4627	3320	321	*Crispus* and *Constantine*, the emperor's sons, are consuls. The emperor forbids all sorts of work to be done on *Sundays*, and ordered *Friday* to be kept holy	VI	256
4627	3320	321	The *Goths* again invade the empire, and are overcome by the emperor *Constantine*	VII	499
4628	3321	322	*Constantine* several times defeats the *Sarmatians*, kills their king *Tausimodes*, and takes vast numbers captive	VI	257
4629	3322	323	*Constantine* being busy at *Thessalonica* in building a port, the *Goths* enter *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, and commit dreadful ravages: *Constantine* goes against them, overthrows them with great slaughter, and pursues them into the dominions of *Licinius*; which he resents so far, that both parties prepare for war, *Constantine* with 130,000 men and 2200 vessels; *Licinius* had 115,000 men and 350 gallies: They came to an engagement on the 3d of *July* near *Adrianople*, on the banks of the *Hebrus*, where *Licinius* had 33,000 men killed on the spot. *Licinius* with a small army flies to *Byzantium*, and the rest submit to *Constantine*, who pursues *Licinius*, and besieges him in *Byzantium*, from whence he withdrew to *Chalcedon*. *Crispus* engages *Abantus*, admiral of *Licinius*'s fleet, and utterly defeated him, killing him 5000 men, and taking and destroying 130 ships, *Abantus* narrowly escaping. *Constantine* leaves *Byzantium*, and follows *Licinius* to *Chalcedon*, where they conclude a peace, which *Licinius* presently breaks: *Constantine* goes against him again, engages, and kill him 25,000 men: *Licinius* flies to *Nicomedia*; *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* submit to *Constantine*, who pursues *Licinius*, and besieges him in *Nicomedia*: *Constantia*, sister of *Constantine*, begs her husband's life, who yields up the sovereignty, and is soon after strangled by *Constantine*'s orders	VI	258
4630	3323	324	*Constantine* purges the east as fast as possible of idolatry and heathenism, and promoted *Christianity* with all his might	VI	260
4631	3324	325	*Constantine* assembles the famous council at *Nice*, and assisted in it personally, where *Arius*, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, &c. were condemned to banishment	VI	260
4631	3324	325	On the 25th of *July Constantine* celebrated the 20th year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, invited all the bishops that composed the council of *Nice* to an entertainment in his palace, and gave them large presents, distributed great sums to the poor, &c.	VI	260
4632	3325	326	*Constantine* being at *Rome*, is ill-treated for his introducing *Christianity*, which he so resented, that he could never be prevailed upon to go there again	VI	261
4632	3325	326	The empress *Fausta* envying *Crispus*, *Constantine*'s eldest son by his former wife, accuses him with soliciting her to his bed, and aspiring at the empire, which so enraged his father, that he caused him to be put to death without being heard. *Licinius*, the son of the late emperor *Licinius*, was also put to death. *Fausta* was soon after discovered of falsely accusing *Crispus*, and of really prostituting herself with mean persons; for which *Constantine* ordered her to be suffocated in the steam of a hot bath	VI	261
4633	3326	327	The emperor *Constantine* in honour of his mother *Helena*, called the village of *Depranum* in *Bythinia Helenopolis*, and endowed it with all the privileges of a royal city. About this time she is said to discover the sepulchre and cross of our saviour. He also called a city in *Palestine* by the same name	VI	262
4635	3328	329	On the 26th of *September Constantine* began to build the famous city of *Constantinople*; and recalled from banishment the two *Arian* bishops, *Eusebius* and *Theognis*	VI	262
4636	3329	330	*Constantine* dedicates his new city of *Constantinople* the 11th of *May* to the god of martyrs, in which he built an incredible number of churches, erected crosses in all the squares and publick places, a most sumptuous palace, and other publick buildings, appointing a senate, and all other privileges as at *Rome*, &c.		

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			The ſolemnity laſted 40 days, during all which time he ordered an immenſe quantity of proviſions to be daily diſtributed to the populace, and fixed his reſidence here, never returning to *Rome* again, which by degrees brought on the deſtruction of the empire	VI	263
4638	3331	332	The *Sarmatians* notwithſtanding the great aſſiſtance they had received from *Conſtantine*, as ſoon as he was gone, invade and ravage *Mœſia* and *Thrace*; but *Conſtantine* returns ſuddenly, and cutting great numbers of them to pieces, forces the reſt to accept of ſuch terms as he thought fit to give them	VI	264
4638	3331	332	The *Goths* again invade the empire, and are again beat by *Conſtantine*, who kills 100,000 of their men	VII	499
4639	3332	333	*Conſtantine* creates his youngeſt ſon *Conſtans Cæſar*. *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Thrace* are grievouſly afflicted with the plague and famine, which ſweep off great numbers of the people, a buſhel of wheat being ſold for 400 pieces of ſilver. *Conſtantine* ſent to the biſhop of *Antioch* 30,000 buſhels of wheat, and a prodigious quantity of corn, oil, *&c.* to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, eccleſiaſticks, *&c.*	VI	265
4640	3333	334	The *Sarmatians* being ſore oppreſſed by their enemies the *Goths*, arm all their ſlaves, by whoſe aſſiſtance they obtain a complete victory: But the ſlaves combining together, fall upon their maſters, overcome them, and drive them out of their country, and ſeize it for themſelves; upon which the emperor *Conſtantine* receives 300,000 of them, and incorporates ſome of them among his troops, and gave lands to others in divers diſtant places	VI	609
4641	3334	335	*Conſtantine* celebrates the thirtieth year of his reign on the 25th of *July*, with extraordinary magnificence, in *Conſtantinople*, and aſſembles a council at *Tyre*, and another at *Jeruſalem*, to reconcile the diſturbances in the church: That at *Tyre* condemned and depoſed *Athanaſius*, biſhop of *Alexandria*; and that at *Jeruſalem* admitted *Arius* and his followers to the communion of the church. *Conſtantine* baniſhed *Athanaſius*, and three other biſhops, who oppoſed *Arianiſm*, he himſelf being a great favourer of it	VI	265
4641	3334	335	*Conſtantine* gives *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain* to his eldeſt ſon; *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* to *Conſtantius* his ſecond ſon; *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa* to *Conſtans* his youngeſt ſon; *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Achaia*, to his nephew *Dalmatius*; and to his nephew king *Annibalianus*, *Armenia minor*, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, with the city of *Cæſarea* for his capital	VI	266
4641	3334	335	One *Calocerus* proclaims himſelf emperor in *Cyprus*, and makes himſelf maſter of the whole iſland; but *Dalmatius*, *Conſtantine*'s general, reduces the iſland to its duty, takes *Calocerus* priſoner, and condemns him to be burnt alive at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*	VI	266
4642	3335	336	The famous hereſiarch *Arius* dies, and ſoon after *Alexander* biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; to whom *Paul* ſucceeds, but was afterwards baniſhed by *Conſtantine* into *Pontus*. This year *Conſtantius*, the emperor's ſecond ſon, marries his couſin, daughter of *Julius Conſtantius*, his father's brother	VI	266
4643	3336	337	*Sapores* king of *Perſia* ſends *Conſtantine* a memorial, and demands ſeveral provinces. Both ſides provide for war: many battles were fought with various ſucceſs, but at *Singara Sapores* loſt his ſon, himſelf was wounded, and forced to retire with all his forces	IV	333
4643	3336	337	The emperor *Conſtantine* falls ill, and is cloathed in white, and baptized by *Euſebius* biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and would not afterward ſo much as ſee his purple robes, but ſpent his time in religious diſcourſes with the biſhops, or in pious meditations, *&c.* by himſelf. Before he died he ordered *Athanaſius* to be recalled from baniſhment, bequeathed revenues to the cities of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, left his will in the hands of *Arian*, an eccleſiaſtic, to deliver to his ſon *Conſtantius*, and expired on *Whitſunday* the 22d of *May*, in the caſtle of *Achyrona* near *Helenopolis* in *Bythinia*, aged 63 years, two months, and 25 days, having reigned 32 years, 9 months, and 27 days, univerſally lamented by all degrees of people: His body, and purple robes, and diadem were put into a gold coffin, and carried to *Conſtantinople*	VI	267
4643	3336	337	Notwithſtanding *Conſtantine*'s diviſion of the empire between his three ſons and two couſins, while living, and confirmation of it by his laſt will, all the ſoldiers and the ſenate of *Rome* unanimouſly proclaim the three ſons only emperors, and leave out the two couſins, *Dalmatius Cæſar* and *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*. The ſoldiers fly to arms, (by the inſtigation of *Conſtantius*, as 'tis ſuppoſed) and cut in pieces *Julius Conſtantius*, brother to the deceaſed emperor *Dalmatius Cæſar* and *Annibalianus*, his two ſons, *Optatus*, who had married *Anaſtatia* ſiſter to the late emperor, five of his nephews, and moſt of his miniſters, and ſo reduced his numerous family to his three ſons and two nephews, *Gallus* and *Julian*	VI	275
4643	3336	337	One *Antoninus*, a *Roman* officer of great credit, revolted to *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, who received him with great honour, and by his advice beſieges *Amida*, which after attacking 73 days, and loſing 30,000 men, he took by ſtorm; he hanged the officers, and ſent the men into ſlavery. Then he goes into *Meſopotamia*, *Singara*, and demoliſhes it, *&c.*	IV	334
4644	3337	338	The three brothers emperors meet in *Pannonia*, where they agree and divide the provinces allotted to *Dalmatius* and *Annibalianus* by the late emperor, among them	VI	275
4645	3338	339	*March* 31 a law is publiſhed in the name of the three emperors, forbidding upon pain of death marriages between uncles and nieces, which had before been authoriſed by the ſenate, in favour of *Claudius* and *Agrippina*	VI	276
4646	3339	340	*Conſtantine* deſiring all or part of *Italy*, which his brother *Conſtans* refuſing, he enters with a great army, and takes ſeveral places. *Conſtans* comes againſt him, draws him into an ambuſcade, near *Aquileia*, and cuts both him and his army to pieces.		

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			pieces. Upon this the other brother *Conſtantius* yields all *Conſtantine*'s dominions to *Conſtans*, thereby making him emperor of all the weſt		
4647	3340	341	Many cities in the eaſt were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake. This year a law was publiſhed in the name of the two emperors, forbidding all idolatrous worſhip. *Conſtans* ordered ſeveral temples to be demoliſhed, with the celebrated altar of victory in the ſenate at *Rome*. *Conſtantius* rebuilt the city of *Amida* upon the *Tigris* in *Meſopotamia*	VI	276
4647	3340	341	The *Franks* make an irruption into *Gaul*, and ravage the country every where, but are forced out by *Conſtans*	VI	277
4649	3342	343	*Auguſt* 27, *Conſtantius* declares eccleſiaſtics and their domeſtics exempt from all new impoſitions; and ſuch whoſe poverty obliged them to work for a livelihood were freed from all cuſtoms	VII	555
4650	3343	344	A violent earthquake intirely overthrew all the buildings, and ſwallowed up all the people of *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*, except the church and biſhop's houſe and family	VI	277
4651	3344	345	The city of *Duras* in *Greece*, with all its inhabitants, was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, and twelve cities in *Campania* were overturned	VI	277
4653	3346	347	The council of *Sardica* was held, at which *Athanaſius* and *Oſius* aſſiſted. A law was made this year that confirmed great privileges to the biſhops and clergy, and to their wives, widows, children, and domeſtics. *Conſtantius* builds a harbour at *Seleucia*, at an immenſe charge; and rebuilt the cities of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and *Antardus* in *Phœnicia*	VI	277
4654	3347	348	*Conſtans* writes to his brother *Conſtantius*, to acquaint him, that unleſs he recalled from baniſhment thoſe orthodox biſhops he had deprived of their ſees, he would reſtore them by force of arms; upon which *Conſtantius* recalled them	VI	277
			Conſtans ſends *Macarius* and *Paulus* into *Africa*, with large ſums to relieve the poor, and to endeavour to reconcile the *Donatiſts* to the church, which they very happily effected, to the great joy of both parties	VI	278
4654	3347	348	The *Perſians* having poſted themſelves in the neighbourhood of *Singarus*, a city of *Meſopotamia*, and fortified themſelves in their camp; the *Roman* forced it, after great oppoſition, cut great numbers of the *Perſians* to pieces, and forced the reſt to fly, or took them priſoners, among whom was *Sapor*'s ſon, whom they put to death, having firſt beat him with rods, and took the enemies camp, baggage and treaſures	VI	278
4655	3348	349	A terrible earthquake overturned a great part of the city of *Berytus*, which ſo frightned all thoſe that had not embraced *Chriſtianity*, that they came and were baptized	VI	278
4656	3349	350	The *Perſians* beſiege *Niſibis* a third time, with a vaſt army and a great number of military engines: It was defended with all imaginable bravery by *Lucilianus*, father-in-law to *Jovian*, afterwards emperor; but the ſoldiers and people truſted more to the prayers of their biſhop *James*, than in their own valour. The *Perſians* ſtopped the river *Mygdonus* that run through the city, and laid the country round it under water, and at laſt ſtopping the river with a great wall, which by a mighty fluſh ſuddenly broke it down, and by the violence of the ſudden guſh of water, broke the city walls down, for the ſpace of 100 cubits; but it was ſo well defended, that *Sapor* after loſing 20,000 men, many elephants, engines, *&c.* was forced to raiſe the ſiege, and in the tranſport of his rage put many of his officers and great men to death, for adviſing him to this war	VI	278
4656	3349	350	*Magnentius*, ſon of *Magnus*, a *German*, commander of ſome troops on the *Rhine*, conſpires with *Marcellianus*, receiver of the revenues in *Gaul*: They invite all the officers to a feaſt in the city of *Autun*, where *Magnentius* puts on the purple, and is ſaluted the 18th of *January* with the title of *Auguſtus*. He immediately ſeized the imperial palace in *Autun*, and diſtributed what money he found there among the populace, and ſends one *Gaiſo* (a principal commander in the army) to murder *Conſtans*, who purſued and overtook him at *Helena*, a ſmall village at the foot of the *Pyrennees*, and killed him there with many wounds, in the tenth year of his reign, a prince extremely devoted to promote the catholick faith, and ſuppreſs hereſies, *&c.*	VI	279
4656	3349	350	Before the death of *Conſtans* was publiſhed, *Magnentius* ſent and murdered all ſuch officers as he thought attached to the deceaſed prince's intereſt. *Magnentius* ſoon made himſelf maſter of all the countries beyond the *Alps*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*. *Veteranio*, general of the foot in *Pannonia*, cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted *Auguſtus* at *Sirmium*, the firſt of *May*; *Conſtantius* is ſaid to confirm the title of emperor to him, and to ſend him the diadem. A third pretender ſtarts up, one *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, ſon of *Eutropia* ſiſter to *Conſtantine the Great*, who having aſſembled a number of gladiators, and perſons of deſperate fortunes, aſſumes the purple, and on the 3d of *June* preſents himſelf before the gates of *Rome*. *Anicetus*, who commanded there for *Magnentius*, goes out againſt him: *Nepotianus* defeats him, and ſoon after takes the city, and filled it with blood and ſlaughter. *Magnentius* ſends his chief favourite *Marcellinus* againſt him: A bloody battle enſues, in which *Nepotianus* was killed, after a reign of 28 days. *Marcellinus* carries his head through all the cities of *Rome* upon a ſpear, and put all thoſe to death who had declared for him, and commanded a general maſſacre of all thoſe who were any ways related to *Conſtantine*	VI	281
4656	3349	350	*Magnentius* and *Veteranio* agree to oppoſe *Conſtantius*, and ſend deputies to him to treat of peace, which he refuſes, but upon his arrival at *Sardica* makes a ſeperate peace with *Veteranio*, who joins him againſt *Magnentius*; but the ſoldiers depoſed *Veterania* the 25th of *December*, who ſpent the remainder of his life in acts of devotion at *Pruſia-Bythinia*, where *Conſtantius* made him an allowance ſuitable to his dignity	VI	281

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4657	3350	351	*Conſtantius* marries his ſiſter *Conſtantia* to his couſin *Gallus*, creates him *Cæſar*, allots him all the eaſt, and *Thrace* and *Conſtantinople*, and ſent him to *Antioch* to watch the *Perſians*	VI	282
4657	3350	351	*Conſtantius* ſtirs up the *Franks* and *Saxons* to attack *Magnentius* in *Gaul*, and ſends them large ſums of money and great quantities of arms for that purpoſe. *Magnentius* gives the title of *Cæſar* to his brother *Decentius*, and ſends him into *Gaul*, where he engages the *Barbarians*, but is overthrown, and the country reduced to a deplorable condition	VI	283
4657	3350	351	*Conſtantius* and *Magnentius* have divers encounters with various ſucceſs. *Sylvanus*, with a large body of troops under his command, revolts to *Conſtantius*. *Magnentius* attacks and takes *Sciſcia* by aſſault, and levelled it, laid the whole country waſte along the *Save*, and then beſieged *Murſa*, whither *Conſtantius* went and attacked him, cut off the greateſt part of his army, and took and plundered his camp; but *Magnentius* got off, and retired into *Italy*	VI	285
4658	3351	352	*Conſtantius* publiſhes an edict, impowering eunuchs to make wills: Then he goes into *Italy*, and maſters all *Aquileia*, and goes into *Pavia*,, where *Magnentius* obtained a victory over him; but ſoon after was obliged to ſurrender all the country bordering on the *Po* to *Conſtantius*, being deſerted by his men in troops, who delivered up the places they gariſoned. *Magnentius* goes to *Rome*, and finding the people generally inclined to favour *Conſtantius*, put vaſt numbers of them to death, and then retired into *Gaul*, ſo that *Conſtantius* became maſter of *Rome* and all *Italy* by the beginning of *November*, and ſent a powerful fleet to *Africa* and *Carthage*, which immediately ſubmitted, as did *Sicily* and *Spain*, and *Treves*, and ſeveral other cities in *Gaul*. *Magnentius* offers to reſign, but is refuſed an anſwer	VI	286
4658	3351	352	*Magnentius* ſends aſſaſſins into the eaſt to murder *Gallus Cæſar*, who are diſcovered and put to death. The *Jews* in *Paleſtine* riſe in the night, and cutting the throats of the ſoldiers, ſet up one *Patricius* for their prince	VI	286
4659	3352	353	*Conſtantius* marries *Euſebia*, a native of *Theſſalonica*, a lady highly commended for her chaſtity, and for the great care ſhe took of the education of her children after her huſband's deceaſe: The emperor had ſo great an eſteem for her, that in honour of her he made a new dioceſe, comprehending *Bythinia*, &c. and called it *Pietas*, the import of the word *Euſebia*	VI	286
4659	3352	353	*Conſtantius* engages *Magnentius* near *Mons Seleucus* in *Gaul*, and routs his army, who flies to *Lions*, where being apprized his ſoldiers intended to deliver him up, firſt with his own hand murdered his mother, his brother *Deſiderius*, and many of his friends and relations, and then himſelf. *Decentius Cæſar* ſtrangles himſelf, and *Conſtantius* pardons all the reſt	VI	288
4659	3352	353	*Paulus Catena*, a noted informer, is ſent into *Britain* by *Conſtantius*, to make an inquiry after all thoſe who had ſided with *Magnentius*, and commits many cruelties by condemning the braveſt and moſt innocent men, purpoſely to have a colourable pretence of ſequeſtring their eſtates and confiſcating their effects	IV	435
4659	3352	353	*Conſtantius* ſummoned a council at *Arles*, where he ſhewed himſelf a great enemy to the orthodox, and particularly *Athanaſius* and *Paulinus*, *Gaul* was terribly ravaged by the *Barbarians* and diſbanded ſoldiers of *Magnentius*. At *Rome* the populace roſe, and committed great diſorders upon the account of the ſcarcity of proviſions. In *Aſia* the *Iſaurian* robbers over-ran *Lycaonia* and *Pamphilia*, and beſieged *Seleucia*, the capital of *Iſauria*. The *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Meſopotamia*; and *Gallus* governed the eaſt with intolerable pride and cruelty	VI	289
4660	3353	354	*Conſtantius* ſends one *Domitian* in the quality of præfect of the eaſt, whom *Gallus* murdered, with *Montius*, then quæſtor, and many others at *Antioch*, and threw their bodies into the *Orontes*	VI	291
4660	3353	354	*Gallus Cæſar* having been invited into *Italy* by *Conſtantius*, goes, and upon his arrival at *Petavium* in *Noricum*, is arreſted and carried to *Flanona* in *Dalmatia*, where he was put to death	VI	293
4661	3354	355	The emperor *Conſtantius* publiſhes a law, forbidding the marriage of a brother or ſiſter-in-law, and declaring the children of ſuch marriages illegitimate; and another, ordaining biſhops to be judged by biſhops, and not by the civil magiſtrates. He ſummoned a council at *Milan*, and baniſhed *Liberius*, biſhop of *Rome*, into *Thrace*	VI	294
4661	3354	355	*Conſtantius* gives the title of *Cæſar* to his couſin *Julian*, brother to *Gallus*, and makes him governor of *Gaul*, and marries him to his ſiſter *Helena*, but ſets ſpies over him	VI	296
4661	3354	355	The *Alemans* attempted to break into *Italy*; the emperor *Conſtantius* ſends *Arbetio* with the flower of his army againſt them, who falling into an ambuſcade, was defeated with great loſs; but ſome of his officers engaging them a few days after, put them to flight	VII	591
4661	3354	355	The *Franks* joining with the *Alemans* and *Saxons*, croſs the *Rhine*, take and pillage above 40 cities on the banks of that river, lay waſte the neighbouring provinces, and carry off a prodigious number of captives and immenſe booty	VII	556
4661	3354	355	The *Quadians* break into *Pannonia* and *Mæſia*, and having pillaged both provinces, return with immenſe booty unmoleſted	VII	603
4662	2355	356	*Conſtantius* gains ſo many advantages over the *Germans* that they ſue for peace, which he grants them. The empreſs *Euſebia* viſits *Rome*, and is received with all imaginable reſpect. The emperor, to ſhew his zeal for *Arianiſm*, drives *Athanaſius* from his ſeat at *Alexandria*, and puts *Girgius* an *Arian* in his place. This year he paſſed a law, condemning thoſe to death who ſhould ſacrifice to, or worſhip idols; and ſentenced many perſons for being convicted of conſulting the magicians and publiſhed a law to have all magicians devoured by wild beaſts	VI	299

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4662	3355	356	*Conſtantius* for the firſt time, with his wife *Euſebia* and his ſiſter *Helena*, viſit *Rome*, which he enters in a gilt chariot adorned with precious ſtones, attended by the ſenate and whole nobility: During his ſtay here he is preſented by ſeveral cities with gold crowns of an extraordinary weight	VI	299
4663	3356	357	*Julian* with 13,000 men marches againſt the *Germans*, conſiſting of 35,000, headed by ſeven kings, ten princes, and many great lords: He engages them near *Strasbourg*, put them to flight, and purſued them, and killed 8000 with the loſs of only 247 men, and many of the *Germans* were drowned in the *Rhine*; by which victory *Gaul* was freed from the *Barbarians*		
4663	3356	357	*Conſtantius* enacted a law dated the 3d of *July*, confiſcating the effects of all thoſe who ſhould renounce the *Chriſtian*, and embrace the *Jewiſh* religion; and by another, he obliged all ſenators to reſide in or near *Rome*; and by a third he exempts all merchandizing eccleſiaſtics, their wives, children, and domeſtics, from taxes	VI	301
4664	3357	358	*Narſes*, ambaſſador from *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, comes with a letter and preſents it to the emperor, demanding thoſe countries the *Romans* had taken from the *Perſians*, calling himſelf *King of Kings*, *Brother of the Sun and Moon*, &c. The emperor ſends ambaſſadors to *Sapor* to ſoften him, but he remains inflexible	VI	302
4664	3357	358	*Auguſt* 28. a moſt dreadful earthquake was felt in *Aſia*, *Pontus*, and *Macedon*, which greatly damaged 150 cities, and utterly ruined *Nicomedia* by overturning all the houſes at once, and buried all its inhabitants under its ruins	VI	303
4664	3357	358	*Conſtantius* publiſhes a law, declaring all magicians, aſtrologers, augurs, aruſpices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind: and if any were found in the prince's court, they ſhould be adjudged guilty of high-treaſon	VI	304
4664	3357	358	The *Quadians*, &c. laid waſte great part of *Pannonia* and *Mæſia*; but *Conſtantius* marching againſt them, they repaſs the *Danube* and return home, and the emperor after them, who beſieging them lays waſte their country; they ſue for peace which is granted upon their ſetting at liberty their priſoners, and pledging hoſtages for their good behaviour	VII	603
4664	3357	358	The emperor *Conſtantius* having driven out the *Limigantes*, or ſlaves, that had ſeized upon the *Sarmatians* country, reinſtates the *Sarmatians*	VII	603
4665	3358	359	*Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, brothers to the empreſs *Euſebia*, are conſuls. *Julian* obliges ſeveral *German* nations to quit *Gaul*, and ſue for peace	VII	610
4665	3358	359	*Conſtantius* honours *Conſtantinople* with a præfect or governor, and makes *Honoratus* the firſt præfect	VI	305
4665	3358	359	*Julian* paſſing the *Rhine*, unexpectedly advanced to the moſt diſtant parts of the country of the *Alemans* and *Burgundians*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword; whereupon *Macrianus* and *Heriobaldus*, two of their kings, ſue for peace, *&c.*	VI	306
4666	3359	360	*Sapor* entering *Meſopotamia*, ſummons's *Reman* and *Buſan*, two ſtrong forts, and the *Romans* that gariſoned them ſurrendered: Then he beſieged *Amida*, which after a long and gallant defence was taken and razed, the chief officers crucified, and the ſoldiers and inhabitants put to the ſword or carried into captivity	VII	592
4666	3359	360	*Conſtantius* determining to have a very great army to go againſt *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, ſends into *Britain* and *Gaul*, to draught off the flower of thoſe troops: When aſſembled at *Paris*, they refuſed to go, and proclaim *Julian* emperor, which he declining, they threaten him with death if he does not immediately comply; He writes to the emperor an account of what had happened, and deſires him to confirm his title, which he refuſes. *Julian* goes againſt the *Athuarii*, (inhabitants of *Cleves* and *Munſter*) laid their country waſte, and cut many of them to pieces, and forced them to ſubmit to ſuch laws as he thought fit. His wife *Helena*, ſiſter of *Conſtantius*, dies	VI	307
4667	3360	361	*Julian* pretends a great reſpect for the *Chriſtians*, though he had privately abjured that religion, and ſacrificed to the old *Roman* gods. He goes againſt the *Alemans*, cuts great numbers of them to pieces, and forced the reſt to accept his terms. Then he made himſelf maſter of all *Italy* and *Sicily*, which without ſtriking a blow ſubmitted to him	VI	312
4667	3360	361	*Conſtantius* returns from the eaſt to go againſt *Julian*, comes to *Mopſucrene* on the borders of *Cilicia*, where he is taken ſo very ill, that he can go no further, and dies the 3d of *November*, in the 45th year of his age, ſuſpected to be poiſoned by means of *Julian*: Juſt before he died he was baptized by *Euzoius*, an *Arian* biſhop, he being a great favourer of that ſect: Upon which *Julian* enters *Conſtantinople* the 11th of *December* following, where he ordered *Conſtantius* to be buried in the church of the apoſtles, with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and is himſelf proclaimed emperor by the ſenate, *&c.*	VI	314
4667	3360	361	Juſt before the death of *Conſtantius*, *Julian* renounced the *Chriſtian* religion in *Illyricum*, opened the temples of the gods, offered ſacrifices according to the antient rites, and exhorted all perſons to follow his example	VI	324
4667	3360	361	*Julian* erects a court of juſtice at *Chalcedon*, to enquire into the conduct of the miniſters of the late emperor, where many of them are condemned and executed, ſome very juſtly and others very wrongfully. He made a great reformation of officers and offices, and eaſed the people very much of their taxes. The cities ſend their congratulations to him, and crowns of gold	VI	326
4668	3361	362	*Julian* enriches the metropolis of *Conſtantinople*, the place of his nativity, with many privileges; made a large harbour to ſhelter the ſhips from the ſouth wind, built a ſtately library and porch, and goes into the eaſt, orders large ſums for the rebuilding *Nicomedia*, enriched the temple of *Cybele* at *Peſſinus* with offerings of great value, and appointed *Calixenes* prieſteſs of the temple. Arriving at the palace in *Ancyra*, he beſtowed large gifts upon the pagan prieſts, and ſo went to *Antioch*, where he adminiſtered juſtice impartially	VI	327

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4668	3361	362	Dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; moſt of the cities of *Paleſtine*, *Lybia*, *Sicily*, and *Greece*, were overturned; *Nice* was utterly ruined, and *Conſtantinople* greatly damaged. The temples of *Apollo* at *Rome* and *Daphne*, were conſumed by fire. The ſea broke in, and deſtroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At *Alexandria* the ſea laid ſeveral towns and villages under water, and drowned the people. A general drought produced a famine, and that was followed by a dreadful plague	VI	328
4669	3362	363	*Julian* entering upon his fourth conſulſhip the 1ſt of *January*, viſited the temple of *Jupiter*, performing the heatheniſh ſacrifices for the ſafety of the empire, which had now been long diſcontinued	VI	332
4669	3362	363	*Sapor* king of *Perſia* being defeated, propoſes peace to *Julian*, who rejects it; but being miſled by falſe guides, is reduced to great ſtraits, but attacked the *Perſians*, defeats them in ſeveral encounters, and at laſt in a general battle routs them with great ſlaughter; but being in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, decamps, and is continually haraſſed by the enemy; and in one of theſe ſudden onſets, haſtening to repulſe the enemy without his armour, *Julian* is wounded, carried to his tent, and dies, the 26th of *June*, in the 32d year of his age. The *Chriſtians* received the account of his death with inexpreſſible joy, and the *Pagans* with as great grief. The officers of the army choſe *Jovian* to ſucceed him, who concluded a thirty years peace with the *Perſians*	VI	341
4669	3362	363	*Jovian* arriving at *Antioch*, repeals all *Julian*'s laws made againſt the *Chriſtians*, greatly eſpouſed the orthodox cauſe, and invited *Athanaſius* to court, and received him very graciouſly, after which he returned to his biſhoprick	VI	344
4670	3363	364	*Jovian* arriving at *Ancyra*, the metropolis of *Galatia*, enters his firſt conſulſhip, taking his ſon, then an infant, for his colleague. Going towards *Conſtantinople*, he is met at *Dadaſta* by *Themiſtius* and others from the ſenate, to conduct him thither, but was found dead in his bed the 16th or 17th of *February*, having reigned ſeven months and 20 days. His body was carried to *Conſtantinople*. and buried in the church of the apoſtles, with the uſual ſolemnity	VI	345
4670	3363	364	After nine or ten days interregnum, *Valentinian* (ſon of *Gratianus*, count of *Africa*, a *Pannonian*,) was choſen and proclaimed emperor by the army, the 26th of *February*, at *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bythinia*: He was a zealous orthodox *Chriſtian*, and going to *Conſtantinople*, he proclaimed his brother *Valens*, colleague with him in the empire the 28th of *March* following, and about the 18th of *June* following parted the empire at *Mediana* in *Dacia*, aſſigning *Aſia*, *Egypt*, and *Thrace* to *Valens*, and retaining *Illyricum*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Britain*, and *Africa* to himſelf; and then they parted, *Valentinian* to *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Conſtantinople*	VI	346
4670	3363	364	The *Goths* breaking into *Thrace*, the emperor *Valens* ſends them a large ſum of money, upon which they return home	VII	500
4671	3364	365	The *Goths* breaking into the empire under pretence of ſiding with *Procopius*, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, are defeated, and obliged to lay down their arms, and yield themſelves priſoners	VII	500
4670	3363	364	The emperor *Valentinian* being very ill at *Rheims*, great conteſts ariſe about who ſhould be his ſucceſſor; but he recovering names his ſon *Gratian* for his colleague at the city of *Amiens*, the 24th of *Auguſt*, in the ninth year of his age	VI	352
4671	3364	365	A dreadful earthquake happens at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, which overturned ſeveral cities in *Sicily*, *Paleſtine*, and *Crete*. *Procopius*, a relation of the late emperor *Julian*, revolts, and being joined by a diſcarded eunuch of *Valens* poſſeſſed of great wealth, gained over the officers and ſoldiers, was proclaimed *Auguſtus* at *Conſtantinople*, and carried to the imperial palace, where he was acknowledged by the people, and ſoon after gained over a party of *Valens*'s men that were ſent againſt him, and ſeized *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, and took *Cyzicus*. Elated with this ſucceſs, *Procopius* grew proud and tyrannical	VI	36-
4672	3365	366	The empreſs *Albia Dominica*, wife of *Valens*, the 18th of *January* was delivered of a ſon called *Valentinian*, and ſirnamed *Galata*, for being born in *Galatia*	VI	369
4672	3365	366	*Valens* and *Procopius* come to a battle at *Nicolia*, a city of *Phrygia*, in which many of *Procopius*'s men deſerting him, he fled, but was ſeized and carried to *Valens*, and that emperor ſtruck off his head the 27th of *June*, after he had born the title of emperor eight months, and ſent it to his colleague *Valentinian* in *Gaul*: The two perſons that ſeized and delivered him up were alſo put to death	VI	368
4672	3365	366	*Marcellus* governor of *Nice* ſeizes *Chalcedon*, and proclaims himſelf emperor; but is ſeized, loaded with chains, and he and his accomplices next day tortured to death	VI	369
4672	3365	366	The *Alemans* having paſſed the *Rhine* upon the ice, are attacked by the *Romans*, whom they intirely defeat, and take the ſtandards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*: But *Jovinus* going againſt them, overthrew them three ſeveral times with great ſlaughter, and took their kings and their camp, ſo that very few eſcaped; and the emperor fortified both ſides of the banks of the *Rhine*, to prevent a ſurprize	VII	593
4673	3366	367	The emperor *Valens*, by perſuaſion of his empreſs, is baptized by *Eudoxius*, the *Arrian* biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who obliged him to ſwear to treat as enemies all thoſe who oppoſed that doctrine	VI	370
4670	3363	364	The *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots*, *Saxons*, &c. breaking into the *Roman* provinces of *Britain*, committed great devaſtations, killed *Nectaridus*, *Severus*, and *Jovinus*, but are repulſed, and vaſt numbers of them cut off, and all of them driven out by *Theodoſius*, and peace again reſtored to the inhabitants, who alſo took one		

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			Valens, or *Valentinian*, who had proclaimed himſelf emperor, and delivered him up to the civil magiſtrate		
4673	3366	367	The *Alemans* unexpectedly paſs the *Rhine*, take and plunder *Mentz*, and commit dreadful ravages in the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of *Rhando*, one of their princes	VI	353
4673	3366	367	The emperor *Valens* paſſing the *Danube*, ravages the country of the *Goths*	VII	593
4674	3367	368	A moſt dreadful earthquake utterly ruined *Nice*, and left but two houſes ſtanding in *Germa*, a city in the *Helleſpont*	VII	501
4674	3367	368	The emperor *Valentinian* goes againſt the *Alemans* into their own country, and after an obſtinate battle near *Solicinium* (now *Sultz*) on the *Neckar*, puts them to flight, and kills moſt of them	VI	371
4675	3368	369	The emperor *Valentinian* fortifies the *Rhine*, from its riſe in *Rhætia* to its mouth, with a vaſt number of caſtles on both ſides, and particularly one at the confluence of the *Rhine* and *Neckar*, where the city of *Manheim* now ſtands. The *Germans* ſolicit the emperor to forbear, and upon his refuſal fall upon the ſoldiers and workmen, and kill them. This year the emperor cauſed ſeveral ſenators, governors of provinces, judges, *&c.* to be put to death, for receiving bribes and oppreſſing the people	VI	354
4675	3398	369	Complaint being made to the emperor *Valentinian*, by a widow whoſe eſtate *Rhodanus* the eunuch had unjuſtly ſeized, he was immediately apprehended, and burnt to death in the circus	VI	355
4675	3368	369	The *Marataceuprians* near *Apamea* in *Syria* turn robbers, and commit great diſorders; *Valens* ſends ſome ſoldiers againſt them, who kill them all, both old and young	VI	355
4675	3368	369	*Valens* going into *Leſſer Scythia*, paſſed the *Danube* at *Novidunum*, and after having overcome the *Goths* in ſeveral encounters, they ſue for peace, which he readily grants	VI	371
4676	3369	370	The emperor *Valentinian* built a bridge over the *Tiber*, then called the bridge of *Gratian*, afterwards the bridge *Ceſtius*, at preſent *Ponto di. S. Bartholomeo*	VII	502
4676	3369	370	A terrible famine forced moſt of the inhabitants of *Phrygia* to fly out of the country into other places	VI	355
4676	3369	370	The *Saxons* break into the empire, and defeat count *Nannienus*, and commit dreadful ravages; but *Severus* reduces them to beg a peace, which he grants them, but as they were returning home fell upon them, and cut them all off	VI	372
4676	3369	370	*Eudoxius* the *Arrian* biſhop of *Alexandria* dies; the *Arians*, with *Valens* approbation, put *Demophilis* into that ſee: The orthodox chuſe *Evagrius*, but the emperor ſends a party of ſoldiers to drive him out. The *Arians* perſecute the catholicks; they ſend 80 eccleſiaſtics to *Valens*; but he, inſtead of redreſſing them, put them all to death	VI	356
4676	3369	370	*Ermenic*, king of the *Oſtrogoths*, falls upon the *Heruli*, conquers and makes them his tributaries	VI	372
4677	3370	371	*Valentinian* paſſes two laws, greatly encouraging *Paganiſm* and its profeſſors	VII	499
4677	3370	371	*Valentinian Galata*, the only ſon of *Valens*, being ſick, he applies to St. *Baſil* for his prayers, who promiſed to reſtore the child to health if he would let him be baptized by an orthodox biſhop, which *Valens* refuſing, and being baptized by the *Arians* he died immediately	VI	357
4678	3371	372	*Firmus*, a *Mooriſh* prince, revolts from the *Romans*, and is crowned king, ravages *Africa* and *Mauritania*, making himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea* (now *Algier*) where he ſeized a large ſum of money	VI	372
4678	3371	372	*Sapor* king of *Perſia* ſtrives to gain over the grandees of *Armenia*, and invites *Arſaces* their king to a banquet, where he ſeized him and put out his eyes, and ſent him in chains to a caſtle called *Agabana*, where he was murdered, and his country ruined	VI	359
4679	3372	373	*Theodoſius* goes againſt *Firmus* (king of the *Moors*;) *Firmus* offers to ſubmit; *Theodoſius* requires hoſtages; *Firmus* delays the performance, and *Theodoſius* falls upon *Maſcezel*, &c. his allies, and defeated them with greot ſlaughter; *Firmus* again pretends to ſubmit, but his ally *Maſcezel* ventures a ſecond battle, and is again defeated; and then *Firmus* ſends the hoſtages, and a peace is concluded: But *Firmus* breaking out again, is at laſt ſo ſtraitned, that he ſtrangled himſelf to prevent falling into the hands of the *Romans*	VI	372
4679	3372	373	*Sapor* king of *Perſia* invades the *Roman* dominions in the eaſt, but is overthrown by *Trajan*, a *Roman* general, and *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemans*	VI	361
4680	3373	374	Many are taken up at *Antioch*, for practiſing magic in order to know the name of the ſucceſſor of *Valens*: *Theodorus* his ſecond ſecretary was named and accuſed and convicted of treaſonable and illegal practices to take away the emperor's life, for which he was put to death, and vaſt numbers of innocent people racked, murdered, and baniſhed, as his aiders and abettors	VI	374
4680	3373	374	*Gabinius* king of the *Quadi*, in the weſt, and *Paras* king of *Armenia*, in the eaſt, are both treacherouſly murdered by the *Romans*	VI	474
4680	3373	374	*Macrinus* king of the *Alemans* is killed in an ambuſcade by the *Franks*, with whom he was at war	VI	376
4680	3373	374	*Marcellianus*, duke of *Valeria*, having treacherouſly murdered *Gabinius* king of the *Quadians*, to revenge his death, the *Quadians* paſs the *Danube*, lay all waſte for a great ſpace, murder many of the people, and carry away a prodigious number captive	VII	594
4681	3374	375	The emperor *Valentinian* ravages the country of the *Quadi*, and drives them all before him; and while their embaſſadors were ſuing for peace, and he anſwering them roughly, ſuddenly falls down in convulſion fits, and dies in extream agonies, the 17th of *November*, in the 55th year of his age, and 12th of his reign	VII	603
				VI	364

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4681	3374	375	*Valentinian*, youngeſt ſon of the deceaſed emperor *Valentinian*, is declared emperor by the officers of the army the 23d of *November*, which his brother *Gratian* and uncle *Valens* confirmed; giving him *Italy*, *Illyricum* and *Africa*, for his ſhare of the empire; to *Gratian*, *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*, for his ſhare; and then *Gratian* reſtores his mother *Severa* to her former honours, who had been divorced and baniſhed	VI	377
4682	3375	376	The body of the emperor *Valentinian*, after being embalmed, was ſent to *Conſtantinople* to be interred among the other *Chriſtian* princes, where it arrived the 28th of *December*, but was not buried till the 21ſt of *February*, 382, following. He is variouſly characterized by different authors	VI	365
4682	3375	376	*Gratian* puts *Maximius* (prefect of *Gaul*) to death, for his cruelties exerciſed both in *Italy* and *Gaul*, likewiſe *Simplicius* and *Dorypherianus* for the ſame fault in *Rome*	VI	377
4682	3375	376	The emperor *Gratian* is ſo rigid againſt the *Arians*, *Donatiſts*, &c. that he allowed the *Pagans* greater liberties than they	VI	379
4682	3375	376	The *Goths* being driven out of their country by the *Hunns* and *Alans*, are allowed by the emperor *Valens* to ſettle in vaſt numbers in *Thrace*	VI	380
4682	3375	376	*Athanaric*, a chief among the *Goths*, being driven out of his own country, with his people, by the *Hunns*, retires to *Caucalanda*, then inhabited by *Sarmatians*, drives out the inhabitants, and ſeizes it for themſelves, where they ſettle	VII	610
4682	3375	376	The *Hunns* paſs the *Palus Mæotis*, and diſperſe themſelves into diverſe countries, and particularly diſplace the *Goths*	VII	459
4683	3376	377	The *Goths* lately ſettled in *Thrace*, being reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, began to mutiny, when Count *Lupicinus*, governor there, commanded them to march from the banks of the *Danube*, and ordered his ſoldiers to drive them on the *Greuthongi*, croſſed the river, and when they came to *Marcianopolis* to *Lupicinus*, he invited the two chiefs to a banquet, but would let none of their people in with them; they being hungry, flew on the *Roman* guards, and cut moſt of them to pieces, for which the attendants of the two chiefs were put to death. The chiefs coming away, head their men, and declare war. Next day *Lupicinus* goes againſt them, but being but few in number, the *Goths* cut moſt of them to pieces, and forced him to fly into the city. Thoſe likewiſe at *Adrianople* join them. *Gratian* ſends his uncle aſſiſtance, but they are all cut off or deſert; but ſoon after the *Goths* are overcome, and vaſt numbers ſlain	VI	382
4683	3376	377	*Gratian* makes a law vaſtly in favour of the clergy, and all any ways belonging to the church. A terrible plague ſwept away vaſt numbers of people in all the weſtern provinces	VI	382
4683	3376	377	*Mallobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, is raiſed to the conſular dignity by the emperor *Gratian*, who was himſelf his colleague	VII	557
4684	3377	378	The *Goths* lately ſettled in *Thrace* go into *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, and commit dreadful ravages, advance to *Conſtantinople*, plunder the ſuburbs, and block up the city for ſome time. As *Valens* was going againſt them, *Gratian* ſends to inform him, he was coming to his aſſiſtance with a large army, and therefore deſired him to forbear engaging the enemy till he joined him; and at the ſame time *Fritigern*, chief of the *Goths*, ſues for peace, both of which he refuſes, comes to an engagement, and has his beſt generals and two thirds of his army cut to pitces, and the other routed, and *Valens* himſelf killed	VI	384
4684	3377	378	The next day the *Goths* beſiege *Adrianople*, but are forced to raiſe it with great loſs, and then march to *Conſtantinople*, where after ſpending ſome time, they are alſo forced to retire with great loſs, then they over-run *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Mæſia*, and *Illyricum*, without oppoſition	VI	385
4684	3377	378	The *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* enter the *Roman* territories, and deſtroy all with fire and ſword, wherever they come	VI	388
4684	3377	378	There being great numbers of *Goths* in the *Roman* armies in the eaſt, *Julius*, the governor of *Aſia*, fearing they ſhould revolt, and join their brethren already too numerous, ſent private orders to maſſacre them all at the ſame time, in the ſeveral places where they were quartered, which was executed without reſiſtance. A great body of *Sarmatians* coming to join the *Goths*, are moſt of them cut to pieces by the *Romans*, and the reſt forced to repaſs the *Danube*	VI	388
4684	3377	378	*Gratian*, by the death of *Valens*, becoming emperor of the eaſt, as well as of the weſt, recalled all the catholic biſhops, and reſtored them to their ſees, from whence *Valens* had baniſhed them, and publiſhed liberty of conſcience to all *Chriſtians*, except the *Manichees*, *Photinians*, and *Eunomians*, to whom he would allow no churches	VI	389
4684	3377	378	The *Sarmatians* intending to join the rebellious *Goths*, paſs the *Danube*; but being met by *Theodoſius* in *Thrace*, they are entirely overthrown	VII	610
4684	3377	378	The *Alemans* paſſing the *Rhine*, began to lay waſte the neighbouring provinces. Count *Nannius* and *Mallobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, attacked them, and gained a compleat victory, killing 30,000 on the ſpot, and ſlaying and taking the reſt priſoners in purſuing them	VII	594
4685	3378	379	*Gratian* proclaims *Theodoſius*, a perſon of extraordinary accompliſhments, and univerſally admired for his courage, piety, &c. his colleague in the empire, the 19th of *January*, at *Sirmium*, and committed to his care *Thrace*, and the reſt of the provinces that *Valens* had in the eaſt	VI	389
4685	3378	379	The emperor *Gratian* coming to *Milan*, contracts a familiarity with count *Ambroſe*, and by his influence recalls his law of liberty of conſcience, eſpecially to the Rebaptizers	VI	391
4685	3378	379	The *Lombards* growing too populous, leave their native country *Scandinavia*, to ſeek new ſettlements, and firſt overcome the *Vandals*, under their two chiefs *Iboreas* and *Aionas*	VI	391

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4685	3378	379	The emperor *Theodosius* receives the congratulations and homage of all the cities in the east at *Thessalonica*, and promises them all the service in his power; then goes against, and in several battles defeats, and at last entirely delivers *Thrace* from the ravages of the *Goths*	VI	393
4685	3378	379	*Artaxerxes*, supposed to be the 4th son of *Sapor*, proclaimed king of *Persia*, upon that prince's death, and lived quietly four years	IV	337
4686	3379	380	*Theodosius* being taken extreamly ill at *Thessalonica* in *February*, desires to be baptized, which was accordingly performed by *Ascolus* bishop of *Thessalonica*. *Gratian* comes into *Illyricam* to watch the *Goths*, who were preparing to cross the *Danube*: *Gratian* concludes a peace with them, which *Theodosius* upon his recovery confirmed	VI	393
4686	3379	380	*Gratian* makes a law, whereby any woman obliged to act upon the stage becoming a *Christian*, should be exempt from that obligation: But she that behaved misbecoming a *Christian*, should be condemned to act on the stage for the remaining part of her life	VI	393
4686	3379	380	*Theodosius* publishes a law at *Thessalonica*, the 28th of *February*, wherein he declares he will have all his subjects adhere to the faith *Rome* had received from St. *Peter*, and taught by *Damasus* bishop of that city, and *Peter* bishop of *Alexandria*, *viz.* confess the divinity of the father, son, and holy ghost; and all that did not not should be treated as hereticks. Also another law, forbidding capital trials in *Lent*; and another, prohibiting widows to remarry during their time of mourning, *viz.* 10 or 12 months	VI	393
4686	3379	380	The *Goths* again return under *Fritigern*, *Alatheus*, and *Saphrax*, break into *Thrace* and *Pannonia*, advance to *Macedon*, and destroy all with fire and sword: *Theodosius* goes against them, and overthrows them: Then going in triumph to *Constantinople*, deposes *Demophilus* the *Arian* bishop, and appoints *Gregory Nazianzen* bishop in his stead; and drove the *Arians* out of all churches which they had held for 40 years past	VI	395
4687	3380	381	The *Hereticks* are every where all over the east put out of the churches they held, and the *Catholicks* put in their place: And to reconcile all differences, the emperor *Theodosius* summons's the second oecumenical council at *Constantinople*, where all the bishops of his dominions assembled	VI	395
4687	3380	381	*Athanaric*, king of the *Goths*, flies from the *Hunns* to *Constantinople*, where the emperor goes out to meet him, and receives him with great honours, and treats him nobly, *&c.*	VII	503
4688	3381	382	*Gratian* orders the altar of *Victory*, which stood in the palace where the *Roman* senate met, to be removed, and confiscated the revenues thereof: It had been before removed by *Constantius* in 357, but restored by *Julian* in 361, where it remained till now. He likewise took away the privileges of the *Pagan* pontiffs and vestal virgins. The *Hereticks* were also severely used, declaring them guilty of death	VI	396
4688	3381	382	The emperor *Theodosius* I. upon the submission of the *Goths*, allows them lands in *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, and leave to settle there, those two provinces having been almost dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the several sorts of *Barbarians*	VII	503
4689	3382	383	A dreadful famine raged in *Rome*, and *Magnus Clemens Maximus* revolts in *Britain*, and is proclaimed emperor by the soldiers; and coming into *Gaul*, persuades them to revolt likewise. *Gratian* goes against him, but is deserted by great numbers of his soldiers, to supply which he took in foreigners, so that the rest also forsook him: He flies, is refused admittance into several cities, and is at last taken at *Lions*, and put to death by order of *Maximus*, in the 25th year of his age	VI	398
4689	3382	383	*Maximus* upon the death of *Gratian* takes his son *Flavius Victor* for his colleague with him in the empire, and gave him the title of *Augustus*, though then but an infant, and fixed the seat of his government at *Treves*. *Maximus* ordered *Merobaudes*, one of this year's consuls, to put himself to death, and *Balio* strangled himself, being condemned to be burnt to death for his inviolable attachment to *Gratian*	VI	400
4689	3382	383	*Theodosius*, rather than go to war with *Maximus*, and fearing the inroads of the *Barbarians*, allows him to be his colleague in the empire, and orders him to be proclaimed at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. The beginning of this year *Theodosius* proclaimed his son *Arcadius* emperor, with extraordinary pomp, at the palace of *Hebdomon*, seven miles distant from *Constantinople*, then about six years old	VI	402
4689	3382	383	The *Hunns* having over-ran *Mesopotamia*, lay siege to *Edessa*; but being repulsed by the *Roman* garison, are obliged by the *Goths* to retire	VII	504
4690	3383	384	*Proculus* count of ths east, being accused of extortion, *&c.* at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, was ignominiously deposed, *&c.* This year a dreadful plague raged in *Antioch*, and most cities of *Syria*. A law is published, forbidding all on pain of death or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols, or to consult aruspices, *&c.*	VI	403
4690	3383	384	*Cynegius*, præfect of the east, by order from *Theodosius* shuts up all the heathen temples, and abolishes superstition there and in *Egypt*	VI	404
4690	3383	384	The emperor *Theodosius* publishes a law, prohibiting the marriage of cousin-germans, commanding the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their estates to be confiscated, and their children to be illegitimate	VI	404
4690	3383	384	The *Sarmatians* make an irruption into the dominions of *Valentinian*, who were drove back with great slaughter, and many taken prisoners, who were sent to *Rome* to be massacred in the shews of the gladiators, or destroyed by the wild beasts	VI	405

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4690	3383	384	*Valentinian* the 22d of *March*, being *Good Friday*, publiſhes pardon to all criminals, ſome few excepted, in honour of the approaching feaſt of *Eaſter*	VI	405
4691	3384	385	A plot is diſcovered againſt the emperor *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*, and moſt of the conſpirators put to death. The empreſs *Flacilla* and her daughter *Pulcheria* both die	VI	406
4691	3384	385	*Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia* dying, *Sapor* his ſon ſucceeds him, called *Sapor* the third, who reigned five years	VII	338
4692	3385	386	The two emperors *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius* obtain a great victory over the *Greuthongi*, in which king *Odotheus* was killed, and carry a vaſt number of them captive to *Conſtantinople*, which they enter in triumph	VI	407
4692	3385	386	The *Goths* break into the empire, in order to ſettle in ſome of its provinces, but *Theodoſius* engaging them, entirely overthrows them	VII	504
4693	3386	387	*Theodoſius* publiſhes a law, addreſſed by way of letter to all the cities in the eaſt, to ſet all priſoners free (unleſs for very enormous crimes) at the feaſt of *Eaſter* then next coming	VI	408
4693	3386	387	*Theodoſius* wanting money to celebrate the 5th year of his ſon *Arcadius*, and the tenth of his own, laid a tax upon all the provinces to raiſe money, to which all but *Antioch* ſubmit. The rabble break out into fury, and miſſing the governor, pull down all the ſtatues of the emperors, *&c.* but being diſperſed by the ſoldiery, many of the mutineers were puniſhed, by the governor, with extreme ſeverity, ſo that the greateſt part of the people fled into the mountains, *&c.* beſides which the emperor ſent commiſſions to enquire into the riot, who puniſhed many likewiſe with great ſeverity; but thro' the mediation of ſaint *Chryſoſtom* and *Flavianus*, biſhop of *Antioch*, the emperor forgave them, and reſtored the city again to the privileges he had deprived them of	VI	411
4693	3386	387	*Maximus* paſſes the *Alps*, and goes to *Milan*. *Valentinian* flies to *Theodoſius* for protection at *Theſſalonica*, where *Theodoſius* comes to comfort and aſſure him of help, and prevails on him to renounce *Arianiſm*; then he ſends embaſſadors to *Maximus*, deſiring him to be content with *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; but he refuſes, and beſieges and takes *Aquileia*, and many other cities in *Italy*	VI VII	412 594
4694	3387	388	The *Alemans* ſubmit to *Maximus* voluntarily		
4694	3387	388	*Maximus* is acknowledged emperor in *Rome*, and all the provinces of *Africa*. *Theodoſius* raiſes a great army, chiefly of *Goths*, *Hunns* and *Alans*, and goes againſt, engages him, and entirely defeats one of his generals in *Pannonia*. Soon after he engages and utterly defeats *Marcellinus*, brother of *Maximus*, with an army more numerous than his own. *Theodoſius* purſues *Maximus* to *Aquileia*, which is taken, and *Maximus* in it, who is carried in chains to *Theodoſius*. After which he was beheaded the 27th of *Auguſt*; then ſending *Arbogaſtes* into *Gaul*, againſt *Victor* the ſon of *Maximus*, *Arbogaſtes* overcame and put him to death, and ſo ended the war. *Theodoſius* publiſhes a general amneſty for all perſons whatſoever that had ſided with *Maximus*, and reſtored *Valentinian* to the full poſſeſſion of all the weſtern provinces	VI	413
4694	3387	388	Upon a report that the emperor *Theodoſius* had been beaten by *Maximus*, the *Arians* at *Conſtantinople* riſe in the night, and ſet fire to the houſe of *Nectarius*, the orthodox biſhop of that city, and burnt it and him in it; but upon their humble petition to the young emperor *Arcadius*, he forgave them, and got his father to confirm their pardon	VI	414
4694	3387	388	*Theodoſius* publiſhes a law, forbidding the *Apollinarians* to hold aſſemblies, to have biſhops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to preſent a petition to the emperor. Another prohibiting all religious diſputes. Another declaring the marriages between *Jews* and *Chriſtians* unlawful, and the contracting perſons ſubject to the laws againſt adultery, *&c.*	VI	415
4694	3387	388	The *Franks* ravage *Gaul* fiercer than ever. *Nannius* and *Quintinus* having defeated thoſe parties of *Franks* that were left in *Gaul*, *Quintinus* purſues them to the *Rhine*, which he paſſes, but is there with his army cut all to pieces	VII	557
4695	3388	389	*Theodoſius* goes to *Rome*, with his ſon *Honorius* and young *Valentinian*, and entered it in triumph; and by his extraordinary candid behaviour, is greatly inſtrumental in converting the ſenate and people to chriſtianity	VI	415
4695	3388	389	The *Pagans* at *Alexandria* fall upon the *Chriſtians*, for expoſing ſome of their obſcene figures, found in one of their temples, and making the temple of *Serapis* their gariſon; they ſallied out from thence, and dragging what *Chriſtians* they met with into the temple, forced them to ſacrifice to their idol, or elſe rack'd them to death; the emperor, to ſtill the riot, forgave the *Pagans*, but ordered all the temples in *Alexandria* to be demoliſhed	VI	417
4696	3389	390	*Theodoſius*, by a law, orders all who profeſſed a monaſtic life, to retire out of all cities, and to live in deſerts; and by another, that all found guilty of unnatural luſt ſhould be publickly burnt alive.	VI	418
4696	3389	390	*Sapor*, third king of *Perſia*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Varanes*, who reigned eleven years	IV	338
4696	3389	390	An obelisk, twenty-four cubits high, was raiſed in the *Circus* at *Conſtantinople*, and a column before the church of Saint *Sophia*, on which was a ſilver ſtatue of *Theodoſius*, weighing 7400 ounces	VI VII	418 460
4697	3390	391	The *Hunns* commit great ravages in *Mæſia* and *Thrace*		
4697	3390	391	*Theodoſius* orders the heretics to be driven out of all cities, and that all who renounced the *Chriſtian* religion, after baptiſm, ſhould be incapable of giving or receiving any thing by will, or being a legal witneſs	VI	418
4697	3390	391	*Theodoſius* unexpectedly falls upon, and cuts to pieces many of the *Barbarians*, that concealed themſelves in the marſhes and woods, in the province of *Macedonia*; and from thence ſallied out and did great damage: but while the ſoldiers		

were

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			were refreſhing themſelves, the *Barbarians* fell upon them with great fury and killed abundance of them. Next day the emperor attack'd them again and overthrew them with ſo great a ſlaughter, that very few of them eſcaped	VI	419
4697	3390	391	*Theodoſius* goes to *Conſtantinople*, and orders all the heathen temples that remained in that city, to be demoliſhed, and all the *Arians* to be driven out of that and all other cities in his dominions	VI	419
4698	3391	392	The emperor *Valentinian* ſends to St. *Ambroſe*, biſhop of *Milan*, to come into *Gaul* to baptize him; but before he could get to him, the emperor was murdered by *Arbogaſtes*, the 15th of *May*, aged twenty years and ſome months	VI	420
4698	3391	392	Upon the death of *Valentinian*, one *Eugenius* was proclaimed emperor in *Gaul*, a creature of *Arbogaſtes*, who ſoon over-run *Weſt Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, but *Africa* ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*	VI	421
4698	3391	392	*Theodoſius* receives the embaſſadors ſent to him by *Eugenius* very civilly, and ſends to conſult one *John*, a hermit, by nation an *Egyptian*, who adviſes him to make war upon *Eugenius*, and aſſures him of victory; and that he ſhould ſoon after die in *Italy*, and leave his ſon emperor of the weſt	VI	422
4699	3392	393	*Theodoſius* proclaims his ſecond ſon *Honorius Auguſtus*, in the palace of *Hebdomon*, near *Conſtantinople*, with great magnificence.	VI	423
4699	3392	393	*Eugenius* having obtained great advantages over the *Franks*, leaves *Gaul* and goes into *Italy*, where, after repeated ſollicitations, he re-eſtabliſhes Paganiſm	VI	423
4700	3393	394	*Theodoſius* goes to the *Alps*, the paſſes whereof he found guarded by *Flavianus*, prefect of *Italy*; he attacks him; *Flavianus* is killed, and his ſoldiers run away; but as he came down thoſe hills, he was met by *Eugenius* at the bottom, with a numerous army; they engage, and *Theodoſius* loſes above 10,000 of his auxiliaries; they are parted by the night. Next morning *Theodoſius* renews the fight, kills many of the enemy, and forces the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. *Eugenius* is carried to *Theodoſius* in chains, where his head is cut off, and carried about on a ſpear, and the reſt ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, who ordered the children of *Arbogaſtes* and *Eugenius* to be inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* religion, and taken great care of them, gave them their paternal eſtates, and raiſed them to great offices and employments	VI	425
4700	3393	394	*Theodoſius* publiſhes a general amneſty, and ſends for his ſon *Honorius*, and proclaims him emperor of the Weſt, giving him *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, *Africa*, and *Weſt Illyricum*, and ſends *Stilicho* to *Rome* with this declaration, accompanied by his wife *Serena*, niece to the emperor. She goes to ſee the ſtatue of *Cybele*, and ſnatches a fine necklace that was on the image; an old veſtal curſed her, her huſband, and children, for which ſhe was puniſhed ſeverely	VI	425
4700	3393	394	The *Roman* ſenate congratulate *Theodoſius* on his victory, and beg the next conſulſhip for the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, which the emperor grants, and exhorts them to embrace the *Chriſtian* religion. This year dreadful earthquakes were felt almoſt all over the empire every day, from the beginning of *September* to the end of *November*. Violent and inceſſant rains laid whole countries under water, and great darkneſs	VI	426
4701	3394	395	*Theodoſius* prepares to return to *Conſtantinople*, but is ſeized with a dropſy, whereupon he made his will, bequeathing the eaſtern part of the empire to his ſon *Arcadius*, and the weſtern part to his ſon *Honorius*, and died at *Milan* the 17th of *January*, in the 16th year of his reign, and 50th year of his life. St. *Ambroſe* pronounced his funeral oration; his body was embalmed, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where it was interred the 9th of *November* following, in a tomb of porphyry, in the mauſoleum of *Conſtantine the Great*, near the church of the apoſtles: he is characterized to be endowed with every virtue becoming a prince, in a very eminent degree	VI	426
4701	3394	395	*Arcadius*, upon his father's death, comes out of the eaſt to *Conſtantinople*, where he reigned under the direction of *Ruſinus*, whom his father had made his guardian, being then in the 18th year of his age; and *Honorius* continued at *Milan*, being in the 11th year of his age, under the guardianſhip of *Stilicho*; the two miniſters jealous of one another, *Stilicho* pretends *Theodoſius* had left the care of both to him, and therefore endeavours to deſtroy *Ruſinus*	VI	432
4701	3394	395	The emperor *Honorius* allowed a colony of *Alemans*, to ſettle in the preſent *Switzerland*	VII	594
4701	3394	395	The *Hunns* break into the eaſtern provinces of the *Roman* empire, and commit unſpeakable ravages	VII	460
4701	3394	395	*Eucherius*, uncle to *Arcadius*, complained to him of *Lucianus*, count of the eaſt, who is very differently characterized. *Ruſinus* goes privately to *Antioch*, calls *Lucianus* to his tribunal, and condemned him to be beat to death with leaden balls, faſtened to cords; the *Antiochians* murmuring at it, he ordered the moſt ſtately portico to be built that was in all *Syria*, to appeaſe them	VI	432
4701	3394	395	*Ruſinus* propoſes his daughter for a wife to *Arcadius*, but he chuſes *Eudoxia*, daughter of count *Bauto*, a *Frank*, and the nuptials were ſolemnized the 27th of *April*, ſhe had a vaſt influence over *Arcadius*	VI	433
4701	3394	395	*Ruſinus* diſappointed in the marriage, and fearing the arms of *Stilicho*, and the influence of the eunuch *Eutropius*, the favourite both of the emperor and the empreſs, reſolves to put all into a flame, and ſtirs up the *Hunns* and *Goths*, who penetrated into the empire as far as *Antioch*	VI	433
4701	3394	395	*Stilicho* renews the ancient alliances with the *Germans*, and goes with a great army to the aſſiſtance of *Arcadius*; but *Ruſinus* influenced *Arcadius* to ſend for the eaſtern troops that were with *Stilicho*, and to order him to return home with the weſtern troops, which he did. *Gainas*, that commanded the eaſtern troops, was met at the palace of *Hebdomon* by *Arcadius*, and *Ruſinus*, who paſſed his ward to proclaim him his colleague; but *Gainas* ordered his troops		

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			to cut him to pieces, which they did the 27th of *November*; cut off his head, and carried it upon a ſpear to *Conſtantinople*, where every one rejoiced at the ſight; and was ſucceeded by *Eutropius* the eunuch, who was originally an *Armenian* ſlave, very covetous, cruel, &c. who uſed all wicked means to convey the wealth of the empire into his own coffers	VI	434
4701	3394	395	The *Goths* under *Alaric* ravage a great part of the empire, and even threaten *Conſtantinople* itſelf, continuing two years in *Greece*, &c. deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and ſending away multitudes of captives, with the whole wealth of the ravaged country	VII	505
4702	3395	396	*Eutropius* ſo far influences *Arcadius*, that *Stilicho* is ſolemnly declared a public enemy, and all his lands and palaces in the eaſt confiſcated, and endeavoured to ruin all his friends. *Eutropius* prevails with the emperor to enact a law forbidding any body flying into the church for refuge, and that thoſe who did ſo ſhould be dragg'd out and puniſhed more grievouſly than if they had not flew thither; this drew the general hatred upon him	VI	437
4702	3395	396	Dreadful earthquakes were felt in moſt of the eaſtern provinces of the empire, the ſky appearing all on a flame, over *Conſtantinople*, terrified the emperor and the people ſo much, that they flew out of the city to lie in the fields	VI	437
4702	3395	396	*Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, by means of ſaint *Ambroſe*, is converted to the *Chriſtian* religion, and influences her huſband to make peace with the *Romans*, and to favour the *Chriſtians*	VII	602
4703	3396	397	*Eutropius*, the emperor *Arcadius's* favourite and prime miniſter, ſtirs up *Gildo*, brother to the famous *Firmus*, commander of the *Roman* troops in *Africa*, to revolt from *Honorius*, and come over to *Arcadius*, which he doing, they oblige *Carthage* and the whole province of *Africa* to declare for *Arcadius*	VI	438
4703	3396	397	Saint *Ambroſe*, biſhop of *Milan*, dies, univerſally lamented by all degrees of people throughout the whole empire. *Honorius* publiſhes a law forbidding the *Romans* to follow foreign faſhions. *Arcadius* baniſhes all the *Apollinarian* preachers out of *Conſtantinople*, and confiſcates all their houſes; and paſſes a law in favour of the *Jews*; and ſentences to death all domeſtics that ſhould bear witneſs againſt their maſters, in caſes of treaſon; the empreſs *Eudoxia* is delivered of a daughter, who was named *Flaccilla*, the 17th of *June*	VI	439
4704	3397	398	*Maſcezel* is ſent by *Stilicho* againſt his rebellious brother *Gildo* in *Africa*, where he engages and entirely overthrows him; *Gildo* flies, is purſued, taken, and put into priſon, where he ſtrangled himſelf; and all *Africa* returned to *Honorius* again, and the two brothers are reconciled to one another	VI	440
4704	3397	398	*Maſcezel* returns to *Italy*, where *Stilicho* ſeemingly receives him with great marks of eſteem; but being jealous of his growing greatneſs, orders him to be puſhed into the river, as they were both going over the bridge at *Milan*, in which he was drowned	VI	440
4704	3397	398	*Stilicho* marries his daughter *Maria*, an infant, to the emperor *Honorius*, now in his 13th year; he aſſiſts the *Britains* againſt the *Danes*, *Saxons* and *Picts*, and ſettles a legion in *Britain* for their defence	VI	441
4704	3397	398	A violent earthquake overthrows abundance of houſes in *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon*, and ſeveral buildings are conſumed with lightning, and the ſea breaks in and lays whole countries under water	VI	441
4705	3398	399	*Eutropius* prevails upon *Arcadius* to create him a patrician, intitle him *Father to the Emperor*, and to raiſe him to the conſulate, being the firſt and laſt eunuch ever advanced to that dignity	VI	441
4705	3398	399	*Tribigild*, the *Goth*, commander of a great army of thoſe people as auxiliaries to *Arcadius* in *Nicotia* in *Phrygia*, coming to court, is highly affronted at the haughty behaviour of *Eutropius*, and is influenced by *Gainas*, general of all the *Roman* horſe and foot, to revolt; at his return to *Nicotia*, he plundered it and ſeveral other cities, and put all to the ſword that fell into his hands, threw the whole province of *Aſia* into confuſion and conſternation. *Eutropius* ſtrove to bring him back by large preſents and promiſes; but failing ſends one *Leo*, a creature of his, at the head of an army againſt him. *Tribigild* was cut off all to 300 men by the *Piſidians*; but *Gainas* ſupplies him with a freſh army, who fell upon and defeated *Leo*, who periſhed, and moſt of his men were cut to pieces; and then he demands *Eutropius* to be delivered up to him, who after being degraded, was firſt baniſhed to the iſland of *Cyprus*, and afterwards put to death, as the cauſe of all theſe troubles	VI	444
4705	3398	399	*Tribigild*, and *Gainas*, two officers in the *Roman* pay, revolt, and with their countrymen the *Goths*, do great miſchief	VII	506
4705	3398	399	Abundance of heathen temples were ſhut up and pulled down, both in the eaſtern and weſtern empires, and ſome turned into churches; and ſevere laws enacted againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip	VI	445
4706	3399	400	*Alaric* king of the *Goths*, and *Radagaiſus* king of the *Huns*, entered *Italy* and committed vaſt ravages	VII	504
4706	3399	400	Upon the death of *Eutropius*, the empreſs *Eudoxia*, a bold, enterprizing, avaritious woman, ſo influenced her weak huſband *Arcadius*, that the ſtate was reduced to the utmoſt miſeries, by the enormous wickedneſs of her creatures	VI	445
4706	3399	400	*Gainas* makes a pretended peace with *Tribigild*, and they united their forces together, and went to *Sardis* in *Lydia*, plundered that metropolis; and then ſeparated; *Tribigild* goes to *Lampſacus*, and *Gainas* towards *Chalcedon*, plundering the countries through which they paſs. The emperor offers *Gainas* whatever terms he required. He firſt demanded the three greateſt officers of the ſtate to be delivered to him, which was done; then, that the emperor and he ſhould have a private conference, which was likewiſe held in the church of St. *Eu-*		

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			phemia in *Chalcedon*, where it was agreed, that they ſhould lay down their arms and be advanced to the higheſt dignities in the ſtate, which were both done accordingly		
4706	3399	400	*Gainas* having filled *Conſtantinople* with his countrymen the *Goths*, revived and greatly encouraged *Arianiſm*, and formed a deſign to ſeize all the wealth of the city, and ſet fire to the palace; but miſtaking the time of the ſignal, moſt of the *Goths* were cut to pieces by the inhabitants; upon which *Gainas* flies again into open rebellion. *Fravitus*, who commanded in *Aſia*, oppoſes and kills ſeveral thouſand of his men, and forces him back from that province; and upon his arrival in *Thrace*, he and all his ſoldiers were cut to pieces by the *Roman* ſoldiers, and ſo this diſturbance ceaſed	VI	446
4707	3400	401	The empreſs *Eudoxia* being created *Auguſta*, orders her image to be carried through all the provinces, to receive the ſame homage that is paid to the images of the emperors, which no empreſs before had ever preſumed to do	VI	447
4707	3400	401	The empreſs *Eudoxia* is delivered of her third daughter *Arcadia*, on the third of *April*.	VI	447
			This year, *Conſtantinople* was ſhaken with violent earthquakes for three days together, upon which abundance of *Pagans* deſire to be, and are baptized into the *Chriſtian* religion		
4707	3400	401	*Varanes*, king of *Perſia*, dies, and is ſucceeded by *Iſdigertes*, whom *Arcadius*, emperor of the eaſt, declared guardian of his ſon *Theodoſius*, which begot a great intimacy and friendſhip between the two courts	VI	447
4708	3401	402	*Theodoſius*, ſon and ſucceſſor of *Arcadius*, was born the 10th of *April*, and ſoon after baptized and declared *Cæſar*, with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity. This year the *Euxine* ſea was frozen over for the ſpace of twenty days. A band of ſlaves and deſerters pillaged *Thrace*, pretending to be *Huns*; but *Fravitus* cuts moſt of them to pieces, and diſperſes the reſt	IV.	338
4708	3401	402	*Honorius* forgives all debts due to his exchequer, contracted ſince his firſt conſulate in 386, and orders all legal proſecutions for debt to ſtop, commenced ſince 395, the time of his coming to the empire, till he had examined into the circumſtances thereof.	VI	449
4709	3402	403	*Arcadius* promotes his ſon *Theodoſius* to the imperial dignity, in his palace of *Hebdomon*, on the 10th of *January*, with extraordinary magnificence	VI	449
4709	3402	403	*Alaric* enters *Italy* without oppoſition, and ravages the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, and threatened to beſiege the court; whereupon *Honorius* retires from *Milan* to *Ravenna*, which from this time became the ordinary place of his reſidence	VI	449
4709	3402	403	The empreſs *Eudoxia* is delivered of her fourth and laſt daughter *Marina*. On the 10th of *February* a ſtatue of ſilver was erected to the empreſs, upon a column of porphyry, near the church of St. *Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*, where ſports were exhibited in honour of the empreſs, which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between St. *Chryſoſtom*, biſhop of the city, and the empreſs. This year a ſtatue was reared to *Arcadius*, in the ſame city, and he built the city of *Arcadiopolis* in *Thrace*	VI	449
4709	3402	403	*Stilicho* engages and overcomes *Alaric* king of the *Goths*, at *Pollentia*, takes his camp, with all the rich plunder of ſeveral provinces, and his wife and children; upon which *Alaric* ſues for peace, which is granted: He repaſſes the *Po*, and goes to *Verona*, where committing acts of hoſtility, he is purſued, and forced into the mountains, and ſo retires into *Pannonia*; upon which *Honorius* goes to *Rome*, which he enters in triumph, with *Stilicho* in the ſame chariot with him, about the beginning of *December*, where he was received with all the marks of joy and reſpect poſſible	VI	450
4710	3403	404	The empreſs *Eudoxia* dies of a miſcarriage, the 6th of *October*, a few days after ſhe had prevailed on *Arcadius* to baniſh St. *Chryſoſtom*: That day he went out of *Conſtantinople* a fire conſumed the great church, the palace where the ſenate aſſembled, and many other adjoining edifices	VI	451
4710	3403	404	The *Huns* break into *Thrace*, and eaſt *Illyricum*, and having amaſſed great booty, retired beyond the *Danube*: And the *Iſaurian* robbers commit great ravages in *Aſia* and *Syria*; but *Arbazacius* going againſt them, cut moſt of them to pieces, and ſhuts up the reſt on all ſides, but for the ſake of a great bribe let them eſcape, when they over-run the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, *Piſidia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lower Syria*, pillaging all the open country, and then retired into their inacceſſible mountains with their vaſt booty	VI	451
4711	3404	405	*Radagaiſus* king of the *Goths*, a *Pagan*, comes with a mighty army into *Italy*, and offering ſacrifices to *Jupiter* every morning, vows all the *Romans* to deſtruction. The *Pagans* all over the empire, but eſpecially at *Rome*, lay all their ſufferings upon the *Chriſtians*, for deſpiſing the gods and their ſervice. *Stilicho* aſſembles 30 *Roman* legions at *Pavia*, and reinforced them with a great number of *Goths*, *Huns*, and *Alans*, under *Sarus*, a *Goth*, and *Uldin* king of the *Huns*, and goes towards *Florence*, which *Radagaiſus* had beſieged, and orders his auxiliaries to fall upon one of the diviſions of *Radagaiſus*'s army, which doing, they kill him 100,000 men without the loſs of one man; upon which he retired to the mountains of *Feſulæ*, where *Stilicho* cloſely beſieged him, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he attempted to eſcape and leave his men behind, and ſo was taken and put to death: His army ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who ſold them for ſlaves in droves, at a crown *per* head; but all died in a few days, being almoſt ſtarved to death before in their camp	VII	461
4712	3405	406	A dreadful fire reduced great part of *Conſtantinople* to aſhes on the 25th of *October*; and ſuch multitudes of graſhoppers infeſted *Egypt*, that turned the day into night; and by the ſtench of them after they were dead occaſioned a great plague, which carried off abundance of the people	VI	453

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4712	3405	406	December 30th prodigious number of the northern nations entered into and ſettled in *Gaul*, which at length utterly ruined the weſtern empire, ſaid to be invited and ſupported by *Stilicho*, with an intent to make his ſon *Eucherius* emperor of the weſt	VII	452
4712	3405	406	The *Franks* fall upon the *Vandals*, as they were preparing to march into *Gaul*, and cut of 20,000 of them	VII	556
4713	3406	407	The *Gauls* are terribly ravaged by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Sueviens*, and are joined by the *Burgundians*. They took *Mentz* by ſtorm, and levelled it to the ground, after having murdered many thouſands of the inhabitants in the churches, whither they flew. *Worms*, *Straſburgh*, and *Spires*, underwent the ſame fate; then they maſtered all *Aquitan*, *Gaſcony*, *Lions*, and *Narbonne*	VI	453
4713	3406	407	The *Britains* ſet up an emperor of their own, named *Mark*, who was murdered a few days after: Then they advanced one *Gratian* to that dignity, who after a reign of four months was alſo murdered; and then one *Conſtantine*, a common ſoldier, was choſen, who forced the *Picts* and *Scots* out of the *Roman* province, and then formed a deſign of reigning over the whole empire: He goes into *Gaul*, with all the youth of *Britain* and what *Roman* forces were in the country, and after various ſucceſſes ſettled at *Arles*, but leaving the *Britains* defenceleſs, they were terribly ravaged by their ſettled enemies, the *Scots* and *Picts*	VI	454
4714	3407	408	*Arcadius* emperor of the eaſt dies on the 1ſt of *May* at *Conſtantinople*, in the 31ſt year of his age, and was buried in the church of the apoſtles near his wife *Eudoxia*. He was naturally inclined to virtue, but being of a weak underſtanding, ſuffered his people to be grievouſly abuſed by his miniſters and his wife's favourites. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodoſius*, then about eight years old, under the guardianſhip of his mother	VI	455
4714	3407	408	*Conſtantine* the *Britain* made himſelf maſter of all *Gaul*; he cauſed his ſon *Conſtans*, who was a monk, to quit his retirement, and created him *Cæſar*, and ſent him under *Gerontius* into *Spain*, where he cut moſt of *Honorius*'s troops to pieces, and took *Didymius* and *Verinianus* their generals, and their wives, priſoners: They were brothers, and related to *Honorius*. This reduced all *Spain*, where *Gerontius* ſtaid, and *Conſtans* returned into *Gaul*, and preſented his father with the illuſtrious priſoners, who ordered them to be privately murdered, and created his ſon *Auguſtus*, and gave him a diadem, and ſends ambaſſadors to *Honorius*, demanding to be aſſociated with him in the empire, who was forced to ſend him the imperial purple, and honour him with the title of *Auguſtus*, upon condition of his helping him againſt *Alaric*	VI	455
4714	3407	408	*Alaric* being privately encouraged by *Stilicho*, threatens to lay waſte all *Italy* unleſs the *Romans* paid him a large ſum of money. The ſenate at laſt were compelled by *Stilicho* to ſend him 4000 pounds weight of gold	VI	455
4714	3407	408	One *Olympius* pretending great ſanctity, thereby ingratiated himſelf ſo far into *Honorius*'s favour, as to wait immediately upon his perſon where-ever he went; and in the emperor's journey from *Pavia*, ſo thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of *Stilicho*, that he ſent two orders to *Ravenna*, where *Stilicho* was, the one to ſecure, and the other to put him to death, both which were executed. The army flew to arms, and ſlew all *Stilicho*'s friends and creatures. The emperor having married *Thermantia*, *Stilicho*'s ſecond daughter, ſent her back to her mother *Serena* untouched. *Eucherius* his ſon fled to a church, but was dragged out and executed. *Stilicho*'s eſtate, and the eſtates of all his partizans, were confiſcated; and *Olympius* ſucceeded as prime miniſter. This year the *Roman* nobility were forbid all traffick. The *Roman* ſoldiers upon *Stilicho*'s death murdered the wives and children of ſuch heathen auxiliaries as he had hired; upon which 30,000 of them joined *Alaric*, who thereupon ſends to *Honorius*, and offers to retire, and never return again, if he would give him money to pay his army their arrears; which he refuſing, he ſends his brother-in-law *Ataulphus* into *Italy*, and goes himſelf and beſieged *Rome*. A famine ſoon began in the city, and that was followed by a plague. The *Romans* ſend out deputies to treat with *Alaric*, who agrees to raiſe the ſiege, and for ever to continue faithful to the *Romans*, upon their delivering to him hoſtages, and paying him 5000 pounds weight of gold, 30,000 *l.* of ſilver, 4000 ſilk garments, 3000 purple ſkins, and 3000 *l.* of pepper; all which was done, and ratified by *Honorius*, and the ſiege accordingly raiſed	VI	458
4714	3407	408	*Uldin* king of the *Huns* taking diſlike to the *Romans*, croſſed the *Danube*, and entered *Thrace* with a numerous army; but behaving in a very haughty manner towards his officers, they deſert to the *Romans* who forced him to retire with great loſs and precipitation	VII	462
4714	3407	408	*Anthemius* is choſen prime miniſter in the eaſt, to govern it and *Theodoſius*, which he did with great integrity and ſkill, to the intire ſatisfaction of the people of all degrees. The *Squiri* and *Huns* break into *Thrace*; but ſome of their officers abandoning them to join the *Romans*, they retire with great precipitation, but the emperor's troops overtaking the *Squiri* before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them to pieces, and took the reſt priſoners; ſo that by this overthrow that nation was nearly extirpated	VI	459
4715	3408	409	*Honorius* emperor of the weſt neglecting to deliver up to *Alaric* the hoſtages agreed on, he returns and beſieges *Rome* a ſecond time, and is encreaſed by 40,000 ſlaves, who made their eſcape out of the city. *Honorius* ſends 6000 troops to the aſſiſtance of *Rome*, whom *Alaric* intercepts, and cuts them almoſt all off. *Honorius* engages *Ataulphus*, and kills about 1200 of his men, but can't ſtop his going to *Rome* and joining his brother *Alaric*	VI	459

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4715	3408	409	*Olympius*, the prime miniſter to *Honorius*, is diſgraced and diſcharged, and is ſucceeded by *Jovius* præfect of *Italy*. The ſoldiers at *Ravenna* mutiny, and demand the heads of their two generals, and of the emperor's two chamberlains. The ſenate ſend a ſecond meſſage to preſs *Honorius* to perform the articles of peace, among whom was *Innocent* biſhop of *Rome*, but without ſucceſs. *Alaric* ſends ſeveral biſhops to him without effect. Then he goes to *Rome*, and in a few days the inhabitants open their gates to him, when he obliges them to proclaim *Attalus*, then præfect of the city, emperor, and to renounce *Honorius*, which they do: *Attalus* was an *Arrian*, and promoted all of that opinion, making *Alaric* his generaliſſimo			
4715	3408	409	*Attalus* ſends *Conſtans* into *Africa*, to ſecure that province; but he and all his men are cut off by *Heraclianus*, who hinders all manner of proviſions going to *Rome*, which reduces them ſoon to great ſtraits. *Attalus* goes from *Rome* to beſiege *Honorius* in *Ravenna*: *Honorius* ſends *Jovius* his prime miniſter, *Valens* the general of his foot, *Potamus* the quæſtor, and *Julian* his firſt ſecretary, to wait *Attalus*'s coming to *Rimini*, and to offer him the partnerſhip in the empire. *Jovius* betrays his maſter, and *Attalus* offers him only his life, and liberty to retire to what iſland he pleaſed. *Attalus* ſends another body of troops more numerous than the former into *Africa*, who were alſo cut off by *Heraclianus*, who alſo ſent *Honorius* a ſeaſonable ſupply of money, which he immediately diſtributed among the ſoldiery, with good effect. *Alaric* reduced *Liguria* and *Æmilia*, except *Bononia*, and proclaimed *Attalus* every-where, and forced the people to ſwear allegiance to him	VI	461
4715	3408	409	*Gerontius* revolts from *Conſtantine* in *Spain*, and ſets up one *Maximus* for emperor; upon which the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, that *Conſtantine* had permitted to remain in *Gaul*, flew to arms, and took ſeveral cities	VI	463
4715	3408	409	The *Vandals*, &c. break into *Spain*, and proving too hard a match for the *Romans*, then commanded by *Conſtans*, ſon of the emperor *Conſtantine*, ſettle there, and divide thoſe provinces among them	VI	462
4715	3408	409	All the *Armorici*, or inhabitants of the ſea coaſts, ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, and erect a new ſtate and government, which proved but ſhort-lived	VII	430
4715	3408	409	The *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians* quit *Gaul*, and enter *Spain*, and take ſeveral cities, and defeat *Conſtantine*'s army that he had ſent againſt *Gerontius*, under the command of his ſon *Conſtans*, and force him to return to his father at *Arles*, and entered into a league with *Gerontius*, and then over run the country, committing the moſt horrid cruelties, and continued this ſavage treatment till 411, when having conquered the whole country, they ſet about tilling the land for their own ſubſiſtance	VI	463
4715	3408	409	The populace riſe at *Conſtantinople*, and burn the palace of *Monaxes*, præfect of the city, upon account of the ſcarcity of bread. The rich men make a voluntary contribution, and divide it among the poor, and whip the bakers through the ſtreets, and ſo appeaſe the multitude	VI	462
4516	3409	410	The *Britains* having often implored the *Romans* to aſſiſt them without ſucceſs, ſhook off all obedience to them; but not being able to withſtand the continual irruptions of their enemies, again implore the aſſiſtance of *Honorius*, who ſent them a legion; theſe coming unexpectedly, cut the *Scots* and *Picts* in great numbers to pieces, and drove them into their own territories; and after adviſing the natives to rebuild the wall, returned to the emperor	VI	463
4716	3409	410	*Heraclian* keeping the ports of *Africa* ſo well guarded, that the *Romans* could get no ſuſtenance from thence, they were reduced to the neceſſity of eating human fleſh. *Alaric* and *Attalus* go to *Rome* to conſult about the meaſures of relieving *Rome*. *Alaric* propoſes to ſend *Gomarac*, one of his officers, with a detachment of *Goths* to force *Africa*: *Attalus* refuſes to employ the *Goths*, which ſo exaſperated *Alaric*, that he ſent moderate propoſals to *Honorius*, who ſeemingly complied therewith. *Alaric* publick ſtripped *Attalus* of all the badges of ſovereignty, and ſent them to *Honorius*, and inſiſted on *Attalus* and his ſon *Ampelius* being pardoned; and then *Alaric* goes towards *Ravenna*, to finiſh the peace: but *Sarus* the *Goth*, with 300 men, having remained neuter, *Ataulphus* goes againſt him; upon which he declared for *Honorius*, and went to *Ravenna*, where being kindly received, ſo provoked *Alaric*, that he returned to *Rome*, and reinſtated *Attalus* again in the ſovereign power, and in a few days depoſed him again, beſieged *Rome*, and reduced it to extream neceſſities, and took it the 24th of *Auguſt*, and gave his ſoldiers leave to plunder the town, but ordered them not to kill the people. After five or ſix days ſpent in plunder, they burnt the greateſt part of the city to aſhes, and vaſt numbers of the people were maſſacred, but they ſpared all thoſe that fled to the churches for ſafety, which were the only buildings that were not deſtroyed	VII VI	437 464
4716	3409	410	*Alaric* goes from *Rome* into *Campania*, with his vaſt booty, and multitudes of captives, among whom was *Placidia*, the ſiſter of *Honorius*, whom he treated with great reſpect; and after laying waſte *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Brutium*, he went towards the *Streights* of *Sicily*, intending to go from thence into *Africa*; but his fleet being ſhipwrecked, he remained near *Rhegium*, where he was ſuddenly taken ill, and died in a few days. The *Goths*, for fear any inſult ſhould be offered to his bones, turned the courſe of the *Buſento* near *Coſenza* in the farther *Calabria*, and buried him with many rich ſpoils in the bed of the river, and then let the waters return to their old courſe, and run over him, and killed all the ſlaves they employed in the work, and then choſe *Ataulphus*, his ſiſter's huſband, for their king in his ſtead	VI	466

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4716	3409	410	*Conſtantine* comes out of *Gaul*, where he reigned, prepares to enter *Italy*, under the pretence of helping *Honorius*; but being obliged to return into *Gaul* to repel *Geronicus*, who had purſued his ſon *Conſtans* out of *Spain*, *Conſtantine* ſends to beg help of the *Franks* and *Germans*. *Geronicus* beſieges his ſon *Conſtans* in *Vienne*, took it and him, puts *Conſtans* to death, and goes and beſieges *Conſtantine* in *Arles* — — —	VI	466
4716	3409	410	By the wiſe adminiſtration of *Anthemius*, all remained quiet and ſecure in the eaſt, where *Andronicus*, governor of *Pentapolis*, being proved guilty of extortion, *&c.* was firſt excommunicated by *Syniſius* biſhop of *Ptolemais*, and then degraded from his government — — —	VI	466
4717	3410	411	The emperor *Honorius* ſends *Conſtantius* with an army into *Gaul* againſt *Conſtantine*, for coming into *Italy* without deſire: He is joined by many of the troops of *Geronicus*, who forſook their maſter, upon which he raiſed the ſiege of *Arles*, and fled into *Spain*, where for his ſeverity his ſoldiers mutiny, and force him to kill his wife, his friend, and then himſelf. *Maximus*, whom *Geronicus* had ſet up in *Spain*, is brought by his own men to *Conſtantius*, who ſtripped him of his authority, but ſpared his life. *Conſtantius* beſieged *Conſtantine* in *Arles*, when after four months *Edebicus* comes with a very numerous army of *Franks* to his aſſiſtance, which *Conſtantius* engaging, preſently routed with great ſlaughter; when, upon oath promiſing to ſpare the lives of *Conſtantine* and his ſon, the gates of *Arles* were opened to him; but they being ſent to *Honorius*, he ordered them both to be beheaded — — —	VI	467
4717	3410	411	The *Auſurians*, a *Mooriſh* nation, broke into *Pentapolis*, and laid the province waſte, but were ſoon driven out by *Anyſius* the governor. The *Saracens* break into the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, and carry off great booty — — — —	VI	467
4717	3410	411	The *Sueves*, &c. having intirely driven the *Romans* out of *Spain*, make peace with the natives, and divided the *Spaniſh* provinces by lot among them —	VII	541
4718	3411	412	The *Goths* under *Ataulphus* quit *Italy*, and go into *Gaul*, and ravage all the places they come to — — —	VI	467
4718	3411	412	*Sarus* the *Goth* being diſguſted at *Honorius*, goes into *Gaul* to join *Jovinus*, that had declared himſelf emperor there, upon the depoſition of *Conſtantine*; which *Ataulphus* hearing, meets and takes him, and ſoon after puts him to death. *Jovinus* finding fault with *Ataulphus* for it, and promoting his brother *Sebaſtian* to be his partner in the empire, *Ataulphus* ſends word to *Honorius*, that if he would furniſh him with a quantity of corn, he would ſet his ſiſter *Placidia* at liberty, and ſend him the heads of the two rebels; which being readily agreed to by *Honorius*, *Ataulphus* ſoon diſpatched *Sebaſtian*, but *Jovinus* fled to *Valence*, where *Ataulphus* beſieged and took him, and delivered him to *Dardanius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who put him to death at *Narbonne* — — —	VI	468
4719	3412	413	*Lucius* and *Heraclianus* were conſuls this year; but after defending *Africa* gallantly a long time, *Heraclianus* revolts from *Honorius*, and proclaims himſelf emperor, fits out a prodigious fleet, lands in *Italy*, and marches directly to *Rome*. Count *Marinus* goes out againſt him, upon which he flies, gets into one of his ſhips, and returns alone to *Africa*: His men ſubmit, and are pardoned, and himſelf ſoon after cut to pieces in *Africa* — —	VI	468
4719	3412	413	The *Franks* make an irruption into *Gaul*, ſet fire to the city of *Treves*, and lay the country waſte — — —	VII	558
4719	3412	413	The *Burgundians*, *Vandals*, and *Alans*, who entered *Gaul* in 407, make themſelves maſters of *Alſatia*, and are allowed to ſettle there, which gave riſe to the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, under *Gondicarius*, or *Guntiarius* —	VII	583
4719	3412	413	*Ataulphus* begins hoſtilities again, took *Narbonne* and *Toulouſe*, and goes to *Marſeilles*, where count *Bonifacius* engages him, kills great numbers of his men, wounds himſelf, and makes him retire, when he went to *Bourdeaux*, where he was received as a friend — — —	VI	469
4719	3412	413	*Lucius*, a *Pagan*, having the command of the troops attending the court of young *Theodoſius*, being diſpleaſed at the zeal of the young prince for *Chriſtianity*, reſolves to aſſaſſinate him, but is hindered by an imaginary apparition. This year *Conſtantinople* was ſurrounded with walls, twenty miles in circumference, in two months time — — —	VI	469
4720	3413	414	*Placidia*, ſiſter to the emperor *Honorius*, is prevailed on to marry *Ataulphus* king of the *Goths*, at *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, after having been long his priſoner of war, in *January*, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence: He preſented her with 50 baſons filled with pieces of gold, and 50 filled with jewels and precious ſtones. *Honorius* not conſenting to this match, *Ataulphus* ſet up *Attalus* again to be emperor, to bring *Honorius* to his terms —	VI	470
4720	3413	414	*Honorius* publiſhed a law, forbidding any one to moleſt ſuch as ſhould take ſanctuary in churches, on pain of being puniſhed for high treaſon —	VI	470
4720	3413	414	*Anthemius* reſigns his government of the empire and emperor to *Pulcheria*, ſiſter to the emperor *Theodoſius*, for her extraordinary wiſdom and piety, on which account ſhe is honoured with the name of *Auguſta* — —	VI	470
4721	3414	415	*Theodoſius*, ſon of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, dies in *Spain*, and is buried in a ſilver coffin in a church near *Barcelona*, where *Ataulphus* was killed in *Auguſt* or *September* in his own ſtable, by *Dobbius* a *Goth*, one of his ſervants, whoſe maſter he had killed ſeveral years before. Upon which the *Goths* chooſe *Sigeric*, the brother of *Sarus*, for their king, who murders the ſix children of *Ataulphus*, by his firſt wife, in revenge for the life of his brother *Sarus*, and obliged *Placidia* with other captives to walk twelve miles before his chariot, for which he was aſſaſſinated by his own people, the 7th day after his promotion, and *Vallia* choſe in his room, after he had murdered all who ſtood in competition with him — —	VI	471

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4721	3414	415	*Ataulphus* king of the *Goths* being driven out of *Gaul*, flies into *Spain*, and is murdered		
4721	3414	415	A great tumult happened at *Alexandria*; the *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, that were very numerous, quarrelling about ſome ſports that were exhibited on a *Saturday*. St. *Cyril* the biſhop of the city threatned to drive all the *Jews* out of it; upon this the *Jews* having armed themſelves, in the dead of the night cried out the great church was on fire; upon which the *Chriſtians* coming out of their houſes to quench the fire, were maſſacred in great numbers; for which the biſhop drove them all out of the city; *Oreſtes* the governor reſented it as an incroachment upon his authority: Both write to court; the hermits fly to the city for refuge, and revile *Oreſtes* with the names of *Pagan* and *Idolater*, and *Ammonius* wounded him on the head with a ſtone; the monk was ſeized, and by the prefect racked to death. The populace ſeized *Hypatia*, daughter of the philoſopher *Theon*, a perſon much famed for her great wiſdom, and becauſe ſhe was reſpected by *Oreſtes*, they dragged her out of her chariot into a neighbouring church, and flayed her alive, then tore her to pieces, and burnt her mangled carcaſs	VII	509
4721	3414	415	*Theodoſius* publiſhes a law to exclude *Pagans* from all employments both civil and military, and depoſed *Gamaliel* patriarch of the *Jews*, for abuſing his authority	VI	471
4722	3415	416	*Vallia* king of the *Goths* ſends a fleet out to go and reduce *Africa*, which is deſtroyed by ſhipwreck near the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, and moſt of his *Goths* on board drowned. He treats with *Conſtantius*, and concludes a peace with *Honorius*, delivers up hoſtages, and for 600,000 meaſures of corn ſends back *Placidia* to her brother. *Attalus* is taken, has his right-hand cut off, and is baniſhed to the iſland of *Lipari*	VI	471
4723	3416	417	*Honorius* gives his ſiſter to *Conſtantius* his general to wife, the 1ſt of *January* againſt her conſent. The *Armorici*, who formed themſelves into a new ſort of government in 409, are reduced again to the *Roman* ſubjection by *Conſtantius*, now brother-in-law to the emperor *Honorius*	VI	472
4723	3416	417	*Honorius* goes to *Rome*, which he enters in triumph, cauſing *Attalus* to be fetched from *Lipari* to walk before his chariot, and then ſent him back into exile again. This year the *Franks*, after dwelling 200 years on the *German* ſide of the *Rhine*, are allowed to come and ſettle in *Thungria*, where they were governed by as many kings as they conſiſted of cities or cantons	VI	472
4723	3416	417	In the eaſt *Conſtantinople*, and *Cybyra* in *Phrygia*, ſuffered very much by an earthquake, which threw down a great many houſes	VI	472
4723	3416	417	*Vallia* in *Spain* cuts off thoſe *Vandals* called *Silingi*, that had ſettled in *Bætica* or *Andaluſia*, and terribly mauled the *Alans*, who ruled over the *Vandals* and *Suevians* in *Spain*, whoſe king *Ata* being killed, they flew to *Gonderic* king of the *Vandals* in *Galicia*, and ſubmitted to him: For theſe ſervices, and delivering up his conqueſts, *Conſtantius* gave *Vallia* and his *Goths* *Aquitania Secunda*, containing the preſent archbiſhoprick of *Bourdeaux*, and ſome neighbouring cities, and ſoon after the province of *Auch* and *Gaſcoyn*. *Vallia* fixed his abode at *Thouloufe*, which became the capital of the kingdom of the *Goths*	VII	513
4724	3417	418	*Honorius* declares by law the right and privilege of ſanctuary to all places within 50 paces of every church, and declares thoſe guilty of ſacrilege that ſhould arreſt any perſon within that ſpace	VI	473
4724	3417	418	*Placidia* is delivered of a ſon at *Ravenna*, the 2d of *July*, named *Valentinian*, who ſucceeded his uncle *Honorius* in the empire	VI	473
4724	3417	418	In *Spain* *Gonderic* king of the *Vandals*, drives *Eremeric* king of the *Suevians* into the mountains of *Biſcay*, where he blocked him up. *Aſterius*, count of *Spain*, and *Maurocelas* the vicar, cuts off great numbers of *Gonderic*'s men, and forced the reſt to retire into *Bætica*	VI	473
4726	3419	420	The *Franks* pillage and burn *Treves* a 3d time	V.I	558
4726	3419	420	*Honorius* raiſes *Conſtantius* his brother-in-law on the 8th of *February* to the imperial dignity, and declares him his colleague, and gave his wife *Placidia* the title of *Auguſta*. Upon ſending their ſtatues to *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* refuſed to acknowledge them; but *Conſtantius* dying the 2d of *September* following, put an end to all diſputes	VI	473
4726	3419	420	The emperor *Theodoſius* on the 17th of *June* marries *Eudocia*, the daughter of *Heraclitus*, an *Athenian* philoſopher, ſhe being firſt baptized by *Atticus* biſhop of *Conſtantinople*	VI	473
4727	3420	421	*Iſdigertes*, king of *Perſia*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Varanes* the 5th. *Abdas*, the *Perſian Chriſtian* prelate, thro' intemperate zeal, burns down a *Pagan* temple; and being by the king requeſted to rebuild it, refuſed, for which he was put to death. All the *Chriſtian* churches were demoliſhed, and a terrible perſecution followed. *Theodoſius* complained of this and other matters, and both ſides prepare for war. *Ardaburius*, the *Roman* general, goes into *Azazene*, a *Perſian* province, and began to lay it waſte with fire and ſword. *Narſes*, the *Perſian* general, comes and gives him battle, but is defeated, and goes into *Meſopotamia*, a *Roman* province; upon which *Ardaburius* blocks up *Niſibis*. *Varanes* ſollicits the *Saracens* to break with the *Romans*, which they readily comply'd with, and paſſed the *Euphrates* with a mighty army, and ravaged the *Roman* province ſo terribly, that the people joining the ſoldiers, engaged them, and cut off 100,000 of them, and forced the remainder to return home. *Varanes* goes with a mighty army to the relief of *Niſibis*; upon which the *Romans* retire, and the king returns to his capital. This done, the *Romans* engage his generals, and defeat them, and a ſecond time repulſe the *Saracens*, and overthrow the *Perſians*, killing them abundance of men and ſeven generals. Soon after a corps of 10,000, called *Immortals*, were attacked by the *Romans*, and every man of them cut off, upon which a peace was concluded for a 100 years	IV	321

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4728	3421	422	*Honorius* ſends *Caſtinus* with a fine army into *Spain*, to recover it out of the hands of the *Barbarians*; but he imprudently venturing a battle, has 20,000 of his men cut off	VI	475
4728	3421	422	The *Britains* being in great diſtreſs, through the ravages of the *Picts*, &c. implore help from the *Romans*, who grant it, and drive out the enemies	VII	437
4729	3422	423	*Honorius*, who till now had entertained his ſiſter *Placidia* with all the love and reſpect poſſible, ſuddenly changes his behaviour to the contrary; upon which ſhe, her ſon *Valentinian*, and daughter *Honoria*, quit the court, and retire to *Conſtantinople*, where they are received with great affection by *Theodoſius*. Soon after *Honorius* dies at *Ravenna*, upon which *Theodoſius* proclaims himſelf emperor: but *John*, the late emperor's chief ſecretary, ſets up himſelf at *Rome*, and is acknowledged in *Rome*, *Italy*, *Dalmatia* and *Gaul*, and ſends embaſſadors to *Theodoſius*, who ordered them to be impriſoned, and prepares for war	VI	478
4730	3423	424	*Theodoſius* creates *Placidia Auguſta*, and her ſon *Valentinian Cæſar*, and ſends them with his army againſt the uſurper *John*; *Salonæ* is taken by ſtorm, and then they go to *Aquileia* with the army by land, under the command of *Aſpar* the ſon; but *Ardaburius* the father going by ſea, is ſhipwreck'd and taken by *John*, who uſes him civilly. He gives information to his ſon *Aſpar*, who comes at unawares, and ſeizes the city of *Ravenna*, took the uſurper, and ſent him in chains to *Placidia* at *Aquileia*, where he was beheaded, after bearing the title of emperor about eighteen months	VI	480
4731	3424	425	Three days after the death of the uſurper, *John Aetius* comes into *Italy* to his aſſiſtance with 60,000 *Hunns*: *Aſpar* meets him, and a bloody engagement happens, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; but *Aetius* being informed of the death of *John*, makes the beſt terms he can for himſelf; *Placidia* not only pardons, but takes him into favour, with the title of count, (at that time a title of great note:) He ſubmits, and prevails upon the *Hunns* to return home. *Theodoſius*, upon hearing *Placidia*'s ſucceſs, declares *Valentinian* her ſon, his young couſin and ſon-in-law, emperor, and *Placidia* regent during his minority	VI	483
4731	3424	425	The *Vandals*, who had ſettled in *Spain*, ravaged the *Balearick* iſlands; and the *Goths*, who had been permitted to ſettle in *Gaul*, ſeized on the neighbouring cities, and laid ſiege to *Arles*, which *Aetius* obliged them to raiſe. *Thrace* was laid waſte by the *Hunns*, but a plague raging in their army they retired	VI	480
4733	3426	427	*Theodoſius* tranſplanted the *Goths* that had been ſettled in *Pannonia* 50 years before into *Thrace*, where they continued 58 years	VI	480
4734	3427	428	*Pharamond* king of the *Franks* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Clodio*	VII	559
4734	3427	428	Count *Bonifacius* in *Africa* revolts from *Valentinian*; *Placidia* ſends a large army under the command of *Mavotius*, *Galbio*, and *Sinex*, who were all intirely defeated; upon which ſhe ſent *Sigiſvult* the *Goth*, who with the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, took *Carthage* and *Hippo*; *Bonifacius* begs the help of the *Vandals* under the command of *Genſeric*; they come from *Spain*, men, women, and children	VI	481
4734	3427	428	The *Vandals* evacuate *Spain*, and go and ſettle in *Africa*, where they commit moſt terrible ravages	VII	532
4736	3429	430	*Aetius* is made commander of all the troops in the weſtern empire, who gained great advantages over the *Juthongi*, the revolted *Noricans*, the *Franks*, and the *Goths* in *Gaul*	VI	481
4736	3429	430	A body of *Sueves* attempting to croſs the *Rhine* in order to go and join their brethren ſettled in *Galicia* in *Spain*, are attacked by *Aetius* the *Roman* general, who cut great numbers of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to return to their own home between the *Elbe* and *Weiſſel*	VII	543
4737	3430	431	*Aetius* intirely reduced the *Norici* and *Vindelici*. The true reaſon of *Bonifacius*'s revolting comes to light; *Placidia* and he are reconciled, when he ſtrives to free *Africa* of *Genſeric* and his companions, by offering them large ſums to return home: *Genſeric* rejects his offer, falls upon him, and cuts off moſt of his men, and forces him to fly to *Hippo*	VI	482
4737	3430	431	An oecumenical council was held at *Epheſus*, where *Neſtorius* biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was condemned, by upwards of 200 biſhops, for holding two perſons as well as two natures in *Chriſt*. St. *Auſtin*, biſhop of *Hippo* in *Africa*, dies in the 4th month of its ſiege by the *Vandals*	VI	482
4738	3431	432	*Bonifacius* engages the *Vandals* in *Africa*, is overthrown with great ſlaughter, many taken priſoners, and the reſt forced to ſhelter themſelves among the rocks and mountains; after which the *Vandals* committed ſuch dreadful ravages, that the inhabitants of *Hippo* quitted the city, which was firſt plundered and then ſet on fire. *Bonifacius* retires to *Placidia*, at *Ravenna*. *Aetius* perceiving his treachery was diſcovered, meets and engages *Bonifacius*, who being much wounded, died ſoon after. *Aetius* withdraws to the court of *Rouas*, king of the *Hunns*, and returns with a great army: *Placidia* pardons and reſtores him to his former poſt	VI	482
4739	3432	433	A dreadful fire breaks out at *Conſtantinople*, which laſted three days, during which it conſumed all the publick granaries, &c.	VI	482
4740	3433	434	*Honoria* ſiſter to the emperor *Valentinian* having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by one of her domeſtics, named *Eugenius*, was baniſhed the court, being about 16 years old, ſhe invites *Attila* king of the *Hunns* to enter *Italy* with his army and marry her, &c.	VI	483
4741	3434	435	The *Romans* make a peace with *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and yield them great part of *Numidia*, all the province *Proconſularis*, and *Bizacene*. *Aetius* gains a great victory over the *Burgundians*	VII	535

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4741	3434	435	The *Romans* after having with the *Britains* built on the *Iſthmus* between the two friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria* a wall of eight foot broad and twelve foot high, take their final leave of *Britain*, &c.		
4741	3434	435	The *Burgundians*, &c. entered *Belgic Gaul*, made great devaſtations and dreadful ravages; but *Aetius* the *Roman* General overcame them in a pitch'd battle, and reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that *Gundicarius* their king ſued for peace, and obtained it	VII	483
4742	3435	436	The *Hunns* attack the *Burgundians*, and cut off 20,000 of them in *Gaul*; the *Goths* take ſeveral places in *Gaul*, and beſiege *Narbonne*, but are obliged to raiſe it and retire	VII	583
4743	3436	437	The nuptials between *Eudoxia*, daughter of the emperor *Theodoſius*, and the emperor *Valentinian*, were celebrated at *Conſtantinople* the 29th of *October*	VI	483
4743	3436	437	*Emeric* the *Suevian* king makes peace with the native *Galicians*, and being in an ill ſtate of health, reſigns his crown to his ſon *Rochila*, and lives a private retired life the remainder of his days	VI	483
4743	3436	437	*Clodio* makes himſelf maſter of *Cambray*, from whence he pierced into *Artois*, where *Aetius* and *Majorinus* fall unexpectedly upon them, while they were celebrating the nuptials of one of their chiefs, and cut great numbers of them to pieces; but notwithſtanding this, he extended his conqueſts as far as the *Somme*	VII	543
4744	3437	438	*Aetius* removes the *Burgundians* from the banks of the *Rhine*, into the preſent dutchy of *Savoy*	VII	561
4744	3437	438	*Aetius* engages and cuts off 8,000 *Goths* in *Gaul*	VII	583
4744	3437	438	The famous code, or body of *Roman* laws, are publiſhed by *Juſtinian*	VII	510
4744	3437	438	*Genſeric* king of the *Vandals* ſurprizes and takes *Carthage* in *Africa*, the 23d of *October*, after it had been poſſeſſed by the *Romans* 585 years	VI	484
4745	3438	439	*Rochila* the *Suevian* king enters *Luſitania*, and takes *Merida* the capital of that province	VII	534
4745	3438	439	*Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, makes a deſcent into *Sicily*, ravages the country without oppoſition, and carries off immenſe booty	VII	543
4745	3438	439	The emperor *Theodoſius*, in a fit of jealouſy, orders *Paulineus*, the empreſs *Eudocia*'s chief favourite, to be executed; upon which ſhe retires to *Jeruſalem*, and remains there till the time of her death, which happened twenty-one years afterwards, during which time ſhe built many churches, *&c.*	VI	510
4745	3438	439	*Litorius*, as auxiliary to the *Romans*, with his army of *Hunns* beſieges *Thouloùſe*, the capital of the *Goths*; upon which *Theodoric* king of the *Goths* goes out, gives them battle, overcomes them, and takes *Litorius* priſoner	VI	486
4746	3439	440	*Cyrus* alone was conſul, who, as he was a great proficient in polite literature, eſpecially poetry, was much eſteemed, and particularly by the emperors; and as he went into the *Circus* with the conſular ornaments, the people received him with ſuch acclamations, as made the emperor jealous, and a few days afterwards ſtripped him of all his employments, and confiſcated his eſtate, *&c.* pretending that he inclined to Paganiſm, and aſpired at the empire; but flying into a church for refuge, he got himſelf ordained a prieſt. The emperor granted him his life, and afterwards made him biſhop of *Cotyea* in *Phrygia*	VII	510
4746	3439	440	*Arſaces* king of *Armenia* dying, and leaving two ſons, *Tigranes* and *Arſaces*, by his will divided the kingdom between them; *Arſaces* diſliking his ſhare, appeals to *Theodoſius*, who eſpouſes his cauſe, and threatens *Tigranes* with war; upon which he reſign'd up the whole to his brother, and retired to the *Perſian* court, where he lived privately. *Arſaces*, for fear of the *Perſians*, ſurrendered up the whole to *Theodoſius*, and ſo put an end to the *Armenian* kingdom, after it had ſubſiſted many ages, and occaſioned many bloody wars	VI	486
4747	3440	441	The empire being vaſtly weakened, *Theodoſius* is forced to make peace with *Attila* king of the *Hunns*, conditioning to deliver up ſuch *Hunns* as had or ſhould take refuge in the *Roman* dominions; that every *Roman* priſoner that made his eſcape from the *Hunns*, without paying his ranſom, ſhould be delivered up, or have eight pieces of gold paid for him; that the *Romans* annually ſhould pay the *Hunns* 700 *lb.* weight of gold; that the *Romans* ſhould not aſſiſt the enemies of the *Hunns*, &c. In conſequence of this treaty, *Attila* conquered all the nations north of the *Euxine* ſea; then croſſing the *Danube*, over-run *Thrace*, and demands all the *Hunns* that ſheltered themſelves in the *Roman* dominions. This being refuſed, *Attila* began to ravage the country, and put all to fire and ſword, and forced the emperor to retire from *Conſtantinople* into *Aſia* for his better ſecurity	VI	487
4748	3441	442	*Theodoſius* concludes another ſhameful peace with *Attila* king of the *Hunns*, and returns to *Conſtantinople*, the 28th of *Auguſt*, where he was forced to keep *Attila* in temper, by making him frequently extraordinary preſents. 'Tis ſaid *Attila* ſent two *Goths* embaſſadors to the two emperors; one to *Theodoſius* and one to *Valentinian*, charging them to ſay, "*Attila*, my maſter and yours, commands you to get a "palace ready for his reception"	VI	488
4748	3441	442	The *Sueves*, under the direction and command of their king *Rochila*, take the city of *Seville* in *Spain*, reduce all *Betica*, and the province of *Carthagena*	VII	534
4748	3441	442	The emperor *Valentinian* III. makes peace with *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, and confirms to him all his conqueſts in *Africa*	V	534
4748	3441	442	*Varanes*, the fifth, king of *Perſia*, dies, and is ſucceeded by *Varanes* the ſixth; by ſome called *Iſdigertes*, who lived peaceably with the *Romans* ſeventeen years and four months, and then died	IV	342
4749	3442	443	*Theodoſius* viſits *Pontus*, and cauſes the public edifices and walls of *Heraclea*, to be repaired	VI	488

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4749	3442	443	*Paſcaſinus*, biſhop of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, returns from captivity in *Africa*, where he had been kept upwards of three years, by *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, in a miſerable condition	VII	534
4750	3443	444	*Arcadia*, the ſiſter of *Theodoſius*, dies, and *Antiochus* the eunuch, and great chamberlain to *Theodoſius*, is degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia* at *Chalcedon*, ſtripped of his immenſe wealth, and deprived of all his honours, for extorting upon the people, and a law is made for ever excluding all eunuchs from the patrician dignity	VI	488
4751	3444	445	*Vitus*, the *Roman* general, is defeated in *Spain* by the *Sueves*, who under *Rochila* their king cut off moſt of his men, and oblige him to ſave himſelf by flight	VI	489
4752	3445	446	*Aetius*, being this year conſul the third time, the *Britons* cruelly harraſſed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, beg aſſiſtance from him, but obtain no relief. What the ſword left, the plague took away; ſo that they were forced to invite the *Saxons*, who come into that iſland	VII	442
4753	3446	447	A terrible plague the foregoing and this year rages in moſt of the provinces, and a violent earthquake overturned ſeveral cities, and great part of the new walls of *Conſtantinople*, and fifty-ſeven towers, together with many ſumptuous edifices, in *Antioch* and *Alexandria*	VI	
4753	3446	447	*Attila* joined by the *Goths*, *Alani*, and *Gepidæ*, over-run *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, both *Dacias*, *Mæſia* and *Scythia*; took and plundered ſeventy cities, *&c.* extending themſelves from the *Euxine* ſea to the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*. *Arnegiſelus*, governor of *Mæſia*, oppoſes and cuts great numbers of them to pieces; but falling from his horſe, is killed and his army put to the rout, and the ſame happened to others	VII	
4753	3446	447	*Rochila*, king of the *Suevians*, dies in *Spain*, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Requiarius*, who tho' he profeſſed himſelf a *Chriſtian*, yet began his reign with plundering his neighbours	VII	
4754	3447	448	The *Romans* ſue for peace to *Attila*, who grants it upon condition that they pay 6000 *lb.* weight of gold down, and every year 200 *lb.* weight; that they ſhould return back all deſerters, and for the future receive none; that they ſhould pay 12 *lb.* weight of gold for every *Roman* captive that eſcaped without ranſom, or ſend them back, *&c.*	VI	9
4754	3447	448	*Requiarius*, king of the *Sueves*, marries the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, and viſiting him at *Thouloufe*, in his return to *Spain*, ſurprized the city of *Lerida*, and carried off a great number of captives, and then pillaged the territory of *Saragoſſa*	VI	489
4754	3447	448	*Attila* falſely claims certain curious veſſels belonging to the church, pretending that one *Silvatius*, a *Roman* banker, had ſtolen them from him, and threatned *Valentinian* with war, if he did not ſurrender them	VI	490
4754	3447	448	*Clodio* king of the *Franks* dies, and is ſucceeded by his younger ſon *Merovæus*	VII	562
4755	3448	449	*Attila* ſends *Edecon* his embaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, where *Chryſaphus*, the great chamberlain, backed by *Theodoſius*, promiſes *Edecon* great rewards to diſpatch his maſter, and ſent *Vigilius* the interpreter with him to the court of *Attila*, to be aſſiſtant in the affair. *Edecon* diſcovers the matter to *Attila*; *Vigilius* is ſeized, and *Attila* ſends *Oreſtes* his ſecretary to reproach *Theodoſius*, and demand *Chryſaphus*; but *Nomus*, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, make up the buſineſs	VI	490
4756	3449	450	The emperor *Theodoſius* is ſo much bruiſed by a fall from his horſe in hunting, that being with much difficulty carried to *Conſtantinople* in a chair, he died there the next day, the 28th of *July*, in the 50th year of his age, and the 43d of his reign from the death of his father, and buried in the ſame tomb with his father *Arcadius*. He is allowed to have been a prince of exemplary piety, tho' but of ſlender parts, being much governed by his eunuchs and favourites	VI	490
4756	3449	450	*Pulcheria*, ſiſter of the late emperor *Theodoſius*, declares *Marcianus* (a perſon of extraordinary qualifications, tho' of no great birth) emperor, which the ſenate confirms, and crowned him at *Hebdomon*, the 24th of *Auguſt*, with great ſolemnity, and then *Pulcheria* married him with mighty pomp	VI	493
4756	3449	450	*Pulcheria*, mother of *Valentinian*, dies at *Ravenna*, (where her tomb is ſtill to be ſeen) after governing the weſtern empire 26 years	VI	493
4757	3450	451	The emperor *Marcian* calls the council of *Chalcedon*, the 8th of *October*, and ends the firſt of *November*	VI	498
4757	3450	451	*Attila* king of the *Hunns* ſends to the emperor *Valentinian*, and demands *Honoria* his ſiſter for his wife, and half the empire for her dowry. He ſends embaſſadors to *Attila*, who ſeems ſatisfied, but only diſſembled his intentions; comes with a mighty army into *Gaul*, having firſt defeated the *Franks*, and taken *Childeric* and his mother priſoner, pretending friendſhip to the *Romans*. Several cities opened their gates to him; but his ſoldiers plundering and ravaging the inhabitants, ſhewed him to be an enemy, wherefore others oppoſed him, and then he pulled off the maſk. He beſieged and took by ſtorm *Tongres*, *Treves*, *Straſburgh*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, &c. and going into the open country, put all to the ſword, and laid *Arras*, *Laon*, *Beſancon*, *Toul*, and *Langres*, in aſhes; and laid ſiege to *Orleans*, and took it by ſtorm; and while his men were plundering it, *Aetius*, *Theodoric*, &c. came with a large army, and cut abundance of the *Hunns* to pieces, forced *Attila* to repaſs the *Loire*, in which many of his men were drowned. At laſt he reached the plains of *Chalons*, where they engage. *Theodoric* king of the *Viſigoths* is ſlain, and about 300,000 men on both ſides, after which *Attila* retired into *Pannonia*	VII	478
4758	3451	452	The *Nubians* and *Blemmyes* broke into the eaſtern empire, but *Marcian* forces them to accept of peace upon his own terms	VI	498

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4758	3451	452	*Attila* invades *Italy*, and invests *Aquileia* the metropolis of *Venetia*, battering it continually for the space of three months, when he took it by assault, and reduced every house in it to ashes, and killed every person that fell into his hands. The cities of *Trevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*, suffered the same fate. *Milan*, the metropolis of *Liguria*, he also took, and burnt the cities round about. *Valentinian* sends *Leo* bishop of *Rome*, and some others, to treat with *Attila* about an accommodation, who concluded a truce with him			
4759	3452	453	*Attila* enters that part of *Gaul* now called *Dauphiny*, but is entirely routed by *Sangiban* king of the *Alans*, and *Thorismond* king of the *Visigoths*. Upon his return home, he married a beautiful young woman, and drinking to excess, in the night bled to death; and with him ended the empire of the *Hunns*	VII	480
4759	3452	453	*Attila* by his will appointed *Ellack* his eldest son his successor; but a civil war happening between him, his brethren, and the conquered nations, *Ellack* is killed in battle, and the *Hunns* entirely routed, with a great slaughter on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*	VII	480
4759	3452	453	*Thorismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, is murdered, and succeeded by his brother *Theodoric* the second	VII	481
4759	3452	453	The empress *Pulcheria* dies, and leaves an immense stock of wealth to the poor, and was honoured with the title of Saint both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*	VII	511
4760	3453	454	*Aetius*, now consul the 4th time, is accused by *Heraclius* the eunuch, to the emperor *Valentinian*, who being a weak prince, believes the insinuation; sends to speak with him in privacy, and himself and several others stab *Aetius* to death with their swords	VI	498
4761	3454	455	The emperor *Valentinian* having violently forced the chastity of *Petronius Maximus*, *Maximus* hires two *Barbarians* to murder *Valentinian*, who came into the *Campus Martius* and killed him, and his favourite eunuch *Heraclius*, in the face of the whole court, the 17th of *March*, in the 34th year of his age, and 30th of his reign. The next day *Maximus* assumed the purple, and being saluted by all the people with the title of *Augustus*, he immediately raised his son *Palladius* to the dignity of *Cæsar*; and his wife dying, he obliged *Eudoxia*, wife of the late emperor, to marry him against her will, and married her daughter *Eudoxia* to his son *Palladius*. She sends to *Genseric* king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and begs him to rescue her out of the arms of the tyrant, and to revenge the murder of his friend, he comes with a mighty fleet and army to *Rome*. *Maximus* frighted flies, upon which the people pursue and kill him. Three days after, *viz.* the 15th of *June*, *Genseric* enters *Rome*, and gave it up to be plundered, strictly forbidding his soldiers either to burn the city, or kill the people. They pillaged the houses, churches, and all the public edifices, for fourteen days, and carried away a vast number of captives, each taking as many women as he liked. *Genseric* stript the place, and took with him *Eudoxia* and her two daughters, and *Gaudentius* the son of *Aetius*	VII	534
4761	3454	455	*Flavius Mæcilius Avitus*, who had been appointed, by the deceased *Maximus*, commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces, and was now at the court of *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, at *Thoulouse*, is by him prompted to assume the purple; and the 8th of *August* following was declared emperor at *Arles* by all the soldiery; from whence he went to *Rome*, where he was received with the universal applause of all the people, and *Marcian* readily acknowledged him for his colleague	VI	502
4762	3455	456	*Requiarius*, king of the *Suevians* in *Spain*, wars upon the *Visigoths* in *Aquitain*, and laid the provinces of *Terraco* waste. His brother-in-law *Theodoric*, as ally of *Rome*, endeavours to persuade him to peace and good neighbourhood; but he answering very haughtily, they come to blows, in which *Requiriarius* was entirely defeated, and forced to fly; is pursued, taken, and put to death, and the *Sueves*, submit to *Theodoric*, who sets one *Aquiulphus* as governor over them. *Aquiulphus* revolts, and proclaims himself king of the *Sueves*, but dies soon after	VII	544
4762	3455	456	*Gundiac* king of the *Burgundians* joins *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, and goes with him into *Spain*, where they discomfit the *Sueves*; but in their return home, the *Burgundians* seized on part of *Gaul*		
4762	3455	456	*Genseric* puts to sea with a numerous fleet and army; designs to ravage the coasts of *Italy* and *Gaul*; was met and engaged by *Ricimer*, the *Roman* admiral, and entirely defeated; elated with this success, *Ricimer* and one *Majorianus* go to *Rome*, and oblige the senate to depose *Avitus*, who was then in *Gaul*, but *Avitus* coming back, was met by *Ricimer* at *Placentia*, who there stripped him of all the ensigns of majesty; upon which *Avitus* caused himself to be ordained bishop of *Placentia*; but the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he retired towards *Brioude*, and died by the way	VI	503
4762	3455	456	The *Burgundians* dwelling amongst the mountains of *Savoy*, seize on part of *Gaul*, and take *Lions*	VI	504
4762	3455	456	The *Heruli* make a descent upon *Galicia* in *Spain*; but not succeeding, they sail to *Biscay*, where they land, and commit great ravages, *&c.*	VII	504
4763	3456	457	*Marcian*, the emperor of the east, dies, in the seventh year of his reign, and is succeeded by *Leo*, (sirnamed the Great) with the unanimous consent of the senate, people and soldiery, and crowned by *Anatolius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, being the first prince that received his crown at the hands of a bishop. The *Eutychians* in *Alexandria* rose in a tumultuous manner, murdered the Catholic bishop *Proterus*, and chose *Timotheus Elerus*, one of their own sect, in his stead	VI	504
4763	3456	457	*Majorianus* emperor of the west, falling upon the *Vandals* who were ravaging *Campania*, defeats and destroys multitudes of them, and retakes the spoil and plun-		

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			der they had amaſſed together, and forces the remainder to fly on board their ſhips	VII	535
4763	3456	457	After three months interregnum, *Majorianus* (a perſon of extraordinary merit) is declared emperor in the weſt, by the ſenate, people and ſoldiery	VI	505
4763	3456	457	*Theodoric* king of the *Viſigoths*, having entirely reduced the *Sueves* in *Galicia*, enters *Luſitania*, takes *Merida* the metropolis, and ſeveral other cities; and then goes to *Thouloufe*. Having left a body of troops to reduce ſome few *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who being admitted as friends into *Aſtorga*, a town belonging to the *Romans*, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, plundered the houſes, ſet fire to the place, and carried thoſe that remained alive into captivity; among the reſt, the whole clergy and two biſhops that happened to be there, *Palen ii* met with the ſame fate	VI	505
4763	3456	457	*Hengiſt* the *Saxon* having overcome *Vortigern* in a battle fought in *Kent*, made himſelf king thereof	VII	445
4764	3457	458	The *Vandals* make a deſcent into *Campania*; the emperor *Majorianus* goes againſt them, defeats them, and puts great numbers to the ſword, among whom was their commander, brother-in-law to *Genſeric*; the reſt fly to *Africa*	VI	505
4764	3457	458	*Moldra* the *Suevian* king orders that part of *Galicia*, which lay on the *Douro*, to be laid waſte, contrary to the peace that had been concluded the year before	VI	545
4764	3457	458	Upon *Vortigern*'s retirement, *Aurelius Ambroſius* takes upon him the command of the *Britiſh* army, and becomes their king	VII	445
4764	3457	458	*Majorianus* enters *Gaul*, and obliges the *Burgundians* to ſurrender *Lyons*, which they had taken, and to retire	VI	505
4765	3458	459	*Peroſes* ſucceeds his father *Varanes* the 6th in the kingdom of *Perſia*, and going againſt the *Euthalites* or *White Hunns*, was by them drawn into a ſnare, that cut off abundance of his men by famine, and compelled him to do homage to their king, and ſwear never to trouble them again	IV	342
4765	3458	459	*Theodoric* ſurprized ſome cities in *Gaul*, belonging to the *Romans*. *Majorianus* goes againſt him, engages, and in a pitch'd battle defeats him, and forces him to ſue for peace	VI	505
4765	3458	459	The city of *Antioch* was almoſt entirely overthrown by an earthquake	VI	505
4765	3459	460	*Genſeric* ſues to the *Romans* for peace, but is denied; whereupon attacking the *Roman* fleet in the bay of *Alicant*, took moſt of their ſhips, and carried them in triumph to *Africa*; and ſoon after a peace was concluded	VII	536
4766	3459	460	An earthquake overturned a great part of the city of *Cyzicus*	VI	506
4766	3459	460	The *Franks*, *&c.* break into *Gaul*, and having ravaged the moſt wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into *Italy*	VII	552
4766	3459	460	*Ricimer* gets the emperor *Majorianus* by treachery into his power, ſtrips him of the Imperial ornaments at *Tortona* in the *Milaneſe*, the ſecond, and put him to death the 7th of *Auguſt*; and proclaimed one *Severus*, the 19th of *November* following, at *Ravenna*	VI	506
4767	3460	461	*Leo* emperor in the Eaſt refuſing to pay the uſual penſion to the *Oſtrogoths*, allowed to ſettle in *Pannonia*, they fly to arms, laid waſte *Illyricum*, and took ſeveral cities; but *Anthemius* drives them into *Pannonia* again, and then concludes a peace with them	VI	506
4767	3460	461	*Genſeric* ſends a powerful fleet to pillage the coaſts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Sardinia*. The *Viſigoths* take *Narbonne*, and beſiege *Arles*. *Ægidius* goes againſt them, forces them to raiſe the ſiege and retire	VII	536
4767	3460	461	*Marcellinus* revolts from *Severus*, and retires into *Dalmatia*, where he eſtabliſhes a new ſovereignty, independant of the empire	VI	507
4768	3461	462	*Ægidius* gains a great victory over the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, killing many of them, and *Frederic* their general the king's brother	VI	507
4769	3462	463	*Beorgor* king of the *Alans*, having entered *Italy*, *Ricimer* meets him near *Bergamo*, and cuts him and all his men off	VI	507
4770	3463	464	*Ægidius* being murdered, the *Viſigoths* conquered the greateſt part of *Gaul*	VI	507
4770	3463	464	*Childeric* king of the *Burgundians* beſieged and took *Paris*, and conquered all the province, bordering upon the *Rhine*. The *Saxons* ſettled at *Nantz* and *Bayeux*; the *Alemans* in the country of the *Helvetii*, and the *Britons* driven out by the *Angles* and *Scots* in the territories of *Vennes* and *Treguier*, with the adjacent country, ſuppoſed to be called *Bretagne*, from the *Britons*	VI	508
4770	3463	464	*Rumarius* dying, *Remiſmund* his brother reigns over all the *Sueves* in *Galicia* alone	VII	546
4770	3463	464	The *Sueves* are univerſally poiſoned by one *Ajax*, an *Arian* prieſt, with that hereſy	VII	546
4771	3464	465	The emperor *Severus* dies in the 4th year of his reign, being ſuſpected to be poiſoned by *Ricimer*, and an interregnum of near two years followed, during which *Ricimer* reigned abſolutely without the title of emperor	VI	508
4771	3464	465	A violent fire reduced eight of the fourteen quarters of *Conſtantinople* to aſhes; it raging ſix days before it could be extinguiſhed	VI	503
4771	3464	465	*Uric* murders his brother *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, and ſucceeds him in the government, who had reigned thirteen years	VI	514
4772	3465	466	*Ricimer* aſſembles a powerful fleet in order to recover *Africa*, but was obliged to lay aſide his enterprize, not being able to put out through contrary winds, that blew violently all the ſummer	VI	508
4772	3465	466	The *Hunns*, under *Dengizic* ſon of *Attila*, broke into *Dacia*; but were defeated firſt by *Anthemius*, and then by *Anagaſtus* general of *Thrace*, who ſlew *Dengizic*, and ſent his head to *Conſtantinople*	VII	482
4773	3466	467	*Ricimer* conſents that *Anthemius* count of the eaſt ſhould be proclaimed emperor of the weſt, being a native of *Conſtantinople*, of an ancient, illuſtrious, and wealthy family, and who had married *Marciana*, the only daughter of the late		

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			emperor *Marcian*, had been conſul in 455. and general, and was a patrician, and refuſed the empire at the death of *Marcian*: Upon his coming to *Rome* he was received and proclaimed emperor by the ſenate and people, with all poſſible tokens of joy and reſpect. A few days after he gave his daughter in marriage to *Ricimer*		
4773	3466	467	*Genſeric* incenſed that *Leo* had not preferr'd *Olybrius* to the weſtern empire, ſends a powerful fleet, and ravages *Peloponneſus* and the *Greeks* iſlands, and deſtroys all with fire and ſword	VI	508
4774	3467	468	*Leo* fits out a very great fleet, conſiſting of 1113 ſhips, with each 100 men, under the command of *Baſiliſcus*, his brother-in-law, and all the beſt troops of the weſt under the command of *Marcellinus*, who went and landed in *Sardinia*, and recovered the whole iſland, but was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by one of his officers. *Herucilianus* landed in *Lybia*, took *Tripolis*, defeated the *Vandals*, and reduced the whole province. *Baſiliſcus* arrives at cape *Mercury*, 30 miles from *Carthage*, where *Genſeric* ſends ambaſſadors to treat with him (and bribing him with a very large ſum of money) *Baſiliſcus* made a ſhort truce, during which time *Genſeric* ſailed out in the night with a great many fire ſhips, and ſet fire to the *Roman* fleet, and deſtroyed abundance of them, and put the whole into great confuſion; during which *Genſeric*'s fleet fell upon them, took ſeveral, ſunk others, and put the whole to flight, with the ſlaughter of 50,000 men: This expedition is ſaid to have coſt both empires above 130,000 pounds weight of gold	VI	508
4774	3467	468	The *Romans* are totally routed out of *Spain* by *Euric* king of the *Goths*	VI VII	538 515
4774	3467	468	The emperor *Leo* marries his daughter *Ariadne* to one *Leo* an *Iſaurian*, to be a check upon *Aſpar*, and raiſed him to the patrician rank, made him captain of his guards, and commander of all the armies in the eaſt	VI	510
4774	3467	468	*Remiſmund* king of the *Sueves* ſets down before *Liſbon*, which the governor *Luſides*, a *Luſitanian*, betrays to him: And the *Goths* ſurprize *Merida*, and commit dreadful ravages in the country, ſparing neither *Romans* nor *Sueves*	VII	547
4776	3469	470	*Ella*, &c. the *Saxon*, comes with freſh troops, and after defeating the *Britains*, poſſeſs themſelves of the ſea coaſt of *Suſſex*	VII	446
4776	3469	470	*Childeric* extends his conqueſts as far as the *Loire*, and takes *Paris*, and then makes himſelf maſter of *Angers*, after having killed count *Paul* the *Roman* general	VII	564
4777	3470	471	*Leo* and *Aſpar* quarrelling, to reconcile them *Leo* marries one of his daughters to *Patricius Secundus*, *Aſpar*'s eldeſt ſon, and created *Aſpar Cæſar*, which heightning their natural pride, they plot againſt the emperor, which being diſcovered, *Aſpar* is murdered by the eunuchs of the palace; upon which the *Goths* riſe in *Conſtantinople*, and do great miſchief: *Zeno* goes againſt them, and drove them out of the city with great ſlaughter, when they retire into *Thrace*, and commit great ravages; and being joined by the *Goths* in *Pannonia*, they take *Philippi* and *Arcadiopolis*: But upon the emperor's paying them a large ſum of money they lay down their arms, and reſtore the cities, &c.	VI	511
4777	3470	471	*Leo* publiſhes ſeveral laws againſt the *Arians*, deprived them of their liberty, and forbid them to hold any publick or private aſſemblies	VI	511
4777	3470	471	All the *Britiſh* princes engage *Ella*, but are defeated	VII	446
4777	3470	471	*Euric* king of the *Viſigoths* gains great advantages over the *Romans* in *Gaul*	VII	515
4778	3471	472	*Ricimer* revolts from *Anthemius*, and beſieges him in *Rome*: The *Romans*, though afflicted with famine and the plague, made a ſtout reſiſtance. *Bilimer*, the emperor's general in *Gaul*, comes to his aſſiſtance, but is overthrown by *Ricimer*; who then taking the city by ſtorm, permitted his men to commit the moſt dreadful ravages and cruelties: The emperor was put to death, and *Olybrius* proclaimed in his ſtead the 11th of *July*; and the 19th of *September* following *Ricimer* died of a violent pain in his bowels; *Olybrius* likewiſe died at *Rome*, the 23d of *October* following	VI	511
4778	3471	472	Mount *Veſuvius* in *Campania* threw up ſuch a vaſt quantity of fiery aſhes as turned night into day even at *Conſtantinople*; where the ſtreets and houſes were covered with aſhes three inches thick	VI	511
4779	3472	473	*Glycerius* at *Ravenna* proclaims himſelf emperor the 5th of *March*, ſupported by *Gondibal*, nephew of *Ricimer*. The *Goths* reſolve to make war upon both empires, and ſend *Videmir* to break into *Italy*; but he dying ſoon after, *Glycerius* by rich preſents prevails upon his ſon to retire, who goes into *Gaul* and joins the *Viſigoths*, who thus ſtrengthened, ſoon after conquer *Gaul* and *Spain*. *Theodomir* invades the eaſtern provinces, but dies ſoon and is ſucceeded by his ſon called *Theodoric the Great*	VI	511
4779	3472	473	*Euric* king of the *Viſigoths* concludes a peace with the *Romans*	VII	515
4779	3472	473	*Leo* propoſes *Zeno* his ſon-in-law for emperor of the eaſt, but is oppoſed by the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*. The emperor creates *Leo*, the ſon of *Zeno* and his daughter *Ariadne*, *Cæſar*, and declared him partner with him in the empire, though but between 5 and 6 years of age	VI	512
4780	3473	472	*Leo* the younger is conſul alone, when the emperor *Leo* the elder was ſeized with a bloody flux and fever, of which he died in *January*, having reigned almoſt 17 years; and *Zeno* the father was declared colleague to *Leo* the ſon, through the mediation of the empreſs *Verina*. The ceremony was performed in *February* following, not in the palace of *Hebdomon* as uſual, but in the circus at *Conſtantinople*; but the young prince *Leo* died in *November* following, having reigned about 10 months	VI	512
4780	3473	472	*Leo* the elder not approving of the promotion of *Glycerius* to the weſtern empire, had named *Julius Nepos*, a *Dalmatian*, nephew of *Marcellinus*. *Nepos* goes from *Conſtantinople*, lands at *Porto*, and ſeizes *Glycerius*, took him priſoner, ſtripped him of the imperial ornaments, and cauſed him to be ordained biſhop of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, and reigned in his ſtead	VI	512

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4780	3473	474	*Euric* breaks peace with the *Romans*, and enters *Auvergne* with a great army	VII	515
4781	3474	475	*Nepos* having made *Oreſtes* general of the *Roman* forces that were going into *Gaul*, *Oreſtes* delays his march, and goes into *Ravenna* with an intent to ſeize *Nepos*, who being apprehenſive of his deſign, fled by ſea on the 28th of *Auguſt* to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, where he was entertained by *Glycerius*, whom he had a little before depoſed. *Oreſtes* proclaimed his ſon *Auguſtus*, though very young, emperor, the 29th of *October*. The new prince called himſelf *Auguſtus Romulus Auguſtus*, and *Oreſtes* took the adminiſtration upon himſelf as tutor and guardian to his ſon		
4781	3474	475	The *Saracens* break into the eaſtern empire, and commit dreadful ravages in *Meſopotamia*; and the *Hunns* in *Thrace* put all to fire and ſword, the emperor *Zeno* minding nothing but lewdneſs and debauchery	VI	513
4781	3474	475	The empreſs dowager *Verina* exaſperated againſt her ſon-in-law *Zeno* for his debaucheries, *&c.* whom ſhe had advanced to the empire, conſpires againſt him with her brother *Baſiliſcus*; he, conſcious of his deſerts, when the affair was diſcovered to him, fled firſt to *Chalcedon*, and then into *Iſauria*, and *Baſiliſcus* was declared emperor in his ſtead by the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*, upon which he created his wife *Zenonides Auguſta*, and his ſon *Marcus Cæſar*	VI	513
4781	3474	475	*Auvergne* is delivered to *Euric* by treaty, and a peace is concluded with the *Romans*	VII	517
4781	3474	475	*Zeno* the emperor makes peace with *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, and cedes *Africa* to him and his ſucceſſors for ever	VII	539
4782	3475	476	The ſeveral *Barbarians* that ſerved in the *Roman* army demand of *Oreſtes* a 3d part of *Italy* for their good ſervices, which he refuſing, they revolt, and chooſe one *Odoacer* for their leader, a private man in the guards of *Auguſtus*, a perſon of extraordinary parts both natural and acquired; and then marched againſt *Oreſtes*, who took refuge in *Pavia*, which *Odoacer* took by aſſault, and firſt plundered and then reduced it to aſhes. *Oreſtes* being taken priſoner, *Odoacer* carried him to *Placentia*, and put him to death the 28th of *Auguſt*, being the ſame day he had deprived *Nepos* of the empire. He then went to *Ravenna*, where *Paul* the brother of *Oreſtes* was with the young emperor; he put *Paul* to death, ſtripped *Auguſtus* of the imperial robes, and confined him to *Lucullanum*, a caſtle in *Campania*, and made him a handſome allowance to live on	VI	513
4782	3475	476	*Genſeric* makes peace with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, and grants him the iſlands of *Sicily*	VII	539
4782	3475	476	*Rome* readily ſubmitted to *Odoacer*, whereupon he proclaimed himſelf king of *Italy*, but refuſed the purple, and ſo put an end to the title of emperor in the weſt, five hundred years after the battle of *Actium*, when the *Roman* monarchy was firſt eſtabliſhed, and 1229 years after the foundation of *Rome*	VI	514
4782	3475	476	*Odoacer* grants the *Heruli* leave and lands to ſettle in *Italy*	VII	599
4783	3476	477	*Zeno* being fled into *Iſauria*, *Baſiliſcus* ſends *Illus* and *Trocondes*, two of his generals, with an army after him; upon which *Zeno* ſhuts himſelf up in a caſtle, which they beſiege for ſome time, during which *Baſiliſcus* becoming hateful at *Conſtantinople*, the ſenate ordered *Illus* and *Trocondes* to join *Zeno* and bring him back againſt *Baſiliſcus*; which being done, *Baſiliſcus* diſpatches *Harmatius* his kinſman with a great army againſt them, who notwithſtanding he had ſolemnly ſwore to be true to *Baſiliſcus*, as ſoon as he had croſſed the *Boſphorus* joined *Zeno* upon conditions: Thus ſtrengthened, *Zeno* enters *Conſtantinople* without oppoſition. *Baſiliſcus* with his wife and ſon flies to the great church, and there reſigned his crown upon the altar, and ſoon after periſhed with hunger and cold in the caſtle of *Limnos* in *Cappadocia*, whither *Zeno* had ſent him and his family	VI	515
4783	3476	477	*Zeno* being reſtored in the month of *June*, according to his promiſe raiſed *Harmatius* to be general of the houſhold troops, and his ſon *Baſiliſcus* to be *Cæſar*, but ſoon after murdered the father, depoſed the ſon, and made him reader in a church near *Conſtantinople*, who was afterwards ordained biſhop of *Cyzicus*	VI	515
4783	3476	477	A great fire happens at *Conſtantinople*, that conſumed the biggeſt part of the city, with the library, containing 120,000 volumes, among which were the works of *Homer*, written in golden characters on the great gut of a dragon 120 foot long	VI	515
4783	3476	477	*Audoacrius* king of the *Saxons*, and *Childeric* king of the *Franks*, march againſt the *Alemans* ſettled among the *Alps*, and ſtripped them of the booty they had lately brought out of *Italy*	VII	595
4784	3477	478	*Theodorus* ſon of *Triarius*, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Baſiliſcus*, broke into *Thrace*, with a numerous army of *Goths*, and advanced within four miles of *Conſtantinople*; which ſo frightned *Zeno*, that he made peace with him upon his own terms	VI	515
4785	3478	479	*Marcian*, the ſon of *Anthemius* emperor in the weſt, claiming the empire in right of his wife *Leontia*, eldeſt daughter of the late emperor *Leo*, ſuddenly attacked the imperial palace at *Conſtantinople*, at the head of ſome deſperate malecontents; but not carrying his point, *Zeno* bribed his companions, and he flew into a church, from whence being dragged, he was ordained a prieſt, and confined to a monaſtery near *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, by the emperor's order	VI	515
4785	3478	479	*Theodoric* breaks into *Macedon*, and goes into *Epirus*, where by the treachery of one *Sidimont*, a *Goth*, *Duras* is delivered to him: But *Sabianus*, *Zeno*'s general having ſurprized and cut to pieces *Theudimont*, brother of *Theodoric*, as he was coming with a large reinforcement, and taken all their baggage, with 2000 waggons loaded with proviſions, forced *Theodoric* to abandon *Duras*, and to retire with great precipitation into *Pannonia*	VI	515

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4786	3479	480	*Zeno* makes peace and enters into an alliance with *Huneric*, son of *Genseric* king of the *Vandals*		
4786	3479	480	The *Goths* make themselves masters of all the places the *Romans* held in *Gaul*	VI	515
4786	3479	480	The *Gepidæ* defeat the *Hunns* with great slaughter, and recover both their antient lands and liberty	VII	516
4787	3480	481	*Theodoric* again breaks into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, and in two years time obliged *Zeno* to yield to him part of lower *Dacia* and *Mæsia*, make him general of the houshold troops, and consul in the year 483; upon these conditions in 482 he retired, restored *Larissa* the metropolis of *Thessaly*, and engaged to defend the empire with all his forces	VII	596
4788	3481	482	*Clodovæus*, or *Clovis*, upon his father *Childeric*'s death, succeeded him in his kingdom	VI	516
4788	3481	482	Soon after the death of *Varanes* the 6th. who was killed in the battle by the *Hunns*, with almost all his whole army, the *Persians* chose *Obolas* his brother, called also *Valens*, to succeed him, an excellent prince, but hated because he loved peace	VI	566
4789	3482	483	*Leontinus*, a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, proclaims himself emperor: *Zeno* sends *Illus* the captain of his guards against him, who instead of opposing, joined him, and ravaged *Syria* and *Isauria*. *Longinus* the emperor's brother goes against him; but his whole army is cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner; and then the rebels entered *Antioch* in triumph. Then *Zeno* sends one *John*, his general, who prevailed upon *Theodoric* to join him; they go, engage, and overthrow the rebels near *Seleucia*	IV	343
4790	3483	484	*Leontinus* and *Illus* are besieged in the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia* by *John*, and *Theodoric* returned to *Constantinople*: *Trocondes* brother of *Illus* being taken prisoner by *John*, was beheaded	VI	516
4790	3483	484	*Euric* dies, after having reigned upwards of eighteen years, and conquered the greatest part of *Gaul* and *Spain*	VI	516
4791	3484	485	The *Bulgarians* break into *Thrace*, but are drove back, and forced to repass the *Danube*, by *Theodoric* the *Roman* general	VII	516
4792	3485	486	*Zeno* disobliging *Theodoric*, he breaks into *Thrace* with a great army, and puts all to fire and sword, and advanced within 15 miles of *Constantinople*. *Zeno* cedes all *Italy* to *Theodoric*, upon which he returns to *Novæ* in *Mæsia*	VI	625
4792	3485	486	*Valens*, or *Obolas*, king of *Persia*, dying, is succeeded by his nephew *Cavades*	VI	516
4793	3486	487	*Hengist* having joined the *Picts* and *Scots*, is engaged by *Ambrosius*, who gave him a total overthrow	IV	343
4793	3486	487	*Clodovæus* makes war upon *Syagrius* the *Roman* governor, overcomes and beheads him, after the taking of *Soissons*	VII	446
4794	3487	488	*Theodoric* enters *Italy*, overcomes *Odoacer* in several battles, and settles a new kingdom in *Italy*	VII	567
4794	3487	488	*Leontinus* and *Illus* having bravely defended themselves and the castle of *Papyra*, for four years, were at last taken by treachery and put to death, and their heads sent to *Constantinople*	VI	516
4794	3487	488	*Hengist* king of *Kent* dies, and is succeeded by his son *Esk*	VI	516
4794	3487	488	The *Goths* in great multitudes, with their wives and children, and all their effects, set out from *Novæ* in *Mæsia* for *Italy*	VII	446
4795	3488	489	*Zeno* puts several persons of great distinction to death, and confiscates their estates under pretence of having favoured *Leontius* and *Illus*	VII	523
4795	3488	489	The *Goths* encounter and defeat *Odoacer*, and make themselves masters of *Milan*, *Pavia*, &c.	VI	517
4796	3489	490	*Zeno* having been told by an astrologer that one *Pelagius*, a patrician of great distinction, should succeed him in the empire, put him to death	VII	524
4796	3489	490	The *Goths* besiege *Odoacer* king of *Italy* in *Ravena*	VI	517
4796	3489	490	The *Burgundians*, under the conduct of their king *Gundebald*, entering *Italy* under the pretence of assisting *Odoacer* the king against *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, committed so great ravages in *Liguria*, that what with the number they put to the sword, and the number they carried away captive, left so few behind, that there were not sufficient to till the ground	VII	524
4797	3490	491	*Zeno* the emperor dies, in the 66th year of his age, and 18th of his reign, one of the most debauched weakest princes that had ever reigned in the east. *Longinus* his brother set up to succeed him, but was rejected upon account of his lewd and wicked life; and by the interest of the empress dowager *Ariadne*, *Anastasius* was declared emperor by the senate, and crowned the 11th of *April* in the *Circus*, by *Euphemius* patriarch of *Constantinople*, who obliged him to swear to protect the catholic church, and maintain the doctrines of the councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*	VII	584
4797	3490	491	The *Heruli* compel their king *Rodulphus*, without any provocation, to make war upon the *Lombards*, are by them overthrown with great slaughter, and the remainder obliged to live in subjection to the conquerors, or leave their own habitations; upon which many of them went and settled in the country of the *Rugians*, now *Switzerland*	VI	517
4797	3490	491	*Ella* founds the second *Saxon* kingdom in *Britain*, called the kingdom of the south *Saxons* in *Essex*, &c.	VII	599
4798	3491	492	*Longinus*, the late emperor *Zeno*'s brother, raising disturbances in *Constantinople*, is seized, deprived of all his employments, and himself and all his countrymen, the *Isaurians*, sent back to *Isauria* their native place; upon which the whole people revolt, and raise an army of 150,000 men: *Anastasius* sends his best troops against them, who engage, cut great numbers to pieces, defeat and drive them into the mountains	VII	447
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4799	3492	493	*Anaſtaſius* taxing the *Conſtantinopolitans* againſt their inclination, they riſe, pull down his ſtatues, and drag them about the ſtreets —	VI	519
4799	3492	493	*Odoacer* ſubmits to *Theodoric* king of the *Goths*, and is ſoon after murdered; upon which *Theodoric* is proclaimed king of *Italy*, and acknowledged as ſuch by *Anaſtaſius* the emperor — —	VII	525
4800	3493	494	*Diogenes*, one of *Anaſtaſius*'s generals, is beſieged in *Claudiopolis*, the metropolis of *Iſauria*, by *Conon*, an *Iſaurian* biſhop, and reduced to great ſtraits; but is relieved by *John*, ſirnamed *Gibbus*, who falls unexpectedly upon the rebels, and cuts many of them to pieces, and forces them to raiſe the ſiege: The biſhop died ſoon after of the wounds he received in the battle — —	VI	519
4802	3495	496	The *Alemans* out of *Alſace*, joined by thoſe of *Switzerland*, enter *Germania Secunda*, belonging to the *Ripuarian Franks*, and put all to fire and ſword —	VII	526
4803	3496	497	*John* the *Scythian*, general for the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, intirely defeats the *Iſaurian* rebels, and takes the two heads of them priſoners, *viz. Longinus*, brother to the late emperor *Zeno*, and *Theodoſius*, who were put to death, and their heads ſent to *Conſtantinople* — —	VI	519
4803	3496	497	*Cavades* king of *Perſia* intoxicated with pride and power, grew hateful to his ſubjects, particularly for an edict he made, that all the women in the empire ſhould be common to all the men therein; for which he was depoſed and caſt into priſon, and *Zambades* (by ſome called his ſon, by others his brother, *&c.*) elected in his ſtead — —	V	343
4803	3496	497	*Clovis* king of the *Franks*, with *Albofleda* his ſiſter, and three thouſand of his ſubjects, are baptized into the *Chriſtian* faith by *Remigius* biſhop of *Rheims* —	VII	569
4804	3497	498	The reſt of the chief ringleaders of the *Iſaurian* rebellion are taken and ſent in chains to *Conſtantinople*. Moſt of the cities of this province of *Iſauria* having been ruined during the war, which laſted ſix years, the inhabitants that were left were removed into *Thrace* — —	VI	519
4804	3497	498	The emperor *Anaſtaſius* refuſing to ſet ſome priſoners at liberty who had been taken in a riot, very narrowly eſcapes being ſacrificed in the *Circus* by the enraged populace, who finding themſelves oppoſed by the ſoldiery, ſet fire to the *Hippodrome*, which conſumed it, and ſeveral other ſtately edifices, with the ſquare of *Conſtantine*, in which there was not one ſingle houſe left ſtanding — —	VI	519
4804	3497	498	The *Arabs* and *Saracens* break into *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, but *Romanus*, governor of *Paleſtine*, and *Eugenius*, commander of the *Roman* troops in *Syria*, drove them back, and recovered the iſland of *Jotape* in the *Red Sea* from the *Saracens* — —	VI	520
4804	3497	498	The *Armorici*, a people between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, having formed themſelves into a republick, ſubmit voluntarily to *Clovis*, and become one nation with the *Franks*; upon which the *Roman* troops ſurrender the places they held, and enter into the ſervice of *Clovis*, which ended the *Roman* dominion, after they had been maſters of *Gaul* more than 500 years —	VII	571
4805	3498	499	*Neocæſarea*, and ſeveral other cities in *Pontus*, are almoſt utterly ruined by an earthquake —	VI	520
4805	3498	499	The *Bulgarians* break into *Thrace*, and commit great ravages, and utterly defeat *Ariſtus* the *Roman* general, and carry off great booty and many priſoners —	VI	623
4807	3500	501	The blue and green factions quarrelling in the *Circus* at *Conſtantinople*, 3000 of the former were killed —	VI	520
4807	3500	501	*Cavades*, the depoſed king of *Perſia*, having eſcaped out of priſon by the love and loyalty of his queen, goes to the *Euthalites*, whoſe king entertained him courteouſly, gave him his daughter in marriage, and furniſhed him with money, *&c.* by which means holding correſpondence with ſome of the *Perſian* nobility, he was this year reſtored to his crown. *Zambades* had his eyes put out, and was then impriſoned, *&c.* — —	IV	345
4808	3501	502	The *Bulgarians* break anew into *Thrace*, and the *Saracens* into *Paleſtine*, and commit dreadful ravages in theſe two provinces — —	VI	520
4808	3501	502	*Cavades* being dunned by his father-in-law, king of the *Euthalite Hunns*, to repay him the vaſt ſums he had advanced for him, enters *Armenia*, and ſeizes upon the effects of the people, took *Amida* by ſtorm, cut the *Roman* army to pieces, and with the plunder paid his debts — —	IV	345
4809	3502	503	The *Romans* under *Celer* enter *Arzamene*, a *Perſian* province, and lay it waſte. The *Hunns* making a ſudden irruption into *Perſia*, the *Romans* beſiege *Amida*, and have it delivered upon paying 50 talents — —	VI	520
4810	3503	504	A truce is made between the *Perſians* and *Romans* for ſeven years, which laſted twenty — —	VI	521
4811	3504	505	One *Mondo*, a *Goth*, with ſome of his countrymen, ſeized a ſtrong hold called *Herta*, from whence he made frequent incurſions into the *Roman* territories: The emperor ſends *Sabinianus* againſt him; *Theodoric* aſſiſts *Mondo*, and overthrows *Sabinianus*, and forced him to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Nato* —	VI	521
4813	3506	507	The emperor *Anaſtaſius* built the famous wall, called the *Long Wall*, 20 foot broad, diſtant from the city 280 furlongs, extending from ſea to ſea, at *Conſtantinople*, and defended the empire againſt the ſudden irruptions of the barbarous nations — —	VI	521
4813	3506	507	*Clovis* wars upon *Alaric* king of the *Viſigoths*, and in a battle in the plain of *Vougle* near *Poitiers*, gave them a total overthrow, cutting off the greateſt part of his troops, and killing *Alaric* with his own hand. The emperor *Anaſtaſius* ſends to compliment him upon his victory, and preſented him with the conſular ornaments, and a diadem, which he accepted, and was called conſul — —	VII	575

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4814	3507	508	*Anaſtaſius* repairs and fortifies *Daras* on the *Cardus*, a frontier town towards *Perſia*, about 15 miles from *Niſibis*, and three from *Carrhæ*	VI	521
4815	3508	509	*Theodoric* king of the *Viſigoths* having defeated the army of *Clovis*, they conclude a peace	VII	577
4816	3509	510	*Clovis* being honoured with the conſular dignity from the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, moves his habitation from *Tours* to *Paris*	VII	577
4816	3509	510	*Clovis* is proclaimed king of the *Ripuarian Franks*, another tribe of the ſame people, whoſe territories are incorporated with thoſe of *Clovis*	VII	577
4816	3509	510	*Clovis* ſeizes and murders *Chararic*, king of another body of *Franks*, ſettled in the biſhoprics of *Bologne*, *St. Omers*, *Bruges*, and *Ghent*, and his ſon, and incorporates his ſubjects and dominions into his own	VII	579
4816	3509	510	*Ragnacharius* king of *Cambray*, having rendered himſelf odious to his own people, *Clovis* enters his kingdom with a great army, overcomes *Ragnacharius*, and kills him and his brother, and alſo another brother called *Regnomer*, king of *Mons*, and ſeizes all his dominions, and ſo becomes king of all *Gaul*	VII	580
4817	3510	511	*Clovis* orders a council at *Orleans* to be held, for the regulating of church affairs	VII	569
4818	3511	512	The *Heruli* are allowed to ſettle in *Thrace*, where lands are allotted them, upon their promiſe to live quietly, and aſſiſt the empire when occaſion called for their help	VI	521
4819	3512	513	The emperor *Anaſtaſius* favouring the *Eutychians*, at their inſtigation, drove *Macedonius*, the orthodox patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, from his ſee, and put *Timotheus* an *Eutychian* in his ſtead, (the like was done in many other places) who by introducing novelties in the public worſhip, created ſuch great and pernicious diſturbances, that 10,000 of the inhabitants were killed in a riot, and ſeveral houſes burnt, *&c.*	VI	521
4820	3513	514	*Vitalianus*, one of the emperor's generals, eſpouſes the cauſe of the Catholic biſhops, comes to *Conſtantinople* at the head of a numerous army, threatens to depoſe *Anaſtaſius*, if he did not reſtore the depoſed biſhops, and drive out the *Eutychians*; the emperor refuſes; *Vitalianus* conquered *Mæſia* and *Thrace*, took *Cyril* governor of *Thrace* priſoner, and then returns to *Conſtantinople*, where *Anaſtaſius* promiſed to ſtop the perſecution, reſtore the depoſed biſhops, and call and ſtand to the deciſion of an oecumenical council. *Vitalianus* retires and diſbands his army, and *Anaſtaſius* breaks his word	VI	522
4820	3513	514	*Cerdic* the *Saxon*, after having been twenty-four years in *Britain*, and got large territories, ſets up the third *Saxon* kingdom, by the name of the *Weſt Saxons*	VII	449
4822	3515	516	*Gundebald* king of the *Burgundians* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Sigiſmund*	VII	585
4823	3516	517	The northern *Barbarians* called *Getæ* break into *Illyricum*, lay *Macedon* and *Epirus* waſte, defeat *Pompeius* the emperor's nephew, near *Adrianople*, penetrate into *Theſſaly*, and then return beyond the *Danube*, with an immenſe booty, and a prodigious number of captives	VI	523
4824	3517	518	The emperor *Anaſtaſius* was found dead in his chamber on the 9th of *July* in the 88th year of his age, and 28th of his reign. The ſoldiers of the houſhold proclaimed *Juſtin*, then præfectus prætorio, emperor, a perſon of a mean and obſcure family in *Thrace*. Soon after a conſpiracy was formed againſt him; but being diſcovered, and the ringleaders executed, he reigned without oppoſition	VI	523
4825	3518	519	*Juſtin* reſtores all the orthodox biſhops to their ſees, and diſcourages all ſorts of hereſies; and aſſembles ſeveral ſynods, wherein *Eutychianiſm* was particularly condemned	VI	523
4826	3519	520	*Vitalianus* being made conſul, cabals againſt *Juſtin*, and is murdered in the palace by the emperor's orders	VI	523
4827	3520	521	*Cavades* king of *Perſia* propoſes that *Juſtin* the *Roman* emperor ſhould adopt *Coſrhoes* his youngeſt ſon, whom he had declared his ſucceſſor; but this being refuſed, he enters *Iberia*, whoſe king applies to *Juſtin*, who ſends an army under *Sittas* and the famous *Beliſarius*, who enter *Perſian Armenia*, and laid it waſte; but engaging *Narſes* and *Aratius*, two *Perſian* generals, were put to flight	VI	523
4828	3521	522	*Narſes* and *Aratius*, two brothers and *Perſian* generals, revolt from *Cavades*, and ſerve under *Beliſarius* in *Italy*, and then *Beliſarius* goes to *Daras* on the frontiers of *Perſia*	IV	346
4828	3521	522	*Sigiſmund* king of the *Burgundians* cauſes his ſon *Sigeric* to be inhumanly murdered	VI	523
4829	3522	523	*Sigiſmund* is defeated by *Clodomir* king of the *Franks*, and is delivered up by his own ſubjects, who ſubmit to the *Franks*. The *Franks* throw *Sigiſmund*, and his wife and children, into a deep well, where they are all drowned	VII	585
4830	3523	524	The *Burgundians* revolt from the *Franks*, and proclaim *Godemar*, brother of *Sigiſmund*, their king; upon which war breaks out between them, and in a pitched battle the *Burgundians* were put to flight, but the *Franks* following too raſhly, they, and *Clodomir* their king, are ſurrounded and cut to pieces, and *Clodomir*'s head carried by the *Burgundians* in triumph upon a ſpear; upon which peace is concluded, and all thoſe countries that had been ſurrendered to the *Franks*, are returned to *Godemar*	VII	586
4831	3524	525	*Juſtin* by an edict deprives the *Arians* of all their churches throughout his dominions, which created a miſunderſtanding with *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, who was a zealous *Arian*. The city of *Antioch* is almoſt utterly overthrown by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried in the ruins, with *Euphraſius* their biſhop. The cities of *Epidamnus*, *Corinth*, and *Anazarbus* in	VII	587

Gilicia,

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			Cilicia, underwent the same fate; but were repaired at the emperor's expence —	VI	523
4832	3525	526	The *Lombards* under *Audoinus* are allowed to settle in *Pannonia*, by the emperor *Justinian* —	VII	617
4832	3525	526	*Styrax* and *Glones*, two kings of the *Hunns*, being stirred up by *Cavades* king of *Persia*, against the emperor *Justinian*, with whom he was at war, breaks into the empire with two powerful armies; but *Boarex*, widow of *Balach*, king of the *Sabirite Hunns*, led to the *Romans* assistance an army of 100,000 men, encounters the two kings, destroys their armies, takes *Styrax* prisoner, and sends him in chains to *Constantinople* —	VII	483
4832	3525	526	The *Heruli* having murdered their king, send embassadors into *Thule* or *Scandinavia*, to fetch them one of the blood royal, many of them residing there —	VII	600
4833	3526	527	The emperor *Justin* the first of *April* declares his nephew *Justinian* partner with him in the empire. *Justin* dies in the beginning of *August* following, in the 77th year of his age, and 10th of his reign, and *Justinian* became sole emperor. —	VI	524
4833	3526	527	The fourth *Saxon* kingdom is founded in *Britain* by *Erchenwen*, and called the kingdom of the *East Saxons* —	VII	450
4834	3527	528	*Justinian* orders *Belisarius* to build a fort in *Mindon*, to be a check on the *Persians*. *Cavades* king of *Persia* comes against him, they engage, the *Persians* are victors, and great numbers of the *Romans* were killed and taken prisoners, and the *Persians* levelled the fort with the ground —	VI	524
4835	3528	529	*Belisarius* is made general of the east, and ordered to make an inroad into *Persia*. *Peroses* the *Persian* general meets him near *Daras*; they engage, and the *Persians* are defeated with the loss of 5000 men. The *Romans* were as successful in *Armenia*, where they take a great many *Persian* cities —	IV	347
4836	3529	530	The *Persians* under the command of *Azarethes*, joined by a vast number of *Saracens*, commanded by *Alamundarius* their king, engage *Belisarius*; and after an obstinate fight, put the *Romans* to the rout —	IV	347
4837	3530	531	The *Persians* still continued the war, and got advantages over the *Romans*, ravaged the country, and put all to fire and sword —	IV	347
4838	3531	532	*Cavades* king of *Persia* dies, and his youngest son *Cosrhoes* succeeds him in the kingdom. The *Persians* and *Romans* conclude an eternal peace, by which the *Romans* were to pay 1000 *lb.* weight of gold, and both parties were to return the places taken, *&c.* —	IV	349
4838	3531	532	A rebellion broke out in *Constantinople*, upon account of the avaricious practices of two ministers, *John* the præfectus prætorio, and *Trebonianus* the quæstor, and *Hypatius* the emperor's nephew was proclaimed emperor. *Anastasius* deposed the two accused officers; but the senators joining the populace, *Hypatius* was carried by violence into the *Circus*, and proclaimed there; but *Belisarius* the emperor's general, and *Mundus* governor of *Illyricum* came with their troops, and fell upon the unarmed multitude, and killed 3000 of them; took *Hypatius* and likewise *Pompeius*, another of the emperor's nephews, who were both beheaded, and the estate of those senators concerned were for the present confiscated, but soon after restored —	VI	526
4838	3531	532	The *Franks* break the peace with the *Burgundians*, and under *Childebert* and *Clotharius* enter their territories, besiege *Augustodunum*, now *Autun*, oblige *Godemar* their king to save himself by flight, and in 534 made themselves masters of his kingdom —	VII	587
4839	3532	533	*Athalaric* king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* dies, and his mother reigns in his stead, and chuses *Theodotus* her cousin for her colleague, who imprisons her —	VII	650
4839 to 4847	3532 to 3540	533 to 541	The emperor being engaged with the *Goths* in *Italy*, the *Hunns* enter *Illyricum*, lay the country waste, take thirty-two castles, destroy *Cassandria*, and return home unmolested with immense booty and 100,000 captives; the *Armenians* shake off the *Roman* yoke; the *Persians* enter *Syria*, take and plunder *Berœa*, *Hierapolis*, and many other places; and then besiege and take *Antioch*, plunder the town, murder the people, and then reduced the city to ashes, and what few inhabitants remained, carried away captive, and sold them for slaves; and then conclude a peace, upon condition that the *Romans* should pay 5000 *lb.* weight of gold down, 500 *lb.* annually, *&c.* and in their return plundered the cities of *Apamea* and *Chalcis*, and laid waste *Mesopotamia*, carrying off vast booty, and a great number of captives —	IV	352
4840	3533	534	*Amalasuntha*, queen of the *Ostrogoths*, murdered by order of *Theodotus*, for which the emperor *Justinian* proclaims war against him —	VII	651
4841	3534	535	*Belisarius* takes *Palermo* from the *Goths*, and makes himself master of *Sicily*, &c.	VII	652
4843	3536	537	*Theodotus* king of the *Goths* is by them first deposed, and *Vitiges* proclaimed king in his stead, and then murdered —	VII	654
4843	3536	537	The *Gepidæ* joined by the *Heruli* begin to plunder the neighbouring provinces; upon which *Justinian* sends his best generals against them, who drive them entirely out of *Illyricum*, and force them into *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* —	VII	596
4844	3537	538	The *Goths*, after losing abundance of their men, are compelled to raise the siege of *Rome* by *Belisarius*, who cut off vast numbers of them in their retreat, and forced many into the river —	VII	658
4845	3538	539	The *Franks* invade *Italy*, though they had engaged to help the emperor —	VII	661
4845	3538	539	The *Hunns* pass the *Danube* in great multitudes, and lay waste *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, and all the provinces from the *Ionian* sea to the suburbs of *Constantinople*, &c. and return home with incredible booty, after having committed all manner of cruelties —	VII	483
4845	3538	539	The *Bulgarians* are defeated by the *Romans*, and both their kings killed —	VII	623

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4846	3539	540	The *Bulgarians* come again into *Thrace*, which they plunder and lay waſte far and near; but being attacked by *Mundus* governor of *Illyricum*, are totally overcome, moſt of them being cut to pieces, and the remainder carried priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, where the emperor ordered part to be incorporated among his troops, and the reſt to be tranſplanted into *Armenia* and *Lazica*		
4846	3539	540	*Beliſarius* proclaimed king of *Italy*, and admitted into *Ravenna*, &c. but is called to *Conſtantinople* by the emperor, whither he carries *Vigites* king of the *Goths* and vaſt plunder	VII	624
4847	3540	541	*Ildebald* is choſe king of *Italy*; but behaving diſagreeably, *Vilas* one of his guards gave him ſo violent a ſtroke on the neck with his ſword, as he was feaſting his nobility, that his head dropped on the table with the meat in his fingers, and is ſucceeded by *Eràric*	VII	663
4848	3541	542	The *Goths* diſpleaſed with *Eraric*, murder him, and proclaim *Totila* king of *Italy* in his ſtead	VII	664
4848	3541	542	*Arthur* the great *Britiſh* king dies, and is ſaid to be ſucceeded by his couſin *Conſtantine*	VII	665
4848	3541	542	The *Lazians*, a people between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, being grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Roman* troops, revolted from the *Romans* to the *Perſians*, and delivered up all their ſtrong holds and caſtles to them, who drove out the *Roman* and put *Perſian* gariſons in their ſtead. *Beliſarius* the *Roman* general enters *Perſia*, lays waſte *Aſſyria*, &c.	VII	450
4849	3542	543	*Totila* king of the *Goths* recover *Tuſcany*, and ſeveral other places in *Italy*	IV	353
4849	3542	543	*Coſrhoes* invades the *Roman* territories afreſh; a dreadful plague rages in *Perſia*, yet he overthrew 30,000 *Romans*, as they attempted to break into *Perſarmenia*, with only 4000 *Perſians*	VII	666
4850	3543	544	*Coſrhoes* orders *Gubazes* king of the *Lazians* to be murdered, and the people to be tranſplanted; but before it could be executed, 'twas diſcovered, *Gubazes* ſubmits to *Juſtinian*, who ſends him 8000 men, with whom and his own people joined together he has ſeveral encounters with the *Perſians*, and at laſt cut off and drove them all out of his country, upon which a truce for five years is concluded between the *Perſians* and *Romans*	IV	354
4853	3546	547	*Totila* king of the *Goths* takes and plunders *Rome*, but ſpares the lives of the inhabitants and ſoldiers	IV	356
4853	3546	547	*Ida* founded the fifth *Saxon* kingdom in *Britain*, and called it the kingdom of *Northumberland*	VII	669
4856	3549	550	*Totila* takes *Rome* a ſecond time, by the treachery of the *Iſaurians*	VII	450
4856	3549 to 3557	550 to 558	The *Perſians* invade *Lazica*, and take the ſtrong caſtle of *Telepſus*, and then put the *Romans* to flight. *Gubazes* complains to *Juſtinian* of the cowardice of his generals, which ſo exaſperated them, that they murder him. The *Lazicans* are going to revolt, but *Juſtinian* appeaſes them by ordering all concerned in the murder to be executed, and making the brother of the deceaſed king in his ſtead. 60,000 *Perſians* beſiege *Phaſis* in *Lazica*; *Juſtin* commander of the *Romans* falls upon them, kills 12,000 on the ſpot, and forces the reſt to run away; upon this *Coſrhoes* ſues to *Juſtinian* for peace, which is mutually agreed to	VII	672
4858	3551	552	The *Gepidæ* enter the territories of the *Lombards*, and deſtroy all with fire and ſword; but the *Lombards* receiving aſſiſtance from *Juſtinian* the emperor, entirely overthrow the *Gepidæ*	IV	357
4859	3552	553	The *Lombards*, after aſſiſting the *Romans*, are ſent home loaded with rich preſents for their good ſervices	VII	579
4859	3552	553	The *Goths*, by ſubmitting to the *Romans*, put an end to their government in *Italy*	VII	618
4864	3557	558	The *Hunns* come into *Thrace*, &c. *Beliſarius* defeats and puts them to flight with a very few men; but they hearing of his diſgrace, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, return again and ravage all the country, coming before the royal city. *Germanus* heading the imperial troops, fell upon them, ſlew great numbers, and obliged the reſt to fly	VII	678
4864	3557	558	A violent earthquake overturned many ſtately buildings and churches at *Conſtantinople*, which deſtroyed a vaſt number of people; and then a terrible plague broke out, that ſwept away vaſt numbers	VII	484
4865	3558	559	*Beliſarius*, the famous *Roman* general, after many years ſevere ſervice, and obtaining many extraordinary victories, falls a victim to the malicious accuſations of his enemies, and is deprived of all his honours and employments, and confined to his houſe at *Conſtantinople*	VI	529
4866	3559	560	*Sigebert* king of *Mentz* engage the *Hunns* upon the banks of the *Elbe*, and entirely routs them	VI	529
4867	3560	561	*Ethelbert* king of *Kent* kindles a civil war among the *Saxon* kings in *Britain*	VII	485
4867	3560	561	The emperor *Juſtinian* convinced of the injury done to his faithful ſervant and valiant general *Beliſarius*, reſtores him to all his honours and commands	VII	451
4871	3564	565	*Marcellus*, *Sergius*, and *Ablavius*, three chief officers in the court of the emperor *Juſtinian*, conſpire his death, are detected and executed, and many baniſhed, but the emperor died ſoon after, in the 39th year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his nephew *Juſtin*, ſon of his ſiſter *Vigilantia*, who was unanimouſly proclaimed by the ſenate, and crowned by *John* patriarch of *Conſtantinople*	VI	530
4872	3565	566	The people grumbling at the diſcontinuance of the name and office of conſul, *Juſtin* revives it, after it had been omitted twenty-five years, and entered upon that office the firſt of *January* of this year	VI	530
4874	3567	568	The emperor *Juſtin* cauſes his kinſman *Juſtin* to be ſeized and carried to *Alexandria*, and there murdered, becauſe the people loved him	VI	531
4874	3567	568	*Longinus* alters the ancient manner of government in *Italy*, and ſettles in every city a governor, which he called a duke, and took upon himſelf the name of	VI	531

exarch

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			exarch, or governor of the whole, under the emperor, which continued till the year of Chriſt 751	VII	679
4874	3567	568	The *Lombards* invade *Italy*, and make themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities, and found a kingdom which laſted 200 years	VII	619
4875	3568	569	*Alboinus* king of the *Lombards*, having taken *Friuli*, erected it into a dutchy, which continues ſo to this day	VII	620
4875	3568	569	The inhabitants of *Perſarmenia*, being cruelly perſecuted by the *Perſians*, for profeſſing the *Chriſtian* religion, revolt to the *Romans*. *Coſrhoes* invades and overruns *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*; but *Juſtin* being ſeized with madneſs, the empreſs *Sophia* writes to him in ſuch moving terms, that in 572 a truce for three years was concluded	IV	357
4876	3569	570	*Alboinus* is proclaimed king of *Italy*, and makes *Pavia* his reſidence, and the metropolis of his kingdom	VII	629
4877	3570	571	*Clephis* king of the *Lombards*, and *Meſſana* his queen are murdered by his ſubjects, for his cruelty towards them	VII	622
4877	3570	571	The *Lombards* ſhake off monarchy, and are governed by dukes	VII	622
4878	3571	572	*Cunimundus* king of the *Gepidæ* enter the *Lombards* country with a numerous army, and commits moſt cruel ravages. *Alboinus* king of the *Lombards* raiſes a great army, and engages the *Gepidæ*; and after a very doubtful and obſtinate battle, the *Gepidæ* fly, and are purſued by the victorious *Lombards*, with ſo great ſlaughter, that ſcarce one is left alive. *Alboinus* ſlew *Cunimundus* with his own hand, and cutting off his head, turned his ſkull into a cup, which he uſed to drink out of upon all public occaſions. The *Lombards* ſeized upon all their land in *Dacia*, and obliged the people to ſubmit to them, or go into other countries, and ſo ended the kingdom of the *Gepidæ*	VII	597
4878	3571	572	The empreſs *Sophia* prevails on the ſenate to advance *Tiberius* the *Thracian* to the government during her huſband's illneſs	VI	532
4879	3572	573	*Juſtin* influenced by his wife *Sophia*, raiſes *Tiberius* to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and reſigns to him the whole management of affairs	VI	532
4880	3573	574	*Coſrhoes* king of *Perſia* breaks into *Perſarmenia* as ſoon as the truce between him and the *Romans* expired, and marched to beſiege *Gæſarea*, the capital of *Cappadocia*: *Juſtinian* the *Roman* general meets him, engages, and puts him intirely to the rout; which ſo affects *Coſrhoes*, that he ſoon after fell ſick and died of grief, after reigning 48 years	IV	358
4880	3573	574	*Alboinus*, the firſt *Lombard* king of *Italy*, is murdered by *Helinchild*, his ſhield-bearer, at the inſtigation of the queen	VII	621
4883	3576	577	*Hormiſdas* IId. ſucceeds his father *Coſrhoes* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, a prince every way unable to ſupport ſo great a burthen	IV	359
4887	3580	581	*Juſtin* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Tiberius* in the empire, who owned *Anaſtaſia* for his wife, and made her *Auguſta*; which ſo exaſperated *Sophia* the empreſs dowager, (who expected him to marry her) that ſhe conſpires to ſet *Juſtinian* upon the throne; but *Tiberius* ſtrips her of all her wealth, and puts *Mauritius* in the place of *Juſtinian*, and peace was reſtored again	VI	533
4888	3581	582	*Mauritius* engages and entirely overthrows *Hormiſdas* king of *Perſia*, took the camp with all the royal plate and treaſure, and an incredible number of priſoners, all which he ſent to *Conſtantinople*. *Hormiſdas* fits out another army, which *Mauritius* likewiſe overthrows, took an immenſe booty, and whole nations of ſlaves. Upon *Mauritius*'s return to *Conſtantinople*, *Tiberius* gives him his daughter in marriage, and raiſes him to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and a peace is concluded with the *Perſians*	IV	360
4891	3584	585	*Cerda* the *Saxon* founds the ſeventh *Saxon* kingdom in *Britain*, and calls it *Mercia*	VII	453
4891	3584	585	*Uffa* the *Saxon* founds the ſixth *Saxon* kingdom in *Britain*, and calls it the kingdom of the *Weſt-Angles*	VII	452
4891	3584	585	The *Lombards* reſtore monarchy among them, and chooſe *Authoris*, ſon of *Clephis*, for their king	VII	622
4892	3585	586	The emperor *Tiberius* dies, greatly lamented for his extraordinary care of his people, and is ſucceeded by his ſon-in-law *Mauritius*	VI	534
4895	3588	589	*Hormiſdas* king of *Perſia* breaks the peace concluded with the *Romans*, but is defeated in ſeveral battles with prodigious ſlaughter	IV	360
4896	3589	590	A terrible earthquake at *Antioch* deſtroys almoſt the whole city, and buries 30,000 perſons in its ruins	VI	535
4896	3589	590	*Authoris* king of the *Lombards* poiſoned	VII	684
4897	3590	591	*Sittas*, the architect, a citizen of *Martyropolis*, betrays that great city and important place into the hands of the *Perſians*, from whom *Germanus* the *Roman* general ſome time after retook it	IV	360
4897	3590	591	*Agilulf* duke of *Turin* marries *Theudelinda*, wife of *Authoris*, and is proclaimed king of the *Lombards*	VII	684
4899	3592	593	*Hormiſdas* king of *Perſia* behaving very haughtily, cruelly, &c. is depoſed, has his eyes bored out with red hot irons, and caſt into priſon, and his ſon *Coſrhoes* put in his ſtead, who ordered his father to be put to death, which ſo diſſatisfied the *Perſians*, that they drove him out of the kingdom; who flying to the emperor *Mauritius* at *Conſtantinople*, is by him kindly received, and aſſiſted with an army that reinſtated him upon the throne, and a peace is concluded between the two princes	IV	363
4900	3593	594	The *Avari* having broke into *Thrace*, and taken many ſtrong places, the emperor *Mauritius* goes againſt them, and after various battles, is forced to buy a peace	VI	535
4901	3594	595	*Chagan* king of the *Avari*, together with the *Gepidæ*, *Sclavi*, &c. enter the *Roman* dominions, ſwearing they would utterly demoliſh the *Roman* name, and		

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			eſtabliſh a new empire over all people and nations, and after laying *Thrace* waſte, advanced towards *Conſtantinople*; but a violent plague breaking out in their army, ſwept off multitudes, among whom were ſeven of *Chagan*'s ſons: *Chagan* offering to ſet 12,000 *Romans* at liberty for a ſmall ranſom, which *Mauritius* refuſing to pay, he put them all to death, which occaſioned a mutiny in the *Roman* army, and a great tumult at *Conſtantinople* — —	VI	536
4903	3596	597	The *Avari* renew their ravages, and are defeated in five ſucceſſive battles by *Priſcus* the *Roman* general, who cutting off 30,000 of them, drove the remainder out of the *Roman* dominions — —	VI	536
4908	3601	602	The emperor *Mauritius* commanding his brother *Peter* to croſs the *Danube* and winter in the enemies country, ſo exaſperated the ſoldiers, that they mutiny and proclaim one *Phocas*, a centurion, emperor. The populace at *Conſtantinople* riſe, and force *Maurice* to embark in diſguiſe, with his wife and children, in a ſmall ſhip; but being driven back by contrary winds, takes refuge in the church of *Autonomus* the martyr, about twenty miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, whither *Phocas* comes, and is crowned with loud acclamations in the church of St. *John Baptiſt*, with his wife *Leontia*, by the patriarch — —	VI	536
4908	3601	602	In the publick ſports at *Conſtantinople* a conteſt happening between the *Blue* and the *Green*, *Phocas* ſends his guards to quell the uproar, who uſing the tribune of the *Blue* roughly, they cry out, *Maurice* was yet alive, who would do them juſtice; upon which *Phocas* ordered *Maurice* to be dragged out of his ſanctuary, and after killing five of his ſons before his face, beheaded him, and put many of his friends and relations to death afterwards — —	VI	536
4909	3602	603	*Phocas* ſends his own and his wife *Leontia*'s images to *Rome*, which are received by *Gregory the Great*, biſhop of *Rome*, with great reſpect, and lodged in the oratory of the martyr *Cæſarius*; but *Phocas* behaving very cruelly, he grew hateful to the people — —	VI	537
4910	3603	604	*Narſes*, commander of the *Roman* forces on the borders of *Perſia*, revolts, and is joined by *Coſrhoes* king of *Perſia*, who defeat and kill *Germanus*, who was ſent againſt them, and ſome time afterwards they alſo defeated *Leontinus*. *Phocas* by ſolemn oaths and large promiſes prevails upon *Narſes* to lay down his arms and return home; as ſoon as *Phocas* had him in his power, he ordered him to be burnt alive, to the great grief of the *Romans* — —	VI	537
4911	3604	605	*Agiluf* king of the *Lombards* in *Italy* declares his ſon *Adaluald* (or *Aldonald*) yet an infant, his colleague, and cauſes him to be openly crowned with great ſolemnity — —	VII	688
4912	3605	606	*Phocas* ſends ambaſſadors with large preſents to *Coſrhoes* king of *Perſia*, in order to make peace, who rejects all his offers, ravages *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, and carries off immenſe booty — —	IV	366
4913	3606	607	*Conſtantina*, widow of the late emperor *Maurice*, is racked, and confeſſes that ſeveral of the great officers were conſpiring with her to ſet her ſon *Theodoſius* on the throne; for which ſhe and many of the grandees are put to death, and alſo three of her daughters, and multitudes daily impriſoned, where they died miſerably — —	VI	538
4914	3607	608	*Coſrhoes* lays waſte *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Phœnicia*, putting all to fire and ſword; and having defeated the troops ſent againſt him, entered *Galatia*, and commits dreadful ravages, and goes to *Chalcedon*; and while this was doing abroad, *Phocas* murders all who were any ways related to, or favourers of *Mauritius* at home — —	VI	538
4915	3608	609	The *Jews* at *Antioch* riſe, and murder the *Chriſtians* in great numbers, and dragged the mangled carcaſs of *Anaſtatius* the patriarch about the ſtreets in a moſt ignominious manner. *Bonoſus*, who was going againſt the *Perſians*, ſtrove to quell the tumult by fair means; but not prevailing, orders his troops to fall on them, who cut great numbers to pieces, and drove the reſt out of the city —	VI	539
4915	3608	609	*Phocas* being upbraided with his vices, in the *Circus* at *Conſtantinople* by the populace, he ordered ſeveral immediately to be beheaded on the ſpot, and others to be caſt into the ſea; which ſo enraged them, that they ſet the palace and publick priſon on fire. The great men having an intention to murder *Phocas* in the *Hippodrome*, are betrayed by *Anaſtatius* the *Comes largitionum*; but *Phocas* puts him as well as them to death — —	VI	538
4916	3609	610	*Heraclius*, ſon of *Heraclius* governor of *Africa*, proclaims himſelf emperor, and is as ſuch acknowledged by the *Africans*, who furniſh him with a great army and fleet: He comes to *Conſtantinople*, engages and beats the fleet of *Phocas*; *Phocas* flies into the palace, whither *Photinus*, whoſe wife he had debauched, followed, took and bound him in chains, and ſo ſent him to *Heraclius*, who orders firſt his hands and feet, then his privy members, and laſtly his head to be cut off — —	VI	539
4917	3610	611	*Heraclius* is proclaimed emperor at *Conſtantinople*, and crowned by *Sergius* the patriarch. The *Perſians* continued their ravages and deſtructions, being now arrived at *Antioch*, no force then on foot being able to withſtand them —	VI	539
4919	3612	613	The *Perſians* over-run *Cappadocia*, and take and ſack *Cæſarea*, and carry off immenſe booty, and a vaſt number of captives. The empreſs *Eudocia* is delivered of a ſon, but died ſoon after. *Heraclius* deſires peace of *Coſrhoes*, and offers to pay an annual ſum, but is refuſed — —	VI VII	539 686
4921	3614	615	*Agilulf* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Adaluald* his ſon, as king of the *Lombards* in *Italy*		
4922	3615	616	The *Perſians* come again into *Syria*, break into *Paleſtine*, and take *Jeruſalem*, where they ſell 90,000 *Chriſtians* for ſlaves to the *Jews*; but *Zacharias* the patriarch, and part of the croſs on which *Chriſt* was crucified, with immenſe booty, is carried into *Perſia* — —	VI	539

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4922	3615	616	The emperor *Heraclius* marries his brother's daughter *Martina*, and cauſes her to be crowned with the uſual pomp by *Sergius* patriarch of *Conſtantinople*	VI	539
4923	3616	617	The *Perſians* renew their ravages; *Heraclius* goes into *Armenia*, and again offers propoſals for an accommodation, which are rejected: Then he entered *Perſia*, took and levelled ſeveral towns with the ground; and then went to attack *Coſrhoes*, who ran away, when he entered *Gazycum*, where he ſeized immenſe treaſure, and burnt the city, and carried off 50,000 captives: But going to winter in *Albania*, the weather proving very cold and troubleſome to the *Perſians*, he ſent them home without ranſom	IV	368
4925	3618	619	The *Perſians* over-run all *Egypt*, take and pillage *Alexandria*, and then come into *Africa*, and beſiege *Carthage*, and return to *Perſia* with the ſpoils of ſeveral provinces, and a prodigious number of captives. *Heraclius* begs for peace again, but is refuſed by *Coſrhoes*, unleſs he will renounce his crucified god, and adore the ſun	IV	366
4925	3618	619	*Heraclius* defeats the *Perſians* in two pitched battles, and cuts off great numbers, and their general *Sarablacas*	IV	368
4926	3619	620	*Heraclius* concludes a peace with the *Avari*, and goes againſt the *Perſians* in perſon: *Saes* the *Perſian* general invites *Heraclius* to an interview, under pretence of peace; *Heraclius* ſends 70 perſons of diſtinction, whom *Saes* loads with chains, and ſends them captive into *Perſia*. *Coſrhoes* fleas *Saes* alive, for having ſeen the *Roman* emperor and not took him likewiſe. *Heraclius* penetrates through *Armenia* into *Perſia*, and lays all waſte before him, engages and defeats the *Perſians*, and takes their camp and baggage, and then returns to *Conſtantinople*	IV	368
4928	3621	622	*Heraclius* croſſes the *Euphrates*, takes *Samoſa*, &c. and intirely overthrows *Sarabazes* on the banks of the *Sanis*	IV	368
4930	3623	624	*Coſrhoes* not able to beat *Heraclius*, raiſes a univerſal perſecution againſt all the *Catholicks* in his dominions, and only ſpares the *Neſtorians*	IV	368
4931	3624	625	*Coſrhoes* engages the *Avari*, *Hunns*, and *Sclavonians*, to invade *Thrace*, which they do, and deſtroy all before them, and beſiege *Conſtantinople*, while *Heraclius* enters *Perſia*, and lays it waſte, and *Theodorus* the *Roman* engages and gives *Saes* the *Perſian* a dreadful overthrow	IV	368
4932	3625	626	*Heraclius* invades *Perſia* again, and at *Niniveh* meets *Razaſtes* the *Perſian* general, whom he engages, kills him and a great part of his army, and puts the reſt to flight, with only the loſs of fifty *Romans*. *Coſrhoes* flies to *Seleucia*, with his wives and children; and *Heraclius* deſtroyed the *Perſian* provinces with fire and ſword, releaſed the *Roman* captives, recovered the ſtandards, and carried off great part of the wealth of *Perſia*	IV	368
4932	3625	626	*Sarabazes* revolts with his whole army from *Coſrhoes*, who falling ill, declares his younger ſon *Merdaſa* his ſucceſſor; whereupon *Syroes* his eldeſt ſon joined *bardanichas*, ſeized his father, and threw him chained into priſon, where he was murdered, with *Merdaſa* and his other children: Then *Syroes* being king, concluded a perpetual peace with *Heraclius*, by which all the *Roman* provinces were again reſtored to the empire	IV	369
4933	3626	627	All the *Perſians* and *Romans* that were priſoners of war in either dominions were ſet at liberty; and *Heraclius* upon his approaching *Conſtantinople* is met by his ſon *Conſtantius*, the patriarch, the nobility, and people, with all the demonſtrations of joy poſſible	VI	542
4933	3626	627	*Syroes* king of *Perſia* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Ardeſer*, or *Artaxerxes*, a child of ſeven years old, who after reigning ſeven months, is murdered	IV	369
4933	3626	627	*Adaluald* and *Theudelinda* both die, and *Ariovald* ſucceeds as king of the *Lombards*	VII	689
4934	3627	628	*Sarabazes* the *Perſian* general having killed *Ardeſer*, ſets up himſelf for king in his room; but after much blood being ſpilt, the nobility depoſe him, and ſet up *Hormiſdas*, or *Iſdigertes*, (one of *Syroes* nephews) two years afterwards	IV	370
4934	3627	628	*Heraclius* goes to *Jeruſalem* with that part of the croſs that had been carried into *Perſia*, which he entered in great pomp, returned it to the great church, and inſtituted the feſtival of *The Exaltation of the Holy Croſs*, obſerved by the preſent *Roman* church on the 14th of *September*: Then the emperor baniſhed all the *Jews*, forbidding them under ſevere penalties to come within three miles of that holy city	VII	544
4935	3628	629	The emperor *Heraclius* coming to *Edeſſa*, *Athanaſius*, the patriarch of the *Jacobites*, influenced him ſo far as to embrace the doctrine of the *Monothelites*, who acknowledge but one will in *Chriſt*	VI	543
4936	3629	630	*Mohammed*, or *Mahomet*, (who called himſelf king and prophet of the *Saracens*) died this year having firſt reduced *Mecca* and *Medina*, and part of *Arabia*, and was ſucceeded by *Eububezer*, one of his kinſmen	VI	543
4938	3631	632	*Eububezer* enters *Perſia*, intirely defeats *Iſdigertes*, and puts an end to the *Perſian* empire, after it had continued upwards of 400 years in the line of *Artaxerxes*; and he and his *Saracens* inhabited the country: Then he broke into *Paleſtine*, laid waſte the territory of *Gaza*, and cut the governor and all his troops to pieces	IV	370
4939	3632	633	*Eububezer* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Haumar*, who conquered *Boſtra*, and ſeveral other cities of *Arabia*, and intirely defeated *Theodorus*, the king's brother, who went againſt him	VI	543
4940	3633	634	*Boanes* the *Roman* general is overthrown by the *Saracens*, who take and conquer all *Phœnicia*	VI	543
4941	3634	635	*Haumar* ſends one part of his army into *Egypt*, and leads the other to *Jeruſalem*. *Cyrus* biſhop of *Alexandria* engages to pay them 200,000 *Denarii per Annum*, ſo ſaves *Egypt* from being plundered	VI VI	543 544
4942	3635	636	*Haumar* took *Jeruſalem* after a ſiege of near two years		
4942	3635	636	*Ariovald* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Rotharis*, who introduces the firſt written law among the *Lombards* in *Italy*	VII	689

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4944	3637	638	*Manuel* governor of *Egypt* refuſes to pay the annual ſum of 200,000 *Denarii* to the *Saracens*; upon which they engage, and *Manuel* is beat, and they become maſters of the whole country, which had belonged to the *Romans* ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*	VI	
4944	3637	638	*Rotharis* engages the *Romans*, defeats them, and kills 8000 upon the ſpot	VII	543
4946	3639	640	*Haumar* takes all *Syria*, with *Antioch*, the metropolis of the eaſt	VI	691
4947	3640	641	*Heraclius* the *Roman* emperor died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*, who after a reign of ſeven months died alſo, ſuſpected to be poiſoned by his ſtepmother *Martina*, whoſe ſon *Heracleonas* ſucceeded him	VI	543
4948	3641	642	The ſenate depoſe *Heracleonas* the emperor, after ſix months reign, cut off his noſe, and pull out the tongue of his mother *Martina*, and ſend them both into baniſhment, and advance *Conſtans* ſon of *Conſtantine* to the throne; upon which *Pyrrhus* the heretical patriarch of *Conſtantinople* quits his ſee, and flies into *Africa*, being ſuſpected of being privy to the death of *Conſtantine*	VI	544
4953	3646	647	The *Saracens* break into, and conquer the whole province of *Africa*	VI	544
4954	3647	648	*Mabias*, or *Mahuvias*, the *Saracen* admiral, falls upon *Cyprus* with a great fleet and army, reduced the iſland, and laid the city of *Conſtantia* in aſhes; then went and took the iſland of *Aradus*; then went and took *Rhodes*, and deſtroyed the famous *Coloſſus* of the ſun, after it had been made 1360 years, containing 900 camels loads of metal	VI	544
4958	3651	652	King *Rotharis* dies, who for his great wiſdom and moderation was much lamented; and though an *Arrian* himſelf, permitted his ſubjects to embrace orthodoxy if they liked it beſt, and appointed a biſhop of each perſuaſion in all the great cities of his dominions: He was ſucceeded by *Aio* his ſon, whom he had made partner with him in the government five months before	VII	691
4963	3656	657	*Mahuvias* prepares a mighty fleet at *Tripolis* in *Phænicia*, with an intent to beſiege *Conſtantinople*. Two *Chriſtian* captives breaking open the goal, that was very full of them, kill the governor, and ſet fire to the fleet, and make their eſcape: But *Mahuvias* having got another fleet, engages the imperial fleet, commanded by *Conſtans* in perſon, and beat him, the emperor being forced to fly to *Conſtantinople* in diſguiſe	VI	544
4964	3657	658	*Conſtans* goes againſt the *Sclavi*, and defeats them in ſeveral encounters; but not being able to drive them out of the country they had ſeized, returned to *Conſtantinople*, and the country bears the name of *Sclavonia* to this day	VI	545
4964	3657	658	The *Saracens* quarrelling among themſelves, ſend to make peace with the emperor *Conſtans*; to which he conſents, and cedes to them the provinces they had taken, upon their engaging to pay him 1000 *Nummi* a year, together with a horſe and a ſlave	VI	545
4965	3658	659	*Conſtans* being jealous of his brother *Theodoſius*, cauſes him to be ordained a deacon, and ſoon after murdered him, but was ever after ſo terrified in his mind, that he could not reſt night or day	VI	545
4966	3659	660	*Mahuvias* the *Saracen* having killed his competitor *Hali*, reigned alone, and broke the peace with the *Romans*, and ſent his ſon *Izod* into the *Roman* territories, as far as *Chalcedon*, took *Amorium*, a ſtrong city of *Phrygia*, put a gariſon into it, and returned to his father with immenſe booty; but *Andreas* the *Roman* general ſoon retook it, and put all the *Saracens* to the ſword	VI	545
4968	3661	662	The *Franks* and *Lombards* quarrelling, *Conſtans* goes againſt the latter with a great fleet and army, lands at *Tarentum*, and takes ſeveral places, and beſieges *Beneventum*; but *Grimoald*, duke thereof, coming to its relief, the emperor retired to *Naples*: An engagement happening ſoon after, 20,000 *Romans* together with their general were cut off	VI	545
4968	3661	662	*Grimoald*, duke of *Benevento*, is proclaimed king of the *Lombards*	VII	693
4969	3662	663	*Conſtans* viſits *Rome*, and takes away the valuable rarities, and ſends them to *Conſtantinople*, returns to *Naples*, and from thence goes to *Syracuſe*, where he ſtaid five years, grievouſly oppreſſing the people, and ſtripping the churches of their rich ornaments and veſſels; thus becoming hateful, he was murdered as he was bathing, by one *Troilus*, in the 27th year of his reign, *Anno* 668	VI	545
4969	3662	663	*Grimoald* falls upon the *Franks* in the dead of the night, and ſlays almoſt all of them that were come into *Italy* to rethrone *Partharit*	VII	693
4969	3662	663	*Romuald*, ſon of *Grimoald*, attacks the *Romans*, who were come to drive the *Lombards* out of *Italy*, and entirely defeats them, and gains many cities	VII	694
4974	3667	668	Upon the death of *Conſtans*, the *Syracuſans* proclaim one *Mezizus* emperor; but *Conſtantine*, ſon of the late emperor, comes from *Conſtantinople* with a great fleet, defeats, takes, and puts *Mezizus* to death, and got himſelf acknowledged emperor in his ſtead	VI	545
4974	3667	668	*Grimoald*, with the conſent and approbation of the *Italians*, corrects, alters, and improves the laws of *Rotharis*	VII	697
4974	3667	668	The *Bulgarians* enter the *Roman* territories, commit great ravages, and defeat the emperor *Conſtans*'s army, ſo that he is obliged to allow them a large annual penſion to be quiet	VII	624
4976	3669	670	The *Saracens* enter *Africa*, and commit moſt terrible ravages, and cruelties, and carry away 80,000 captives	VI	546
4977	3670	671	The *Saracens* make a deſcent into *Sicily*, take and plunder *Syracuſe*, and over-run all the iſland, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword	VI	546
4978	3671	672	The *Saracens* enter *Thrace*, and come and beſiege *Conſtantinople*; but after an unſucceſsful vigorous attempt, they return in *September* to *Cyzicus*, and continued for ſeven years to beſiege it in the ſummer, and go to *Cyzicus* in the winter	VI	546
4978	3671	672	*Grimoald* bleeds to death, but firſt bequeaths to his youngeſt ſon *Garibald* the kingdom of the *Lombards*, who accordingly ſucceeded him; but *Partharit*, who had been expelled, returning to *Pavia*, the *Lombards* re-elect him king, and depoſe *Garibald*	VII	697

Florus

Y. of world	Y. of Flood.	Y. of Christ		Vol.	Pag.
4983	3676	677	*Florus Petronius* and *Cyprianus* gain a signal victory over *Saphianus* the *Saracen*, in *Syria*, and kill 30,000 of his men. The *Maronites* seize on mount *Libanus*, and fortify themselves, and by the assistance of some *Christian* slaves they reduce the whole country between mount *Taurus* and *Jerusalem*, and by frequent incursions force *Mahuvias* to sue to *Constantine* for peace, which was agreed to thus: 1. It should be inviolably observed for 30 years by both nations. 2. The *Saracens* should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. They should pay 3000 pounds weight of gold annually, 50 slaves and 50 fine horses	VI	546
4984	3677	678	The *Bulgarians* to the number of 100,000, cross the *Danube* and enter and ravage the empire, and put the *Roman* army to flight: The emperor agrees to pay them an annual sum, and then they retire	VI VII	546 624
4984	3677	678	A large body of *Bulgarians* are settled in the dukedom of *Benevento*		
4986	3679	680	The emperor *Constantine* calls the sixth general or oecumenical council at *Constantinople*, where the doctrine of the *Monothelites* was condemned	VI VII	546 697
4986	3679	680	*Partharit* takes his son *Cunipert* for a partner with him in the government		
4991	3684	685	The emperor *Constantine* dies of a lingering illness, in the 18th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Justinian*, a youth of 16 years of age	VI	547
4992	3685	686	*Abdelmelech*, the new prince of the *Saracens*, confirms the old peace, and proposes to pay *Justinian* 1000 *Numuti* a day, and a slave and a horse, to suppress the *Maronites*: He agrees, and sends *Magistrianus* against them, who overcomes and disables them for a long time to interrupt the *Saracens*	VI	547
4993	3686	687	*Justinian* goes against the *Bulgarians*, who had been allowed by his father to settle in *Lower Mæsia*, which from them was called *Bulgaria*, and ravages their country: They assemble, engage, defeat, and drive him quite out of the country, and recover all he had taken from them: And then he went against the *Sclavonians*, over whom he got the advantage several times; so that now he would quarrel with the *Saracens*, though *Abdelmelech* strove all he could to prevent it	VI	547
4993	3686	687	*Justinian* II. invades the *Bulgarians*, overcomes them, and obliges them to quit their country or live in intire subjection, he refusing peace upon any other terms: They assemble together from all parts, and fall upon the emperor, defeat his army, force him to restore the prisoners and booty he had taken, and to confirm the annual pension his father had allowed them	VII	625
4994	3687	688	*Mohammed* engages the *Romans*, and is beat, and besieged in his own camp; but finding means to draw off the *Sclavonian* general with 20,000 men, the *Romans* were so frighted at this revolt, that they run away; and the enemy pursuing, killed abundance of them. When the emperor came to *Leucate*, he was so exasperated, that he ordered 10,000 *Sclavonians* that remained with him to be cut to pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be thrown into the sea	VI	547
4996	3689	690	*Partharit* king of the *Lombards* dies, upon which *Alachis* duke of *Trent* revolts, and drives *Cunipert*, son of *Partharit*, from the throne; but *Cunipert* defeating and slaying *Alachis*, he reigned in the stead of his father	VII	697
5000	3693	694	*Justinian* upon his return to *Constantinople*, instead of raising troops, &c. spends his time in erecting new buildings, &c. which gaining him the ill-will of the people, and suffering his two chief ministers to execute many of the nobility wrongfully, and ordering *Rufus*, one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time of a certain day, and massacre them in their houses, and to begin with the patriarch *Callinicus*; before the time came, *Leontinus* governor of *Greece* was declared emperor, who seizing *Justinian*, carried him to the *Circus*, where his nose was cut off, and then he was banished to *Cherson*, and his two favourites, *Theodotus* and *Stephen*, were burnt alive	VI	548
5001	3694	695	*Sergius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Lazica*, betrayed that province to the *Saracens*	VI	548
5002	3695	696	The *Saracens* invade *Africa*, take *Carthage*, and over-run all the country; but *John* the patrician going against them, drives them out again	VI	548
5003	3696	697	The *Saracens* equip another great fleet, and again invade *Africa*, and force *John* to fly, who embarks his troops for *Constantinople*; but the fleet touching at *Crete*, the soldiers revolt, and proclaim *Apsimar*, one of *Leontius*'s generals, emperor. *Apsimar* (or *Tiberius*) goes directly to *Constantinople*, surprizes the city, took *Leontius* prisoner, cut off his nose, and put him into a monastery in *Dalmatia*, in the third year of his reign	VI	548
5004	3697	698	The emperor *Apsimar*, or *Tiberius*, being settled in the empire, sends his brother *Heraclius* with an army into *Cappadocia*, to watch the *Saracens*, who having private quarrels, *Heraclius* penetrates into *Syria* to *Samonta*, put 200,000 to the sword, and returned with immense plunder	VI	548
3005	3698	699	The *Saracens* again break into the *Roman* empire, besiege, take, and fortify *Mopsuestia* in *Cilicia*	VI	548
5007	3700	701	*Boanes*, sirnamed *Heptadæmon*, betrayed *Armenia* to the *Saracens*	VI	548
5008	3701	702	The *Armenian* nobility revolt from and drive out the *Saracens* with great slaughter, and send to *Tiberius* for assistance; but *Mohammed* enters *Armenia* with a great army, recovers the country, and burns the conspirators alive. Then they invade *Cilicia*, but *Heraclius* engages, and kills, and takes 10000 of them; the prisoners he sent in chains to *Constantinople*	VI	548
5008	3701	702	The deposed emperor *Justinian* flies from *Cherson* to the king of the *Chazari*, who entertained him kindly, and gave him his sister *Theodora* in marriage; but *Tiberius* prevails with the king to deliver him up alive or dead, by large promises; which being known, *Justinian* flies to *Trebelis* king of the *Bulgarians*, who receives him, and uses him very respectfully, raises a great army, and goes directly to *Constantinople*, and besieges and takes it the 3d day. *Tiberius* flies with his treasures to *Apollonias*; but soon after, he, his	VI	548

brother

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			brother, and *Leontius*, were taken and beheaded by *Juſtinian*; and the patriarch *Callinicus* had his eyes put out, and afterwards baniſhed to *Rome*	VI	549
5009	3702	703	*Cunipert* dies extremely lamented, and leaves his kingdom to his ſon *Luitberg*, who being but an infant, *Ragumbert* duke of *Turin* having defeated *Aſprand* his guardian, cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king of the *Lombards*	VII	699
5010	3703	704	*Ragumbert* king of the *Lombards* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Aripert*; but ſeveral lords declaring for *Luitberg*, are defeated in a battle fought near *Pavia*, in which *Luitberg* was taken and put to death	VII	699
5011	3704	705	*Juſtinian* breaks the peace concluded with his friend and reſtorer *Trebelis*, and enters *Thrace* with a mighty army; but was totally defeated, and forced to fly in a light Veſſel to *Conſtantinople*	VI	549
5012	3705	706	*Juſtinian* fits out a mighty fleet, and goes againſt *Cherſona* and *Boſphorus*, for their intention of delivering him up while a priſoner among them. He orders them all to be cut to pieces, men, women, and children, which was executed upon ſo many as did not get away. Thoſe who flew went to the *Chazari*, who joining them, they defeated the emperor's forces ſeveral times, and proclaimed one *Philippicus* emperor. *Juſtinian*'s troops revolt, and go over to *Philippicus*, who immediately marches to *Conſtantinople*, and enters it. *Juſtinian* being at *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia*, *Elias* prince of the *Boſphorans* goes and takes him priſoner, and cuts off his head. His ſon *Tiberius* takes ſanctuary in a church, from whence being dragged, he was killed in 711	VI	550
5017	3710	711	The emperor *Philippicus* being a favourer of the *Monothelites*, ſummoned a council of biſhops of that perſuaſion, who condemned and revoked the ſixth general council, and eſtabliſhed their own doctrine	VI	550
5017	3710	711	*Luitprand* ſon of *Aſprand* declared king of the *Lombards*	VII	701
5018	3711	712	The *Bulgarians* break into *Thrace*, and come to *Conſtantinople*; lay waſte the country, put prodigious numbers of people to the ſword, and return loaded with ſpoil, without interruption. The *Saracens* invade and take *Mædæa*, &c. and carry off a great number of captives. *Philippicus* growing hateful, one *Rufus* gets into the palace, and while he was aſleep, put out his eyes, and went away undiſcovered	VI	550
5018	3711	712	The people on *Whitſunday* proclaim *Artemius* (called alſo *Anaſtaſius*) chief ſecretary to *Philippicus* emperor, a man of great learning and a true catholick	VI	550
5019	3712	713	The *Bulgarians* enter *Thrace*, and advance as far as *Conſtantinople*; and having laid the country waſte, and put a vaſt multitude to the ſword, return home unmoleſted, with an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives	VII	624
5020	3713	714	*Anaſtaſius* having ſent out a large fleet againſt the *Saracens*, the ſailors mutiny, kill their admiral, and declare one *Theodoſius* emperor, who comes and beſieges *Conſtantinople*, and after ſix months takes it, and ſends the magiſtrates and patriarch to *Nice* to *Anaſtaſius*, to tell him what had happened, who upon promiſe of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, became a monk, and was baniſhed to *Theſſalonica*	VI	550
5022	3715	716	*Leo*, commander in chief of all the forces under the late emperor *Anaſtaſius*, refuſes to acknowledge *Theodoſius*, and proclaims himſelf emperor, engages and overthrows and takes priſoner, the ſon of *Theodoſius*, who had been ſent againſt him at *Nicomedia*, and then goes to *Conſtantinople*, where he is met by *Germanus* the patriarch, *&c.* with offers of *Theodoſius*'s reſignation, upon ſparing his life, which he readily grants, and *Theodoſius* and his ſons enter into orders, and *Leo* was crowned by *Germanus* the 25th of *March*	VI	555
5022	3715	716	The *Saracens* ſurprize and take *Pergamus*	VI	551
5023	3716	717	*Solyman* a *Saracen* general breaks into *Thrace*, but he dying, *Haumar* ſucceeds him, but through the ſeverity of the weather, loſes moſt of his men	VI	551
5024	3717	718	*Haumar*, with an army of *Saracens*, beſieges *Conſtantinople* by land, and *Suphian* and *Izeth* by ſea, with two mighty fleets; but after thirteen months ſiege, and loſing moſt of their ſhips by ſtorms, *&c.* they raiſe the ſiege and retire	VI	551
5025	3718	719	*Anaſtaſius* the depoſed emperor flying to the *Bulgarians*, tells them, upon his approach with an army the people would reſtore him; they arm and go with him; but finding ſtrong oppoſition, they ſeize him, and deliver him to *Leo*, who put him to death	VII	625
5026	3719	720	*Haumar* prince of the *Saracens*, vexed at his diſappointment at *Conſtantinople*, raiſes a perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, and forces ſome to embrace *Mahometiſm*	VI	551
5026	3719	720	*Sergius* governor of *Sicily* revolts, and declares one *Baſilius* emperor, and changed his name into *Tiberius*; but *Paul*, an officer of the houſhold, being ſent againſt him, took him, and cut off his head	VI	551
5026	3719	720	The empreſs *Maria* is delivered of a ſon, to the great joy of the emperor and the whole empire, and is called *Conſtantine*	VI	551
5026	3719	720	The depoſed emperor *Anaſtaſius* comes with a great army of *Bulgarians*, and claims the crown, and beſieges *Conſtantinople*, which being vigorouſly defended, they ſeize *Anaſtaſius*, and deliver him up, who was put to death with all his accomplices, and then *Leo* cauſed his ſon to be crowned on *Eaſter-day* by *Germanus* the patriarch. The *Saracens* under their new prince *Ized*, who ſucceeded *Haumar*, ravaged the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, put all to fire and ſword; but inteſtine diviſions ariſing among them, they are employed at home	VI VII	552 709
5028	3721	722	*Luitprand* king of the *Lombards* takes and plunders *Ravenna*		
5031	3724	725	The emperor *Leo* by a law commands all images to be removed out of all the churches, and forbids all manner of worſhip to be paid to them. *Germanus* the patriarch oppoſed this law with all his power; for which *Leo* depoſed him, and put *Anaſta-*		

ſius

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			ſius in his room. The populace become outrageous at the pulling down and turning out the images, attack the palace, but are driven back with great ſlaughter; and in the weſt the people openly revolted in defence of their images, prompted to it by *Gregory* II. biſhop of *Rome*.	VI	553
5035	3728	729	*Luitprand*, being ſoftened by a moving ſpeech of *Gregory* biſhop of *Rome*, gives over the ſiege of *Rome*, &c.	VII	707
5037	3730	731	*Gregory* the then pope begs the friendſhip and protection of *Charles* king of the *Franks*.	VII	708
5038	3731	732	*Leo* marries his ſon to the daughter of the *Chazari*, being firſt inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* religion, and baptized by the name of *Irene*.	VI	554
5038	3731	732	*Leo* fits out a mighty fleet, with an intent to chaſtize the revolted *Italians*; but it being ſhipwreck'd in the *Adriatic* ſea, he cauſed the revenues of the pope in *Calabria* and *Sicily* to be confiſcated.	VI	554
5047	3740	741	A dreadful earthquake at *Conſtantinople* overturns many churches, monaſteries, and private houſes, and buries abundance of people in their ruins. Soon after *Leo* emperor of *Conſtantinople* dies, in the 26th year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*.	VI	554
5048	3741	742	*Conſtantine* goes againſt the *Saracens* in *Aſia*; in his abſence *Artabazdus*, who had married his Siſter, gave out that he was dead, and was thereupon proclaimed emperor, who took *Nicephorus* his eldeſt ſon for his partner in the empire; but *Conſtantine* came againſt him, and defeated him ſeveral times, and beſieged *Conſtantinople*, and took it. *Artabazdus* and his two ſons were delivered up, and had their eyes put out. *Anaſtaſius* the patriarch was puniſhed in the moſt degrading manner poſſible.	VI	554
4049	3742	743	*Luitprand* dies greatly lamented, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Hildeprand* or *Hildebrand*.	VII	709
5050	3743	744	*Hildebrand* is depoſed, and *Ratlus* duke of *Friuli* choſen in his room.	VII	709
5050	3743	744	*Conſtantine* goes again againſt the *Saracens*, and defeats them ſeveral times, took *Germanicia* and other ſtrong holds. The *Saracens* fit out a mighty fleet, which the emperor meets and deſtroys all but three ſhips. In *Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſuch terrible earthquakes happened as ſwallowed up whole cities, and an extraordinary darkneſs, that laſted from the 4th of *Auguſt* to the firſt of *September*.	VI	555
5050	3743	744	A terrible plague breaks out in *Calabria*, and ſpreads into *Sicily*, *Greece*, and the iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, and then to *Conſtantinople*, where it laſted three years with ſuch fury, that the living could ſcarce bury the dead.	VI	555
5051	3744	745	*Rachis*, with the conſent and approbation of the ſtates convened at *Pavia*, publiſhes a new pandect of laws.	VII	709
5053	3746	747	*Conſtantine* proclaims his ſon *Leo*, about a year old, emperor, and goes into *Armenia*, takes *Mitelene*, &c. but the *Bulgarians* breaking into *Thrace*, laid the whole country waſte. *Conſtantine* goes againſt them in perſon, but was defeated and forced to fly to *Conſtantinople*, where he renews the edict againſt images, which began to be uſed again. Thoſe biſhops that oppoſed it were depoſed, and thoſe monks that preached againſt it were baniſhed, or put to death, and an edict was publiſhed, prohibiting any one to take upon him a monaſtic life; moſt of the religious houſes were ſuppreſſed, and the monks obliged to marry.	VI	555
5056	3749	750	The *Bulgarians* diſobliged by *Conſtantine*, ſirnamed *Copronymus*, make a ſudden irruption into the *Roman* territories, lay the country waſte, and carry off a great booty unmoleſted.	VII	626
5056	3749	750	The emperor enters the *Bulgarians* country, and begins to lay all waſte with fire and ſword; they fall upon him as he marched through a narrow paſs, called *Baragaba*, put him to flight, and purſued him with great ſlaughter to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*.	VII	627
5057	3750	751	*Rachis* reſigns his kingdom, and turns monk; upon which his brother *Aſtulphus* is choſe, and reigns in his ſtead.	VII	710
5058	3751	752	*Aſtulphus* invades the exarchate of *Italy*, and takes *Ravenna*, and puts an end to the name and power, and by adding all their dominions to his own, turned it into a dukedom.	VII	711
5060	3753	754	*Aſtulphus* king of the *Lombards* publiſhes a new pandect of laws.	VII	712
5060	3753	754	*Pepin* king of *France*, by the inſtigation of pope *Stephen*, comes into *Italy* with a great army, beſieges *Pavia*, and obliges *Aſtulphus* by a ſolemn oath to reſtore thoſe places he had ſeized in the *Roman* dukedom, the exarchate and pentapolis to the pope.	VII	712
5062	3755	756	*Pepin* king of *France* puts the pope in poſſeſſion of the exarchate, &c. of *Italy*.	VII	714
5062	3755	756	*Aſtulphus* dies, and *Deſiderius* duke of *Tuſcany* gets himſelf proclaimed king, and is ſupported by pope *Stephen*.	VII	714
5069	3762	763	A violent froſt begins the firſt of *October*, and laſts till the end of *February* following, ſo that the two ſeas at *Conſtantinople* were froze for a hundred miles from the ſhore.	VI	555
5069	3762	763	*Conſtantine* goes againſt the *Bulgarians*, and cuts them all off to a man.	VI	556
5069	3762	763	The *Romans* entirely overthrow the *Bulgarians*.	VII	626
5080	3773	774	*Charlemagne* entering *Italy*, beſieges *Pavia*, takes it and the king, and his wife and children, which he ſends to *France*, where they were never heard of more, and ſo put an end to the kingdom of the *Lombards*, taking the ſovereignty thereof to himſelf.	VII	719
5081	3774	775	*Conſtantine* is ſeized, in his march againſt the *Bulgarians*, with a violent fever, and dies at *Strongylum* in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.	VI	556
5082	3775	776	*Leo* III. ſucceeded his father *Conſtantine* in the eaſtern empire, and was crowned the latter end of *April*, and in *May* his brother *Nicephorus* formed a conſpiracy againſt him, which being diſcovered, he and his accomplices were baniſhed to *Cherſona*.	VI	556

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5082	3775	776	*Elerich* king of the *Bulgarians* reſigns his crown, and repairs to *Conſtantinople*, and is baptized. The emperor creates him a patrician, and marries him to a relation of the empreſs *Irene*. —— —— —— ——	VI	557
5085	3778	779	*Leo* gaining ſome advantages over the *Saracens*, they, to be revenged, perſecute the *Chriſtians*, and demoliſh all their churches in *Syria*. —— —— ——	VI	557
5086	3779	780	*Leo* revives the edict againſt images, and puniſhed with great ſeverity thoſe who paid any worſhip to the virgin *Mary*, the ſaints or their images; being ſeized with a fever, he died this year the 16th of *September*. —— —— ——	VI	557
5086	3779	780	*Conſtantine* ſucceeded his father *Leo* in the empire, under the guardianſhip of his mother *Irene*, he being but ten years old. A conſpiracy was formed againſt him in favour of his uncle *Nicephorus*; but being diſcovered, the authors were baniſhed, and then ſhe obliged the late emperor's brother to take orders. The *Saracens* broke into the eaſtern provinces, but were driven out by the forces ſent by *Irene* againſt them. —— —— —— ——	VI	557
5087	3780	781	*Heſpidius* governor of *Sicily* revolts, but is drove out by *Theodorus*, whom the empreſs *Irene* ſent againſt him. He flies to the *Saracens* in *Africa*, who acknowledge him for emperor, and then they fell upon the eaſtern provinces with ſuch fury, that *Irene* agrees to pay them an annual penſion to quiet them. —— ——	VI	557
5087	3780	781	*Arechis* duke of *Benevento* revolts from the *French*, and changing his dukedom into a principality, cauſes himſelf to be crowned king. —— ——	VII	724
5094	3787	788	*Irene* breaks off the match between *Rotdrudris*, daughter of *Charles* the great, king of *France*, and her ſon, and obliges him to marry one *Mary*, a woman of mean deſcent, for which he ever after hated his mother. —— ——	VI	557
5096	3789	790	*Conſtantine* takes the government upon himſelf, and baniſhes his mother and her favourites from the court. A terrible fire breaks out at *Conſtantinople*, which conſumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of St. *Chryſoſtom* on the ſeveral books of the ſcripture, written with his own Hands. —— —— —— —— ——	VI	558
5097	3790	791	A violent earthquake makes the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* quit their habitations, and retire into the open fields. *Conſtantine* is reconciled to his mother, and recals her to court, then goes againſt the *Bulgarians*, but meets with a dreadful overthrow. —— —— —— —— ——	VI	558
5097	3790	791	*Conſtantine* being egged on, put his four uncles eyes out. —— ——	VI	558
5098	3791	792	The *Bulgarians* entirely defeat the emperor *Leo* III. —— ——	VII	627
5100	3793	794	The emperor *Charles* the great, having ſeveral times defeated the *Hunns*, deſtroyed their cities, and by putting all to fire and ſword, compleated the utter deſtruction of that warlike people. —— —— —— ——	VII	485
5101	3794	795	*Irene* perſuades her ſon to divorce his wife *Mary*, and marry one of her maids named *Theodota*, which was done with the utmoſt magnificence; then he went againſt the *Bulgarians*, who run away. —— —— —— ——	VI	559
5102	3795	796	The emperor *Conſtantine* being with his mother at the baths of *Pruſa* in *Bythinia*, has word brought that his wife *Theodota* was delivered of a ſon, upon which he goes to *Conſtantinople*. *Irene* conſpires againſt her ſon, and ſends ſome of the officers of the army to *Conſtantinople*, who go to him and ſeize him, and carry him to the palace of *Porphyry*, where he was born, and tore out his eyes in ſo rude a manner, that he died a few days after with the anguiſh of the operation. —	VI	559
5103	3796	797	The *Saracens* enter the empire, defeat the forces ſent againſt them by *Irene*, come up to *Conſtantinople*, and carry off immenſe booty, and vaſt numbers of captives. —— —— —— —— ——	VI	559
5104	3797	798	*Saturacius*, *Irene*'s great favourite, conſpires againſt her, but is detected, and puniſhed only by forbidding any one to keep him company, which ſo vexed him that he died. Soon after *Irene*, to gain popular applauſe, remits an annual tribute the people had long paid, promoted commerce, and indulged image-worſhip, *&c.*	VI	560
5106	3799	800	Pope *Leo* III. crowned *Charles* the great, king of *France*, emperor of the weſt, on *Chriſtmas-Day*. —— —— ——	VI	560
5108	3801	802	*Charles* the great, now emperor of the weſt, ſends embaſſadors to *Irene*, empreſs of the eaſt, with propoſals of a firm and laſting peace, and to make a marriage between himſelf and her, and to unite the two empires. The nobility diſliking it, they go one night in a large body to the palace, and ſeize upon and confine *Irene* to her chamber; then conduct *Nicephorus*, (whom they choſe emperor) to the great church, and crowned him; and *Irene* was ſhut up in a monaſtery, which ſhe had built in the iſland of *Leſbos*. —— —— ——	VI	560
5109	3802	803	The emperor *Nicephorus* concludes a treaty of peace, and acknowledges *Charles the Great* emperor of the weſt, *&c.* —— —— ——	VI	561
5111	3804	805	*Nicephorus* cauſes *Nicetas Tryphyllius* (who had ſet him on the throne) to be poiſoned, becauſe he was beloved by the army; and then took his ſon *Saturacius* partner with him in the empire, and crowned him as uſual; then he marched againſt the *Saracens*, who had broke into the empire, but was moſt ſhamefully beaten, and narrowly eſcaped being taken. —— —— ——	VI	561
5112	3805	806	Three hundred thouſand *Saracens* invade the empire anew, take *Tyana*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia minor*, and extend their ravages to the gates of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*. *Nicephorus* ſends ambaſſadors with rich preſents to *Aaron* their kalif, who grants peace thus; the emperor to pay 30,000 pieces of gold annually, and 6000 for his own head and his ſon's, and that he ſhould not rebuild the demoliſhed forts: But as ſoon as they were gone, he rebuilt the forts; upon which they returned, and put all to fire and ſword in *Cyprus*, then demoliſhed all the churches, and murdered all the inhabitants. —— ——	VI	561
5112	3805	806	The *Bulgarians* fall upon a party of the *Romans* that were eſcorting 1100 pounds weight of gold to pay the army, which they take, and cut off all the guards. —— —— —— —— ——	VII	627

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5113	3806	807	The *Saracens* make a deſcent upon the iſland of *Rhodes*, and take a great number of priſoners; but in their return home their fleet ſuffered much by a violent ſtorm.	VI	561
5115	3808	809	The *Bulgarians* ſurpriſe *Sardica*, a city of *Mæſia*, and put the whole gariſon, conſiſting of 6000 men to the ſword: *Nicephorus* goes againſt them, but they retired with their booty: He comes back to *Conſtantinople*, and taxes the people to raiſe money to repair *Sardica*: A tumult riſes, and attacks the palace; but the guards killing great numbers of them, quell them.	VII	276
5117	3810	811	*Nicephorus* goes with a great army into *Bulgaria*, and deſtroys all with fire and ſword: *Crumus* their king ſues for peace; the emperor refuſes, and goes on waſting the country, deſtroying the cities, and murdering the inhabitants. *Crumus* ſends a ſecond time, offering to quit the country, *&c. Nicephorus* will not hear; then *Crumus* attacks the emperor's camp and forces, cuts off the emperor, and almoſt his whole army, took all the arms and baggage, cut off *Nicephorus*'s head, and made a drinking cup of his ſkull: *Nicephorus* is ſaid to have been a *Manichee*, one who denied providence; and to have been exceſſively lewd, cruel, covetous, and debauched.	VII	627
5117	3810	811	*Saturacius* ſucceeded his father *Nicephorus*, and was declared emperor at *Adrianople* by ſome few of the officers that had eſcaped; but the ſenate proclaimed and crowned *Michael*, that had married his ſiſter, who a few days after cauſed his wife *Procopia* and his ſon *Theophylact* to be crowned alſo; upon which *Saturacius* with his wife *Theophania* retired into a monaſtery, and died there about two years after.	VI	572
5118	3811	812	The *Saracens* break into the empire on one ſide, and the *Bulgarians* on the other: *Leo* drives back and defeats the firſt, and *Michael* goes againſt the laſt, has ſeveral ſlight skirmiſhes, but at laſt was utterly defeated, and forced to fly ſhamefully back to *Conſtantinople*; this ſo affected him, that he begged *Leo* to take the purple, which with ſome difficulty he accepted.	VII	627
5119	3812	813	*Michael* and his wife *Procopia* retire to the monaſtery of *Pharus*, where on the 11th of *July* he took the habit. *Leo* goes againſt the *Bulgarians*, and after a very obſtinate battle the *Romans* were put to flight; but the enemy purſuing diſorderly, the *Romans* rallied and engaged again, and got ſo complete a victory, that the *Bulgarians* did not invade the empire again for ſome years.	VI	563
5120	3813	814	The emperor *Leo* overcomes the *Bulgarians* in a pitched battle, wherein he ſlew and took a very great number.	VII	628
5126	3819	820	The emperor *Leo* having revived the edict againſt images, and baniſhed *Nicephorus* the patriarch, *Theodorus*, a famous monk, *&c.* for not complying, one *Michael Balbus* conſpires againſt *Leo*, is detected, and condemned to be burnt alive; but his accomplices fell upon *Leo*, as he was going to his devotions, and killed him in the chapel of the palace, baniſhed the empreſs *Theodoſia* and her four ſons to the iſland *Prota*, where they were made eunuchs, and *Michael* was declared emperor, and crowned by the patriarch.	VI	564
5127	3820	821	The emperor *Michael* recalls great numbers of biſhops, monks, and others who had been baniſhed by *Leo* on account of image worſhip, and reſtores them.	VI	564
5128	3821	822	A civil war breaks out in the eaſt by one *Thomas*, who gave out, that he was *Conſtantine* the ſon of *Irene*: Under this pretence he raiſed a great army, and over-ran all *Aſia*, and proclaimed himſelf emperor, and was acknowledged by the patriarch of *Antioch*. *Michael* ſends his troops againſt him; they meet and engage in *Aſia*, where *Thomas* overthrows them; then defeats *Michael*'s fleet, and beſieges *Conſtantinople*, but is forced to raiſe it.	VI	565
5128	3821	822	They engage again, and *Thomas* is routed with great ſlaughter by land, and his fleet driven on ſhore, and ruined at ſea: Upon this *Gregory* one of his generals revolted with 12,000 men; *Thomas* goes after him, cuts moſt of his men to pieces, takes him priſoner, and puts him to death: Soon after he is put to flight with great ſlaughter by the *Bulgarians*, and his fleet revolts to *Michael*, who ſends his troops againſt him, and while they were engaged moſt of his troops deſert: *Thomas* flies to *Adrianople*, where being beſieg d, his own men delivered him up, and having his hands and feet cut off, he died in great agony.	VI	566
5128	3821	822	The *Saracens* who had ſettled in *Spain* growing too numerous, tranſport a large number into *Crete*. *Damianus*, the emperor's general, joined by *Photinus*, goes againſt them; they engage, *Damianus* is killed, and the whole army put to flight. Then the *Saracens* built *Candax*, or *Candia*, and ſoon became maſters of the whole iſland.	VI	566
5129	3822	823	*Michael* ſends *Craterus* againſt the *Saracens* in *Crete*; they engage, and *Craterus* kills great numbers, and makes them fly; but inſtead of purſuing, goes to revelling; the *Saracens* in the middle of the night ſally out upon them, half drunk and aſleep, and cut them all off to a man, *Craterus* himſelf hardly eſcaping.	VI	566
5132	3825	826	*Michael* emperor of the eaſt forces *Euphroſyne*, daughter of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, out of the monaſtery whither ſhe had retired, and marries her: One of his officers fancying another ſacred virgin, takes and debauches her: Complaint being made, the offender to avoid puniſhment revolts to the *Saracens* in *Africa*, where he is proclaimed emperor, and ſent with an army into *Sicily*, where he is beheaded; but the *Saracens* never quitted the iſland till they had conquered it, and then went into *Italy*, and conquered *Calabria*.	VI	567
5135	3828	829	The emperor *Michael* dies of a flux, the 1ſt of *October*, in the 9th year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theophilus*, who puniſhed all the murderers of *Leo*, and ſent the empreſs *Euphroſyne* back to her monaſtery, and performed every part of the imperial government with unwearied diligence.	VI	568

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5138	3831	832	The emperor *Theophilus* marries his daughter *Mary* to one *Alexius Moſeles*, an *Armenian* by birth, a perſon of great perſonal beauty, bravery, and endowments ;made him proconſul, created him *Cæſar*, and ſent him againſt the *Saracens* in *Italy*, where he did wonders; but being miſrepreſented to the emperor, he deſired leave to retire and live privately, which was granted.	VI	568
5138	3831	832	The *Saracens* beat the *Romans* who went to hinder their depredations.	VI	568
5140	3833	834	*Theophilus* commands the *Roman* forces, obtains a compleat victory over the *Saracens*, killing great numbers, and carrying 20,000 of them priſoners to *Conſtantinople* in triumph.	VI	568
5141	3834	835	*Theophilus* the *Roman* emperor is defeated by the *Saracens*, and reſcued with great danger by *Manuel*, one of his generals, whom he uſes very ill ſoon after, ſo that he was forced to fly to the *Saracens* for protection, who received him with great honour, for which he defeated the *Cermatæ* for them ſeveral times.	VI	569
5145	3838	839	The emperor *Theophilus* invaded *Syria*, ravaged the country, and after taking ſeveral ſtrong holds, returns to *Conſtantinople*, leaving the army under the command of *Theophobus*.	VI	569
5146	3839	840	*Theophobus* the *Perſian* general, commander of the *Roman* army in *Syria*, is proclaimed emperor by 30,000 *Perſians* ; but he refuſes, and reſigns to *Theophilus*.	VI	569
5147	3840	841	*Theophilus* having deſtroyed *Sozopetra*, the birth-place of the prince of the *Saracens*, he ſwore he would at all events deſtroy *Amorium*, the birth-place of *Theophilus*, in *Cilicia* : He raiſes a great army, and advances and beſieges *Amorium*, takes it, puts the men to the ſword, levelled the city, and carried the women and children away captive ; which ſo afflicted the emperor, that he fell ſick and died, at *Magnara*, in the 13th year of his reign.	VI	570
5147	3840	841	*Michael* the ſon of *Theophilus*, a child of ſix years old, ſucceeded his father in the empire of the eaſt, under the regency of his mother *Theodora*, who immediately recalled all thoſe that had been baniſhed for image-worſhip, and drove *John* the patriarch away, put *Methodius*, a monk in his ſtead, and is ſaid to cut 100,000 *Manichees* to pieces ; upon which *Carbeas* at the head of 4000 of that ſect revolted to the *Saracens*, who returned with them into the *Roman* territories, and diſpeopled whole nations.	VI	571
5149	3842	843	*Roderick the Great* became king of all *Cambria* or *Wales*, which before was divided into ſix kingdoms.	VII	453
4161	3854	855	The emperor *Michael* takes the government upon himſelf, and begins with murdering his guardian *Theoctiſtus*, then giving ear to the falſe accuſations of his uncle *Bardas*, locks up his mother and three ſiſters in a monaſtery, and then fell into the moſt extravagaut debaucheries and cruelties, making *Nero* his example.	VI	511
5162	3855	856	The emperor *Michael* beſieging a *Saracen* city on the *Euphrates*, one *Sunday* as his army was at their devotions the *Saracens* ſally out upon them, put the whole army to flight, and took their camp and baggage.	VI	571
5164	3857	858	The *Saracens* entering the empire with 30,000 men, put *Michael* to flight at the head of 40,000 ; but his brother *Petronas* falls upon the *Saracens* near *Epirus*, cut off the kalif, and his whole army, and took his ſon priſoner.	VI	572
5166	3859	860	The emperor *Michael* creates his uncle *Bardas Cæſar*, when he acted beyond all law or reaſon, firſt putting away his wife, without pretending any fault, and marrying his niece! for which the patriarch *Ignatius* refuſed to communicate with him ; to revenge which he calls a council, and gets *Ignatius* falſely condemned for the murder of his predeceſſor *Methodius*, for which *Ignatius* was depoſed and impriſoned, and *Photius* put in his place.	VI	572
5167	3860	861	*Bardas* perſuades the emperor to go againſt the *Cretan Saracens* : They encamp at *Chorus*, where on the 1ſt of *April* he orders *Bardas* to be murdered, which was done, and the 26th of *May* following declared *Baſilius* his great chamberlain, his partner in the empire, who ſtrove what he could to reclaim *Michael* ; but finding it impoſſible, with ſome others enters his room when in bed, and murders him, and reigns alone, to the liking of all perſons.	VI	573
5168	3861	862	Two patricians, *George* and *Symbatius*, conſpire againſt *Baſilius* ; but being diſcovered, have their eyes put out, and their accomplices baniſhed.	VI	573
5169	3862	863	The emperor *Baſilius* proclaims his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine* his partner in the empire, and his ſons *Leo* and *Alexander Cæſars* ; and made his 4th ſon *Stephen* take orders : His four daughters took the religious habit in the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia*.	VI	573
5169	3862	863	*Baſilius* goes againſt the *Manichees* ſettled in *Armenia*, from whence they made frequent inroads into the empire, under their leader *Carbeas*, who was now become very numerous : He laid their country waſte, killed their beſt commanders, and returned with immenſe booty.	VI	573
5170	3863	864	The *Manichees* under *Chryſochir* break into the empire ; but the imperial troops meet, engage, and cut them all off almoſt to a man, with their leader.	VI	573
5177	3870	871	The *Britains* are drove out of *Cornwall*, ſouth of *Scotland*, and *Carliſle*, and take ſhelter in *North Wales*.	VII	454
5186	3879	880	*Baſilius* and his ſon *Conſtantine* invade *Syria*, take ſeveral ſtrong holds, with an incredible number of priſoners ; and in their return they take *Cæſarea*, the capital of *Cappadocia* : He was forced to put multitudes of the priſoners to the ſword, upon which ſeveral of their governors joined the emperor. The *African* and *Cretan Saracens* were likewiſe defeated with great ſlaughter, and their fleet deſtroyed by *Nazar*, the *Roman* admiral : But the *Carthaginian Saracens* took *Syracuſe*.	VI	573
5191	3884	885	*Conſtantine* being dead, *Baſilius* advances his ſecond ſon to be his partner, who is preſently accuſed by a favourite monk with a deſign to kill his father ; for which he was thrown into goal ; but his father dying ſoon after, he ſucceeded		

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			him, when he ordered the monk who had falſely accuſed him to be firſt whipped, and then baniſhed to *Athens*, where his eyes were put out.	VI	574
5192	3885	886	*Photius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, having conſpired to put one of his kinſmen on the throne, was depoſed, and *Stephen* the emperor's brother put in his place.	VI	574
5199	3892	893	*Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians* entering the *Roman* empire, is oppoſed by the *Roman* army under *Crenies* and *Curticius*, which he defeats, kills their generals, and uſes the priſoners very barbarouſly and inhumanly.	VII	629
5201	3894	895	*Simeon* king of the *Bulgarians* engages the *Ungri*, or *Hungarians*, and is entirely overthrown; upon which he ſues for peace, and the emperor *Leo* grants it; but as ſoon as *Leo* was returned to *Conſtantinople*, *Simeon* falls unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*, puts them to flight, ravages their country, and puts all to fire and ſword.	VI	575
5203	3896	897	The emperor *Leo* ſends a great army under *Theodoſius* a patrician againſt the *Bulgarians*, which *Simeon* their king entirely defeats, and obliges the *Romans* to make peace upon his own conditions.	VII	630
5206	3899	900	The empreſs *Theophano* dies, and *Leo* marries one *Zoe*, who had been his concubine; but ſhe dying ſoon after, he married one *Eudocia*; and ſhe dying in child-birth, he married another *Zoe*: All fourth marriages being at that time, held unlawful, *Nicholaus Myſticus* the patriarch excommunicated the emperor for his marrying a fourth time; which ſo exaſperated him, that he depoſed *Myſticus*, and put *Euthymius Syncellus* in his room; which occaſioned a ſchiſm, and great diſturbances in the church.	VI	575
5207	3900	901	As the emperor *Leo* was entering the great church on *Whitſunday*, a mean perſon gave him a violent blow on the head with a great club, and left him for dead; but *Leo* recovered, and the aſſaſſin being ſeized, was racked, and his hands and feet cut off, and then burnt alive.	VI	525
5208	3901	902	The *Saracens* take *Taurominium* in *Sicily*, with a mighty fleet, and then they took *Theſſalonica*, which *Simeon*, the emperor *Leo*'s ſecretary, redeemed with a mighty ſum. *Leo* ſends an army againſt them, and gained ſeveral victories over them.	VI	575
5209	3902	903	The *Saracens* invade the empire with a great army, which is defeated by *Himerius* the *Roman* general.	VI	576
5217	3910	911	The *Saracens* with a great fleet commit dreadful ravages on the coaſt: *Himerus* goes with the *Roman* fleet againſt them, and is utterly defeated; which ſo affected the emperor, that on the 11th of *May* he died of the cholic, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Alexander*, who being a lewd, cruel, and diſſolute perſon, began his reign by baniſhing all the good and great, and promoting the moſt profligate and mean perſons.	VI	577
5218	3911	912	The emperor *Alexander*'s debaucheries threw him into an inward bleeding, of which he died, after reigning 13 months, and declared his nephew *Conſtantine* (a child of about ſix years old) his ſucceſſor; and appointed thoſe who had indulged his own debaucheries the child's guardian.	VI	578
5218	3911	912	One *Conſtantine Ducas*, ſon of *Andronicus*, a famous general, was by many of the nobility declared emperor in the *Circus*; but the guards ſeized him, cut off his head, and moſt of his companions were put to death or baniſhed.	VI	578
5218	3911	912	The *Bulgarians* ravage *Thrace*, and beſiege *Conſtantinople*; but are forced to raiſe the ſiege and return home.	VII	630
5220	3913	914	The emperor's governors quarrelling among themſelves, the empreſs *Zoe* his mother is recalled to court, and made regent, who diſmiſſed all *Alexander*'s favourites.	VI	579
5220	3913	914	The *Saracens* and *Bulgarians* both break into the empire; the latter over-ran *Thrace*, and beſiege *Adrianople*: *Simeon* having bribed *Pancatucus* the governor with rich preſents, he delivered the city up.	VII	630
5223	3916	917	A peace is concluded with the *Saracens*, and a great army ſent againſt the *Bulgarians*, who at firſt were defeated; but rallying, and falling upon the purſuing *Romans*, intirely overthrew them.	VII	631
5226	3919	920	*Romanus Lacapenus*, the *Roman* admiral, having by his great intereſt at court got himſelf declared *Cæſar*, baniſhes the empreſs *Zoe* to the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia*, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned emperor by the patriarch.	VI	579
5227	3920	921	*Romanus* cauſed his two ſons, *Stephen* and *Chriſtopher*, to be crowned in the great church; reſerving his third ſon *Theophylactus* for the patriarchal dignity.	VI	579
5228	3921	922	The *Bulgarians* overthrow the *Romans* with great ſlaughter, take many of the great men priſoners, burn the imperial palace at *Pegæ*, and became maſters of *Adrianople* a ſecond time, and torture *Leo*, who defended it, to death.	VII	631
5229	3922	923	The *Bulgarians* again enter the empire, lay waſte *Macedon* and *Thrace*, taking many ſtrong holds, and putting garriſons in ſome, and levelling others: Then they go to *Conſtantinople*, and offer to come to an accommodation; they conclude a peace, and return home.	VII	632
5230	3923	924	*John Radenus* the *Roman* admiral ſurprizes the *Saracen* fleet in the harbour of *Lemnos*, deſtroyed the whole fleet, and cut them all off to a man.	VI	579
5234	3927	928	*Simeon* king of the *Bulgarians* engages the *Crobati*, and is intirely defeated, and ſoon after dies of grief, and is ſucceeded by *Peter* his ſecond ſon, who breaks into *Macedon*, and deſtroys all with fire and ſword. *Romanus* going againſt him, he propoſes a peace and alliance; which being concluded, he marries *Mary* the grandaughter of *Romanus*.	VII	632
5235	3928	929	The *Syrian Saracens* invade the *Roman* territories, but are driven back by the *Roman* general in thoſe parts. A ſevere froſt that laſted 120 days, was followed by a plague, which ſwept off abundance of people. Earthquakes troubled ſeveral provinces, and whole cities were overthrown.	VI	580
5239	3932	933	A great fire deſtroyed many ſtately buildings at *Conſtantinople*, and *Chriſtopher* the ſon of *Romanus* dies.	VI	580

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5240	3933	934	One *Baſilius*, a *Macedonian*, giving out that he was *Conſtantine Ducas* that had been ſlain, many followed him, but being taken and carried to the emperor at *Conſtantinople*, he orders one of his hands to be cut off, and then ſet at liberty; but ſtill inſiſting upon his being the ſon of *Andronicus*, ſeized a ſtrong hold, and made frequent incurſions; but being taken again, was burnt alive. — —	VI	580
5250	3943	944	The *Roſſi*, formerly called the *Roxolani*, and *Baſternæ*, fit out a fleet of 10,000 ſhips, and commit terrible ravages on the coaſts of the empire, But *Theophanes* the *Roman* admiral falling unexpectedly upon them, deſtroyed their whole fleet: of thoſe who eſcaped on ſhore, abundance were cut to pieces: ſo that very few returned home. — — — —	IV	580
5250	3943	944	*Stephen*, the youngeſt ſon of *Romanus*, ſeizes his father, depoſes and forces him into a monaſtery in the iſland *Prota* (where he died four years after) and proclaims himſelf emperor, and is allowed to be partner with his elder brother *Conſtantine*. — — — — — —	VI	580
5251	3944	945	*Conſtantine* the ſon of *Leo* being now near forty years old, and having only the name of emperor, without any ſhare in the government, invites the two brother emperors, *Stephen* and *Conſtantine*, to a feaſt, and in the midſt of their jollity ſeized them, and ſent *Stephen* to the iſland of *Panormus*, and *Conſtantine* to *Terebinthus*, and ordered them to be both ordained prieſts, and cauſed his ſon *Romanus* to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. — — —	VI	580
5254	3947	948	The *Saracens* break into the empire, and are defeated ſeveral times; and *Leo* overthrowing them in a pitched battle, took *Apolaſemus*, the kailif's kinſman, who being carried to *Conſtantinople*, the vain emperor *Conſtantine* trod upon his neck by way of inſult. — — — —	VI	581
5255	3948	949	The kailif of the *Saracens* having *Conſtantine* the third ſon of the *Roman* general *Bardas Phocas* in his power, uſed him moſt cruelly to make him abjure *Chriſtianity*; but not prevailing, poiſoned him: *Phocas* in return put all any way related to the kailif to death that fell into his hands, and drawing the kailif into an ambuſh, cut off his army almoſt to a man, he hardly eſcaping; and then *Phocas* entered his dominions, took many ſtrong holds, and laid waſte whole provinces. — — — — —	VI	581
5256	3949	950	The *Cretan Saracens* commit dreadful ravages on the frontiers of the empire. *Conſtantine* ſends an army and fleet into *Crete*; but through the ignorance of the commander, the whole miſcarried; great part of the army was cut to pieces, and the camp and baggage taken by the enemy. — — —	VI	581
5264	3957	958	*Romanus*, the emperor *Conſtantine*'s ſon, egged on by his wife *Theophano*, prevails upon *Nicetus* to poiſon his father; but *Conſtantine* luckily ſpilling great part of the draught, the remainder was not ſtrong enough to kill him. —	IV	581
5266	3959	960	The emperor *Conſtantine* is taken ill on a journey, and brought back to *Conſtantinople*, where he dies the 9th of *November*, in the 49th year of his reign, and is ſucceded by his ſon *Romanus*, eſteemed one of the lewdeſt and wickedeſt princes that ever reigned; and though endowed with extraordinary natural parts, made no uſe of them, committing the whole management of affairs to his favourite *Joſeph*. — — — —	VI	582
5267	3960	961	*Romanus* the emperor orders the patriarch *Polyeuctus* to ſolemnly crown his youngeſt ſon *Baſilius*. — — — — —	VI	582
5268	3961	962	*Nicephorus Phocas* goes againſt the *Cretan Saracens*, defeats them ſeveral times, and takes all their ſtrong holds; likewiſe corrupts the kailif, and *Arcemus* his lieutenant, and reduced the whole iſland. *Leo* his brother overthrew the *Saracens* ſeveral times in the eaſt, where moſt of them were killed on the ſpot, or taken priſoners, and was rewarded with a triumph: But *Nicephorus*, by the management of *Joſeph*, is ſent againſt *Chabdamus* kailif of the *Saracens*, overthrew him in a pitched battle, took *Beræa*, and great wealth with it, and ſet multitudes of *Chriſtians* at liberty. — — —	VI	582
5269	3962	963	The emperor *Romanus* dies, the 15th of *March*, and the empreſs *Theophano* is regent for her ſons *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, who contrary to the will of *Joſeph* the prime miniſter, calls *Nicephorus* to court, and honours him with a triumph. — — — — —	VI	582
5269	3962	963	*Nicephorus* is proclaimed emperor by the army in *Syria*, on the 2d of *July*; upon which the houſes of *Joſeph* and his friends at *Conſtantinople* were levelled with the ground, and *Nicephorus* joyfully acknowledged emperor, and crowned at *Hebdomon*, by the patriarch *Polyeuctus*; then he baniſhed and confined *Joſeph* in a monaſtery in *Paphlagonia*, where he died two years after. — — — — — —	VI	583
5270	3963	964	The emperor *Nicephorus* marries the empreſs *Theophano*, for which the patriarch excommunicated him; but a council being called, he was reſtored to the communion of the church. — — — — —	VI	583
5271	3964	965	*Nicephorus* ſends an army under *Manuel* into *Sicily*, to drive out the *Saracens*, who drew him into the mountains, and then cut off him and his army; *John Zimines* cut off the *Saracens* in the province of *Cilicia*, and overthrew and drove them quite out of *Cyprus*, and reunited it to the empire again. —	VI	583
5272	3965	966	*Nicephorus* goes againſt the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, and took three of their ſtrongeſt cities, and wintered in *Cappadocia*. — — — —	VI	583
5273	3966	967	*Nicephorus* beſieges and takes *Mopſueſta*, and *Tarſus*: A great fleet of *Saracens* coming to the relief of *Tarſus* three days after it ſurrendered, returned, but was moſt of it deſtroyed by a ſtorm, and the reſt taken by the *Romans*, with the ſoldiers. — — — —	VI	584
5274	3967	968	*Nicephorus* breaks into *Syria*, and reduces a great part of it; then beſieged *Antioch*; but the garriſon being numerous, and well provided, winter forced		

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			him to raiſe the ſiege, after he had ſpent three months before it, when he returned to *Conſtantinople*: But *Burtzas*, a patrician, unexpectedly in the depth of winter marched his troops to *Antioch*, and took it, and once more added it to the empire.	VI	584
5275	3968	969	*Nicephorus* baniſhes *Burtzas* and *Zimiſcis* from the court for ſome groundleſs ſuſpicions, who together with the empreſs conſpire againſt him, and murder him in the palace, when *John Zimiſces* was proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by every body.	VI	584
5275	3968	969	The emperor *John Zimiſces* diſplaces all the friends of the late emperor *Nicephorus*, and baniſhed his brother *Leo* to *Leſbos*, recalled all thoſe that *Nicephorus* had baniſhed, and reſtored all thoſe he had degraded: Going to the great church to be crowned, *Polyeuctus* the patriarch refuſed his admiſſion till he had done penance for the crime of murdering *Nicephorus*; he promiſes to revoke the acts againſt the church, ſettle his paternal eſtate upon the poor, and baniſh the empreſs and *Ablantius*, and was then crowned on *Chriſtmas*-day.	VI	585
5275	3968	969	The emperor *Zimiſces* takes *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, the two ſons of *Romanus*, for his colleagues in the empire; and cauſed the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople* to acknowledge them as ſuch.	VI	585
5275	3968	969	The *Saracens* with a vaſt army beſieges *Antioch*, but are overthrown and driven out of *Syria* by the *Romans*.	VI	585
5275	3968	969	The *Ruſſi*, or *Roſſi*, the preſent inhabitants of *Podolia*, break into *Bulgaria*, and after ravaging the country, and burning ſeveral towns, they return home loaded with booty.	VII	630
5276	3969	970	The *Roſſi* invade the empire with 300,000 men; having waſted all *Thrace*, they ſat down before *Adrianople*; *Bardas Sclerus* goes to its relief with 13,000 men, and by a ſtratagem draws a ſtrong party of them into an ambuſcade, and cuts every man of them off; and unexpectedly falling on the main body of their army, overthrew them, put a great number to the ſword, and took a vaſt number priſoners, with the loſs of only 25 men.	VI	585
5276	3969	970	*Bardas Phocas*, nephew to the late emperor, is encouraged by ſeveral of the nobility, takes *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and proclaims himſelf emperor. *Bardas Sclerus* goes againſt him to *Cæſarea*, where *Phocas* being forſaken by his prompters, flies to the ſtrong caſtle of *Cyropæum*, where he ſubmitted to *Sclerus*, upon a ſolemn aſſurance of pardon, which the emperor performed, but baniſhed him to the iſland of *Chios*. This year the emperor married *Theodora*, the daughter of the late emperor *Romanus*.	VI	585
5276	3969	970	The *Ruſſi* come again into *Balgaria*, and having overcome the *Bulgarians*, ſettle in their country.	VII	632
5277	3970	971	*Zimiſces* goes againſt the *Roſſi* who were now ſettled in *Bulgaria*, and inveſts *Perſthalba*, the capital of *Bulgaria*, at unawares; 8000 *Roſſi* attempt to get into the city, but are cut all off, and next day the city was taken by aſſault, and great numbers of the inhabitants put to the ſword: 8000 *Scythians* retire into the citadel, which the *Romans* took by ſtorm, and the *Scythians* all deſtroyed. *Boriſes* king of the *Bulgarians* being taken, the emperor uſed him ſuitable to his rank, and releaſed him, with his wife, children, and all the *Bulgarians*; but the city was deſtroyed, as belonging to the *Roſſi*.	VI	586
5277	3970	971	*Zimiſces* goes towards *Deroſterum*, on the *Danube*, where he was met by 300,000 of the *Roſſi*; they engage, and after a moſt obſtinate fight, the *Roſſi* were put to flight with great ſlaughter; they entering *Doroterum*, *Zimiſces* follows and beſieges them; a ſecond battle is fought, and they are again terribly beaten; at laſt they cut their way through the *Roman* camp, and many of them eſcape.	VI	586
5277	3970	971	*Stephen Doſtalbas*, general of the *Roſſi*, propoſes a peace, and to quit *Bulgaria* if he ſhould be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire, he and his countrymen permitted to return home unmoleſted, and a free trade be eſtabliſhed between the two nations; which was ſigned by both parties.	VI	587
5282	3975	976	*Baſilius* the eunuch, prime miniſter to the emperor *Zimiſces*, for fear of puniſhment for his rapine, *&c.* hires the cup-bearer to poiſon him in his return from the eaſt, which was done, this being the 7th year of his reign.	VI	587
5282	3975	976	*Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* were declared the ſucceſſors of *Zimiſces* by his will, and as they were not of age, *Baſilius* the eunuch took upon him the government, and recalled their mother *Theophano*.	VI	587
5283	3976	977	*Samuel* king of the *Bulgarians* breaks into the empire, does much damage, and carry off great booty.	VII	633
5283	3976	977	*Bardas Sclerus* being diſpoſſeſſed by *Baſilius* the eunuch of his high command of general of all the forces in the eaſt, and by him ſent into *Meſopotamia*, there he was proclaimed emperor by the army, and comes with a great force towards *Conſtantinople*, engages the imperial army, cuts great numbers to pieces, puts the reſt to flight, took their camp, and in it vaſt ſums of money, and an immenſe quantity of arms and proviſions. Soon after he engaged the emperor's army again, and gains another compleat victory, by which moſt of the officers were ſlain, and *Leo* the general, and many perſons of diſtinction taken priſoners. Then he took *Nice*, and engaging *Bardas Phocas* at *Amorium*, put his army to the rout; but having recruited, returns, and again engages and totally routs *Sclerus*.	VI	5
5286	3979	980	*Bardas Phocas* is declared emperor, and *Sclerus* likewiſe entering *Meſopotamia*, ſets up his former pretenſions, and offers to join *Phocas*, and divide the empire, which was agreed and ſworn to by both parties; but as ſoon as their forces were joined, *Phocas* ſeized *Sclerus*, and put him in priſon. The emperor *Baſilius* and his brother *Conſtantine* falls upon *Delphinus*, commander under		

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			Phocas, and put his army to flight, and took him and other great officers priſoners, who were immediately nailed to ſeveral great trees on the road: Then going againſt *Phocas*, killed him, and put his army to flight with great ſlaughter, and took the leading men priſoners, carried them to *Conſtantinople*, and puniſhed them divers ways. — — — — —	VI	591
5292	3985	986	*Sclerus* heads thoſe that were left, but through the interceſſion of his ſon *Romanus*, and the promiſe of the emperor *Baſilius*, he is prevailed with to lay down his arms and pretenſions, and go to *Conſtantinople*, where he is made great chamberlain, and lived with much honour the remainder of his life. — —	VI	591
5301	3994	995	The *Romans* unexpectedly croſs the *Sperchius* in the night, and fall upon the *Bulgarians* in the dark, cut great numbers to pieces, took their baggage, with many priſoners, maſtered their camp, and forced their king *Samuel* and his ſon to hide themſelves among the ſlain, who by that means ſtole away into *Bulgaria*. — — — — —	VI	591
5307	4000	1001	*Baſilius* the emperor goes into *Bulgaria*, defeats king *Samuel* in a pitched battle, took *Vidini Scopi*, and ſeveral other ſtrong cities, but had liked to have been cut off afterwards, with his whole army, by *Samuel*, who unexpectedly fell upon them in the *Streights* of *Cimba*; but *Nicephorus* governor of *Philoppopolis* falling upon *Samuel*'s rear, put them to flight, *Baſilius* purſuing them took 15,000 priſoners, and put out their eyes, leaving one to every hundred with one eye for a guide to the reſt. King *Samuel* was ſo ſhocked at this dreadful ſight, that he fell into a ſwoon, and died two days after. — — — —	VII	635
5307	4000	1001	*Gabriel*, ſon of *Samuel*, ſucceeds his father in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*. The emperor continued to ravage the country, and to take the ſtrong holds; but ſending *Theophylact*, one of his generals, to reduce the ſtrong holds among the mountains, the natives cut off him and his whole army; upon which *Baſilius* retires, but in his rout took ſeveral caſtles, and burnt *Buteliana*, the royal palace, and *Gabriel* was killed by *Gudiſthalbus*, who ſucceeded him. ———	VII	636
5323	4016	1017	*Baſilius* enters *Bulgaria* again, and took ſeveral places, and many of the people; *Gudiſthalbus* offers to ſubmit upon the emperor's own terms. *Ibatzes* draws the *Romans* into an ambuſh, and cuts every man of them off. *Baſilius* returns, deſtroys all with fire and ſword, and put out the eyes of the priſoners: But having loſt great part of his army in ſeveral encounters, he returned to *Conſtantinople*.	VII	636
5325	4018	1019	*Baſilius* reſolves never to ſheath his ſword till he had reduced all *Bulgaria*, and *Gudiſtalbus* being killed in a battle near *Acridus*, all the chiefs of *Bulgaria* ſubmitted to the emperor, who made a progreſs through the country to receive the homage of the ſeveral provinces. ——— — — —	VII	637
5327	4020	1021	*Xiphius* and *Nicephorus*, the ſons of *Bardas Phocas*, revolt; but *Baſilius* found means to bring *Xiphius* to his duty, and to diſpatch *Nicephorus*, and ſo the rebellion ceaſed: But *Baſilius* puniſhing with too great ſeverity all that had been concerned in the diſaffection, breeds new commotions; but the ringleaders being ſeized and executed, all was quiet again. — — — —	VI	593
5331	4024	1025	The emperor *Baſilius* making great preparations for a war againſt the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, ſends a ſtrong body of forces under *Oreſtes*, his favourite eunuch, before him, intending to follow with a large fleet and army, but dies in the *December* of this year, and *Conſtantine* his brother, who had done little but bear the name of emperor in his life-time, now becomes ſole emperor; but being a weak, effeminate, and vicious prince, he ſuffered his miniſters to oppreſs and injure the provinces without controul, all of honour, reſolution, and virtue, being turned out or put to death. — — — —	VI	594
5334	4027	1028	The emperor *Conſtantine* VIII. dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon-in-law *Romanus* II. who gained the hearts of the people by eaſing their taxes in general, being vaſtly liberal to the church, and ranſoming all taken captive in the late war. — — — — — — — — —	VI	594
5336	4029	1030	The *Saracens* broke into *Roman Aſia*, the commander of the troops in thoſe parts being defeated, *Romanus* goes himſelf: The *Saracens* beg for peace, and promiſe quietneſs for the future: *Romanus* rejects them, and ſends a ſtrong party to obſerve their motions, who falling into an ambuſh, are every man of them cut off; after which the *Saracens* defeated another ſtrong body, beſieged the camp, and reduced the *Romans* to great ſtraits, and took all the baggage, the emperor with difficulty eſcaping to *Antioch*. 800 *Saracens* that was eſcorting the plunder, coming to a ſmall town, they ſummoned *Maniaces* the governor to ſurrender: He ſent them a large quantity of wine, *&c.* with which making too free, *Maniaces* ſallied out in the night, while they were either drunk or aſleep, and cut them all off to a man, and recovered 280 camels loaded with the ſpoils of the *Roman* army, which he ſent to the emperor, who made him governor of *Media* for his reward. — — — — —	VI	595
5339	4032	1033	A dreadful plague breaks out and rages ſo terribly in *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Armenia*, that the inhabitants forſake theſe provinces: A terrible famine followed, and mighty earthquakes ſucceed the famine, which deſtroyed whole cities, and did great damage in *Conſtantinople*. — — —	VI	595
5340	4033	1034	The empreſs *Zoe* having got her huſband the emperor *Romanus* murdered, ſends for *Alexius* the patriarch, and commands him to marry her to one *Michael*, brother to *John* the eunuch, *Romanus*'s favourite, with whom ſhe had held a criminal converſation during the life of *Romanus*. *Alexius* ſcruples, but 100 *lb.* weight of gold made him perform the office, when *Michael* was proclaimed emperor, and partner with *Zoe*. — — — — —	VI	595
5340	4033	1034	*Tangrolipix*, now maſter of *Perſia*, opened a paſſage for his countrymen in *Armenia*, and being ſtrengthened by their aſſiſtance, made war on *Piſaris*, kailif of *Babylon*, ſlew him, and annexed his dominions to thoſe of *Perſia*. —	VI	599

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5341	4034	1035	*John* the eunuch governs all the eaſtern empire with an abſolute ſway, in the name of his brother *Michael*, who to attone for his former life, now ſpent his time in acts of devotion, religion, and piety, and advances *Michael* his ſiſter's ſon to the dignity of *Cæſar*. — — — —	VI	596
5342	4035	1036	A peace for 30 years is concluded by *Michael* between the *Romans* and *Saracens*, whoſe kailif being dead, his widow embraced *Chriſtianity*. — —	VI	596
5442	4035	1036	Dreadful earthquakes overturned ſeveral cities in different parts of the eaſtern empire, and twelve pretended ambaſſadors come to *Edeſſa*, with 5000 horſes and as many camels, pretending they were loaded with preſents for the emperor, but were full of armed men; which being diſcovered, the governor cut every one of them to pieces, and ſo ſaved the city. — —	VI	596
5342	4035	1036	One *Delcanus*, a *Bulgarian* ſlave at *Conſtantinople*, runs away from his maſter, goes into *Bulgaria*, and pretends to be the ſon of *Gabriel*, and grandſon of *Samuel* their late kings: The *Bulgarians* proclaim him king, and ſacrifice all the *Romans* that fell into their power. The inhabitants of *Dyrrachium* in *Bulgaria* ſet up one *Teichomer* for their king: *Deleanus* cajoled *Teichomer* ſo far, that the latter joined him with all his forces, when he got him ſtoned to death: Then *Deleanus* goes againſt the emperor *Michael* at *Theſſalonica*; *Michael* leaves all his baggage and treaſure with *Ibatza*, who revolted with it to *Deleanus*: Then they beſiege *Theſſalonica*; but the governor ſallying out unexpectedly, cut 15,000 *Bulgarians* to pieces, and forced the reſt to run away.	VII	638
5344	4037	1038	*Tangrolipix* ſends his nephew *Cuthimuſes* againſt the *Arabians*, who overthrow him in a pitched battle; and being forced to take ſhelter in *Media*, *Stephen* the *Roman* general refuſes him a paſſage; they engage; the *Romans* are beat, and *Stephen* taken priſoner. — — — —	VI	599
5347	4040	1041	The emperor *Michael* having ſubdued all *Bulgaria*, being grievouſly afflicted with the dropſy, reſigns the empire; retires into a monaſtery, and died the 10th of *December*, and was ſucceeded by *Calaphates*, his ſiſter's ſon; but he behaving cruelly and diſreſpectfully, the people ſent for *Theodora* (the emperor *Conſtantine*'s youngeſt daughter) out of a monaſtery, and ſaluted her empreſs with her ſiſter *Zoe*, and *Michael* voluntarily reſigned, and retired into a monaſtery. —	VI	597
5347	4040	1041	*Tangrolipix* goes againſt the *Arabians* himſelf, and is beat. *Aſan*, nephew to *Tangrolipix*, goes into *Media* with 20,000 men, and ravages the country; but being drawn into an ambuſh, was cut off with his whole army by the *Roman* generals. Soon after another army of 100,000 *Turks* comes into *Media*, and ravages the country. The *Romans* ſhutting themſelves up in their ſtrong holds, are beſieged in *Artza*, which the *Turks* ſet fire to, and deſtroyed 150,000 of the inhabitants. — — — — —	VI	599
5348	4041	1042	*Michael* and his uncle *Conſtantine* taking up the religious habit, thought themſelves ſecure; but the empreſs *Theodora* cauſed both their eyes to be pulled out, and ban ſhed them, their relations, and adherents. — — —	VI	597
5348	4041	1042	The empreſs *Zoe* being preſſed to marry, ſends for *Conſtantine Monomachus* out of baniſhment, a beautiful man, and of noble extract, marries him, and has him crowned by the patriarch. — — — —	VI	598
5349	4042	1043	*Maniaces*, general of all the weſtern forces, revolts, and is joined by the *Bulgarians*, and declares himſelf emperor; *Stephen Sebaſtophorus* goes againſt him with a very numerous army, but is routed at the firſt onſet, and *Maniaces* a few days afterwards was killed by an unknown hand, upon which the revolters returned to their duty. — — — — —	VI	598
5349	4042	1043	The *Roſſi* come before *Conſtantinople* with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's fleet, they renew their antient alliance and return home. —	VI	598
5350	4043	1044	The emperor *Conſtantine* goes into the eaſt, to recover what the *Saracens* had taken during the two laſt reigns; but while he is doing this, *Leo Tornicius* proclaims himſelf emperor, and at the head of a great army goes to *Conſtantinople*, and beſieges it; but not being able to reduce it, retires to *Arcadiopolis*, where being overcome, and ſent to *Monomachus* in chains, he pulled out his eyes, and baniſhed him, which quaſhed the rebellion and reſtored peace. —	VI	598
5354	4047	1048	*Abraham Halim*, half brother to *Tangrolipix*, engages *Liparites* the *Roman* governor of *Iberia*; the victory at laſt was with the *Romans*, though their general *Liparites* was taken priſoner: The emperor ſends ambaſſadors with rich preſents and a large ſum to ranſom *Liparites*, and to propoſe an alliance with *Tangrolipix*; all which *Tangrolipix* agreed to, but generouſly gave the whole ranſom and preſents to *Liparites*, to repair his loſſes and furniſh his equipage. — —	VI	599
5355	4048	1049	*Tangrolipix* ſends an ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, who arrogantly requiring the emperor to ſubmit to his maſter, and acknowledge himſelf his tributary, *Monomachus* diſmiſſed him with ſcorn, and drove him out of the city. —	VI	599
5355	4048	1049	The *Patzinacæ*, a *Scythian* nation, croſs the *Danube* on the ice, and enter the empire with 800,000 men, and deſtroy all with fire and ſword; but great numbers of them being ſwept off by the diſtempers that raged among them, *Conſtantine Ariamites* the *Roman* general falls unexpectedly upon them, kills many, and the reſt threw down their arms; great numbers are allowed to ſettle in *Bulgaria*, ſome returned home, but *Tyrach* and 140 of the moſt noble among them were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where embracing *Chriſtianity* they are treated ſuitable to their rank. — — — —	VI	600
5358	4051	1052	The emperor ſends 15,000 *Patzinacæ* under *Catalunes* their own general to reinforce the army in *Iberia*; but they revolt, and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamp on the banks of the *Danube*, and make continual incurſions into the empire, and frequently defeat the troops ſent againſt them; but at laſt ſue for peace, which is granted for 30 years. —	VI	600
5360	4053	1054	*Tangrolipix* commits great ravages in *Iberia*, kills all the people that fall into his power, and takes many towns. — — — —	VI	600

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5361	4054	1055	*Conſtantine Monomachus* the emperor of the eaſt dies, and is ſucceeded by *Theodora*, ſiſter to his wife *Zoe*. — — — —	VI	600
5362	4055	1056	The empreſs *Theodora* dies of a violent pain in her bowels; and bequeathed the empire to *Michael Stratioticus*, an old unfit perſon, who ſuffered the eunuchs to manage all things to their liking, and diſobliged every body elſe. —	VI	603
5363	4056	1057	On the 8th of *June*, *Comnenus* a famous general was by the ſoldiery proclaimed emperor. *Stratioticus* ſends an army againſt him, which is beat, and *Comnenus* marches to *Conſtantinople*, where *Stratioticus* is depoſed, and goes into a monaſtery, and *Comnenus* was proclaimed emperor by the ſenate and people, and crowned in the great church by *Michael Cerularius* the patriarch. —	VI	603
5364	4057	1058	*Comnenus* finding the exchequer empty, ſeizes the church-lands, *&c.* The patriarch threatens him, for which *Comnenus* depoſed him, and put *Conſtantine Lichudes* in his ſtead. — — —	VI	603
5365	4058	1059	The emperor *Iſaac Comnenus* finding himſelf very ill, reſigns the empire, and retires into a monaſtery, naming *Conſtantine Ducas* for his ſucceſſor, who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch, who applied himſelf diligently to reform abuſes of all ſorts, that through the unſettledneſs of the late times had crept in.—	VI	603
5368	4061	1062	The *Uzians*, a *Scythian* nation, paſs the *Danube* with an army of 500,000 men, and ravage the countries next it. *Nicephorus Betoniates* (afterwards emperor) and *Baſilius Apocapes* go againſt them, are put to flight at the firſt onſet, and both taken priſoners, when the *Uzians* laid waſte *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and penetrated into *Greece*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. The emperor ſtrives to buy a peace with rich preſents, and offers to pay an annual tribute, which being refuſed, after obſerving a general faſt, he goes againſt them with a handful of men. A plague breaking out among the enemy, ſwept away great numbers, and the *Hungarians* falling upon the remainder, cut almoſt all off. —	VI	603
5371	4064	1065	A great earthquake overturned many fine buildings at *Conſtantinople*, and a comet appeared for forty days together. — — —	VI	603
5371	4064	1065	The emperor *Conſtantine* falling ill, obliges his wife *Eudocia* ſolemnly to ſign an oath, that ſhe would never marry again, which was religiouſly depoſited with the patriarch, and then he appoints her regent and guardian over his three ſons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Conſtantine*, to whom he left the empire. —	VI	604
5372	4065	1066	The *Turks* break into the empire; the empreſs gets herſelf publickly abſolved from her oath of widowhood, and marries *Romanus Diogenes*, who had been condemned for aſpiring to the crown, but pardoned by the empreſs, and he was thereupon proclaimed emperor. — — —	VI	605
5373	4066	1067	*Romanus* being informed the *Turks* had ſurprized, taken and plundered *Neocæſaræa*, purſued and overtook them, as they were carrying off their booty, fell upon them, cut great numbers to pieces, recovered the ſpoil, and purſued his march to *Aleppo*, which he retook, and *Hierapolis*; then meets and engages the *Turks* again, and obtains a complete victory; upon which ſeveral towns ſubmit, and he returns to *Conſtantinople*. — —	VI	605
5374	4067	1068	The *Turks*, during the emperor's abſence at *Conſtantinople*, defeated *Philaretus*, who was left to guard the banks of the *Euphrates*, took *Iconium* the capital of *Cilicia*. *Romanus* goes againſt them; they retire with their booty; the *Armenians* fall on them, put them to flight, and take their baggage and booty. —	VI	606
5375	4068	1069	*Romanus* goes again againſt the *Turks*; *Axan* the *Turkiſh* ſultan deſires peace, but is refuſed; they engage, and *John Ducas*, brother of the late emperor *Conſtantine*, treacherouſly cries out the emperor was put to flight, and flies himſelf with his troops to the camp. In the purſuit the *Turks* killed great numbers; ſo that at laſt the emperor, overcome by numbers, was taken priſoner, and uſed with the utmoſt honour and reſpect, and concluding a peace, was ſent back to *Conſtantinople* to have it confirm'd. In his paſſage he is informed, that *John* brother of *Conſtantine Ducas* had driven *Eudocia* from the throne, and proclaimed her eldeſt ſon *Michael* emperor, and he acted as guardian. *Romanus* was taken priſoner; *John* ordered his eyes to be pulled out, the anguiſh whereof killed him a few days after. — — — —	VI	606
5376	4069	1070	*Axan* the *Turkiſh* ſultan invades the *Roman* territories. *Iſaac Comnenus* goes againſt them, is at firſt ſucceſsful, but ſoon after is utterly defeated and taken priſoner; then *John Ducas* the emperor's uncle goes againſt them, and gets advantages; but *Ruſelius* a *Gaul* revolting, reduced ſeveral cities in *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, proclaiming himſelf emperor. *John* goes againſt him, but is defeated and taken priſoner; but *Ruſelius*, to ſtop the *Turks*, releaſed and joined his priſoner, and both go againſt the *Turks*, but are both beat and taken priſoners. — —	VI	606
5377	4070	1071	*Cutlu-Moſes*, couſin to *Tangrolipix*, comes againſt *Axan* with a large body of *Arabians*; but before they engage, the late kailif of *Babylon*, who now only acted in ſpirituals, brought them to this accommodation, that *Axan* ſhould enjoy the kingdom erected by his father, and *Cutlu-Moſes* ſhould enjoy ſuch other provinces as he ſhould conquer. — — — —	VI	606
5378	4071	1072	*Cutlu Moſes*, aſſiſted by *Axan*, wars againſt the empire, and in a ſmall time conquered *Media*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bythinia*, fixing his ſeat at *Nice*. — — —	VI	606
5379	4072	1073	*Ruſelius* being ranſom'd by his wife, was reſtored to favour, and entruſted with a command in *Aſia Minor*; revolts afreſh, and proclaims himſelf again emperor, and defeats the troops of *Michael*; at laſt *Alexius* gets him and ſends him in chains to *Conſtantinople*, and the rebels ſurrender up the cities, *&c.* they had taken, and return to their duty; but a famine being at *Conſtantinople*, the emperor to fill his coffers leſſened the wheat meaſure, by which and other avaritious actions, he became ſo hateful, that *Nicephorus Betoniates* proclaims himſelf emperor, ſupported by the *Turks*; and at the ſame time *Nicephorus*		

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			Bryennius, commander at *Dyrrachium*, did the like, and prepared to march to *Conſtantinople*. *Michael* reſigns the empire, and retires to a monaſtery, took orders, and was ſoon after made biſhop of *Epheſus*.	VI	607
5384	4077	1078	*Betoniates* enters *Conſtantinople*, and was crowned by the patriarch the 25th of *May*, and ſends *Alexius Comnenus* againſt *Bryennius*; they engage at *Calaura* in *Thrace*, where *Bryennius* was beaten and taken priſoner, and then goes againſt *Baſilacius*, who had proclaimed himſelf emperor at *Dyrrhachium*. They engage, and *Alexius* beats him, and purſues and beſieges him in *Theſſalonica*; takes him and ſends him to *Conſtantinople*, where his eyes were pulled out, and then he was put into a monaſtery.	VI	608
5387	4080	1081	*Alexius Comnenus* is proclaimed emperor by the army in *Thrace*, and goes to *Conſtantinople*, and ſeizes the city by ſurprize, and plunders it. *Betoniates* reſigns and retires to a monaſtery, and took the habit. *Alexius* was proclaimed and crowned by the patriarch in *April*.	VI	609
5387	4080	1081	*Solyman*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Cutlu-Moſes*, ſends to treat of peace with *Alexius*, who at firſt refuſes, but is glad afterwards to comply, to go againſt *Robert Guiſchard*, duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, ſon-in-law to *Michael* the late depoſed emperor, who invaded the *Roman* territories, and beſieged *Dyrrhachium*; but the *Venetians* coming to the aſſiſtance of *Alexius*, fell upon the enemies fleet, and gave them a total overthrow; then landing and joining *Palæologus*, the commander of the town, deſtroyed their works, burnt their engines, and drove them to their camp, and carried off great booty; but *Robert* continued the attack with great reſolution. At laſt the emperor comes in perſon againſt them, and is beat, has the flower of his army cut off, and a vaſt number of officers of the greateſt rank, and was forced to fly, leaving *Robert* maſter of his camp and baggage, who then took the city.	VI	610
5387	4080	1081	*Alexius* is forced to ſtrip the churches and monaſteries to raiſe money, which gained him the ill-will of the clergy. Making an alliance with *Henry* emperor of *Germany*, gets him to invade *Robert*'s dominions in *Italy*. *Robert* goes againſt him, relieves the pope beſieged in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, retakes *Rome*, and drove them out of *Italy*. *Bohemond* defeats *Alexius* in two battles, takes *Illyricum*, enters *Theſſaly*, and ſets down before *Lariſſa*; but after ſeveral battles for want of money to pay his troops, he is forced to return to *Italy*.	VI	611
5387	4080	1081	The *Venetians* with a powerful fleet engage *Robert* as auxiliaries to *Alexius*, and defeat him in two ſucceſſive battles; but ſoon after *Robert* deſtroyed almoſt their whole fleet, and uſed his priſoners very barbarouſly. The *Venetians* and *Alexius* refit and recruit their ſhattered fleet, and engage *Robert* again, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, and took abundance of priſoners. Soon after *Robert* dies at *Cephalonia*, aged ſeventy-nine. *Roger* his ſon ſucceeded him, and recalled his troops, and ſurrenders the conqueſts to the emperor *Alexius*, from whom they had been taken.	VI	611
5388	4081	1082	The *Scythians* croſs the *Danube*, invade *Thrace*, and lay it waſte with great cruelties. *Alexius* ſends *Pacurianus* and *Branas* againſt them; they engage, and through the raſhneſs of *Branas*, the greater part of the *Romans* are cut to pieces, and the two generals taken priſoners. *Talicius* goes againſt them, cuts great numbers of them to pieces, and forces the reſt to run away.	VI	611
5389	4082	1083	The *Scythians* come again into *Thrace*; the emperor goes againſt them in perſon; and after an obſtinate fight, from morning to night, he was forced to retire precipitately, loſing a prodigious number of his men by the ſword and captivity, *Alexius* himſelf very hardly eſcaping. At the ſame time the *Turks* break into the empire, took all the principal places in *Aſia* and the iſland of *Chios*; and while the empreſs's brother was gone into the eaſt, he was again overthrown by the *Scythians*, who took his camp and baggage, tho' a little after he defeated them.	VI	611
5390	4083	1084	The emperor *Alexius* entirely defeats the *Scythians*, ſo that very few eſcaped, which put an end to the *Scythian* war; and then *Alexius* goes againſt the *Turks*, with whom his brother-in-law had had ſeveral engagements, with various ſucceſſes.	VI	612
5390 to 5399	4083 to 4092	1084 to 1093	*Tzachas* having married the ſultan's daughter, revolts and erects a new principality in *Smyrna*, &c. *John Ducas* beſieges *Mytilene* by land, and *Conſtantine Delaſſenus* by ſea. After much time ſpent, an engagement happens, in which *Tzachas* is totally defeated, and a peace concluded, which *Tzachas* breaking. *Delaſſenus* ſailed after him, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, put his men to the ſword, *Tzachas* flies to *Smyrna*, equips a new fleet, and goes to *Abydos*. The ſultan goes againſt him in perſon by land, and *Delaſſenus* by ſea. *Tzachas* ſurrenders himſelf to his father-in-law, who received him very graciouſly, but ordered him to be murdered, and then concluded a peace with the emperor.	VI	612
5399	4092	1093	The *Scythians* encouraged by an impoſtor, that pretended to be *Leo* ſon of the late emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, croſſed the *Danube*, and proclaimed *Leo* emperor, and beſieged *Adrianople*, where *Leo* is taken priſoner by ſtratagem, and 7000 *Scythians* cut off, 3000 taken, and the reſt run away.	VI	612
5400	4093	1094	The *Scythians* come into the empire again with a very numerous army, but are overthrown in two ſucceſſive battles, when a peace was made upon the emperor's own terms, and then *Alexius* returned to *Conſtantinople* loaded with booty.	VI	613
5400	4093	1094	The weſtern *Chriſtians*, by the inſtigation of one *Peter* a hermit undertake the recovery of the *Holy Land* from the *Turks*. Pope *Urban* II. having called a council at *Clermont* in *France*, where 310 biſhops met, and the embaſſadors of moſt *Chriſtian* princes, a religious war was concluded on, and an army of 300,000 raiſed under the command of ſeveral princes.	VI	614

Gautier,

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5402	4095	1096	*Gautier*, with 20,000 men, began his march towards *Jeruſalem*, who was followed by *Peter* the hermit, with 20,000 more; then *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* arrives at *Philippolis* with 10,000 horſe and 70,000 foot, and quarrelling with *Alexius*, lays the country waſte, and marches to *Conſtantinople*, where they agree *Alexius* ſhould ſupply arms, proviſions, and all his forces, and he was to have the provinces that ſhould be taken from the *Turks*. *Peter*'s army mutinies, and ſeparates into ſmall parties, moſt of which fall a prey to the *Turks*; ſo that out of *Peter*'s 40,000 only 3,000 are left. — — —	VI	615
5403	4096	1097	*Nice* is beſieged by *Godfrey*, &c. the imperial ſeat of *Solyman*, the then *Turkiſh* ſultan, which after two months ſiege, was ſurrendered to *Butumites*, lieutenant to *Alexius*; among the captives were the wife and two of the children of *Solyman*, who were ſent to *Conſtantinople*. — — —	IV	615
5403	4096	1097	*Bohemond*, prince of *Tarentum*, is attacked by *Solyman* at the head of 60,000 *Turks*; but being joined by *Hugh*, brother to *Philip* I. king of *France*, beat the *Turks*, cut off 40,000, and forced the reſt to fly into the mountains. —	VI	615
5403	4096	1097	On the 21ſt of *October*, the *Chriſtians* ſet down before *Antioch*, which was garriſoned with 7000 horſe and 20,000 foot, ſo that it held out till *June*, 1098, following; and a few days after engaging *Corbenus*, the ſultan of *Perſia*'s general, killed and took 100,000 of his men, with the loſs only of 4200 *Chriſtians*. — — — — — —	VI	615
5404	4097	1098	*Tangripermes*, a *Turkiſh* pirate, ſeized the cities of *Smyrna* and *Epheſus*, reduced the iſlands of *Rhodes* and *Chios*, and committed dreadful ravages; but the fleet and army of *Alexius* beating the pirates, they were again recovered. — —	VI	616
5405	4098	1099	The ſucceſs of *Alexius* over the *Turks* ſo elated him, that he demands *Antioch* from *Bohemond*, who was created prince thereof by the confederate princes; upon which *Bohemond* demanded and took *Laodicea*, &c. *Alexius* in revenge attacked the ſupplies coming from the weſt, and gave them a total overthrow, and has moſt of his own fleet deſtroyed by a ſtorm. He alſo beſieged and took *Laodicea*; thus a war enſued, and *Bohemond* beſieges *Dyrrhachium*, but his army being ſtraitned for want of neceſſaries, a peace was honourably concluded. — — — — — —	VI	617
5406	4099	1100	*Alexius* goes againſt the *Turks*, and totally overthrows them near *Nice*. —	VI	617
5407	4100	1101	The *Turks* come again into the empire, but are defeated in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles; ſo that they ſue for peace, which the emperor grants. — —	VI	617
5424	4117	1118	The emperor *Alexius* dies in the 37th year of his reign, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *John*, and crowned in the great church by the patriarch; and ſoon after a conſpiracy is formed in favour of his brother-in-law *Bryennius*, but diſcovered and diſappointed. — — — — —	VI	617
5426	4119	1120	The *Turks* break the peace, and again invade the empire. The emperor *John* goes againſt them in perſon, beats them ſeveral times, and recovers ſeveral cities, &c. and then they ſue for peace, which he grants — — — —	VI	617
5427	4120	1121	The *Scythians* paſs the *Danube*, and entering *Thrace*, deſtroy all with fire and ſword. *John* goes againſt them, cuts a prodigious number of them to pieces, takes many priſoners, and drives the remainder over the *Danube*; then he overcame the *Servii* and the *Hunns*, and made them repaſs the *Danube*, went after them, took their ſtrong holds, and forced them to accept of ſuch terms as he thought fit to grant them. — — — — — —	VI	618
5430	4123	1124	The *Turks* having again broke the peace, *John* goes againſt and drives them every one before him, and took abundance of cities, &c. — — —	VI	618
5446	4139	1140	*John* goes into the eaſt with an intent to recover *Antioch*, then held by the *Latins*, but was not able to accompliſh his purpoſe. — — — —	VI	618
5449	4142	1143	*John* being wounded with a poiſoned arrow at *Cilicia*, died the 8th of *April*, in the 24th year of his reign. He appointed his youngeſt ſon *Manuel* to ſucceed him in the empire, who accordingly did ſo, and ſeized his brother *Iſaac*, and confined him to a monaſtery to prevent his pretenſions to the crown. — — — — — — —	VI	619
5450	4143	1144	The emperor *Manuel* goes againſt the *Turks*, and reduces ſeveral cities in *Phrygia*, which they had taken; returns to *Conſtantinople*, and married *Gertrude*, ſiſter-in-law to *Conrade* emperor of *Germany*. — — —	VI	619
5452	4145	1146	*Conrade*, &c. deſigning to go againſt the *Turks* in *Paleſtine*, *Manuel* promiſed to furniſh forage, &c. for the troops; but inſtead thereof, he laid waſte the countries, and ſhut up the towns through which they were to paſs, and the *Greeks* mixed quick lime with the flower they ſold them, which occaſioned a dreadful mortality among the *Chriſtian* troops, and likewiſe gave private intelligence to the *Turks*, &c. *Roger* king of *Sicily*, to revenge the affront, took the iſland of *Corcyra*, took and plundered *Corinth* and *Thebes*, &c. but through the mediation of the pope, peace is concluded, after they had done much miſchief to each other. — — — — — —	VI	619
5464	4157	1158	*Manuel* goes againſt the *Turks* with a great army, who ſue for peace, but are refuſed. Soon after the emperor is much wounded, and his army not only greatly harraſſed and killed by ſhowers of darts, but entirely ſhut up by the *Turks*, who then propoſe peace, and it is agreed to; but the emperor not performing the conditions, the ſultan ſends 20,000 men into *Phrygia*, who kill all they meet with; but the emperor's forces coming up with them, cut all off to a man, and recovered the whole booty. — — — —	VI	620
5486	4179	1180	*Manuel* dies in the 38th year of his reign, having for ſome time before taken the monaſtic habit, to atone for the debaucheries of his youth. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Alexius Comnenus*, a youth of twelve years old, whoſe mother governed with an abſolute ſway, and neglecting the empire, ſtrove only to amaſs wealth by extortion, &c. The *Turks* break into *Phrygia*, take *Sozopolis*, &c. *Andronicus*, couſin-german to the late emperor, got himſelf pro-		

claimed

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			claimed guardian of the emperor, and under that title committed moſt dreadful cruelties upon the *Conſtantinopolitans*, pretending great affection for the emperor, orders him to be ſolemnly crowned 1183, when his partiſans cry out long live *Alexius* and *Andronicus*, *Roman* emperors, and ſo both were crowned; but a few days after *Andronicus* ordered *Alexius* to be ſtrangled, and then put all the nobility to death, from whom he feared any oppoſition. — — —	VI	621
5490	4183	1184	*Alexius Comnenus*, brother to the late emperor *Manuel*, excites *William* king of *Sicily* to war againſt *Andronicus*, who takes *Dyrrhachium*, then goes to *Theſſalonica*, and takes it by ſtorm, and plunders and murders all the people; then he engages and defeats the army of *Andronicus*, which ſo provoked him, that he glutted his revenge upon all without diſtinction, which ſo alienated his ſubjects from him, that they proclaim *Iſaac Angeſus* emperor. *Andronicus* endeavours to fly into *Scythia*, is taken and delivered in chains to *Iſaac*, who cut off one of his hands, and pulled out one of his eyes, and then delivered him to the inraged populace, who after glutting their revenge upon him, killed him in the ſecond year of his reign. — — — — —	VI	622
5491	4184	1185	*Iſaac* now emperor, recalls all the baniſhed nobility, *&c.* and reſtores all the confiſcated eſtates, *&c.* and then ſent an army under *Branas* againſt the *Sicilians*, who cut them almoſt all off to a man, and their fleet, conſiſting of 200 ſail, being diſperſed by a ſtorm, was moſtly taken by the emperor's admiral. Vaſt numbers of priſoners were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where the emperor ordered them to be ſtarved to death. — — — — — —	VI	623
5492	4185	1186	The emperor ſends a mighty fleet and army againſt *Iſaac Comnenus*, who had ſeized the iſland of *Cyprus*, but both were entirely deſtroyed; upon this the *Maſſans* revolt, and join the *Scythians*, who over-ran the neighbouring provinces. He ſends his uncle *John Ducas* againſt them, who gains ſeveral advantages againſt them; but being jealous, he recalls him, and ſends *John Cantacuzenus* in his ſtead, whoſe raſhneſs and indiſcretion gave the enemy opportunity frequently to defeat him; then he ſends *Branas*. *Alexius* gets ſome advantages, and then ſuddenly goes to *Adrianople*, and proclaims himſelf emperor, and marches directly to *Conſtantinople*, where the emperor *Iſaac* engages and kills him, and puts an end to the rebellion. — — —	VI	623
5494	4187	1188	*Frederick Barbaroſſa*, emperor of *Germany*, marching at the head of a great army to ſupport the *Cruſade*, had been promiſed proviſions and ſupport while he paſſed through *Iſaac*'s dominions; but when the biſhop of *Munſter*, the earl of *Naſſau*, and count *Walram*, *Frederick*'s embaſſadors, came to *Conſtantinople*, *Iſaac* threw them into priſon, and by his armies obſtructed *Frederick*'s paſſage, and ſeized on their proviſions; upon which the *Germans* go into *Thrace*, and ſeize all the corn they find, and then defeated *Iſaac*'s army, and all the country between the *Ægean* and *Euxine* ſea, ſubmit to *Frederick*. *Iſaac* ſets the embaſſadors at liberty, and ſues for peace, which he obtains on very ſevere terms. —	VI	623
5498	4191	1192	An impoſtor ſets up to be the ſon of the late emperor *Manuel*, and being ſupported by the ſultan of *Iconium*, took all the cities of the *Meander*; but a prieſt taking the opportunity of his being drunk, ſtabbed and killed him. — —	VI	624
5499	4192	1193	The *Scythians* invade the empire, and deſtroy all with fire and ſword. The emperor goes againſt them, but has the greateſt part of his army cut to pieces. He then ſends *Alexius Guido*, who was alſo defeated; after that *Batatzes Baſilius*, who was killed and the greateſt part of his army on the ſpot. — —	VI	624
5500	4193	1194	The emperor again goes againſt the *Scythians*, and his army proclaims his brother *Alexius Angelus* emperor; upon which *Iſaac* flies to *Marcia*, is taken, and has his eyes put out, and caſt into priſon, in the 9th year of his reign. *Alexius* reigns very badly, and the *Scythians* and *Turks* laid waſte and took all the beſt provinces through his negligence, he ſuffering his wife and favourites to govern in all things. — — — — — —	VI	624
5508	4201	1202	*Alexius* releaſes his brother *Iſaac* out of priſon, and recalls his ſon *Alexius*, then twelve years old, to court, from whence ſome time after making his eſcape, he goes to the pope, who warmly recommended him to *Philip* emperor of *Germany*, his brother-in-law, who engaged the *French* and *Venetians* to put young *Alexius* upon the throne, who ſailed for *Corfu*. At their arrival at *Dyrrhachium*, the inhabitants ſwear allegiance to him, and then ſailed to *Chalcedon*, and landed their troops; and ſoon after taking *Conſtantinople*, the emperor retires to *Zagora* in *Thrace*, with the imperial ornaments and his treaſures, and then *Iſaac* and his ſon were both declared emperors, and crowned the firſt of *Auguſt*, 1203; then they purſued *Alexius* to *Adrianople*, and drove him quite away. — — — —	VI	625
5509	4202	1203	A dreadful conflagration happened in *Conſtantinople*, that burnt down a great part of the city. — — — — — —	VI	626
5510	4203	1204	The emperor *Iſaac* dies, and *Alexius* being forced to lay heavy taxes upon his people, to pay his deliverers what he owed them by contract, occaſioned great complaints; which being fomented by *John Ducas*, ſirnamed *Murtzuphlus*, who ſends in the emperor's name to the marquis of *Monſerat*, offering to deliver up the palace and fortreſs of *Blachernæ* in *Conſtantinople*, (who prepares to come) and then gives out that the emperor had ſold the city to the *Latins*, who were in full march to take poſſeſſion; and in the uproar goes into his chamber and ſtrangles him, and then his creatures proclaimed him emperor; this enraged the confederate princes of the weſt ſo far, that they come and beſiege *Conſtantinople*, which they took by ſtorm, and murdered all they met. This great revolution happened 874 years after the removal of the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*. — — — — —	VI	627
5510	4203	1204	*Baldwin* earl of *Flanders* is elected emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and crowned with extraordinary magnificence in the church of *St. Sophia*, and is allowed *Con-*		

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			ſtantinople and *Thrace*, and a limited power over the other provinces. *Boniface*, marquis of *Montſerrat*, has *Theſſaly*, which was erected into a kingdom. The *Venetians* had the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, part of *Peloponneſus*, and ſeveral cities in the *Helleſpont*.		
5510	4203	1204	*Theodorus Laſcaris*, ſon-in-law to *Alexius Angelus*, eſcaping from his confinement in *Conſtantinople* into *Bythinia*, was joyfully received, and making himſelf maſter of *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Ionia*, and *Lydia*, took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial ſeat at *Nice*; and *David* and *Alexius Comnenus* ſeizing on *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Capadocia*, erected a new empire at *Trapezond*.	VI	628
5510	4203	1204	*David* and *Alexius Comneni*, grandſons to the tyrant *Andronicus*, eſcaping out of *Conſtantinople*, ſeized on the moſt eaſterly parts of *Pontus*, *Ga'atia* and *Cappadocia*, fixed their reſidence in the famous city of *Trabezond*, and erected the aforeſaid countries into an empire, called the empire of *Trabezond*. (Some call it a kingdom, and others a lordſhip, till the year of Chriſt 1260.	VII	286
5512	4205	1206	*John* king of *Bulgaria* marches againſt *Baldwin* firſt emperor of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*, as he was beſieging *Adrianople*, defeats his army with great ſlaughter, relieves the city, and carries the emperor priſoner to *Ternova*, the then capital of *Bulgaria*, where he cauſed his hands and feet to be cut off, and his body to be thrown into a neighbouring valley, and there after three days extreme miſery he died, and was devoured by wild beaſts.	VII	289
5512	4205	1206	*Theodorus Laſcaris* engages the ſultan *Jathatines* at *Antioch*, kills and cuts off his head; upon which the *Turks* fly, and leave the *Greeks* maſters of their camp and baggage. *Alexius Angelus*, author of the war, was taken priſoner, carried to *Nice*, and confined to a monaſtery by his ſon-in-law *Laſcaris*, who makes a peace with the *Turks* upon his own terms.	VII	639
5512	4205	1206	*Henry*, brother of *Baldwin*, ſucceeded him as emperor of the *Latins* at *Conſtantinople*, and firſt warred with the *Scythians*, and drove them out of *Thrace*, then he was at war with *Laſcaris* emperor of *Nice*, who at laſt was forced to acknowledge him; and then with *Michael Angelus*, who ſeized *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, and called himſelf lord or deſpot of the country, but could not diſlodge him.	VI	629
5524	4217	1218	*Henry* emporor of *Conſtantinople* dies in the 11th year of his reign, and is ſucceeded by *Peter* count of *Auxerre*, his brother-in-law, who was crowned at *Rome* by Pope *Honorius* III. on the 9th of *April*. From *Rome* he goes to *Venice*, and makes an alliance with that republic againſt *Theodorus*, who ſucceeded his brother as deſpot or lord of *Ætolia* and *Epirus*; goes and beſieges *Dyrrhachium*, which *Theodorus* had lately taken. At laſt they came to an agreement, and *Theodorus* promiſes him a free paſſage; but ſuddenly falls upon him, cuts moſt of his forces to pieces, took him priſoner and put him to death, and he was ſucceeded by *Robert* his ſecond ſon, *Philip* count of *Namur*, his eldeſt ſon, refuſing to accept it.	VI	629
5528	4221	1222	*Theodoris Laſcaris* emperor of *Nice* dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon-in-law *John Ducas*, ſirnamed *Vataces*, who was crowned by *Manuel*, patriarch of the *Greeks* at *Nice*, *Alexius* and *Angelus*, brothers to the deceaſed emperor, apply to the *Latins*, who furniſh them with an army. *John* engages them, cuts off the flower of their army, and takes them both priſoners. Then building a fleet, he falls upon the *Latins* in the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, drove them before him, and took moſt of the iſlands.	VI VII	630 287
5532	4225	1226	*Aſſan* king of *Bulgaria* gives his daughter *Helena* to wife to *Theodore*, ſon of the emperor *Ducas*, and makes an alliance with the emperor *Ducas*; likewiſe renews the peace between him and the ſultan of *Iconium*; and then takes all the places on the *Boſphorus* and *Helleſpont*, held by the *Latins*; and *Theodorus* prince of *Epirus* invades and takes *Theſſaly* and *Thrace*, aſſumes the title of emperor, and is crowned by the patriarch of *Bulgaria*; and then, though he had lately concluded a peace with *John* king of *Bulgaria*, he broke into his country; but *John*, after a long and bloody diſpute, routed his army, took him priſoner, and put out his eyes.	VI	630
5534	4227	1228	*Robert*, emperor of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*, dies at *Achaia*, and is ſuccedeed by *Baldwin* II. his ſon, a child of eight years old, and *John Brienne*, formerly king of *Jeruſalem*, is appointed regent.	VI	630
5541	4234	1235	*John Ducas* the *Greek* emperor, and *John Azen* king of *Bulgaria*, beſiege *Conſtantinople*; but the regent ſallying out very vigorouſly, put their whole army to flight, conſiſting of 100,000 men, killed a great number, forced them to raiſe the ſiege, and took a great booty.	VI	631
5542	4235	1236	*Robert* and *John* come again before *Conſtantinople*, and are again defeated and put to flight; but through frequent ſallies and encounters, the *Latins* are reduced to few in number, whereupon the regent retires into the imperial city, and ſends the young emperor to ſollicit the weſtern princes perſonally for aſſiſtance. The *Venetians* come with a powerful fleet, and force *Azen* and *Vataces* to raiſe the ſiege.	VI	631
5543	4236	1237	*John Brienne*, the regent at *Conſtantinople*, dies, in the 9th year of his adminiſtration. The *Bulgarians* and *Greeks* quarrel, ſo that *John Azen* joins the *Latins*, and lays ſiege to *Chiorli*, but ſoon after raiſes it.	VI	631
5544	4237	1238	*Anne*, wife of *John* king of *Bulgaria*, dying, he marries the daughter of *Theodorus*, late deſpot of *Epirus*, whom he had taken priſoner, and deprived of his ſight ſome years before; upon which *Azen* ſets *Theodorus* at liberty, and aſſiſts him to recover his dominions from *Manuel* his brother, which done *Theodorus* appoints his ſon to govern in his ſtead, cauſing him to be acknowledged emperor.	VI	631
5544	4237	1238	*John Azen* king of *Bulgaria* dying, *John Vataces* emperor of *Nice* makes an alliance with the *Scythians* in *Macedon*, enters the dominions of *Theodorus*, takes		

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			a great part of them, forces him to lay down the title of emperor, and be content with that of deſpot.	VI	631
5545	4238	1239	The emperor *Baldwin* returning from the weſt, upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople* is crowned emperor by the patriarch in the church of *St. Sophia*, makes an alliance with the *Comneni* at *Trabezond*, and by their aſſiſtance beſieges and takes *Chiorli* from the emperor of *Nice*; who ſoon after retook it, and the iſland of *Rhodes*.	VII	289
5561	4254	1255	*John Ducas* of *Vataces*, emperor of *Nice*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodorus Laſcaris* II. who renewing the ancient alliance with the ſultan of *Iconiam*, paſſes the *Helleſpont*, and wars with the *Bulgarians*, and the deſpot of *Epirus*, who had invaded *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to compel them to accept of peace, upon ſuch terms as he thought fit to allow them.	VII	287
5562	4255	1256	The *Tartars* cut off the troops belonging to the ſultan of *Iconium*, and reduce him to ſuch ſtraits, that he flies to the emperor *Theodorus Laſcaris*, who receives him kindly, and ſends him back with an army commanded by *Iſbar Ducas*, a general of great note, for which the ſultan ſurrendered the city of *Laodicea* to *Laſcaris*.	VI	632
5564	4257	1258	*Theodorus Laſcaris*, emperor of *Nice*, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *John*, a child of nine years old, and appointed *Arſenius* the patriarch, and *George Muzalo*, his guardians; but while the funeral obſequies were performing for the deceaſed emperor, the nobility fall upon and murder *Muzalo* and his two brothers, and then declared *Michael Paleologus* guardian, who immediately goes againſt *Michael Angelus*, deſpot of *Epirus*, who had broke into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, engages and routs him with great ſlaughter.	VII	288
5565	5258	1259	*Michael Paleologus*, guardian to the young emperor of *Nice*, is declared emperor, and crowned by the patriarch: and then he recovered *Peloponneſus* from the *Latins*, and the deſpot of *Epirus*.	VII	288
5567	4260	1261	*Alexius Strategopulus*, general under the emperor *Paleologus*, ſurprizes *Conſtantinople*, kills all he meets with, and ſets fire to it in four places at one time. *Baldwin* the *Latin* emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and the *Latin* patriarch, and ſome other of his intimate friends fly to *Venice*. Soon after *Paleologus* ſettles his affairs at *Nice*, and then goes to *Conſtantinople*, with the empreſs, his ſon *Andronicus*, the ſenate and the nobility, to take poſſeſſion of that imperial city, and to fix his reſidence there.	VII	635
5569	4262	1263	*Baldwin*, the depoſed *Latin* emperor, marries his daughter to *Charles* king of *Sicily*, and gave him *Conſtantinople* for her dowry. *Charles* makes preparations to come and take it. *Paleologus* orders himſelf to be crowned emperor a-new, and then puts out the eyes of the young emperor *John*, to whom he had ſworn to reſign the empire when of age; for which *Arſenius* the patriarch excommunicated him: And *Michael* deſpot of *Epirus*, and *Conſtantine* king of *Bulgaria*, who had married the young emperor's ſiſters, broke into *Thrace*, and laid it waſte. *Paleologus* goes againſt them, has moſt of his troops cut to pieces and taken priſoners, and hardly eſcapes himſelf. The *Venetians* ſeized the iſlands of the *Archipelago*. *Paleologus* ſends to pope *Urban* IV. and promiſes to ſubmit to the *Latin* church; upon which peace is made, and in a council held at *Lyons*, in 1274, *Paleologus* acknowledged the pope's ſupremacy.	VI	635
5580	4273	1274	*Joſeph* the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and all the clergy, oppoſe what *Paleologus* had done at *Lyons*, which ſo inraged him, that he rack'd ſome, whipped others, impriſoned many, baniſhed the patriarch *Joſeph*, and put *Veccus* in his ſtead, which occaſioned many uproars, ſeditions and a univerſal uneaſineſs.	VI	635
5581	4274	1275	*Stephen*, the fourth king of *Hungary* upon overcoming *Cea* prince of *Bulgaria*, by cutting his whole army to pieces, was acknowledged king of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*.	VII	639
5587	4280	1281	*John* emperor of *Trabezond* goes to *Conſtantinople*, and marries *Eudocia Paleogina*, daughter to *Michael Paleologus* emperor of the eaſt, (as he called himſelf.)	VII	291
5589	4282	1283	Pope *Martin* IV. excommunicates *Michael Paleologus* for contributing to the famous maſſacre of the *French* in *Sicily*, commonly known by the name of the *Sicilian Veſpers*, on *Eaſter-day*, *March* 30, 1282, which with his other fatigues threw him into a lingring illneſs as he was marching againſt the *Turks*, and after receiving the ambaſſadors of the *Tartars* daily increaſing, he died in the 24th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Andronicus*.	VI	635
5589	4282	1283	*Andronicus* begins his reign with reſtoring the ceremonies of the *Greek* church, and refuſing to acknowledge the pope's ſupremacy: This threw the whole empire into a ferment; his brother *Conſtantine* was the darling of the people for overthrowing the *Turks* in ſeveral engagements, wherefore *Andronicus* orders him to be thrown into priſon, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. The *Turks* under *Othoman* take ſeveral places in *Phrygia*, *Caria*, and *Bithynia*, and the city of *Nice*. *Andronicus* ſends *Philanthropenus* againſt them, who gets ſeveral advantages over them, and then proclaims himſelf emperor. *Libadarius*, general for *Andronicus*, goes againſt him, and as they were going to engage, he was ſeized by the *Cretans*, and delivered to *Libadarius*, who put out his eyes. The mean while the *Turks* extend their conqueſts in *Aſia*, and in the *Mediterranean*. *Andronicus* hires 10,000 *Maſſagetes*, who do him great harm; then he hires a body of *Catalans*, who revolt and join the *Turks*, this firſt brought the *Turks* into *Europe*. *Michael* having been declared emperor with his father, goes with a body of *Greeks*, *Maſſagates*, &c. againſt the *Catalans* and *Turks*; but the auxiliaries become neuter, and *Michael* is routed; then the *Catalans* and *Turks* over-run *Thrace*, deſtroying all with fire and		

ſword.

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			sword. The *Catalans* resolve to invade *Thessaly*: The *Turks* acquaint the emperor, if he would let them pass they would return home; to which the emperor consents, and orders ships, *&c.* to be got ready; but the *Greek* officers longing for their booty, contrive to fall upon and cut them to pieces in the night: This being discovered, the *Turks* send word to their countrymen of their danger, and fortify themselves in a strong castle: More *Turks* come and destroy all before them; *Andronicus* marches against them with all his force; the *Turks* sally out, and put the besiegers to a disorderly flight, took many officers, and the emperor's camp, the military chest, several standards, the imperial crown, and all the baggage.	VI	637
5597	4296	1291	Pope *Nicholas* the 4th earnestly endeavours to engage *John* emperor of *Trebezond* in the *Holy War*.	VII	291
5601	4294	1295	*John Comnenus* emperor of *Trabezond* dying, is succeeded by his eldest son *Alexius* II. in the empire, who reigned eight years.	VII	291
5602	4295	1296	*Philes Paleologus* (a relation of the emperor, and a person of great piety, but no soldier) undertakes to go against the *Turks* with a small body of men, and engages *Chaleb* the *Turkish* general, who had been ravaging the country with 1000 foot and 200 horse, and intirely destroyed them.	VI	638
5609	4302	1303	*Alexius* II. emperor of *Trabezond* dying, is succeeded by his son *Basilius* who reigned 17 years.	VII	291
5622	4315	1316	The emperor *Andronicus* tells the patriarch *Gerassimus*, that as his grandson and heir *Andronicus* could not by any means be reclaimed, he intended to secure him. The patriarch tells the young prince, and he escapes to *Adrianople*, where he is proclaimed emperor by the army; but his grandfather proclaims him a publick enemy and a traitor, and obliges the *Constantinopolitans* to take the oath of allegiance to himself a-fresh. The young prince sends a body of troops against *Constantinople*; his grandfather dispatches *Theoleptus*, bishop of *Philadelphia*, and other persons of distinction to him with proposals of an accommodation, which at last was thus concluded; that the empire should be divided, and the prince have *Thrace* and the suburbs of *Constantinople*; and the emperor the city of *Constantinople*, and all the cities and islands in the east and west. The *Turks* in the mean time enlarge their dominions in *Asia*, reduce most of the places on the *Meander*, and take *Prusa* in *Bythinia*, which they entered in 1327, where *Orchanes* upon the death of his father *Othoman* settled the seat of the *Turkish* empire. The young and old emperors of *Constantinople* quarrel again, but at last matters are made up, and the grandfather admits the grandson to be his colleague; and he and his wife *Anne* of *Savoy*, whom he had lately married, were solemnly crowned in the church of St. *Sophia*; but the young one wanting to rule alone, flew out again, committed open hostilities, and took *Constantinople* by treachery, and deprived his father of all rule and authority in 1328, but permitted him to live in the palace, and wear the ensigns of majesty, and allowed him 24,000 pieces of gold for his yearly maintenance.	VI	641
5626	4319	1320	*Basilius* I. emperor of *Trabezond*, dies, and is succeeded by his son *Basilius* II. who after a reign of 19 years, is murdered by his wife *Irene*, who reigned in his stead.	VII	291
5634	4327	1328	The king of *Bulgaria* enters *Thrace*, and lays the country waste, *&c.* but *Andronicus* coming unexpectedly towards him, he retires and leaves great part of his booty behind: *Andronicus* pursued him, and carried the war into *Bulgaria*, ravaged the country, and destroyed all with fire and sword, and then concludes a peace.	VI	641
5636	4329	1330	*Othoman* being lately dead, *Andronicus* recovers *Nice*, &c. which *Orcanes* his son and successor soon after retakes, and overthrows the emperor's army, who flying, leave their camp, baggage, and arms to the enemy, and all the emperor's plate and furniture.	VI	642
5636	4329	1330	The old emperor *Andronicus*, to make the court easy, retires voluntarily into a monastery, where having lived two years, dies.	VI	642
5644	4337	1338	*Andronicus* makes a very dishonourable peace with the *Turks*, yielding all their conquests to them.	VI	642
5646	4339	1340	The inhabitants of *Thessaly* revolt: The emperor marches against them in person. The *Turks* break the peace, and ravage the sea coasts, then repass the *Streights* with immense booty and great numbers of captives.	VI	642
5647	4340	1341	*Andronicus* dies, and his eldest son *John* succeeded him, who being but nine years old, *John Cantacuzenus* was appointed his guardian, and behaved with the greatest uprightness and care possible; but being opposed by *John* the patriarch, who continually represented every thing in an evil light to *Ann* the empress, she at last declared him a publick enemy, and a traitor; upon which the army, at the head whereof he then was at *Dedimothicum*, declared *Cantacuzenus* emperor.	VI	643
5648	4341	1342	All the friends and relations of *Cantacuzenus* at *Constantinople* are thrown into goal, his estate confiscated, and an army sent against him. He writes to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the messengers were thrown into prison. At last *Cantacuzenus* goes to *Constantinople*; the citizens open their gates, and salute him emperor; and an accommodation is come to, in which the empress, *&c.* allowed him to be colleague with her son *John*, which was sworn to by *Cantacuzenus*, *John Peleologus*, and the empress, on the 8th of *February*, 1347. He was soon after crowned by *Isidore*, the patriarch of *Constantinople*. *Cantacuzenus* marries his daughter to young *Paleologus*, and so settled all things in quiet, and caused her to be crowned and acknowledged empress by the nobility, senate, *&c.*	VI	645

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5659	4352	1353	The *Genoeſe* of *Galata* now become very powerful at ſea, being denied the liberty to enlarge their city, ſet fire to the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*, ſeized the emperor's ſhips then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, gained advantages at ſea, and ſeized ſome iſlands in the *Archipelago*. — — — — — —	VI	645
5663	4356	1357	*Crales* king of the *Servians* ſows diſcord between the two emperors, ſo that they come to an open repture: the young prince's army was overthrown in *Thrace*, and he forced to take refuge in *Conſtantinople*, all the other cities ſubmitting to *Cantacuzenus*: However, ſoon after a peace was concluded, and *Cantacuzenus* reſigned up all authority, and went into a monaſtery at *Maugana*, but his ſon *Matthew*, whom he had declared emperor, purſued the war. —— —	VI	645
5663	4356	1357	*John Palæologus* goes againſt *Matthew* his brother-in-law; they engage, and *Matthew* is defeated; and forced to quit the field, but was ſoon after taken, and upon renouncing all claim to the crown ſet at liberty. — — —	VI	645
5663	4356	1357	The *Turks* under *Solyman*, one of the ſons of *Orchanes*, paſſed the *Helleſpont*, took the ſtrong caſtle of *Coiridocaſtræ*; then went to *Gallipolis*, and defeated the governor, and took the place, which gave them their firſt ſettlement in *Europe*, where they have continued ever ſince. — — — ——	VI	645
5664	4357	1358	The ſultan *Orchanes* dying, *Amurath* his ſon and ſucceſſor purſued the conqueſts begun by *Solyman*, maſtered ſeveral parts of *Thrace*, and made *Adrianople* the ſeat of his empire in *Europe*. — — — ——	VI	645
5666	4359	1360	*Andronicus*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, having contracted an intimacy with *Centuzes*, *Amurath*'s eldeſt ſon, they conſpire to murder their reſpective fathers, and to live in ſtrict union between themſelves: They are diſcovered, have their eyes pulled out, and are then caſt into priſon. — — — —	VI	646
5668	4361	1362	Blind *Andronicus*, by the help of the *Genoeſe* of *Galata*, eſcapes, and makes war upon his father, takes *Conſtantinople*, and gets his father and brother *Manuel*, who had been declared his ſucceſſor, into his power, and impriſons them ———	VI	646
5670	4363	1364	Old *Andronicus* and *Manuel* eſcape out of priſon, upon which blind *Andronicus* yields up the empire to them, rather than engage in a civil war again. ——	VI	646
5671	4364	1365	The ſultan *Amurath* being treacherouſly ſlain, is ſucceeded by his ſon *Bajazet*, who purſuing the former conquets in *Europe*, adds *Theſſaly*, *Macedon*, *Phocis*, *Peloponneſus*, *Myſia*, and *Bulgaria* to them. — — — —	VI	646
5675	4368	1369	The *Bulgarians* by the aſſiſtance of the *Greek* emperors having ſhook off the *Hungarian* yoke, attempt the recovery of *Adrianople*, under the conduct of their king *Saſmenos*, from the *Turks*; but are utterly defeated by *Amurath*. — —	VII	639
5675	4368	1369	*Bajazet* enters *Bulgaria* with a great army, makes an entire conqueſt of it, and turns it into a *Turkiſh* province, which it remains to this day. — ——	VII	639
5697	4390	1391	*Bajazet* ſends to *Andronicus*, demands a yearly tribute, and his ſon *Manuel* to attend him in his wars; which, as *Andronicus* was now not able to reſiſt, was performed. — — — — —	VI	646
5698	4391	1392	*Andronicus* emperor of *Conſtantinople* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Manuel* his ſon, then at *Bajazet*'s court, who comes away without taking his leave; for which *Bajazet* immediately comes into *Thrace*, and deſtroys with fire and ſword all the country round *Conſtantinople*, which he inveſted by ſea and land. The weſtern princes ſend *Sigiſmund* kng of *Hungaria*, and *John* count of *Nevers*, with an army of 130,000 men to his aſſiſtance, who beſieging *Nicopolis*, *Bajazet* raiſes the ſiege of *Conſtantinple*, and goes againſt them: They engage; *Bajazet* conquers, kills 20,000, took their camp and baggage, count *Nevers*, and 300 great officers, and 20,000 ſoldiers: All the officers, except count *Nevers* and five others, were put to death. — — —	VI	646
5699	4392	1393	*Bajazet* returns to the ſege of *Conſtantinople*, which finding reſolutely defended, privately agrees with *John* the ſon of blind *Andronicus* to ſet him upon the throne, *Bajazet* to have *Conſtantinople*, and *John* to remove the imperial ſeat to *Peloponneſus*: This ſigned and ſealed, *Bajazet* acquaints the inhabitants he would retire, if they would drive out *Manuel* and ſet *John* upon the throne: The city was immedately ready to fall into a civil war; *Manuel* for peace ſake ſends to *John*, then in the *Turkiſh* camp, and offers to reſign upon leave given him, his wife, and chidren, to retire where they thought fit: This was agreed to, and *John* went into the city, and *Manuel* went firſt to *Venice*, then to other courts, ſolliciting help againſt the *Turks*. *John* was crowned; *Bajazet* reminds him of their agreement, and preſſed him to ſurrender *Conſtantinople*, and retire to *Peloponneſus*: The citizens refuſed; *Bajazet* renews the ſiege, and reduced them to extreme neceſſities; but news being brought that *Tamerlane* the *Tartar*, having ſubdued all *Perſia*, was coming into *Aſia* againſt *Bajazet*, he raiſed the ſiege to go againſt him: They engage in the plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*, the 28th of *July* 1401, where after cutting moſt of *Bajazet*'s men to pieces, himſelf was taken priſoner, put into an iron cage, and ſhewn, where he is ſaid to have daſhed out his own brains in 1402. — — —	VI	646
5708	4401	1402	*Manuel* retires to *Conſtantinople*, where he is received with extraordinary joy, and *John* depoſed and baniſhed to the iſland of *Lesbos*. *Bajazet*'s five ſons rend and tear the *Turkiſh* empire for 10 years with fierce civil wars; but at laſt *Mohammed* the youngeſt having overcome the others, was proclaimed ſultan of the whole *Turkiſh* empire. *Manuel* improved this time, and recovered ſeveral provinces, which *Mohammed* for the aſſiſtance he had given him ſuffered him quietly to enjoy till his death in 1424. —— — — —	VI	647
5730	4423	1424	*John* ſon of *Manuel* ſucceeds his father, who having ſupported one *Muſtapha*, a pretended ſon of *Bajazet*'s, againſt *Amurath* II. ſon of *Mohammed*, *Amurath* to revenge the affront beſieges *Conſtantinople*; but his young brother *Muſtapha*, ſupported by the prince of *Caaramnia*, revolts in *Aſia*, and proclaims himſelf ſultan. *Amurath* raiſes the ſiege, and goes againſt him, who was	VI	647

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			treacherouſly delivered up to *Amurath*, and by him ſtrangled. *Amurath* goes againſt the prince of *Caaramnia*, and compels him to accept of what terms he thought fit to give him. Then he entered *Macedon* and *Greece*, and took all thoſe provinces; then reduced *Servia*, then beſieged *Belgrade*, where the *Chriſtians* killed 15,000 *Turks* in one ſally, and forced *Amurath* to raiſe the ſiege; and in his return *John Hunniades* (the famous *Hungarian* prince) cut great numbers of *Amurath*'s men to pieces; and ſoon after engaging him again, killed 20,000 *Turks* on the ſpot, and as many in the purſuit. *Amurath* ſends two other armies more numerous than the former into *Tranſylvania*, which were cut off almoſt to a man by the ſame brave *Hungarian*, who alſo recovered from the *Turks* all *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, but at laſt was overcome in the fatal battle of *Varna*, in the year 1444, where *Uladiſlaus* king of *Hungaria* was alſo cut to pieces. — — — — —	VI	648
5750	4443	1444	*Hunniades* is choſe protector of the kingdom of *Hungaria* during the minority of young *Ladiſlaus*. *Hunniades* engaged *Amurath* at *Caſſana* for three days together, where overpowered by numbers, the third day the *Chriſtians* were routed, in 1448: In this battle 38,000 *Turks* were ſlain, and 8000 *Chriſtians*, with the flower of the *Hungarian* nobility. — — — —	VI	648
5754	4447	1448	The *Greek* emperor *John* ſends to *Adrienople* to *Amurath* to conclude a peace; *Amurath* demands ſome ſtrong holds in the *Euxine* ſea, and 300,000 aſpers a year tribute, which he is forced to yield to. — — —	VI	648
5754	4447	1448	*John* emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in order to gain aſſiſtance from the weſtern princes, went to the council held at *Ferrara*, attended by the patriarch *Joſeph*, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the *Greek* nobility, in order to ſettle the diſputes between the *Latin* and *Greek* churches. The plague raging at *Ferrara*, the council moved to *Florence*, where the union was effected between the two churches, and ſubſcribed by the patriarch and the other prelates. Upon his return the people being highly diſatisfied with what had been done at the council, this with other calamities threw the emperor into an illneſs, of which he died, in the 27th year of his reign. — — — —	VI	649
5755	4448	1449	*Conſtantine* brother of *John* ſucceeded to the empire, now confined to *Conſtantinople* only. — — — — —	VI	649
5755	4448	1449	*John* II. ſon of *Alexius* 3d emperor of *Trabezond*, having murdered his father, ſet himſelf upon the throne. — — — — —	VII	292
5756	4449	1450	*Amurath* the ſultan dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon *Mohammed*, who immediately ſtrangled all his brothers: He built a caſtle about five miles from *Conſtantinople*, called *Genichiar*, but by the *Greeks*, *Neo Caſtram*; repaired another over-againſt it called *Aſpocaſtron*; theſe two commanded the *Streights* of the *Boſphorus*, and ſhut up *Conſtantinople*, from whence the garriſons made frequent excurſions: This begot a quarrel; *Mohammed* ſends *Caracia*, who took what places the emperor had on the *Euxine* ſea, and beſieged *Conſtantinople*, took St. *Stephen*'s tower by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword; and other forts ſubmitted, *Selybria* only held out, which at laſt overcome by frequent aſſaults, was taken, and every man put to the ſword. — —	VI	650
5759	4452	1453	On the ſixth of *April Mohammed* ſits down before the imperial city of *Conſtantinople* with an army of 300,000 men; the beſieged behaved themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, and by frequent ſallies cutoff vaſt numbers of the enemy, and deſtroyed their works; but *Mohammed* encreaſing his army by continual reinforcements to 400,000, and battering the walls night and day, and a fleet of 300 ſhips block'd the city up by ſea; but four *Genoeſe* and one *Greek* ſhip ſailing into the midſt of them, ſunk ſome, diſabled others, and made dreadful havock of the whole, and brought the city relief of corn, *&c.* but the beſieged tired out, the emperor ſends to the ſultan, offering to acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, and pay a yearly tribute, if he would raiſe the ſiege and go away; to which *Mohammed* anſwered, he was determined to have the city; but if he would deliver it up immediately, he would yield *Peloponneſus* to him, and other provinces to his brothers, which *Conſtantine* refuſes. On *Tueſday* the 29th of *May* the *Turks* began the attack at three in the morning, and after a prodigious number were killed, the enemy took the city by ſtorm, put the emperor, nobles, and inhabitants all to the ſword, and plundered it for three days ſucceſſively, when *Mohammed* entered it in triumph, choſe it for the ſeat of his empire, and promiſed all the natives that would ſtay or come there liberty to live unmoleſted, with the free exerciſe of the *Chriſtian* religion. Thus the death of the laſt *Roman* emperor, the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, and the final diſſolution of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* empire happened the 29th of *May*, this year of the *Chriſtian Æra*. — — — — — —		
5768	4461	1462	*Mohammed* the great ſultan of the *Turks* beſieges and takes *Trabezond*, and murders all the royal family of *Comnenus*, and thereby put an end to the empire of *Trabezond*, 258 years after its erection. — — —	VII	293

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